All information is considered unclassified except where otherwise shown.

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U.S. FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE URVEIL! ANCE COURT

SURVEIL! ANCE COURT UNITED STATES Classify By: J23J98T32 2016 OCT FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE SURVEILLANCE COURT Reason: (C) b1-1 Derived From: FBI NSICG, dated 10-2016 b3-1 CLERK OF COURT Declassify On: WASHINGTON, D.C. b7A-1 (§) IN RE CARTER W. PAGE, A U.S. Docket Number: b1-1 PERSON. b3-1 b7A-1

(U) VERIFIED APPLICATION

(S) The United States of America hereby applies to this Court for authority to conduct as described herein, pursuant to the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, Title 50, United b7A-1 b7A-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

1. (U) Identity of Federal Officer Making Application This application is made by a Supervisory Special Agent (SSA) of the Federal

Bureau of Investigation (FBI) whose official duties at FBI Headquarters include b1-1 b3-1 b3-1 b6-1 b7A-1 b7C-1 b7C-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

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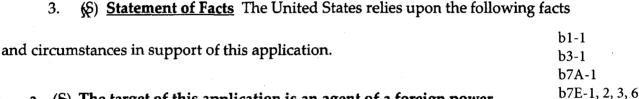
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b7A-1

OI Tracking No. 143045

2. (5) <u>Identity of the Target</u> The target of this application is Carter W. b1-1 b3-1 Page, a U.S. person, and an agent of a foreign power, described in detail below. The b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 status of the target was determined in or about October 2016 from information provided by the U.S. Department of State.



- a. (§) The target of this application is an agent of a foreign power.
- (8) 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.
- (%) The Government of the Russian Federation is a foreign power as (U) defined by 50 U.S.C. § 1801(a)(1).
- (U) (3) The Government of the Russian Federation (Russia) is an internationally recognized foreign government and, as of the execution of this application, is listed in the Diplomatic List, published by the United States Department of State, and in <u>Permanent Missions to the United Nations</u>, published by the United Nations, and its establishments in the United States are components thereof.

(S) Clandestine Intelligence Activities Of The Russian Federation **(S**) b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1,2 b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1,2

	b1-1 b3-1
	b7A-1 b7E- 1, 2
(U) (S) Carter W. Page	b3-1
knowingly engage in	b7A-1 b7E- 1, 2
clandestine intelligence activities (other than intelligence gathering activities) for	
or on behalf of such foreign power, which activities involve or are about to	
involve a violation of the criminal statutes of the United States, or knowingly	
conspires with other persons to engage in such activities and, therefore, is an	
agent of a foreign power as defined by 50 U.S.C. § 1801(b)(2)(E).	
(SMNK) This application targets Carter Page. The FBI believes Page has been	
the subject of targeted recruitment by the Russian Government	
	b1-1 b3-1
undermine and influence the outcome of the 2016 U.S. Presidential election in	b6-2 b7A-1
and the control of th	b7C-2 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
Candidate for U.S. President (Candidate #1).	

	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1,
I. (U) (X/MX) RIS Efforts to Influence U.S. Presidential Elections.	
(SANK) 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
(SANK): In or about July 2016, WikiLeaks released a trove of e-mails from the Democratic National Committee (DNC). There has been speculation in 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	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1,2,3
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 (SWANE). 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 b3-1b7A-1 neland Security and the b7E-1, 2, 3

b1-1

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.

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

U.S. elections,

and

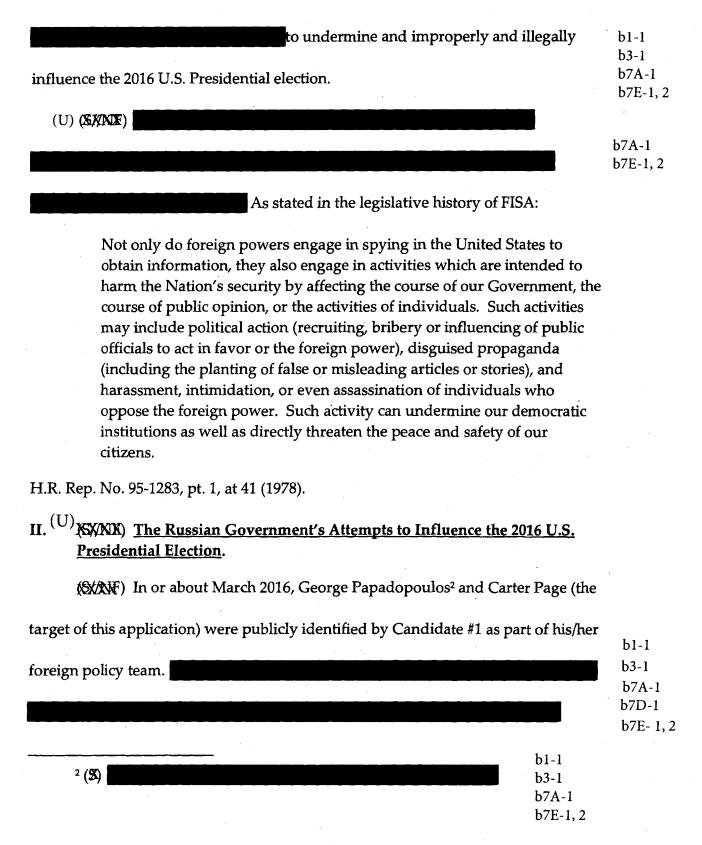
the information discussed herein regarding Russia's coordination with Carter Page

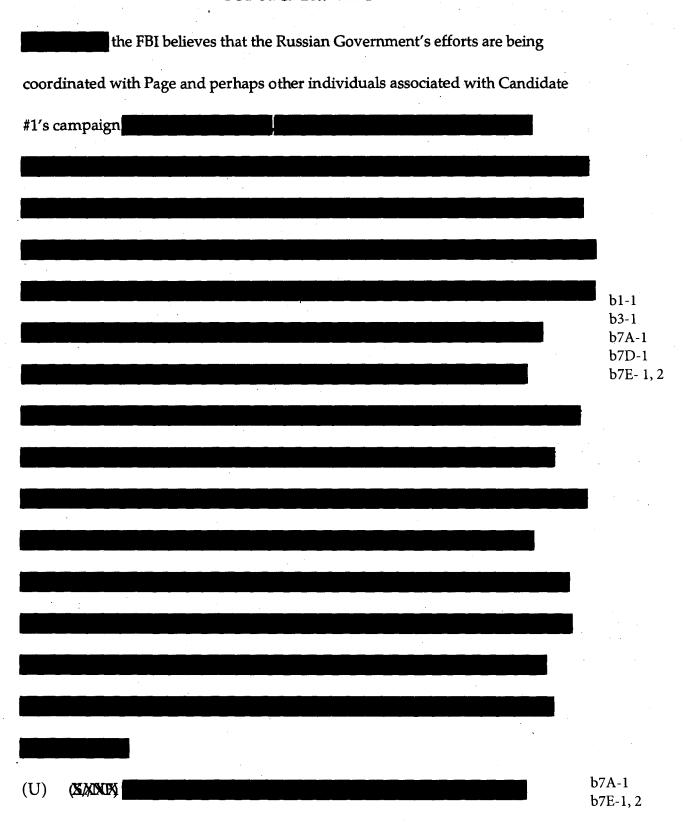
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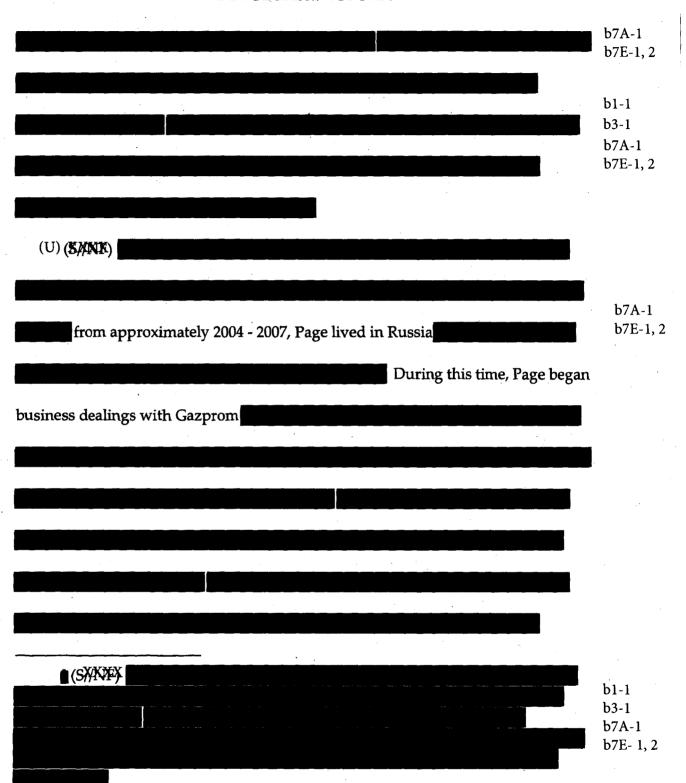
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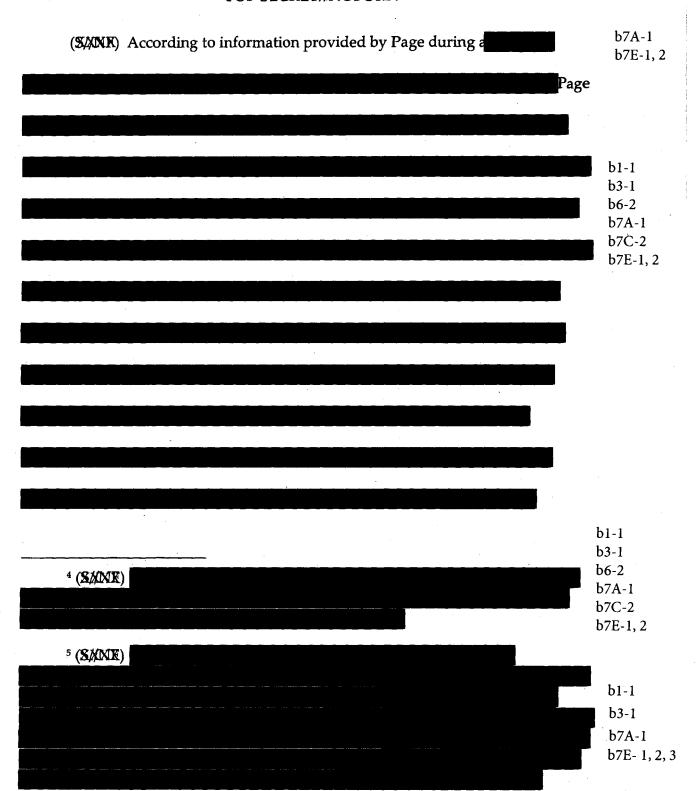
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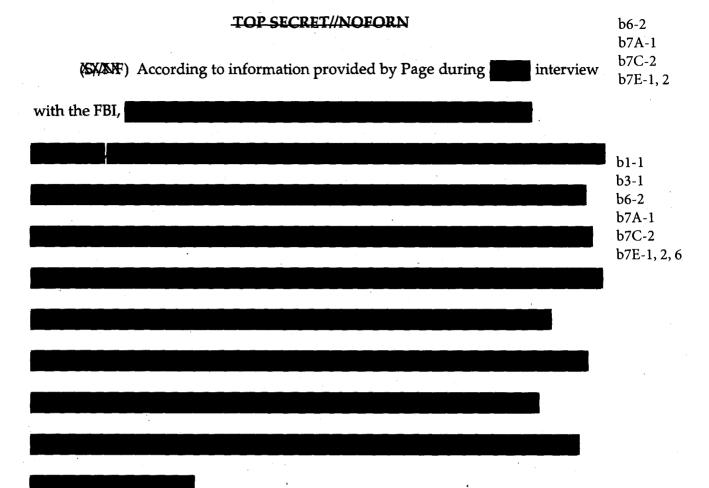




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	b7A-1 b7D-1
As discussed below, Page has established relationships with Russian	b7E- 1, 2
Government officials, including Russian intelligence officers,	
III.(U)(S) Carter Page.	
(U) A. (S) Page's Connections to Russia and the RIS.	
(SVANF) Page, a U.S. citizen, is the founder and managing partner of Global	
Energy Capital LLC (GEC), an investment management and advisory firm that	
focuses on the energy sector primarily in emerging markets.	b7A-1 b7E-1, 2
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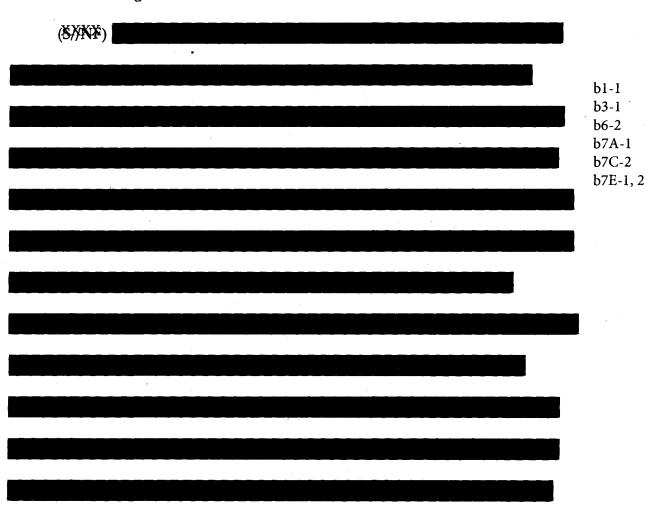




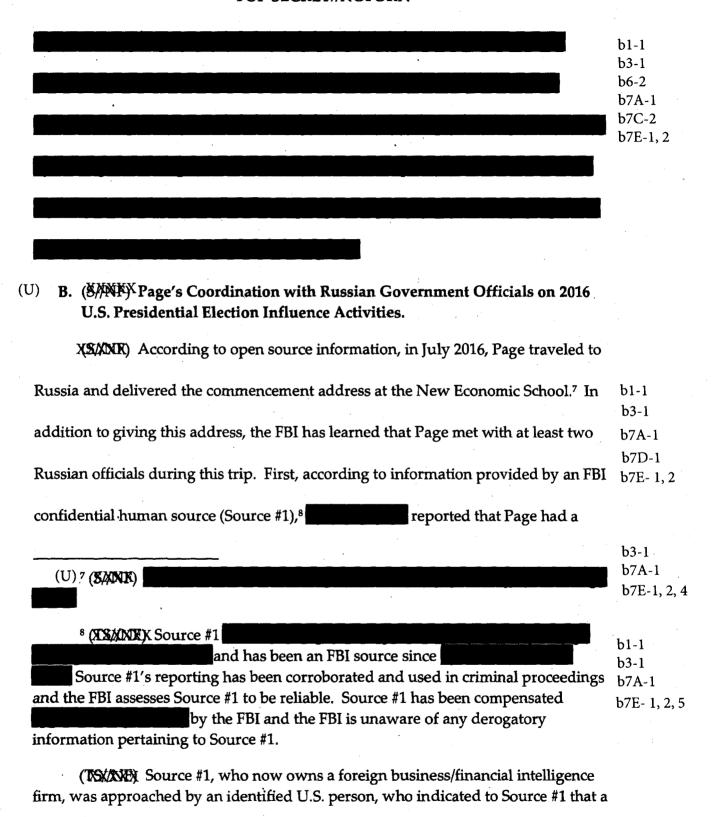


(U) XSANEXIN or about January 2015, Podobnyy, along with Evgeny Buryakov and Igor Sporyshev, were charged by a sealed complaint in the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York for violations of 18 U.S.C. §§ 371 and 951 (conspiring to act, and acting as, an unregistered agent of a foreign 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

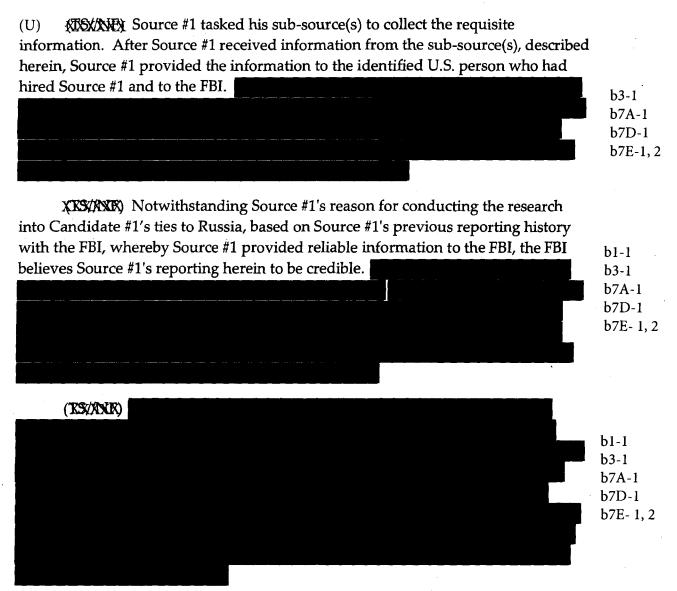
Russia.⁶ The complaint states that the intelligence gathering efforts of Podobnyy and Sporyshev included, among other things, attempting to recruit New York City residents as intelligence sources for Russia.



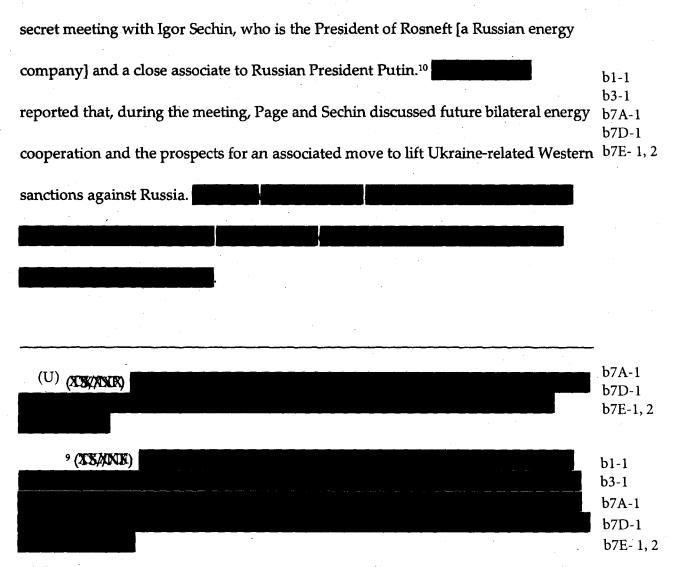
⁽U) ⁶ (XYNEX) Buryakov was arrested in or about January 2015. At the time of Buryakov's arrest, Podobnyy and Sporyshev no longer lived in the United States and were not arrested. In or about March 2016, Buryakov pled guilty to conspiring to act in the United States as an agent of Russia, without providing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



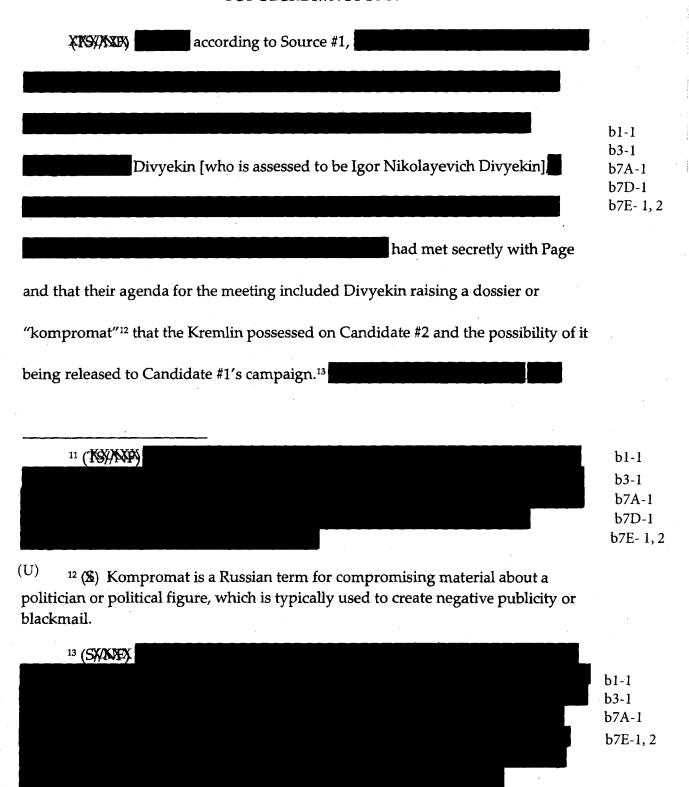
U.S.-based law firm had hired the identified U.S. person to conduct research regarding Candidate #1's ties to Russia (the identified U.S. person and Source #1 have a long-standing business relationship). The identified U.S. person hired Source #1 to conduct this research. The identified U.S. person never 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.

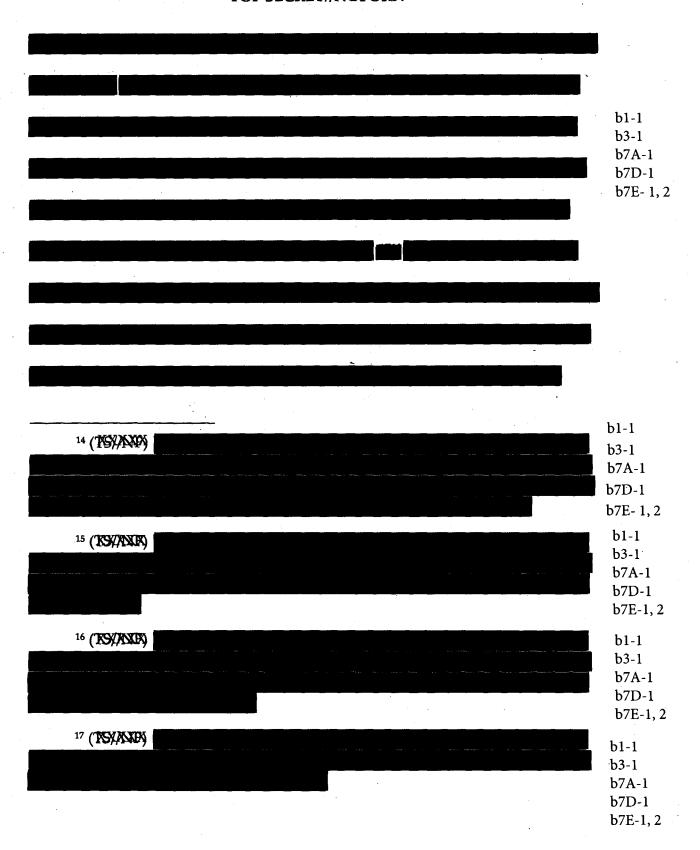


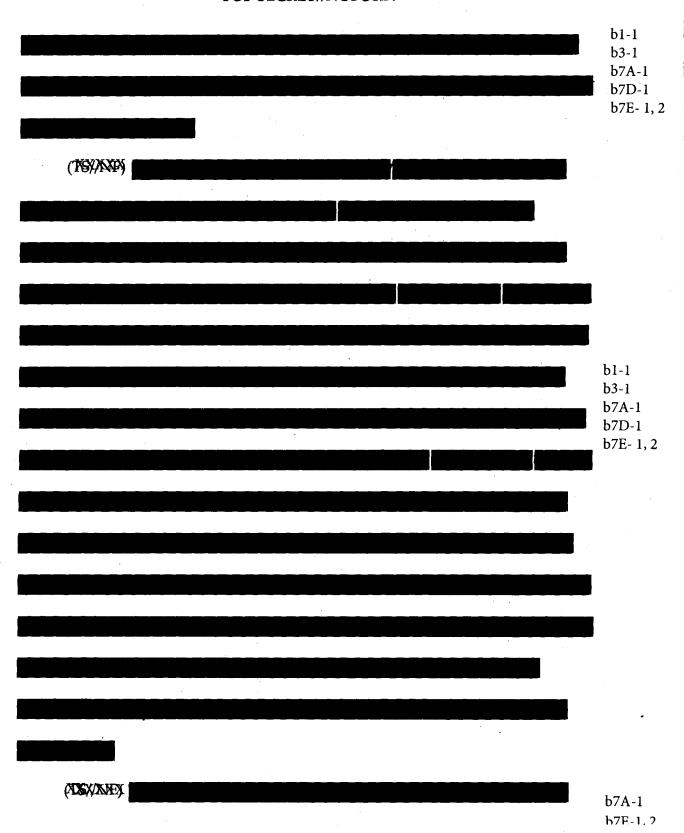
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(USDOT) announced sanctions that would be taken against Russian Government officials and entities as a result of Russian efforts to destabilize Ukraine. Sechin was identified as an official of the Russian Government, and further identified as the President 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."







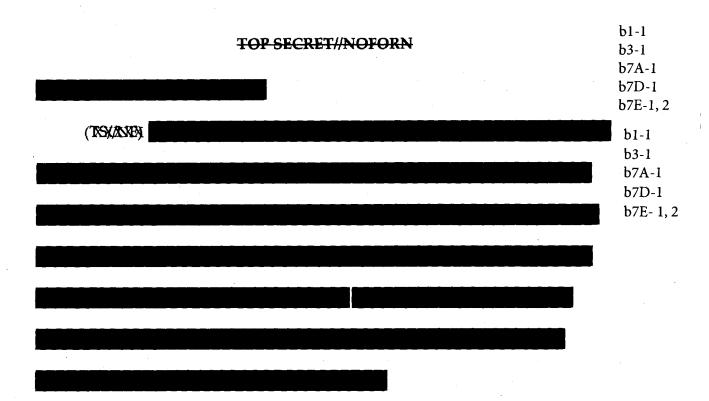
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a July 2016 article in an identified news organization reported that Candidate #1's campaign worked behind the scenes to make sure Political Party #1's platform would not call for giving weapons to Ukraine to fight Russian and rebel forces, contradicting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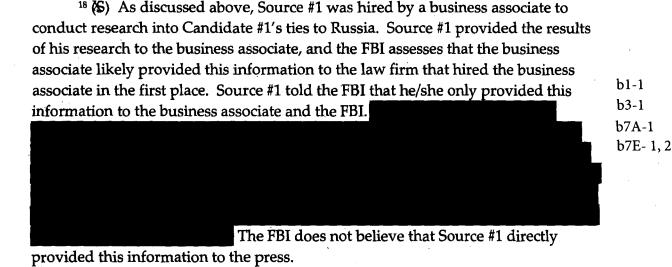
IV.(U) (SXXX) Page's Denial of Cooperation with the Russian Government.

(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

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.

(U) (SANE) 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



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.

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

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 . . ."

(U) (SANK) 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

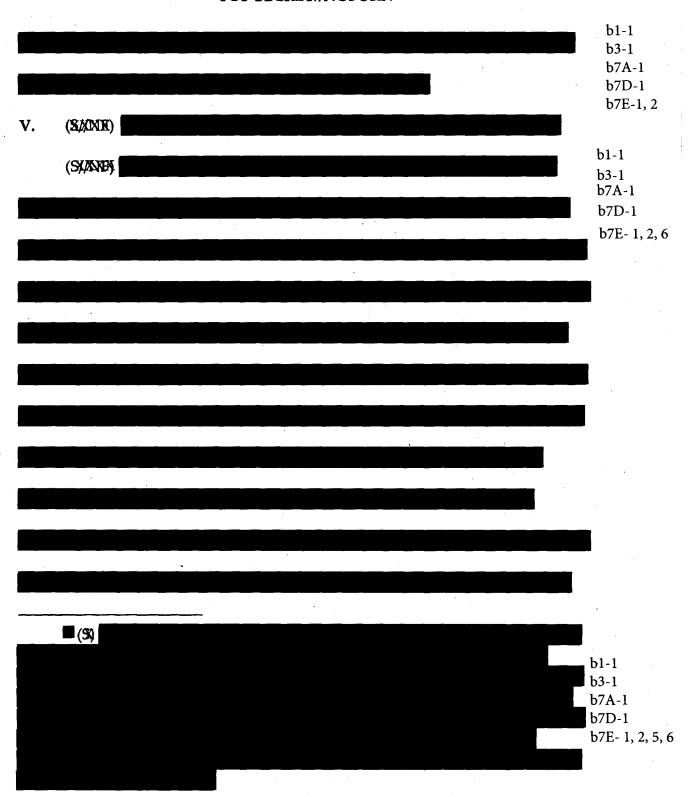
any sanctioned official in Russia. Page also stated that he would be willing to

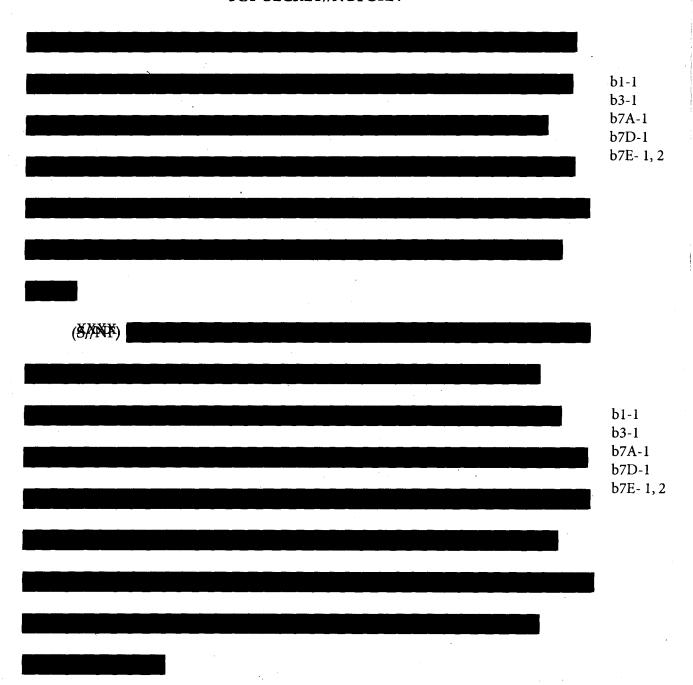
discuss any "final" questions the FBI may have.19

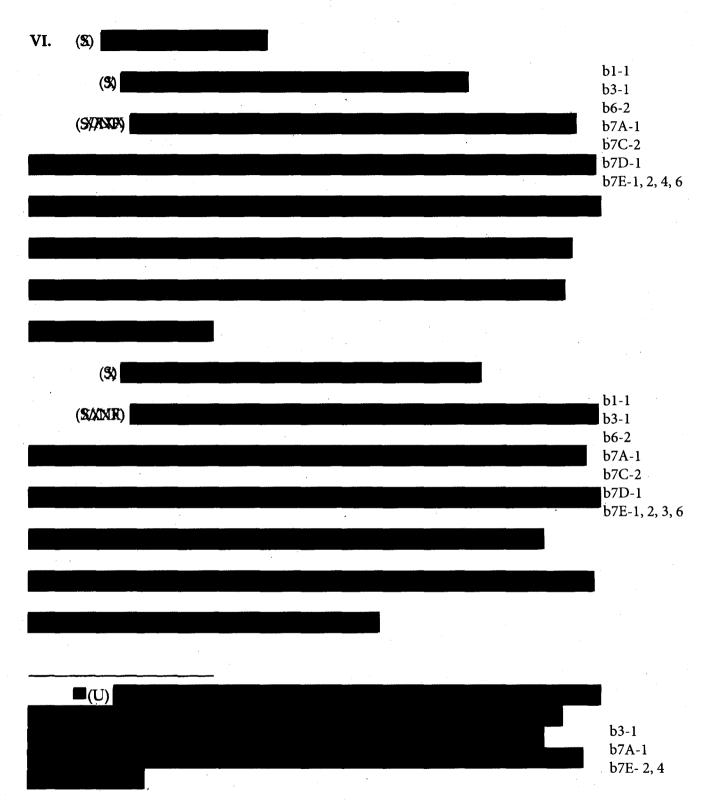
Additionally, on or about September 26, 2016, an identified news organization published an article that was based on an interview with Page (September 26th News Article). In the September 26th News Article, Page stated that all of the accusations are complete "garbage" and that he did not meet with Sechin 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 b1-1 "distraction." b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1,2 b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1

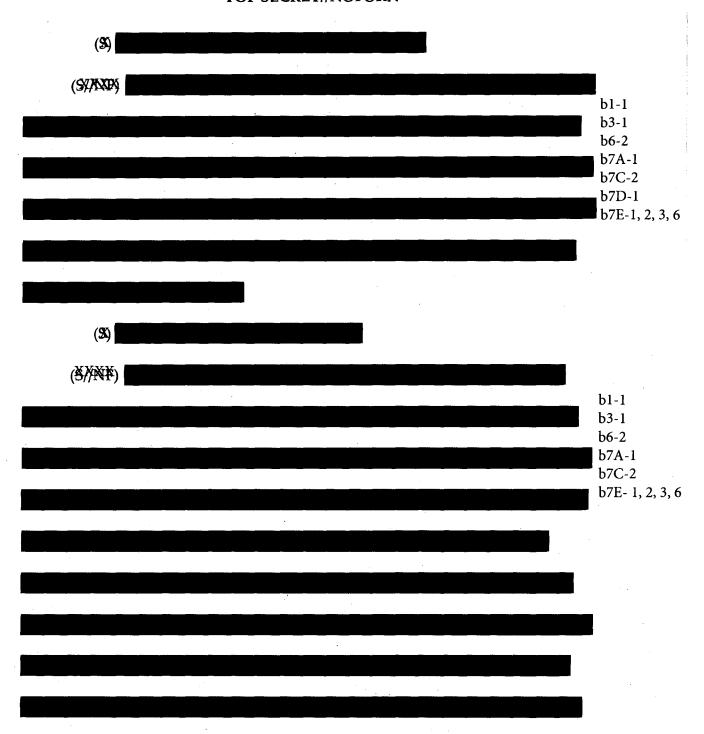
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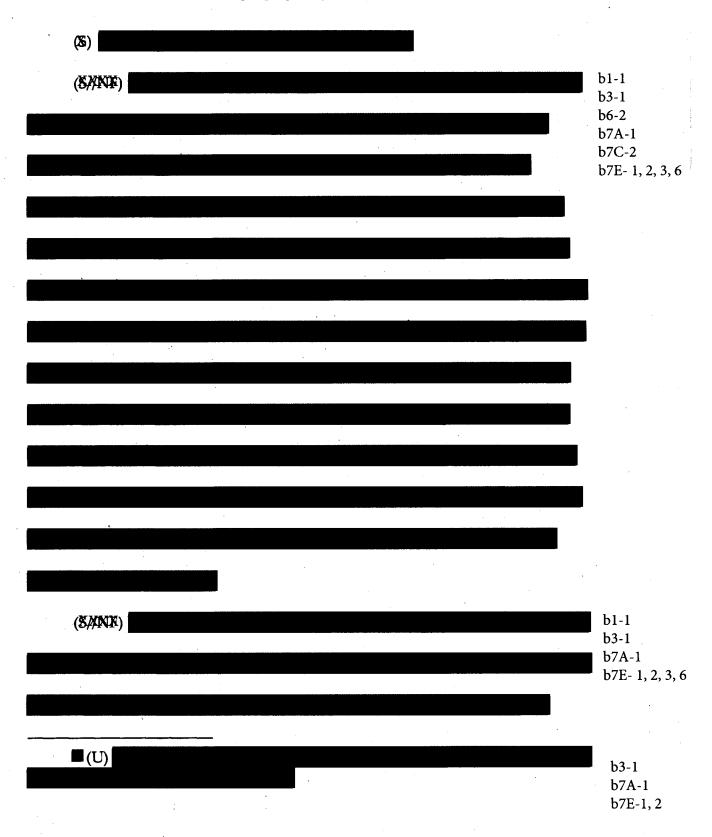
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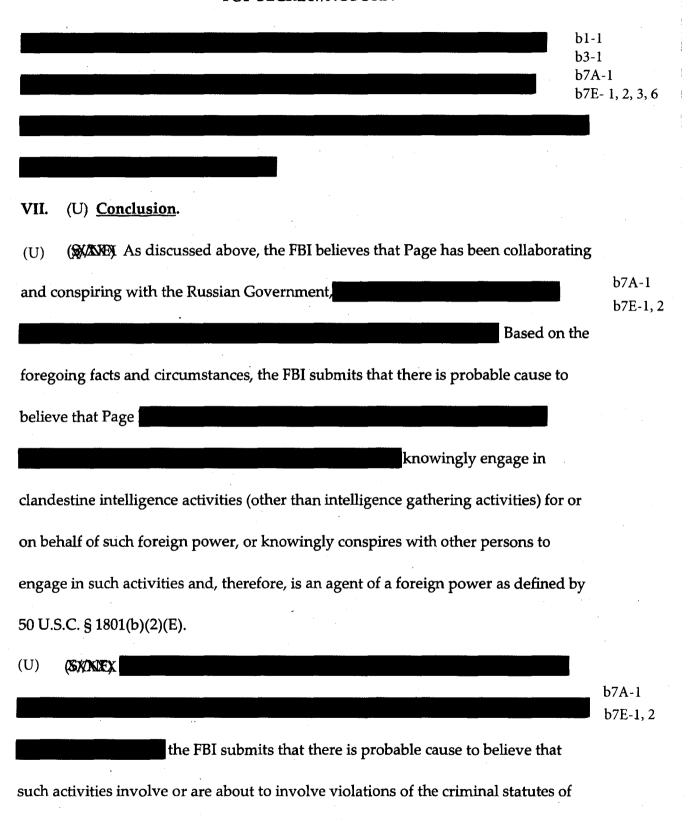


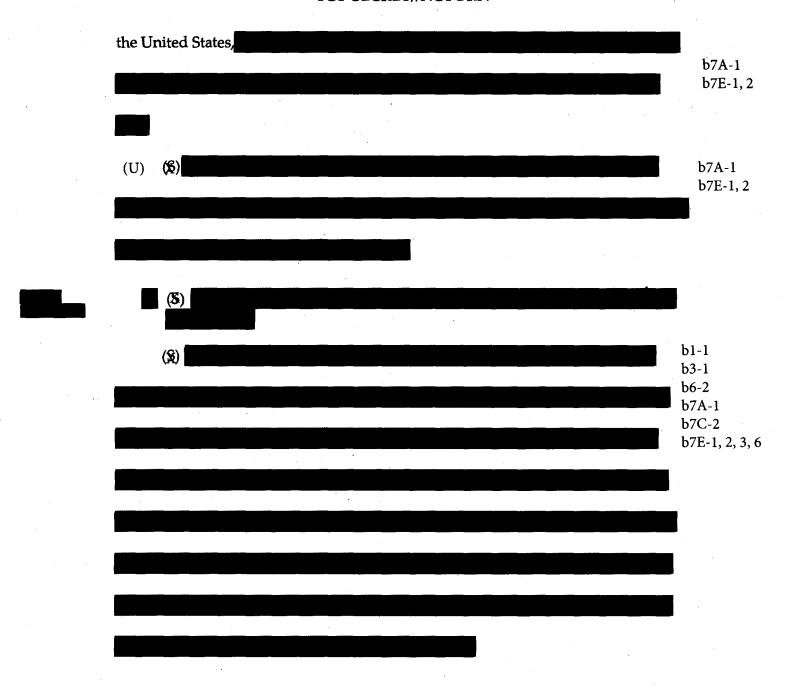


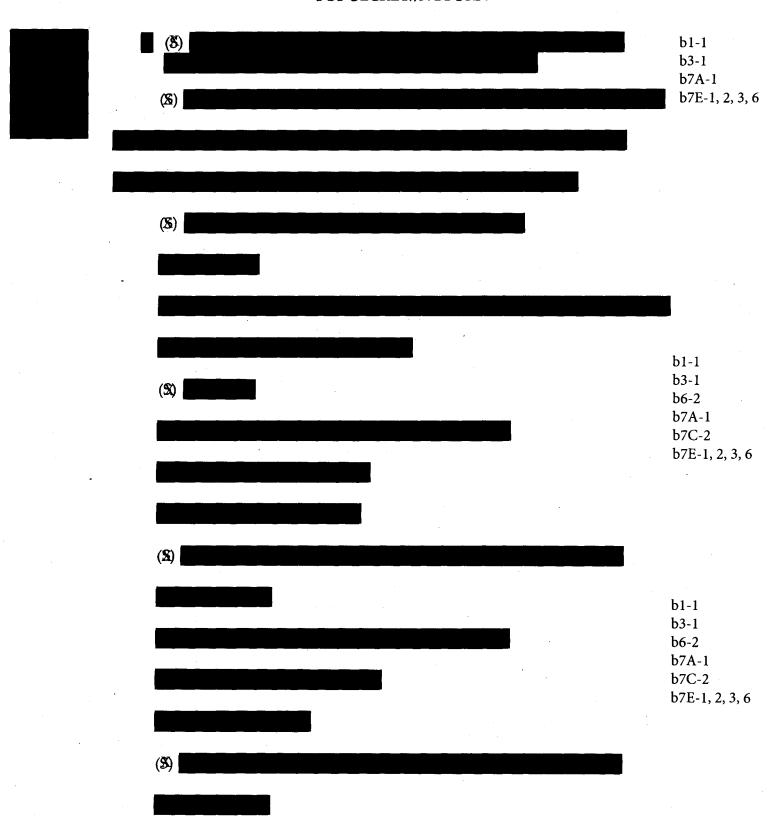


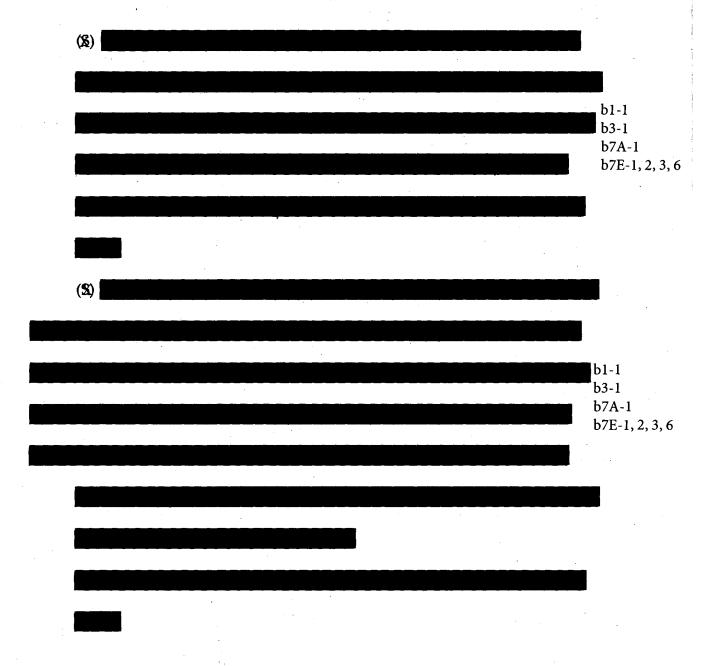


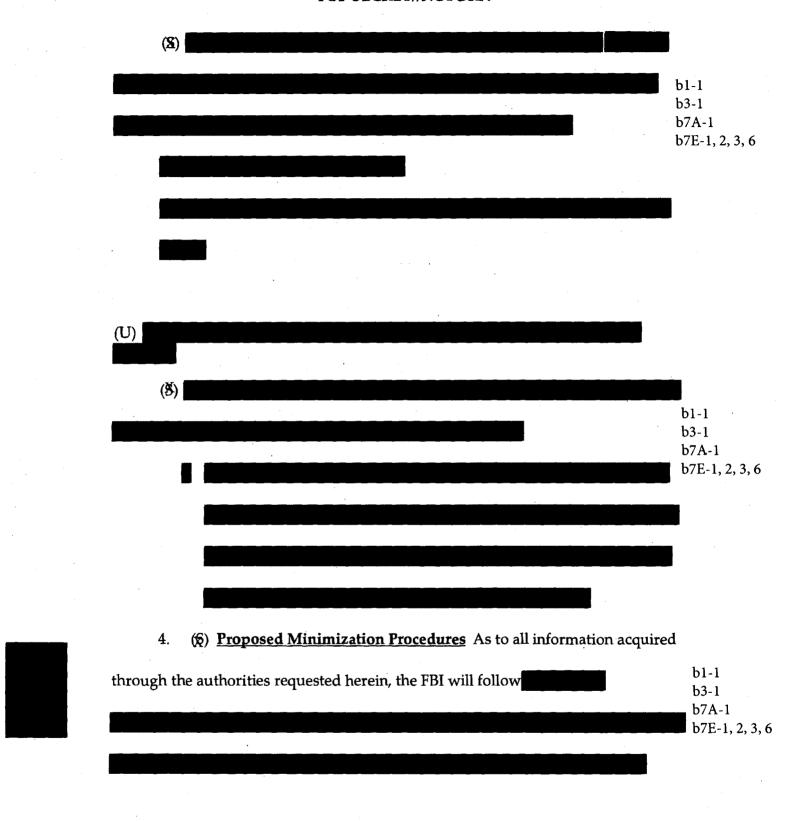


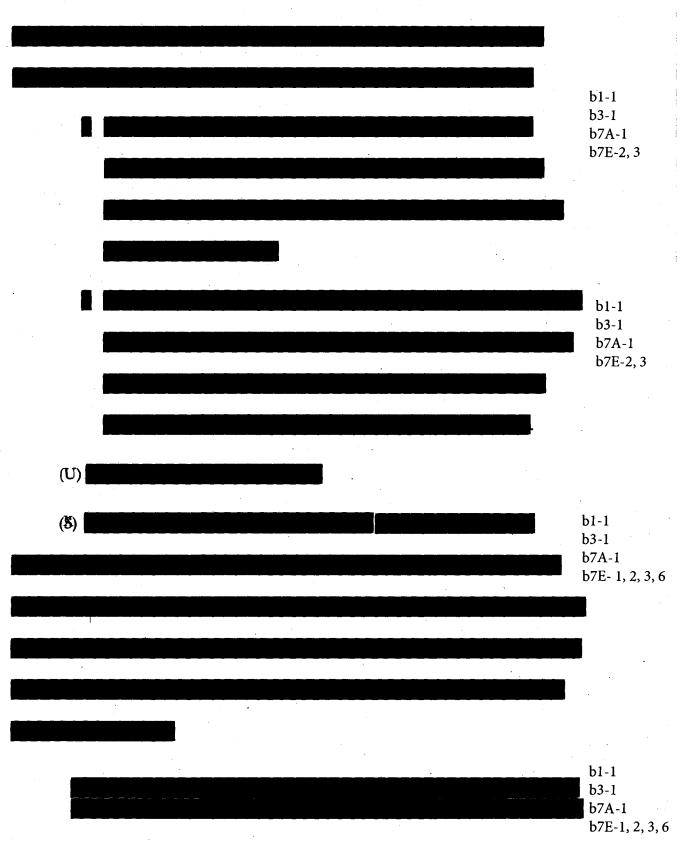


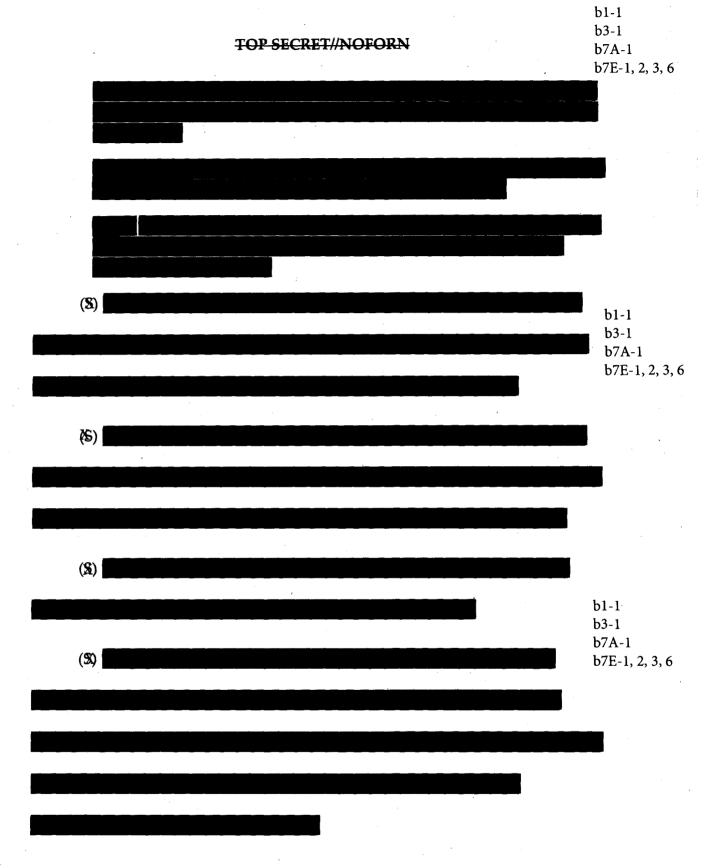












5. (3) Nature of the Information Sought Through the authorities

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



				designated by	b1-1 b3-1
President as a cert	ifying official ir	n Executive O	rder Number		b7A-1 b7E- 1, 2, 3,
		as an	nended, is set	forth below.	0711 1, 2, 3,
(%)					
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(S)				, .	b7C-2
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(U) The Purpose of the Authorities Requested

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

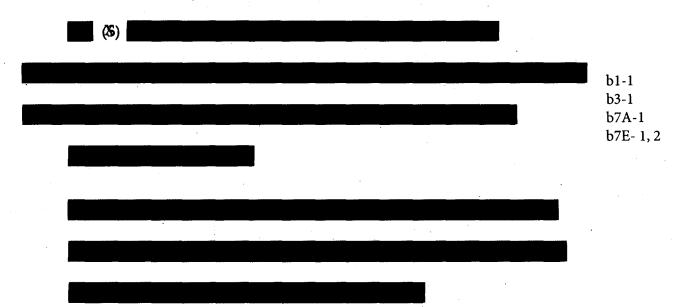
criminal prosecution of the target. Nevertheless, as discussed in the certification, at least a significant purpose of this request for is to collect foreign intelligence information as part of the FBI's investigation of this target. b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

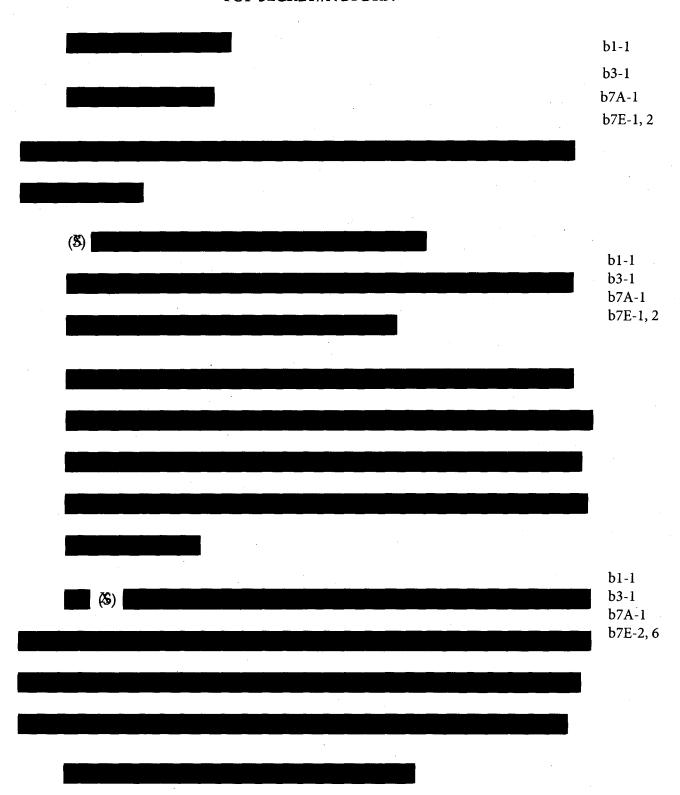
9. (S) Duration of the Authorities Requested (See also,

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intelligence information has first been obtained. Additional information of the same
type will be obtained on a continuous basis throughout the entire period requested.

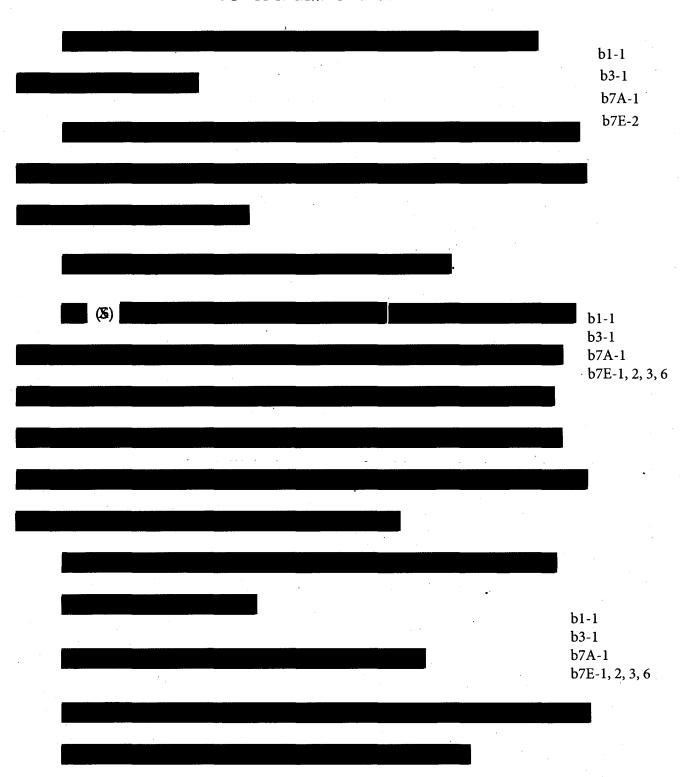
The activities which the United States must identify and monitor are incremental and continuous, and communications relating to such activities are often disguised to appear innocuous. The type of foreign intelligence information being sought and the fact that the activities of this target are ongoing preclude the conclusion that, at a given time, all such information has been obtained and collection can be ended.

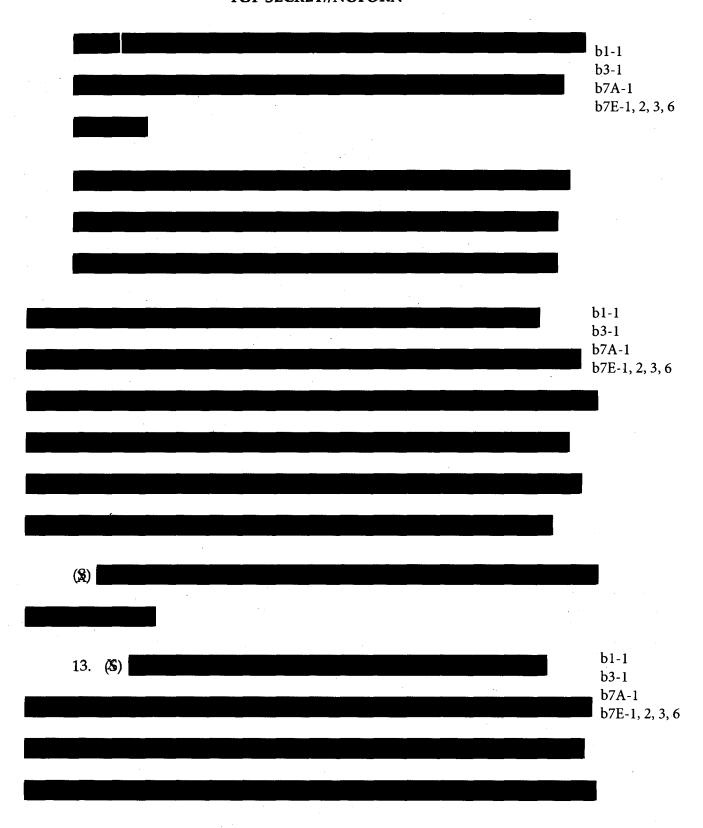
Accordingly, the United States requests the authorities specified herein for a period of ninety (90) days.

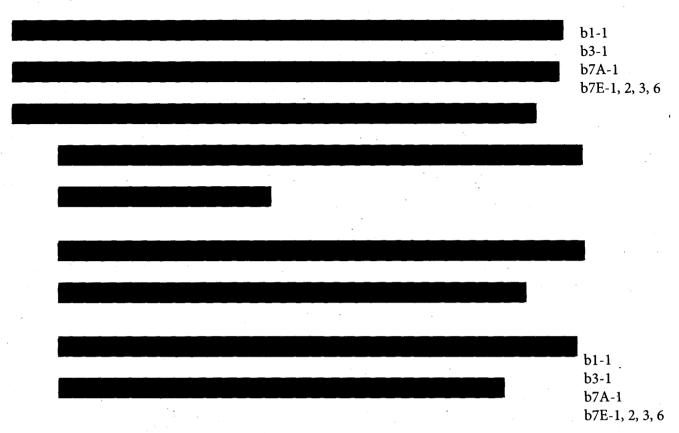




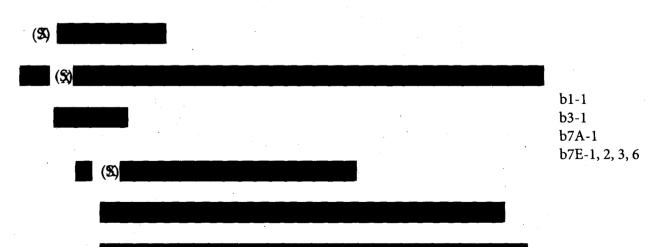
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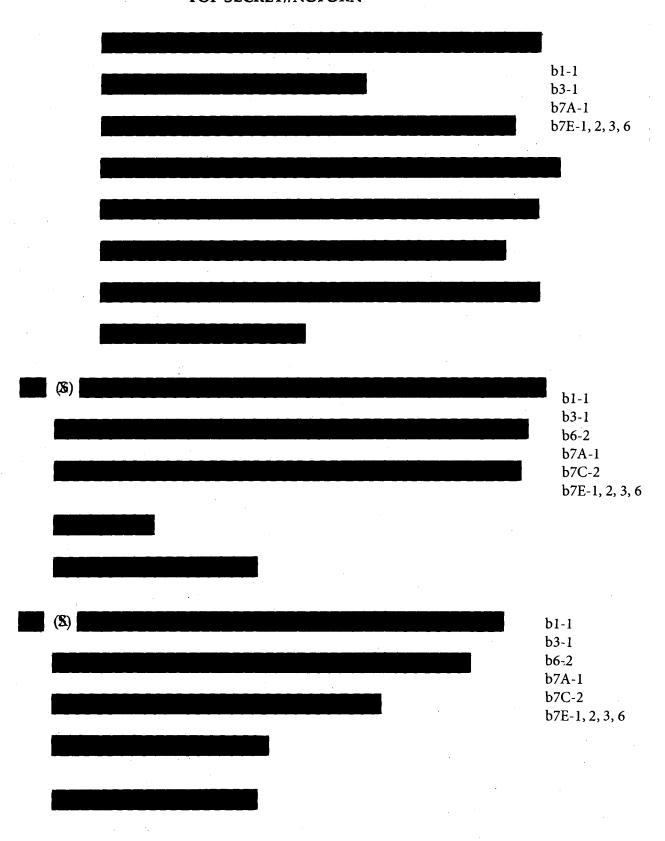




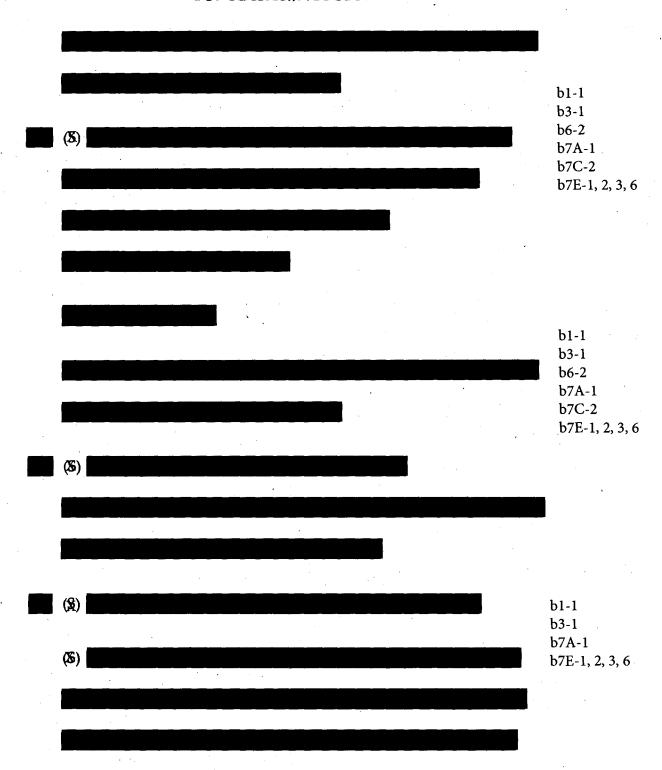


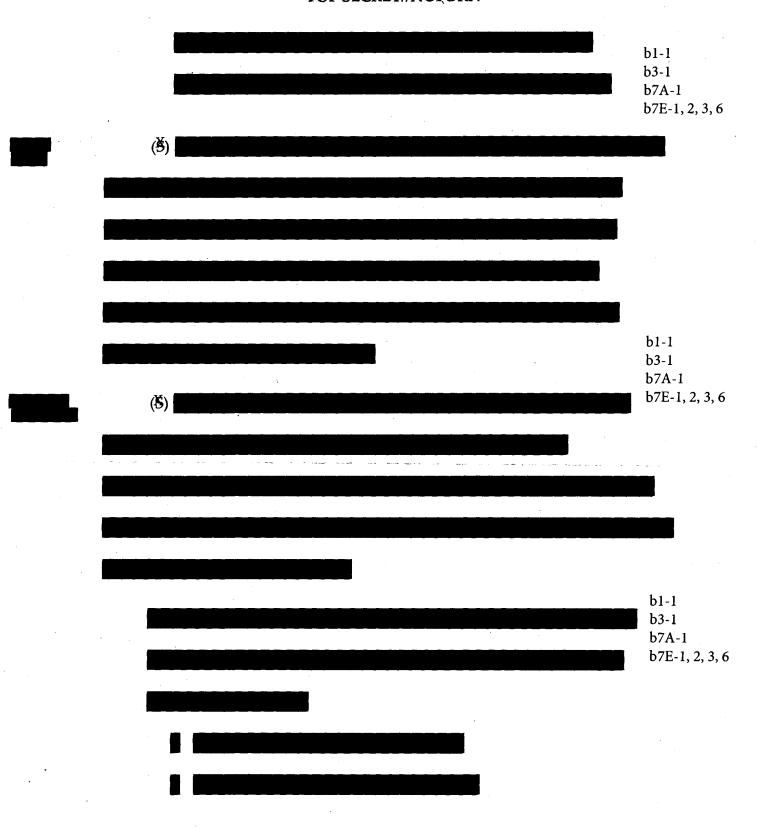
(U)(S) <u>Specific Authorities Requested</u> Based upon the foregoing information, the United States requests that this Court authorize the FBI to conduct the activities described immediately below for the period requested herein.

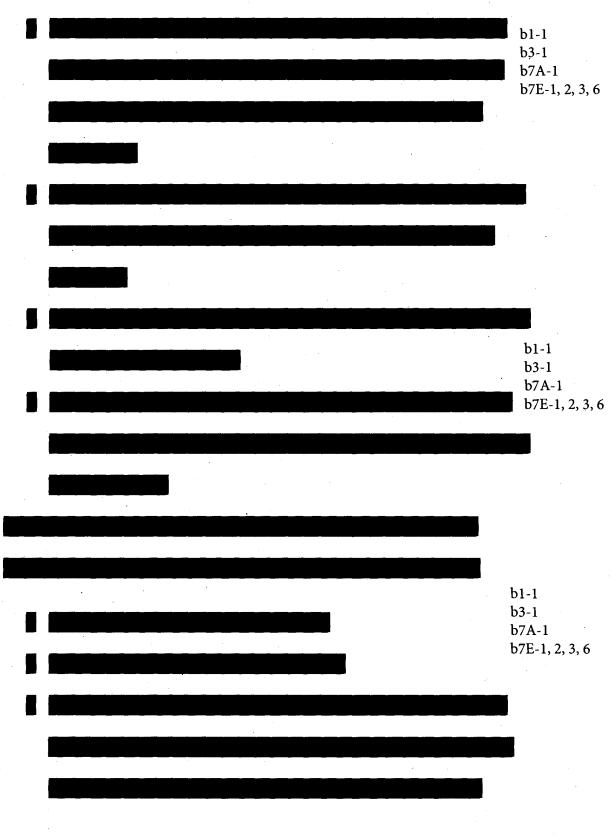




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(U) (\$\frac{1}{2}\$) The FBI has reviewed this verified application for accuracy in accordance with its April 5, 2001 procedures, which include sending a copy of the draft to the appropriate field office(s). A copy of those procedures was previously provided to the Court.

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(U) VERIFICATION

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

Federal Bureau of Investigation

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

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Supervisory Special Agent

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

(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

requested in this verified application targeting

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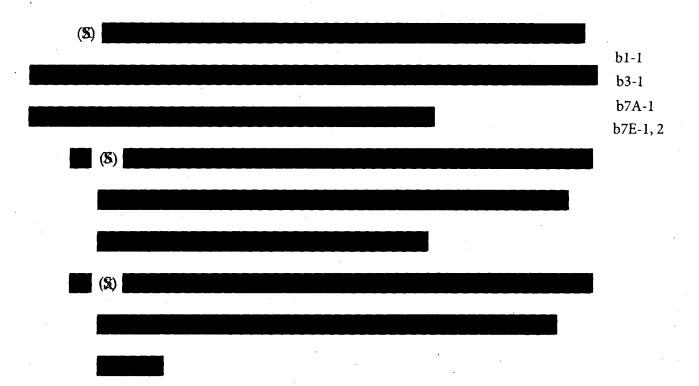
Carter W. Page, an agent of the Government of Russia, a foreign power, as follows:

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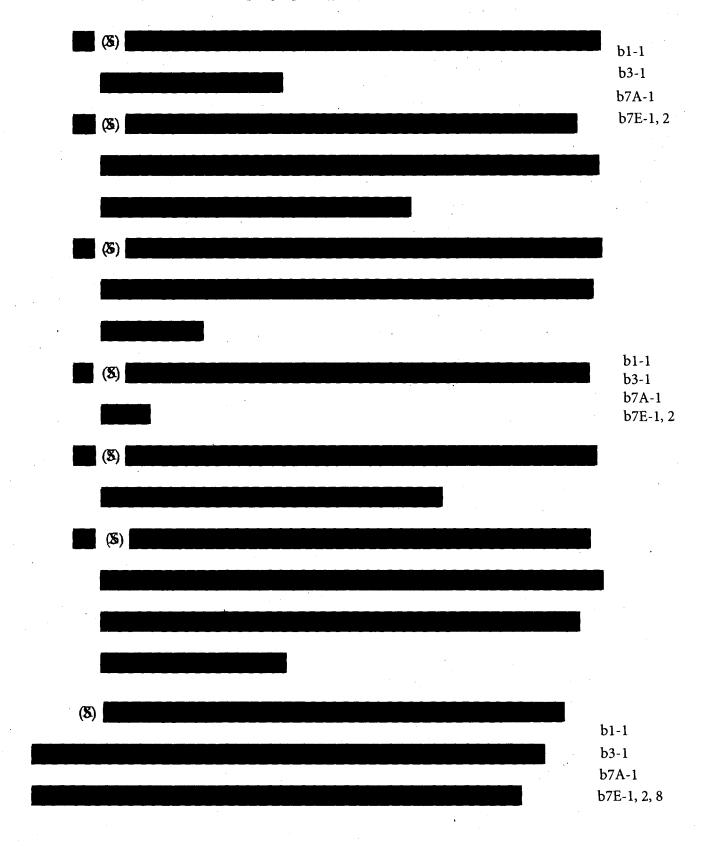
- (A) (U) The information sought through the authorities requested herein is foreign intelligence information.
- (B) (U) At least a significant purpose of the authorities requested herein is to obtain foreign intelligence information and, notwithstanding the related criminal matters described in this application, the primary purpose of the authorities requested herein is <u>not</u> to obtain information for the prosecution of crimes other than those referred to in the Act, 50 U.S.C. § 1801(a)-(e), or related to such foreign intelligence crimes.
- (C) (U) The foreign intelligence information sought by the authorities b1-1 b3-1 requested herein cannot be reasonably obtained by normal investigative techniques. 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.,

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).

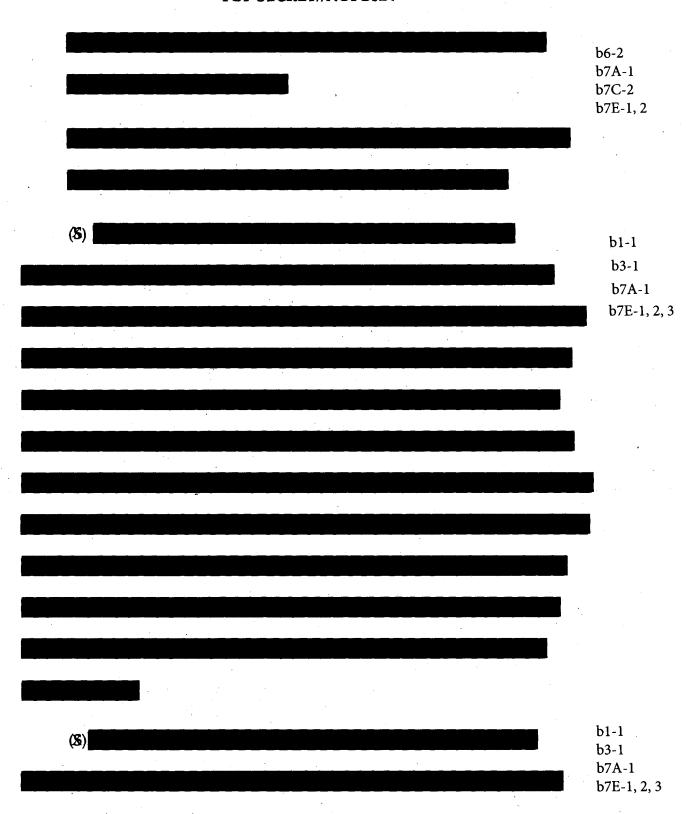
(E) (S) The basis for my certification that the information sought is the type b3-1 b7A-1 of foreign intelligence information specified herein and that such information cannot b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 be obtained by normal investigative techniques is as follows.



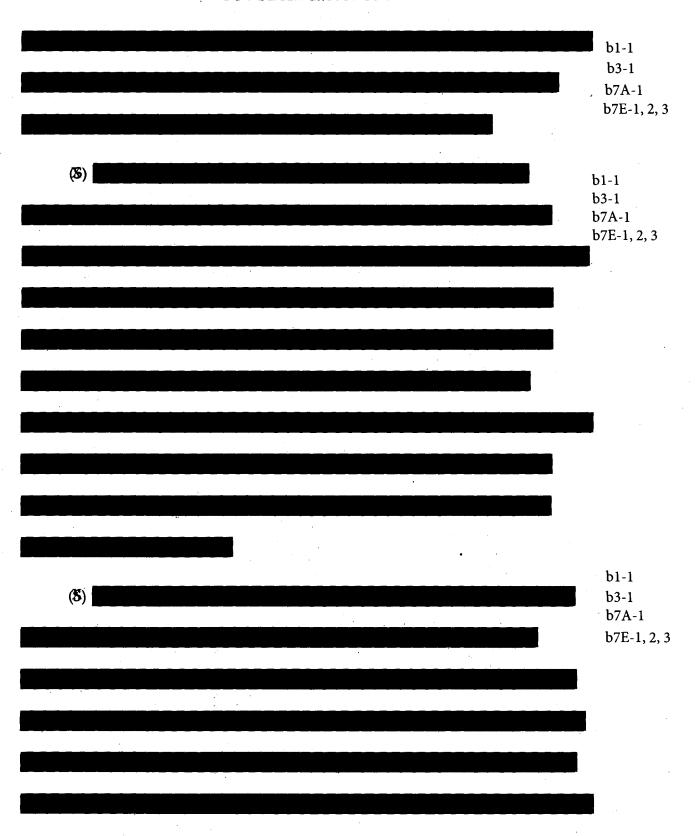
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(U)	(S)			b6-2 b7A-1 b7C-2 b7E-1, 2
				U/E-1, Z



	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3
(33)	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1
	b7E-1, 2, 3
(S)	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3





(U) (§) 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.

---- The remainder of this page is intentionally left blank. ----

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

John F. Kerry Director Secretary of State Federal Bureau of Investigation Andrew G. McCabe Antony J. Blinken **Deputy Director** Deputy Secretary of State Federal Bureau of Investigation John O. Brennan Ash Carter Director of the Central Secretary of Defense Intelligence Agency James R. Clapper, Jr. Susan E. Rice Director of National Intelligence Assistant to the President for

Stephanie O'Sullivan Principal Deputy Director of National Intelligence

Date 14

b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1

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

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National Security Affairs

-63-

(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.

	(S)						
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							b1-1
							b3-1 b7A-1
							b7E-1, 2,
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(\$) Accordingly, I approve the filing of this application regarding Carter

W. Page with th		b1-1
		b3-1
		b7A-1 b7E-1
	Loretta E. Lynch	
	Attorney General of the United States	
	Dan O. Claus	
	Sally Quillian Yates	•
	Deputy Attorney General of the United States	•

10/ Date Assistant Attorney General for National Security

b1-1 b3-1

b7A-1

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

(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,



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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b6-3 b7A-1 b7C-3

2016 OCT

UNITED STATES

Classify By: J23J98T32

LeeAnn Flynn Hail, Clerk of Court FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE SURVEILLANCE COURT

Reason: (C)

b1-1

Declassify On:

Derived From: FBI NSICG, dated 10--2016 b3-1

WASHINGTON, D. C.

b7A-1

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

Docket Number:

b1-1 b3-1

b7A-1

PERSON

PRIMARY ORDER 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 or 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 b1-1 as follows: b3-1 b7A-1



2. The application has been made by a Federal officer and approved by the

b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

Attorney General;



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

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Derived from:

Application to the USFISC

b1-1 b3-1

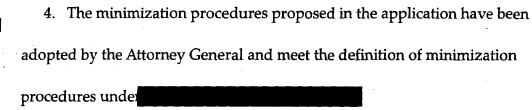
Declassify on:

in Docket Number captioned above

b7A-1

(A) The Government of the Russian Federation (Russia) is a foreign power and Carter W. Page is an agent of Russia, as defined by

b7A-1
b7E-1, 2



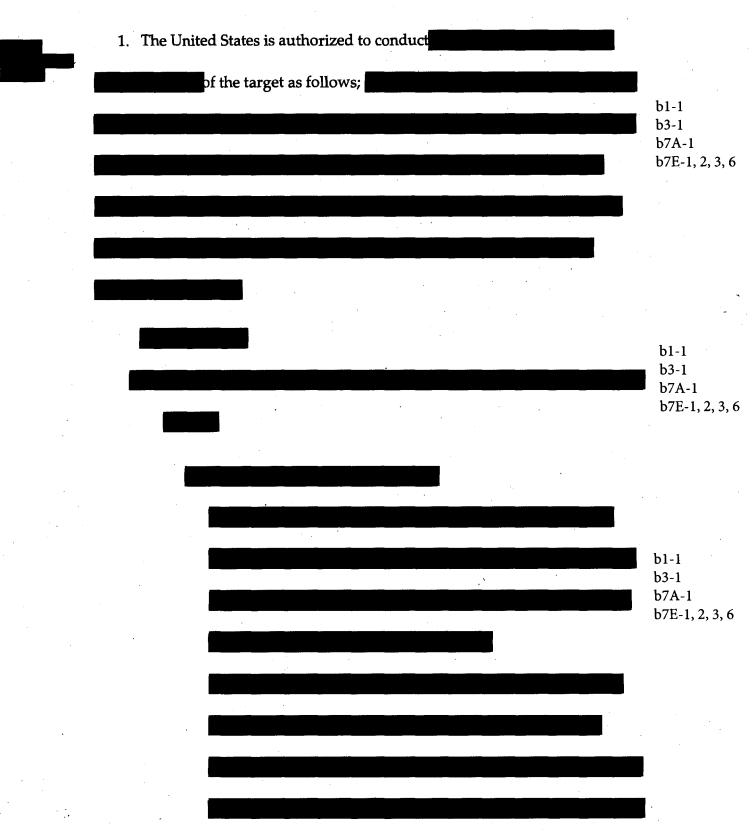
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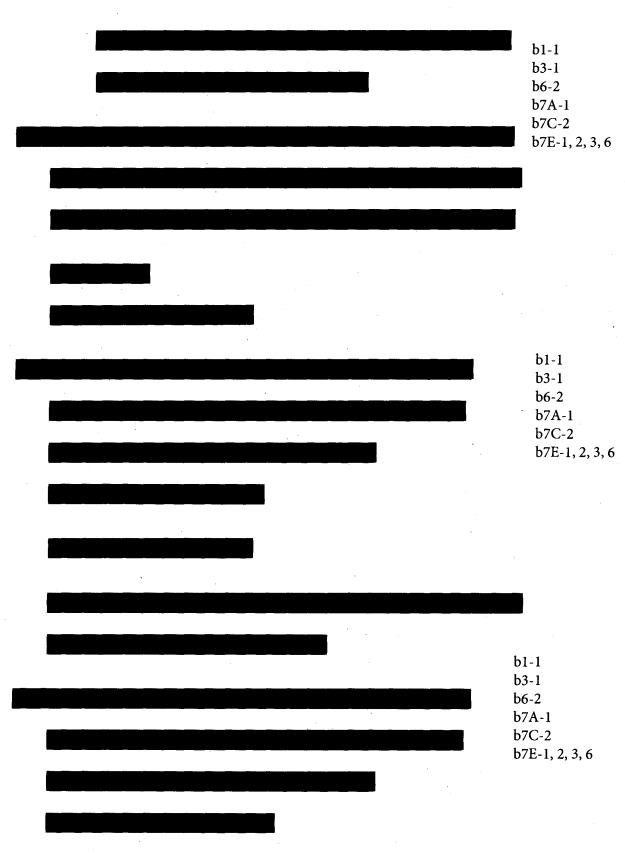
5. The application contains all statements and certifications required by

and the certification is not clearly erroneous on the basis b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 any other information furnished under $\frac{1}{2}$ b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

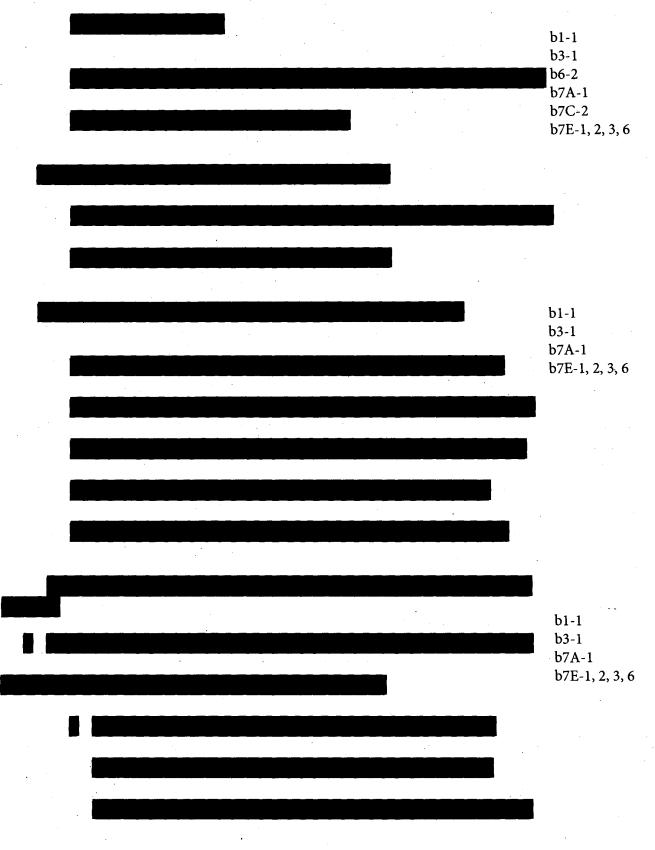
WHEREFORE, IT IS HEREBY ORDERED, pursuant to the authority conferred on this Court by the Act, that the application of the United States is GRANTED, and it is

FURTHER ORDERED, as follows:

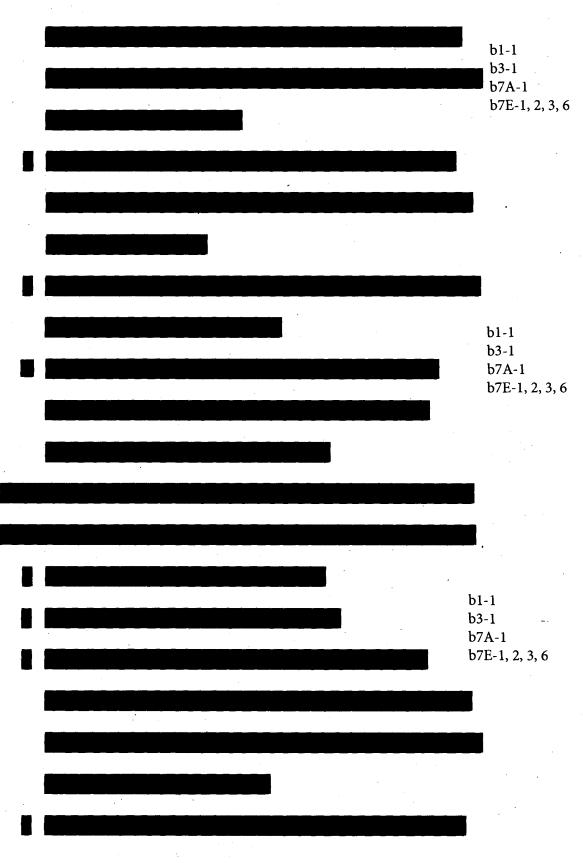




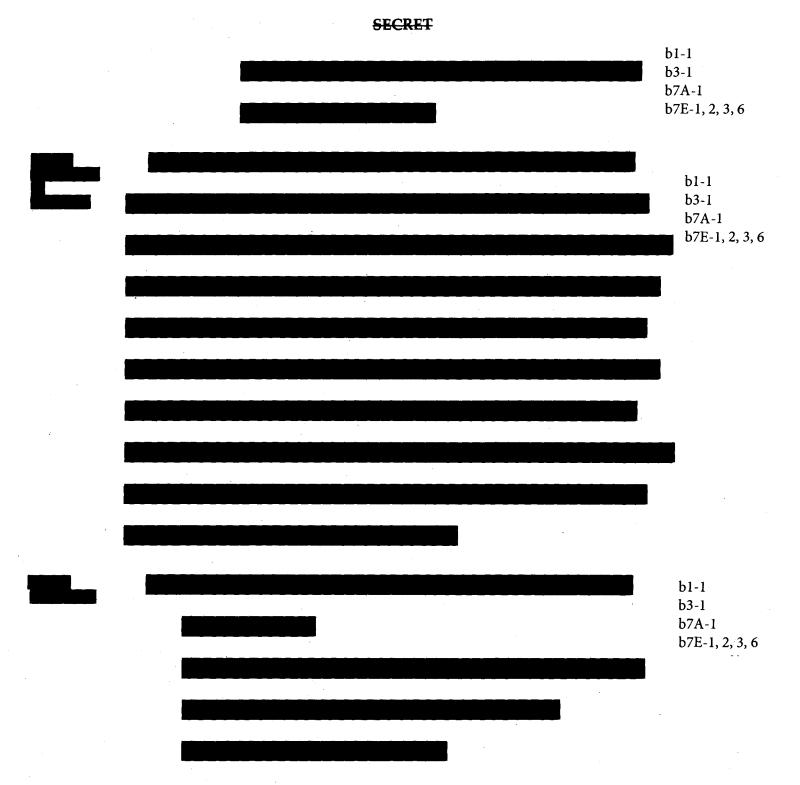
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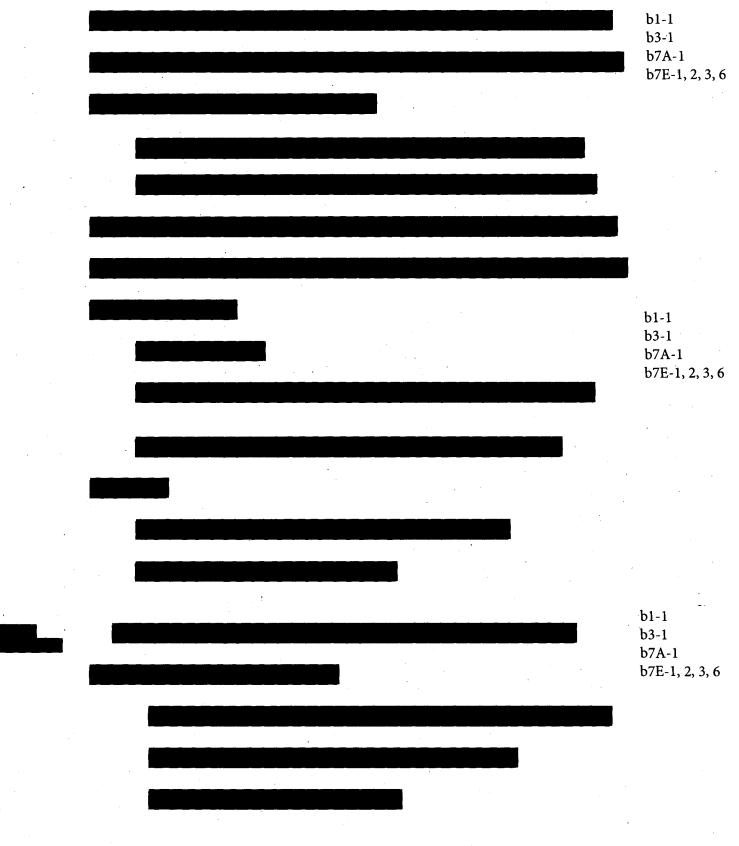




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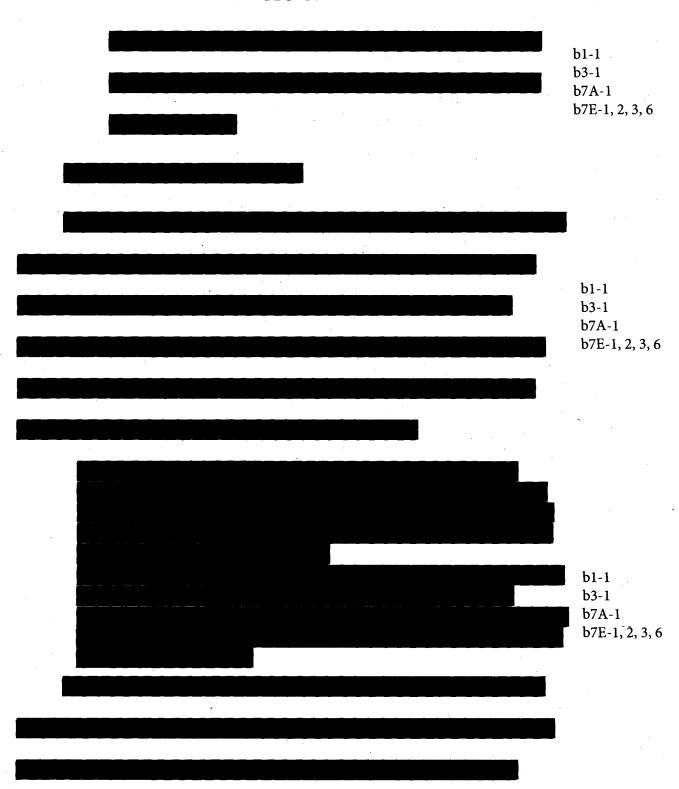
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	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
6. The authorities approved are for the period indicated below unless	
otherwise ordered by this Court.	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1
As to all information acquired through the authorities approved herein,	b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
the FBI shall follow	
	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1
	b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

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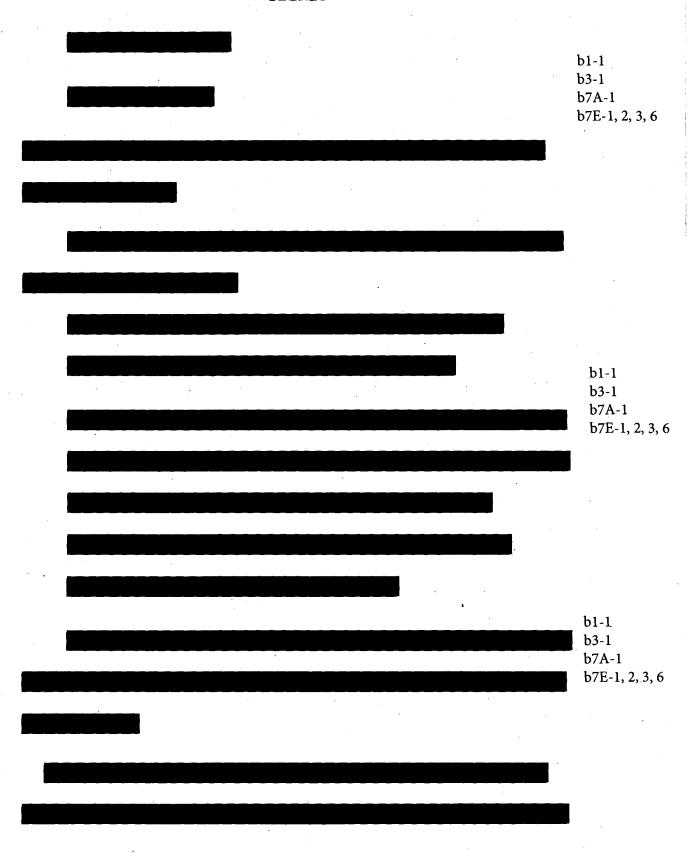


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·				b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
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				b1-1 b3-1
				b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

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

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This author	orization regarding	Carter W. Page expires at	Eastern Time
on the	day	of January, 2017.	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1
Signed	10-	2016 Time	Eastern Time
		ROSEMARY Judge, United	M. COLLYER States Foreign

Intelligence Surveillance Court

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

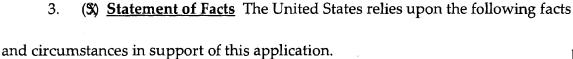
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Classify By: J2	3J98T32		
Reason: (C)	UNITE UNITE	D STATES	a ****
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Declassify Off.	FOREIGN INTELLIGEN	CE SURVEILLANCE COURT	
	WASHIN	IGTON, D.C. b1-1 CLERN OF COURT	
•		b7A-1	
	(S) IN RE CARTER W. PAGE, A U.S.	Docket Number:	
		and the second s	L1 1
	PERSON.		b1-1 b3-1
			b7A-1
	(U) VERIFIE	D APPLICATION	
	(S) The United States of America	hereby applies to this Court for authority	to
	conduct	as described herein, pursuar	nt
			b1-1
	to the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance	Act of 1978, as amended, Title 50, United	b3-1
	C() C 1 (TIC C) CC	TICA (1 A ()	b7A-1
	States Code (U.S.C.), §§	FISA or the Act).	b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
	1. (U) Identity of Federal Offi	cer Making Application This application	ı is
		C	1.1.1
	made by a Supervisory	Special Agent (SSA) of the Federal Burea	u b1-1 b3-1
	of Investigation (FRI) whose official dut	ies at FBI Headquarters include supervisio	1 6 1
	of investigation (191) whose official date	ies at 13111eauquarters include supervision	b7A-1
	of the FBI's investigation of the above-ca	uptioned target based upon information	b7C-1 b7E-1, 2, 3,
	officially furnished to		
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	Classified by:	b1	1
	Derived from:	b3	
			A-1
	Declassify on:		· -

2. (S) Identity of the Target The target of this application is Carter W.

Page, a U.S. person, and an agent of a foreign power, described in detail below. The status of the target was determined in or about December 2016 from information

provided by the U.S. Department of State.

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



b1-1

b3-1

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

- a. (S) The target of this application is an agent of a foreign power.
- (X) The following describes the foreign power and sets forth in detail a description of the target and the target's activities for or on behalf of this foreign power.
- (U) (§) 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) (S) The Government of the Russian Federation is a foreign power as defined by 50 U.S.C. § 1801(a)(1).

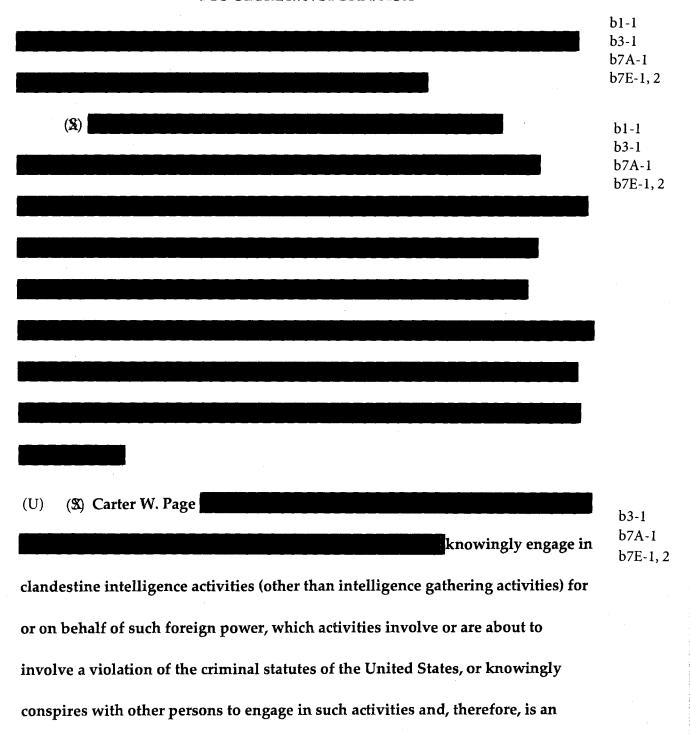
(U) (3) The Government of the Russian Federation (Russia) is an internationally recognized foreign government and, as of the execution of this application, is listed in the <u>Diplomatic List</u>, published by the United States Department of State, and in <u>Permanent Missions to the United Nations</u>,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

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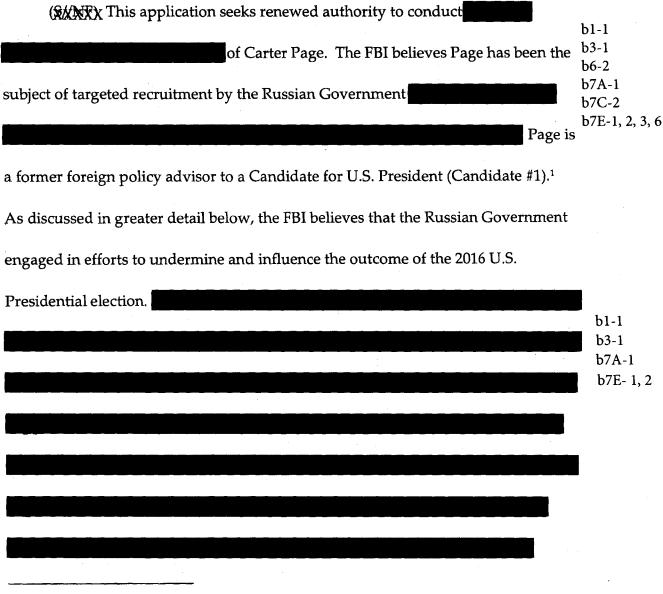
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agent of a foreign power as defined by 50 U.S.C. § 1801(b)(2)(E).

I. (U) <u>Overview</u>.



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

b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1

	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1
II. (SX/XXF) The FBI Believes that the Russian Government Engages in Influence Operations Against the United States.	
(U) A. (SINK) RIS Efforts to Influence U.S. Presidential Elections.	
(%/XXXX)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

	b1-1
	b3-1
	b7A-1
	b7E-1, 2
(EXECUTE) In or about July 2016, WikiLeaks released a trove of e-mails from the	е
Democratic National Committee (DNC). ²	
Bemoeratie (Vational Committee (B1VC).	
There has been enoughtion in the IIC media that the Puccian Covernment	b1-1
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.	b7A-1 b7E- 1, 2, 3
	U/E- 1, 2, 3
Russian President Vladimir Putin said in or about September 2016 that Russia was	
not responsible for the hack, but said that the release of the DNC documents was a	
net positive: "The important thing is the content that was given to the public."	
Despite Russia's denial	ı
Despite Russia's definal	J ·
	b-1
	b3-1
	b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3
	U/E-1, 2, 3
² (SANK) According to information on its website, WikiLeaks is a multi-	•
national media organization and associated library. WikiLeaks specializes in the	
analysis and publication of large datasets of censored or otherwise restricted offici	al
materials involving war, spying, and corruption. According to open source	b1-1
information, in or about July 2016, WikiLeaks released thousands of e-mails it says	s b3-1
are from the accounts of DNC officials.	b7A-1
	b7E-1, 2

In

b1-1 b3-1

b7A-1

b7E-1, 2, 3

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].

(XXXXX) 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
with Carter Page	b3-1 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)X(XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX	
	b7A-1 b7E-1, 2
As stated in the logislative history of FISA:	

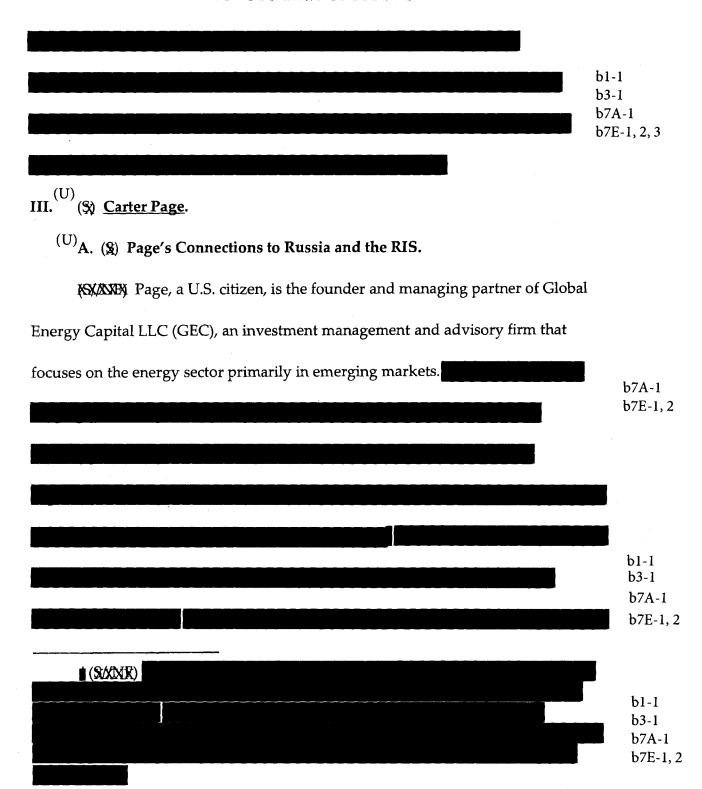
Not only do foreign powers engage in spying in the United States to obtain information, they also engage in activities which are intended to harm the Nation's security by affecting the course of our Government, the course of public opinion, or the activities of individuals. Such activities may include political action (recruiting, bribery or influencing of public officials to act in favor 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.

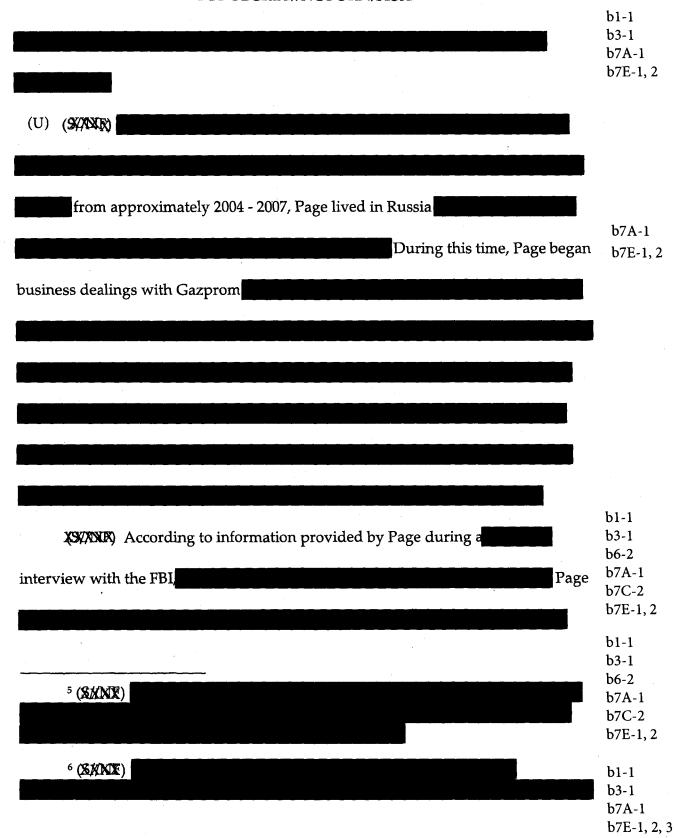
H.R. Rep. No. 95-1283, pt. 1, at 41 (1978).

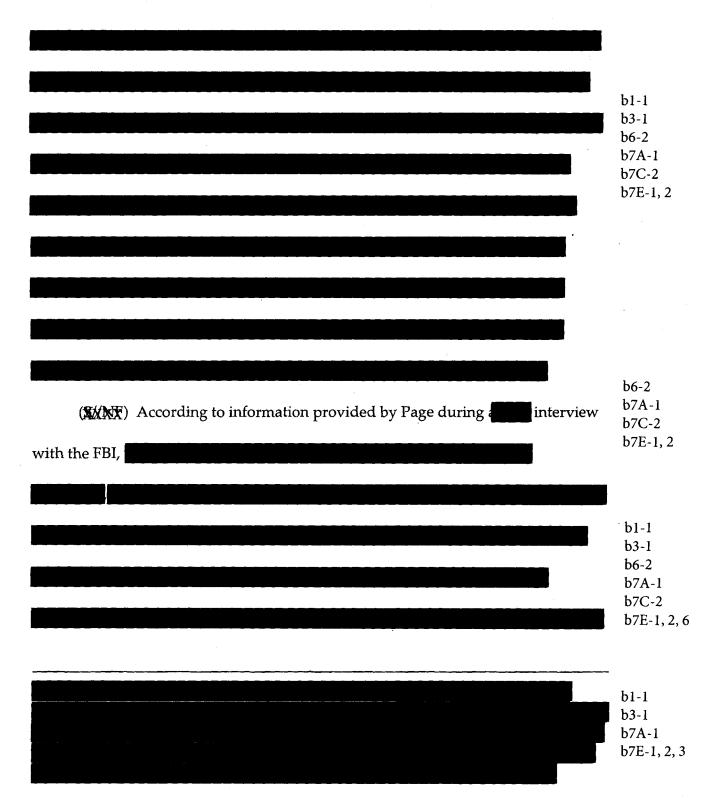
B. (SXINEX The Russian Government's Coordinated Efforts to Influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election.

XSXXXXIX) 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 b1-1 foreign policy team. b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2 the FBI believes that the Russian Government's efforts to influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential election were being coordinated with Page and perhaps other individuals associated with Candidate #1's campaign b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2 b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2

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·	b1-1
	b3-1
	b7A-1 b7D-1
	b7E-1, 2
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As discussed below, Page has established relationships with	
Russian Government officials, including Russian intelligence officers,	
	b1-1
	b3-1 b7A-1
	b7D-1
	b7E-1, 2, 3
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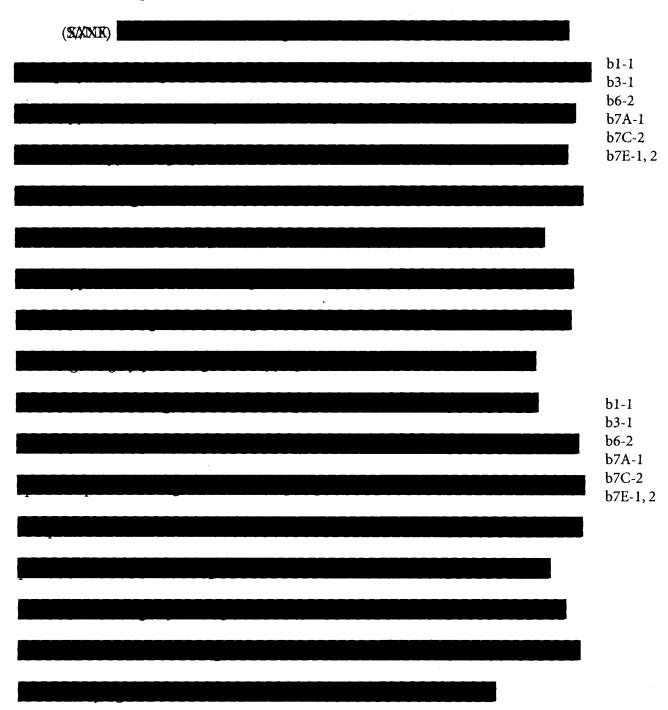
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	b7A-1
	b7C-2
	b7E-1, 2, 6
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and Igor Sporyshev, were charged by a sealed complaint in the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York for violations of 18 U.S.C. §§ 371 and 951 (conspiring 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. The complaint states that the intelligence gathering efforts of Podobnyy and Sporyshev included, among other things, attempting to recruit New York City

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

residents as intelligence sources for Russia.



(U)

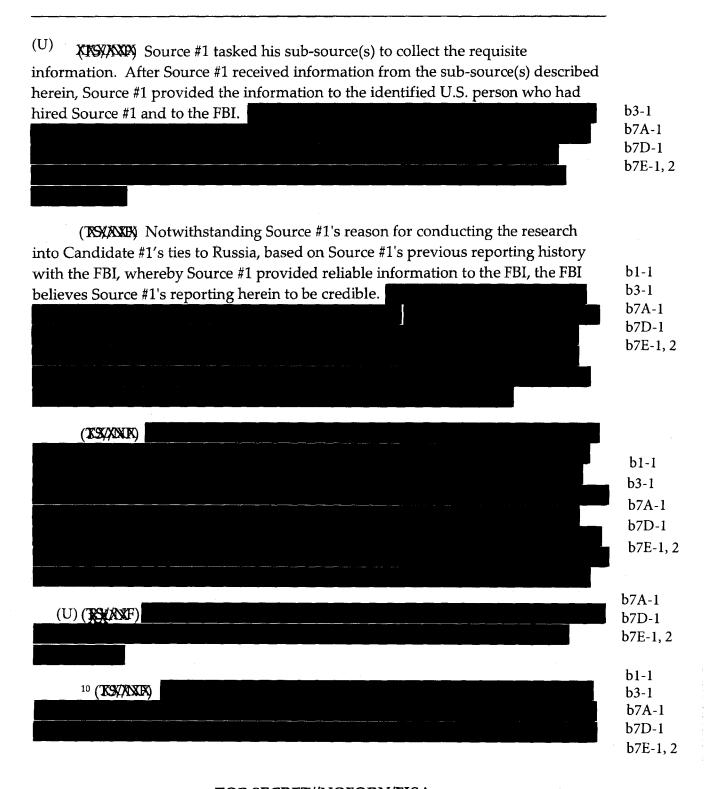
B. (SMANF) Page's Coordination with Russian Government Officials on 2016 U.S. Presidential Election Influence Activities.

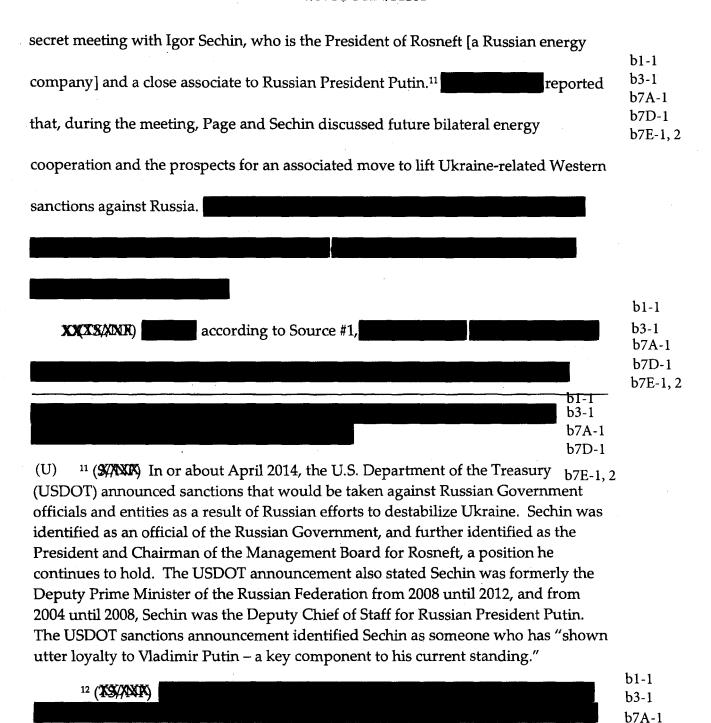
(SANK) According to open source information, in July 2016, Page traveled to

Russia and delivered the commencement address at the New Economic School. ⁸ In	
addition to giving this address, the FBI learned that Page met with at least two	
Russian officials during this trip. First, according to information provided by an FBI	
confidential human source (Source #1),9 reported that Page had a	
	b3-1
(U) 8 (SX/XVP)	b7A-1
(VANAVA)	b7E-1, 2, 4
XXXXXXX) Source #1	• • • •
has been an FBI source since	b1-1 b3-1
Source #1 has been compensated by the FBI.	
in or about October 2016, the FBI suspended its	
relationship with Source #1 due to Source #1's unauthorized disclosure of	b7E-1, 2, 5

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.

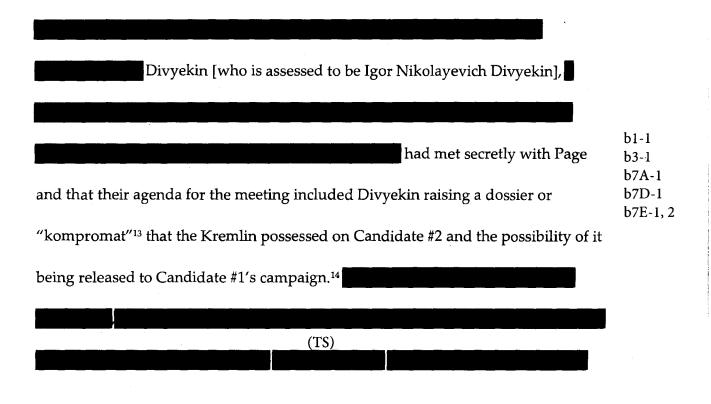
(U) (TS/NT) Source #1, who now owns a foreign business/financial intelligence firm, was approached by an identified U.S. person, who indicated to Source #1 that a U.S.-based law firm had hired the identified U.S. person to conduct research regarding Candidate #1's ties to Russia (the identified U.S. 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.



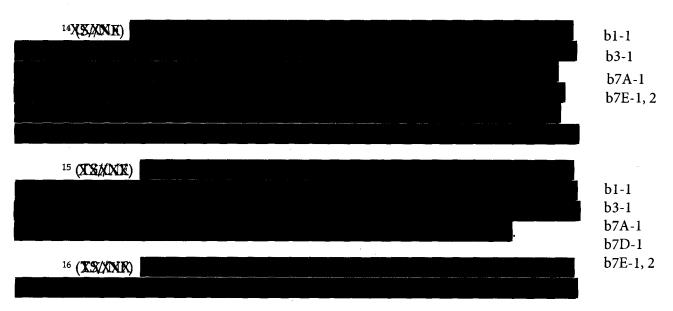


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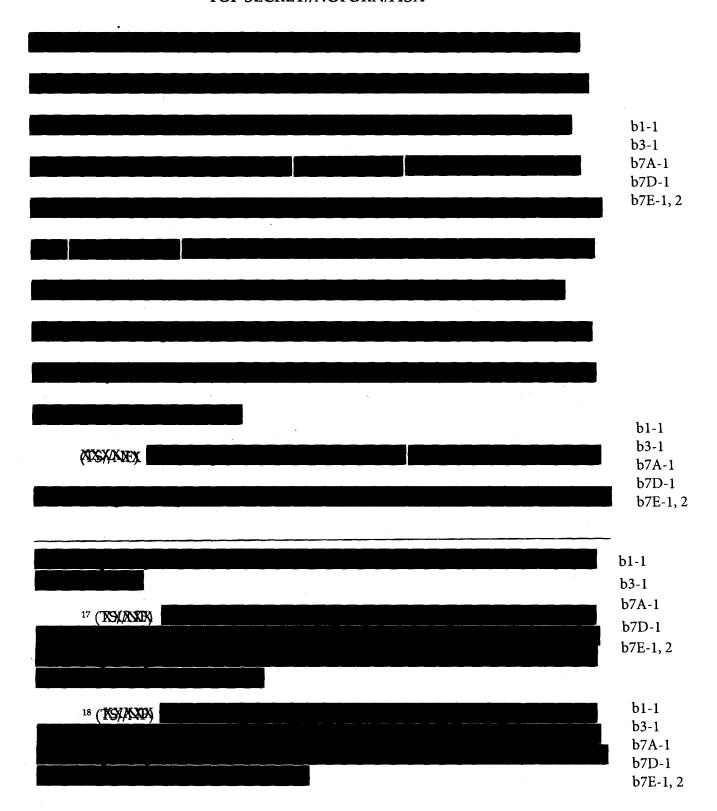
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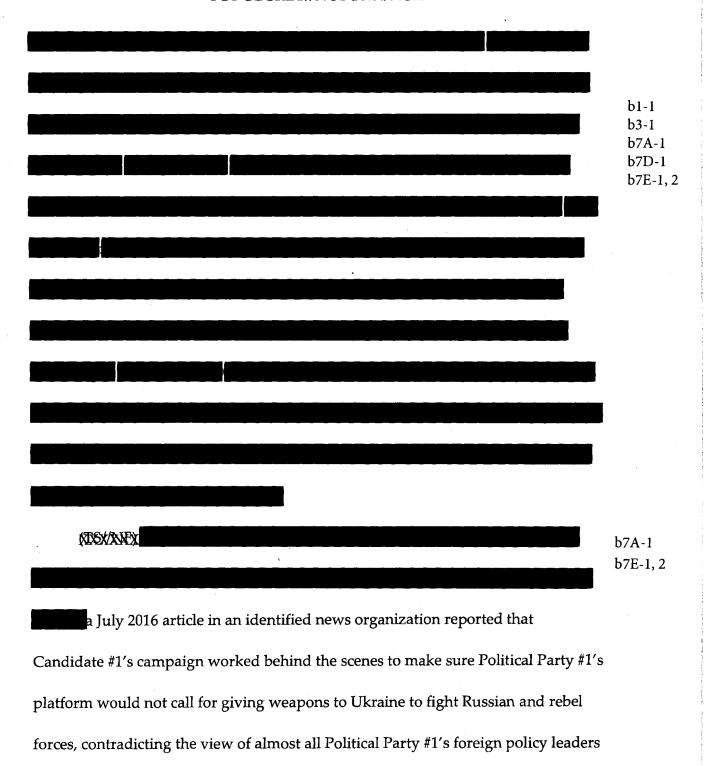


⁽U) 13 (S) Kompromat is a Russian term for compromising material about a politician or political figure, which is typically used to create negative publicity or blackmail.



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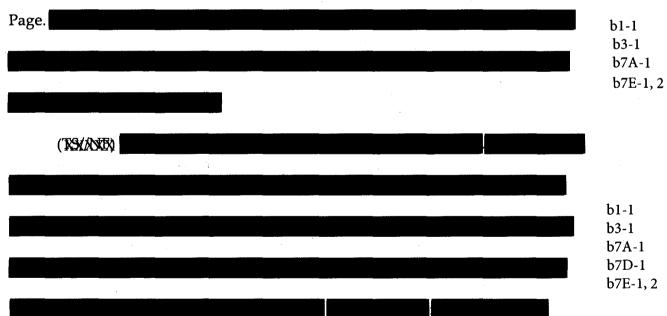




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in Washington. The article stated that Candidate #1's campaign sought "to make

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



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

- IV. (U) (SX/XXX) 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

responsibility for intelligence collected by Russian agencies about the U.S. election.¹⁹

(U) (SXAN) 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

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) (TSMMR) 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.

^{19 (5)} 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.

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.

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

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..."

b7A-1 b7E-1, 2

(U) (SWANF) 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

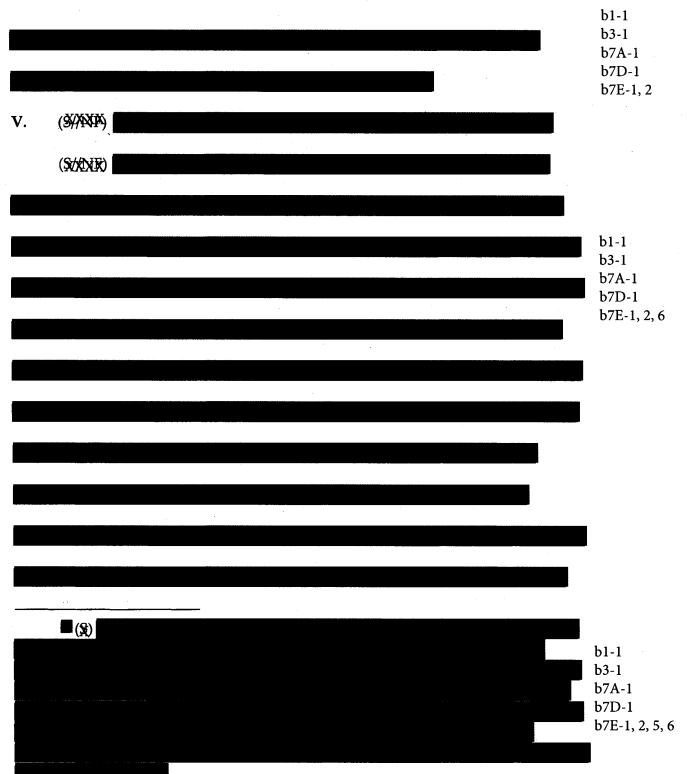
more than completely false media reports and that he did not meet with any

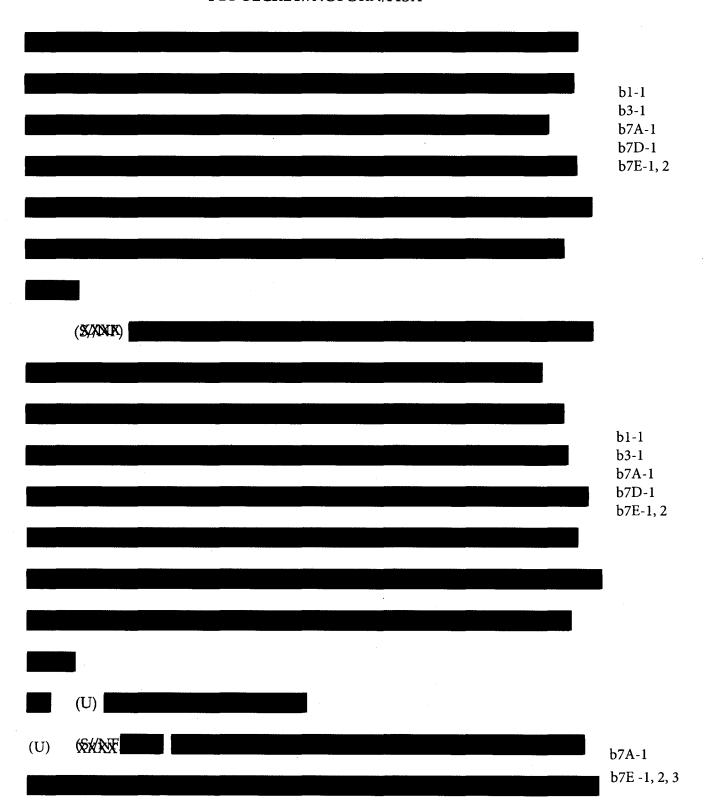
sanctioned official in Russia. Page also stated that he would be willing to discuss

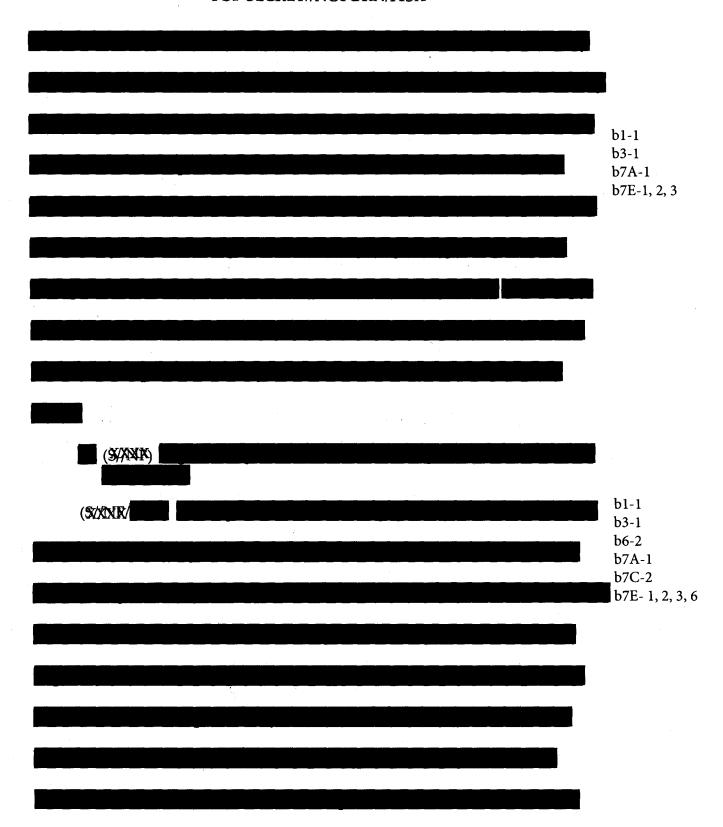
any "final" questions the FBI may have.20

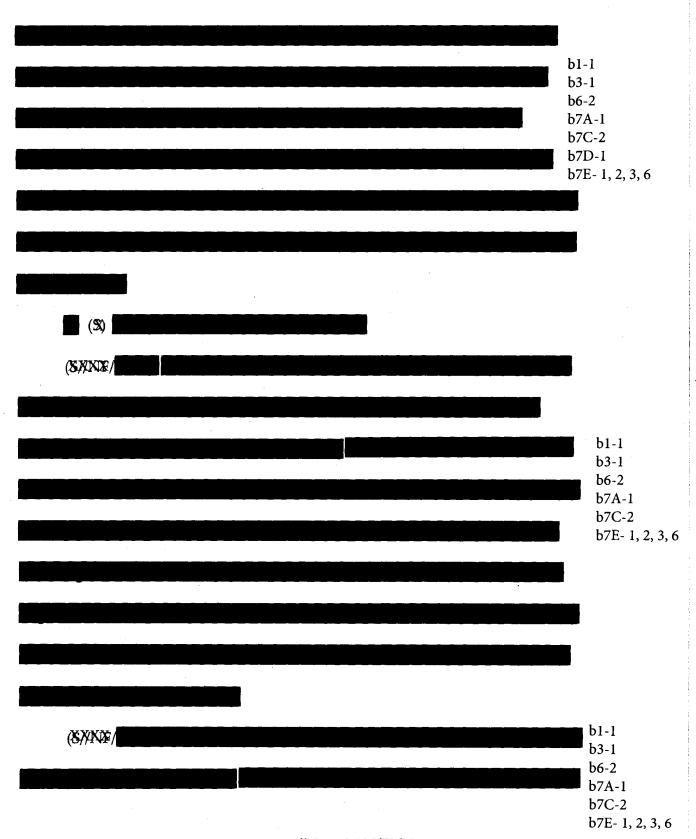
organization published an article that was based on an interview with Page (September 26th News Article). In the September 26th News Article, Page stated that all of the accusations were complete "garbage" and that he did not meet with Sechin or Divyekin. Page also stated that he was taking a leave of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

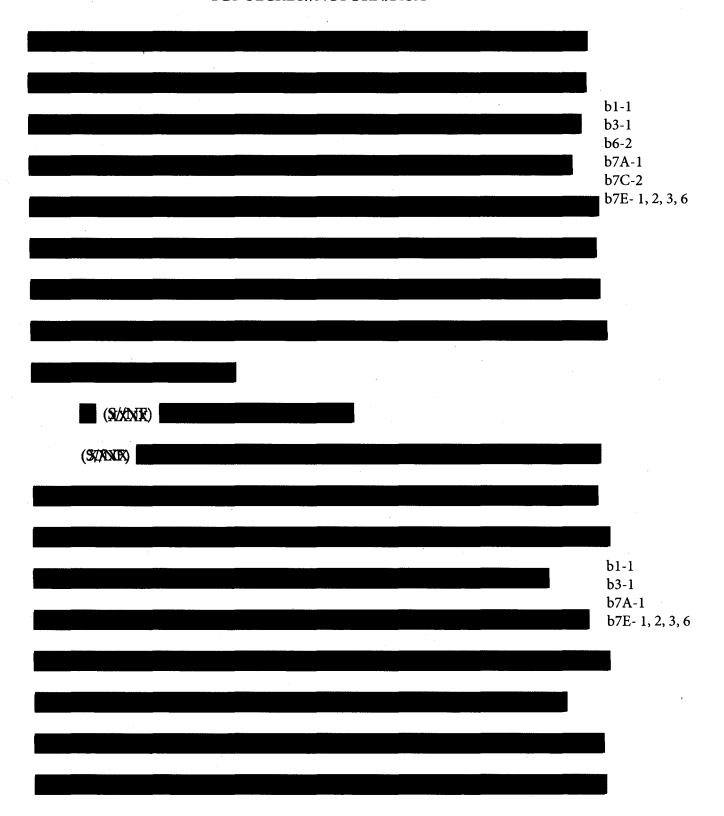
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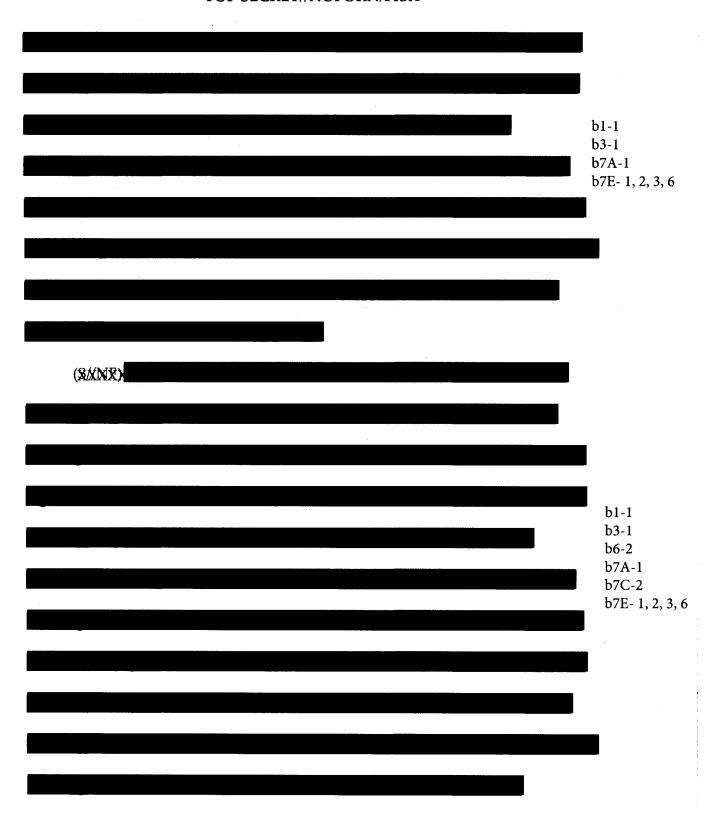






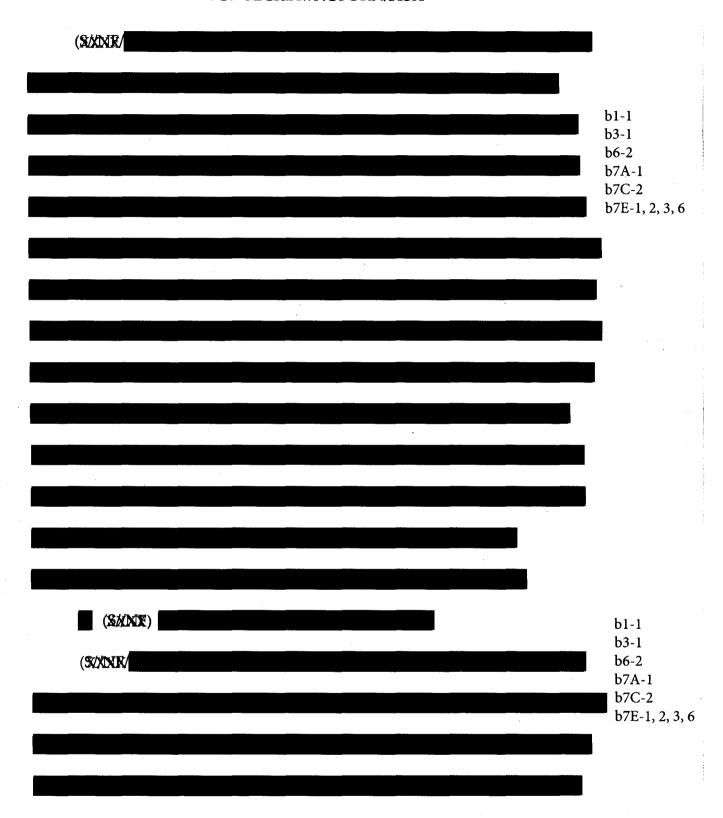


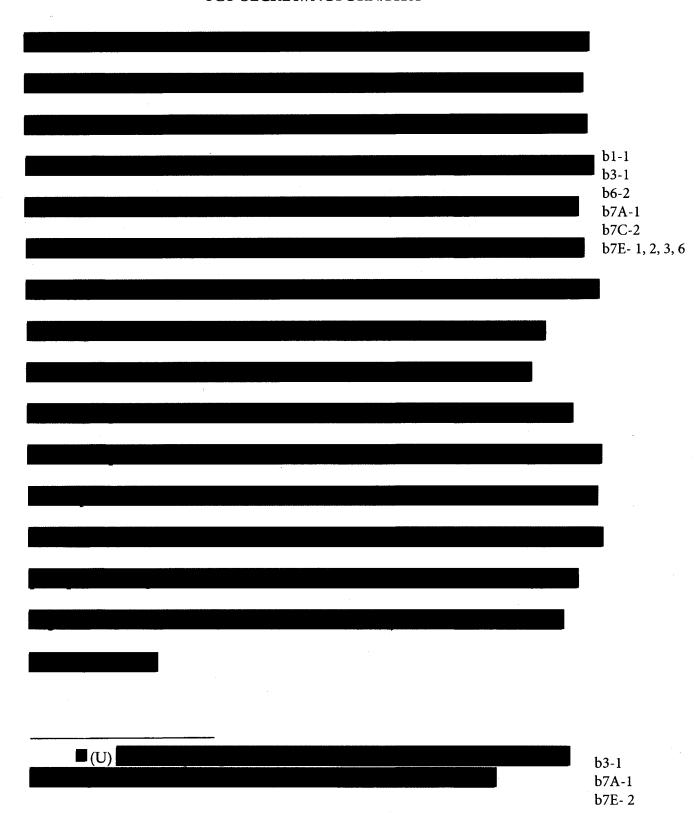


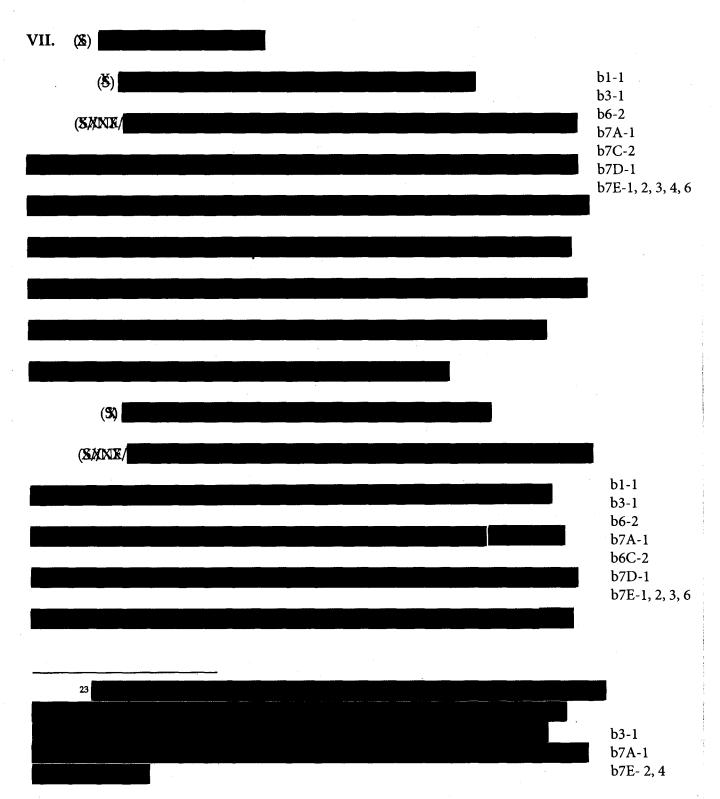


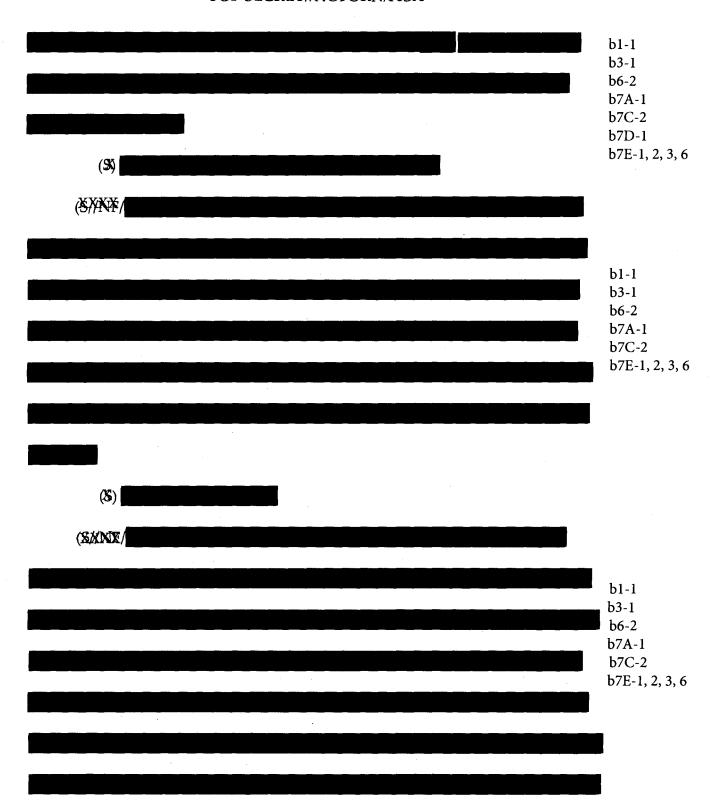
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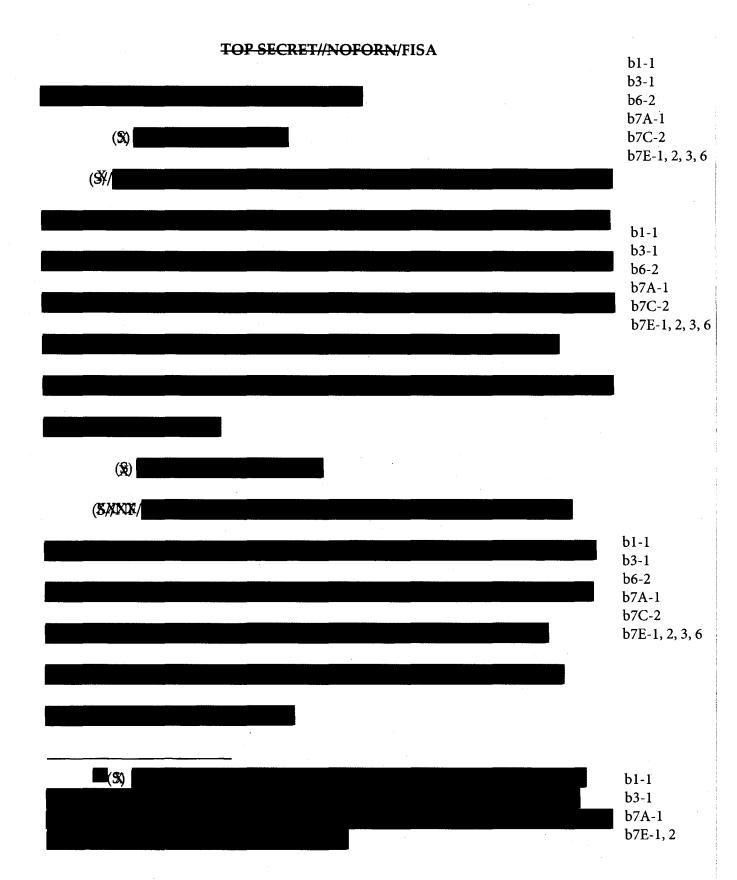
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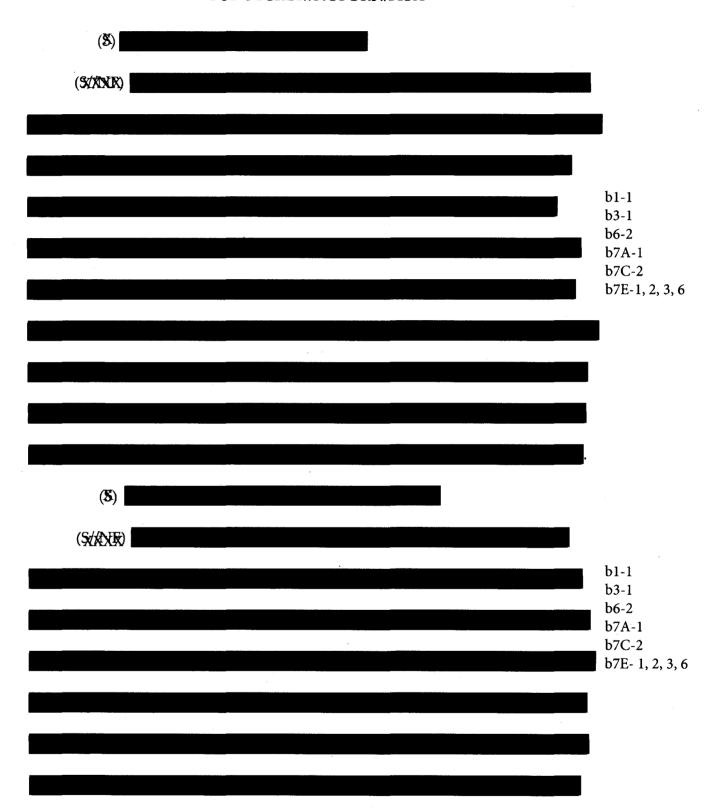






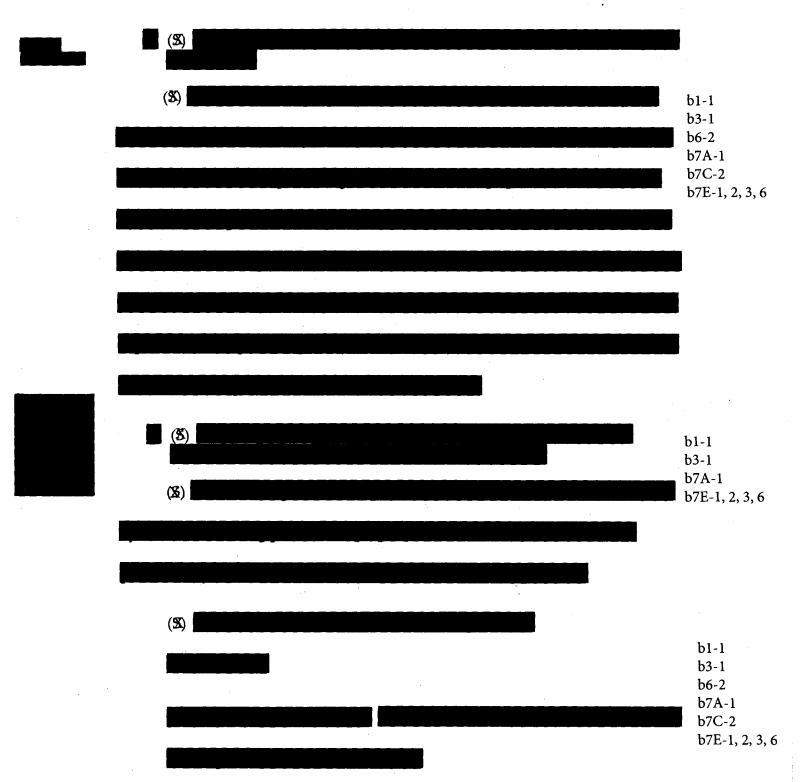


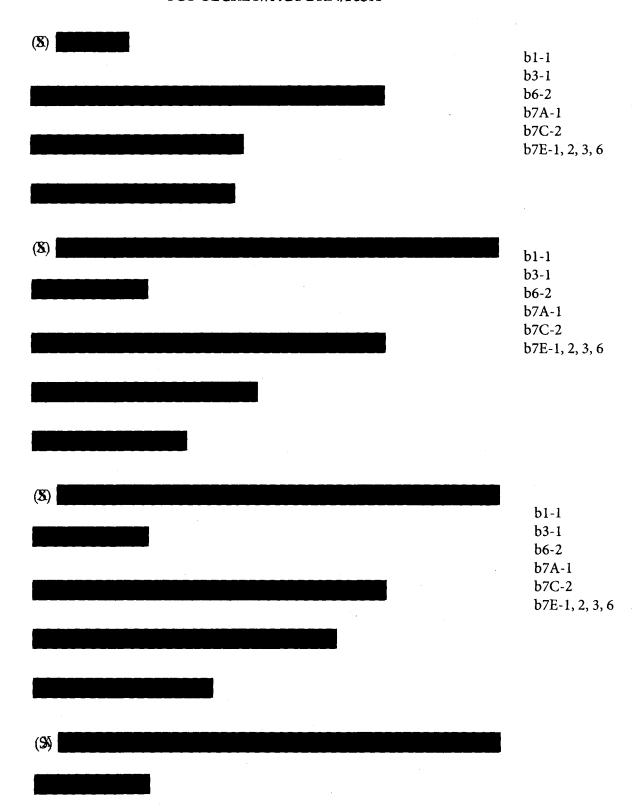


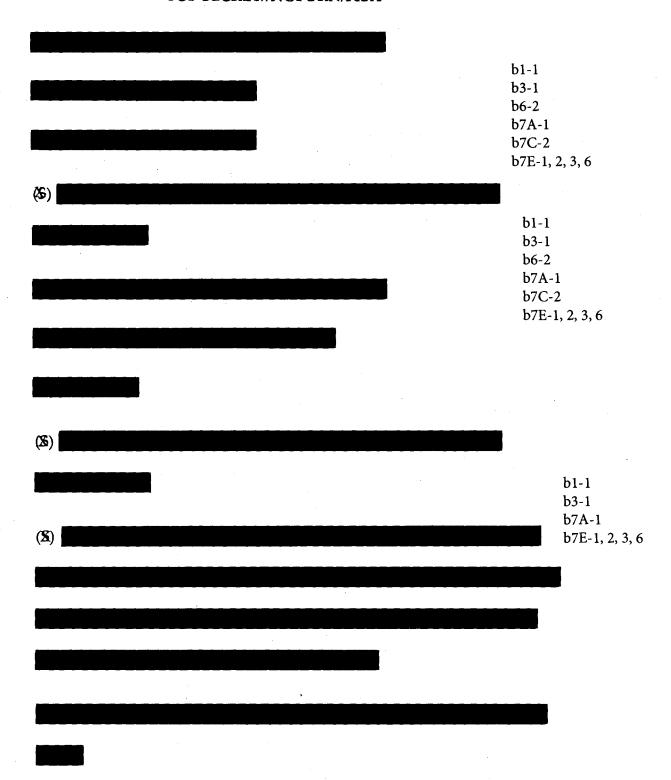


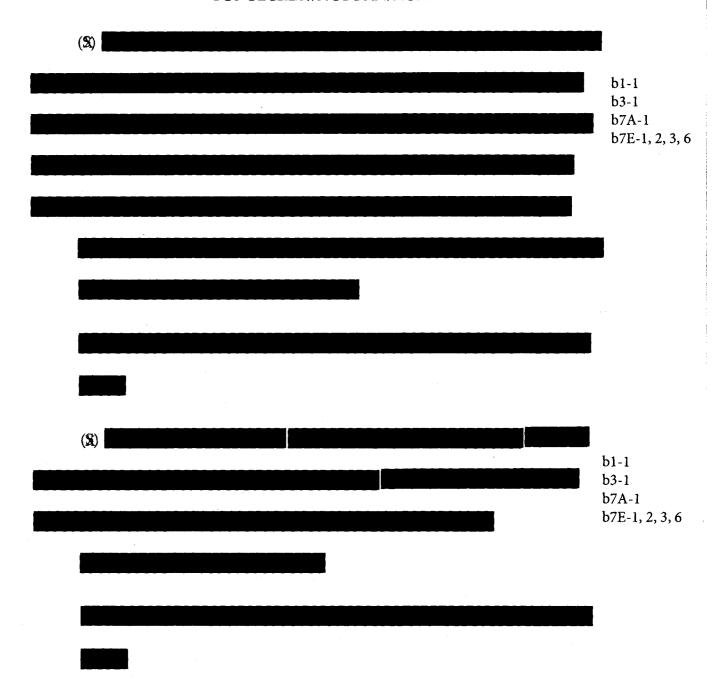
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VIII. (U) Conclusion.	
(U) (SYMIX) As discussed above, the FBI believes that Page has been collabor	b7A-1 b7E-1, 2
and conspiring with the Russian Government,	

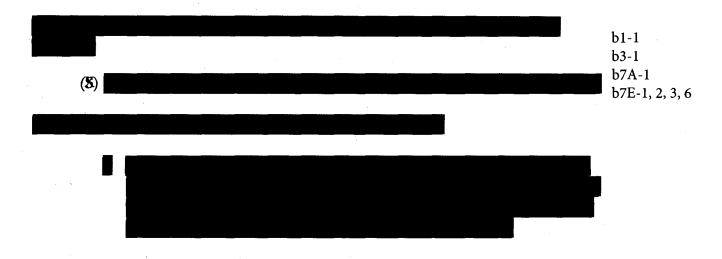
Based on the	
foregoing facts and circumstances, the FBI submits that there is probable cause to	
believe that Page	b7A-1 b7E-1, 2
knowingly engage in	
clandestine intelligence activities (other than intelligence gathering activities) for or	
on behalf of such foreign power, or knowingly conspires with other persons to	
engage in such activities and, therefore, is an agent of a foreign power as defined by	
50 U.S.C. § 1801(b)(2)(E).	
(U) (XXXXX)	
	b7A-1
the FBI submits that there is probable cause to believe that	b7E-1, 2
such activities involve or are about to involve violations of the criminal statutes of	
the United States,	
(U) (S)	b7A-1
	b7E-1, 2





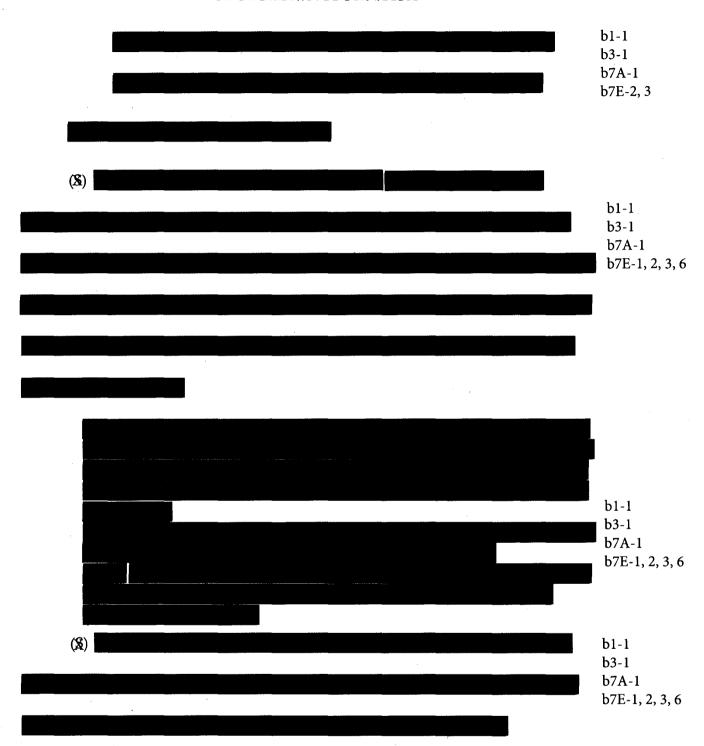






4. (3) <u>Proposed Minimization Procedures</u> As to all information acquired

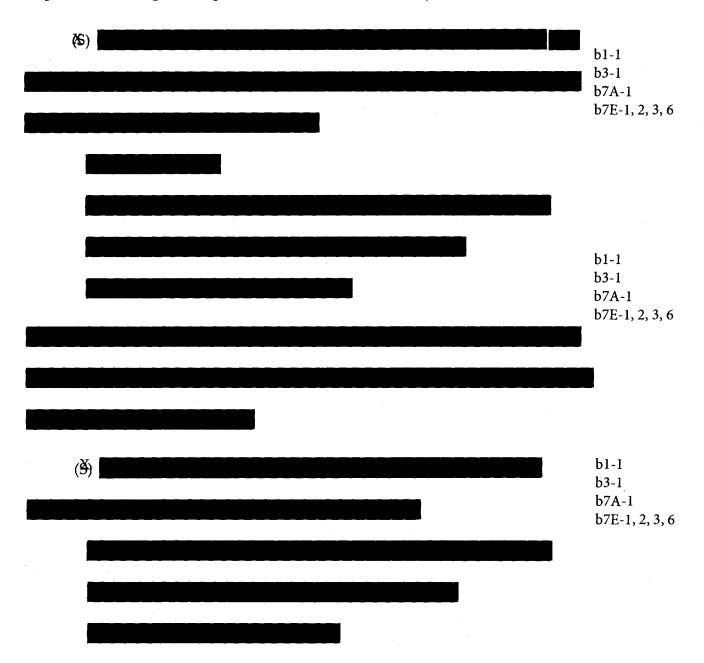


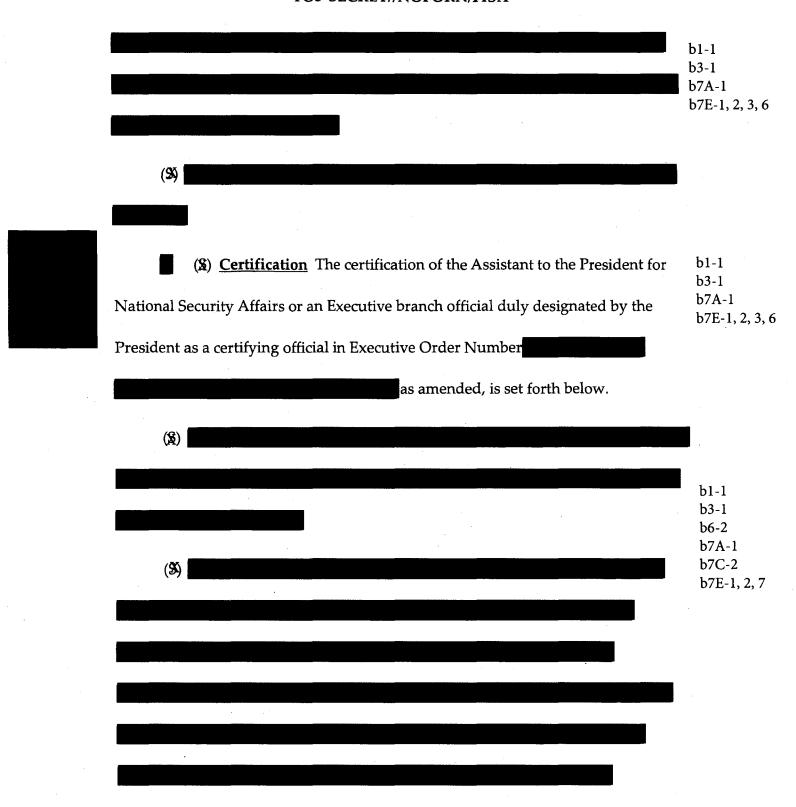




requested herein, the United States is seeking foreign intelligence information with b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
respect to the activities of the target described above and detailed further in the certification set forth below. As indicated by the facts set forth herein, the FBI is seeking foreign intelligence 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

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

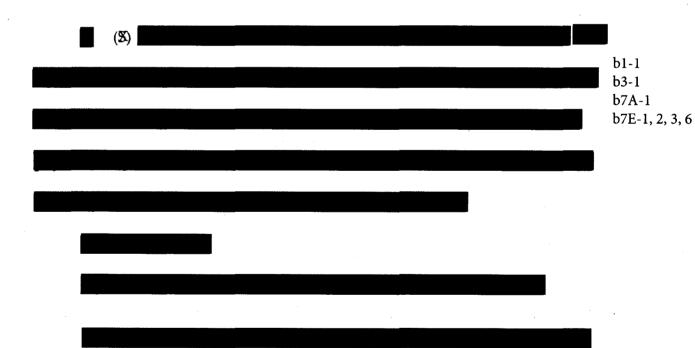


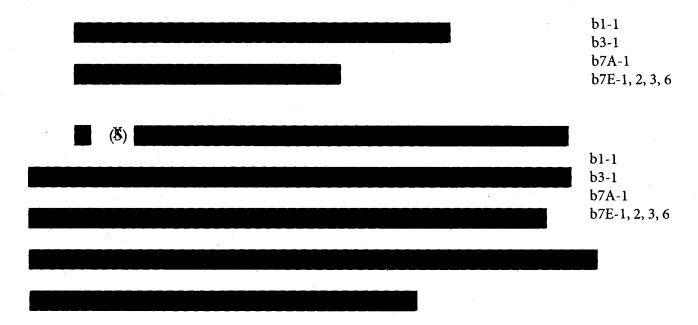


(U) The Purpose of the Authorities Requested

of this target.

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





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

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.

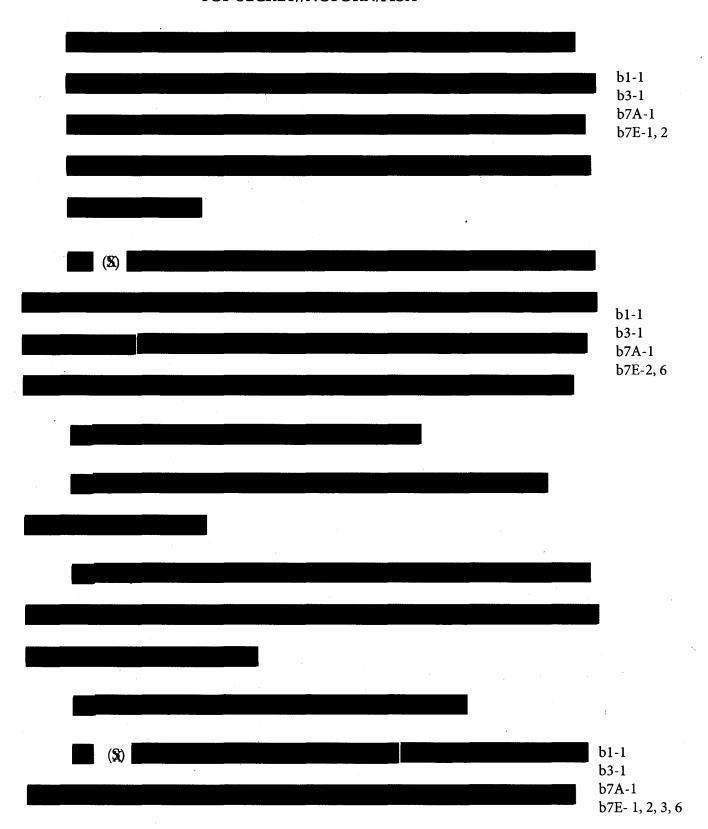
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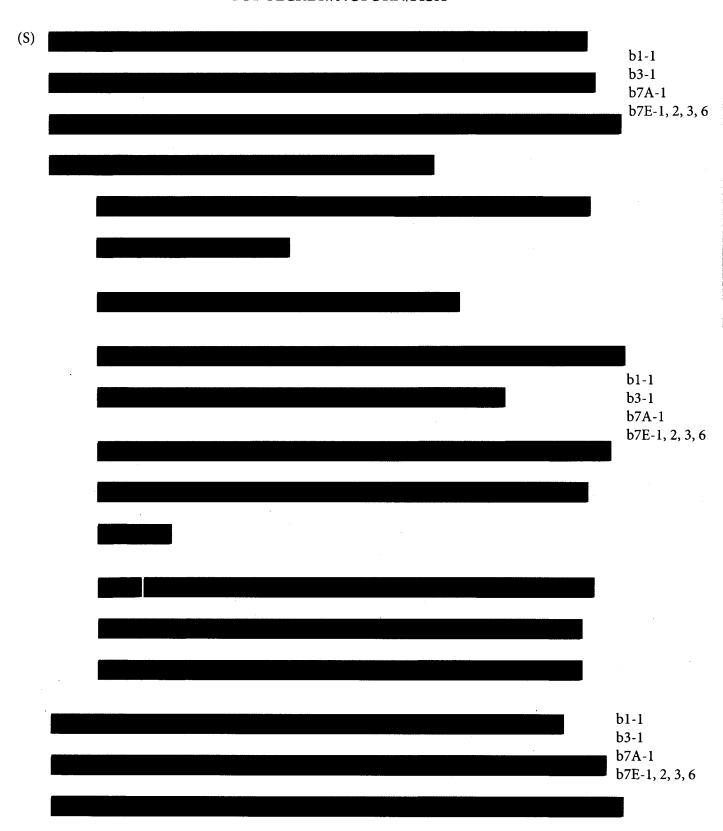
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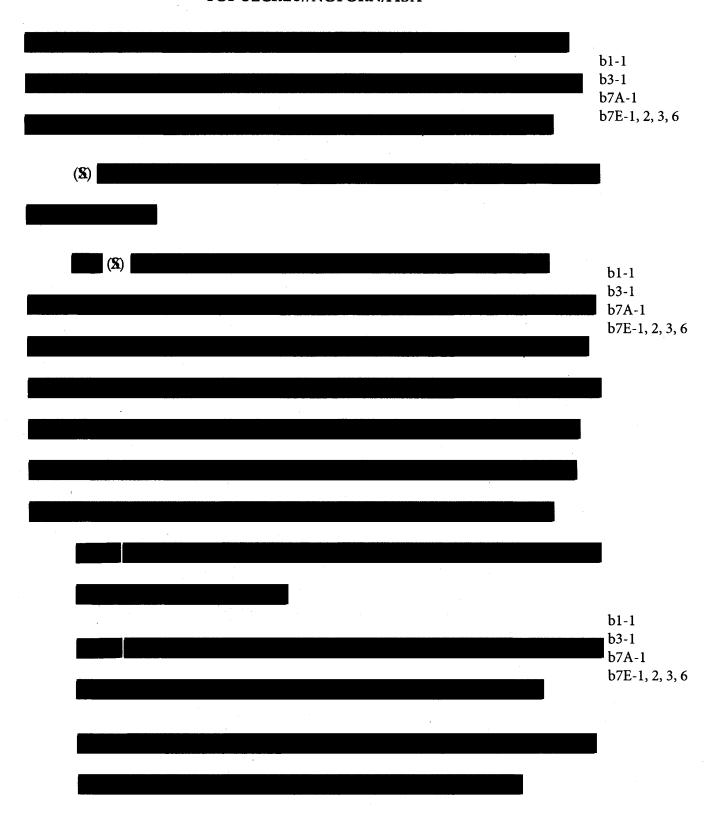
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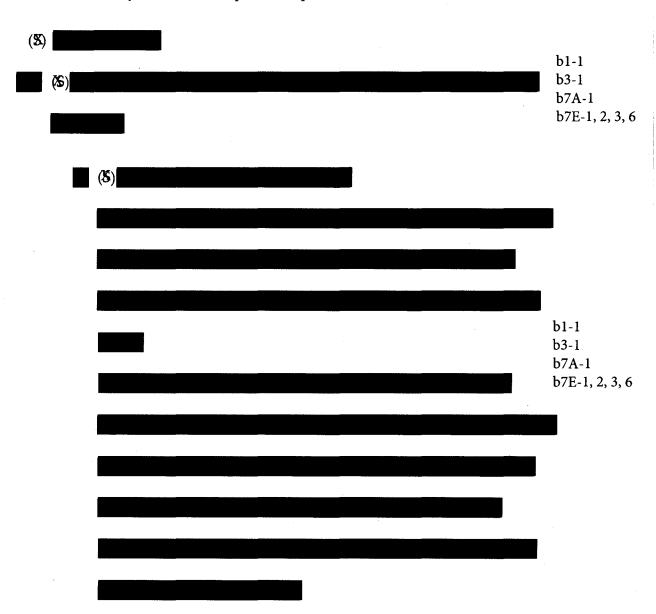


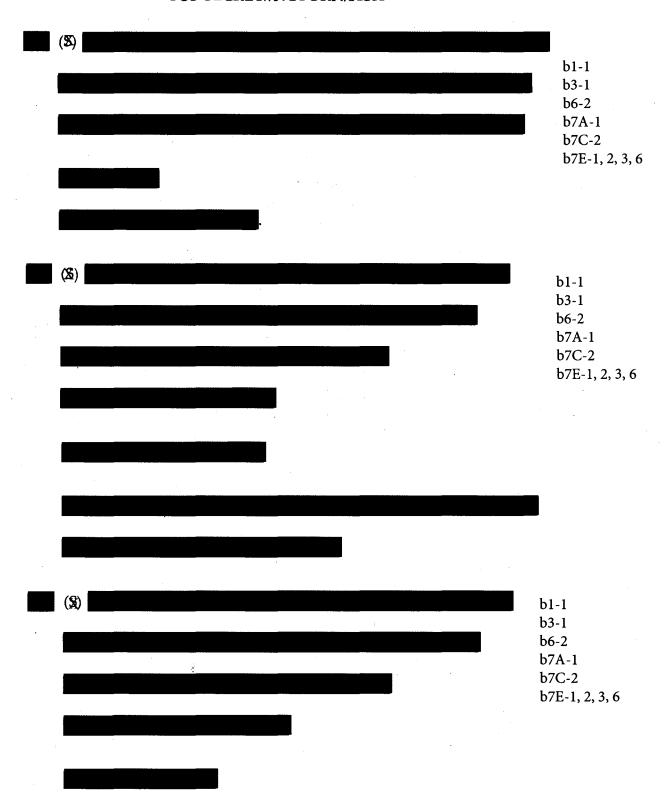


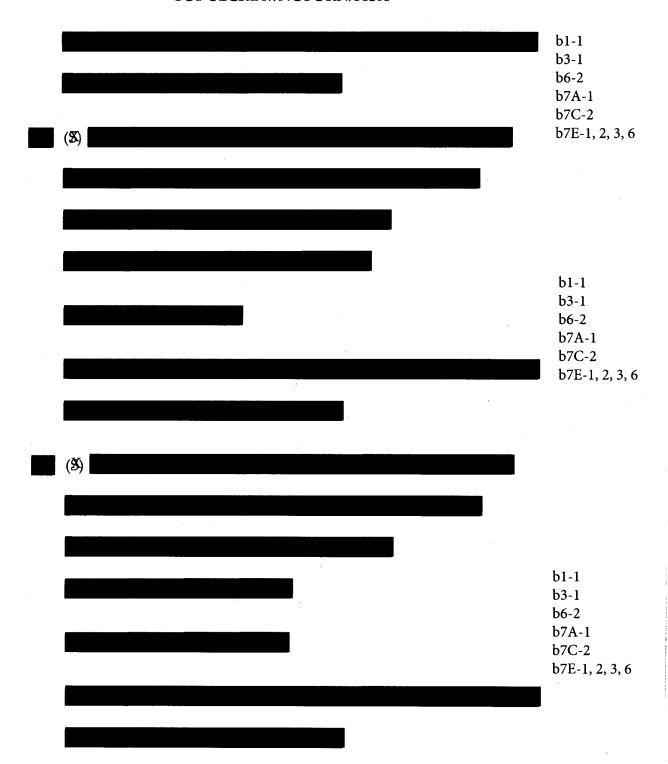
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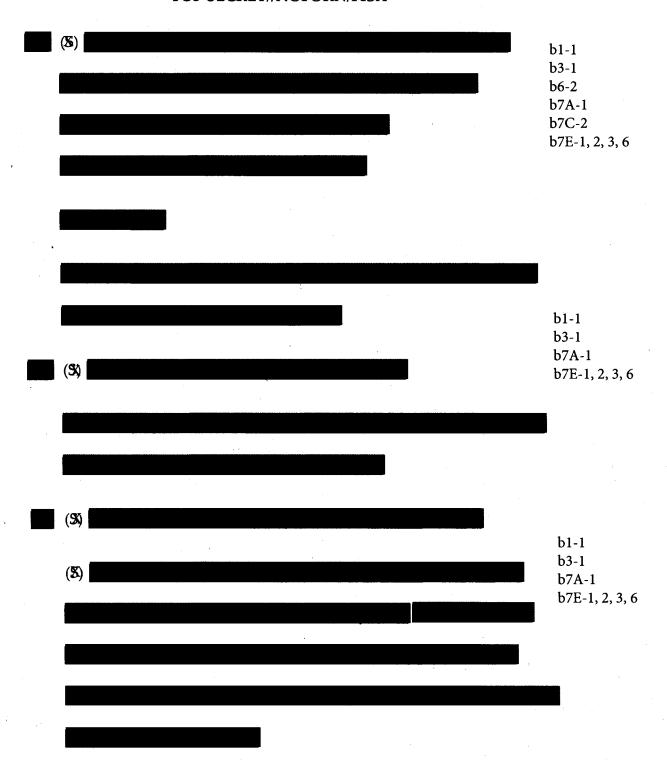


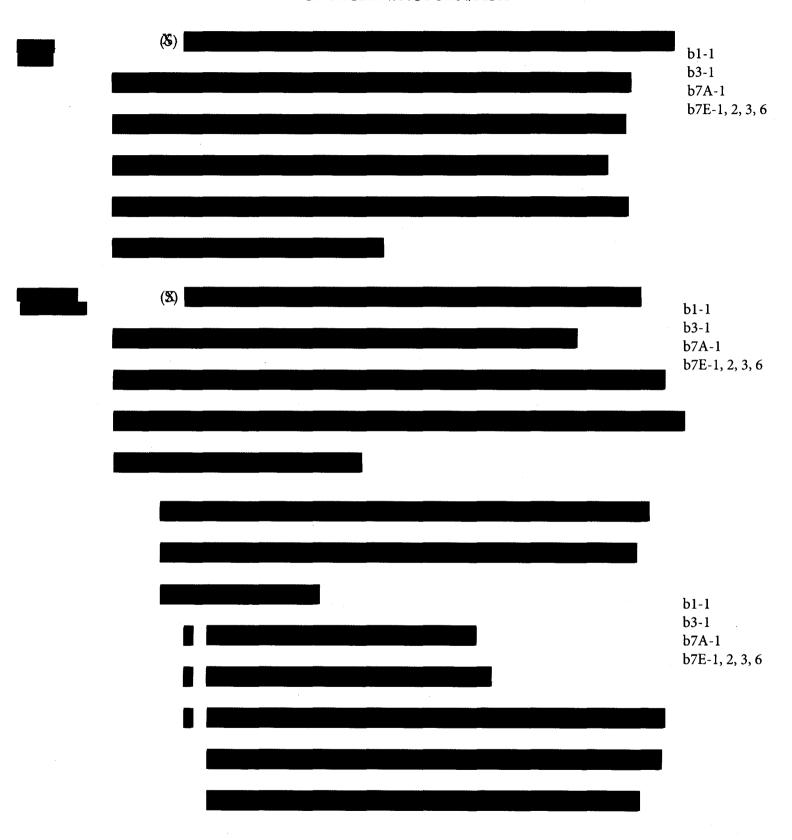
(U)(S) <u>Specific Authorities Requested</u> Based upon the foregoing information, the United States requests that this Court authorize the FBI to conduct the activities described immediately below for the period requested herein.



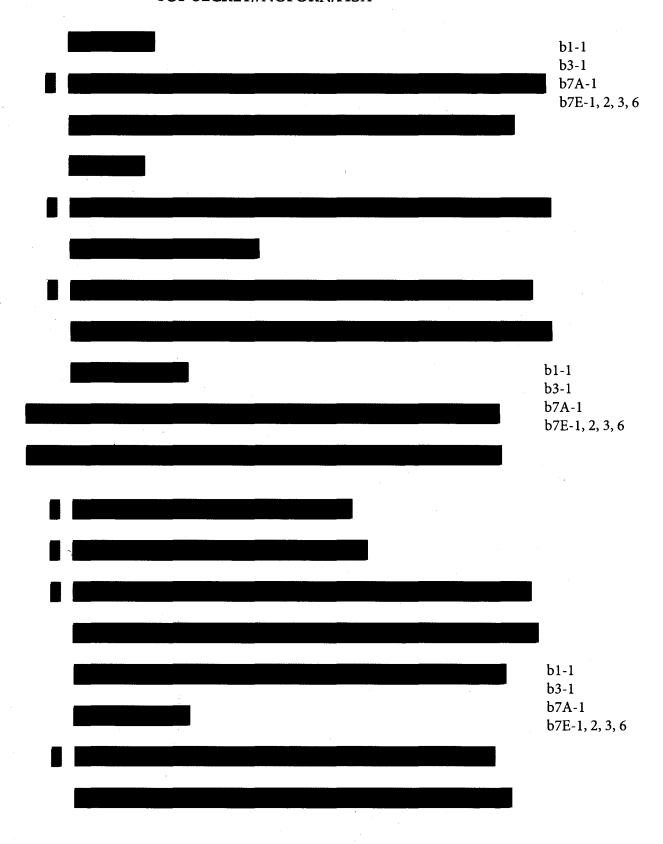








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(U) (3) The FBI has reviewed this verified application for accuracy in accordance with its April 5, 2001 procedures, which include sending a copy of the draft to the appropriate field office(s). A copy of those procedures was previously provided to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

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(U) VERIFICATION

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

regarding Carter W. Page is true and correct. Executed pursuant to Title 28, United	b1-1
States Code, § 1746 on January 2017.	b3-1 b7A-1
b7	5-1 /A-1 /C-1
Supervisory Special Agent Federal Bureau of Investigation	

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

(U) CERTIFICATION

(3) 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

requested in this verified application targeting

Carter W. Page, an agent of the Government of Russia, a foreign power, as follows:

b1-1

b3-1

(A) (U) The information sought through the authorities requested herein is b7A-1

b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

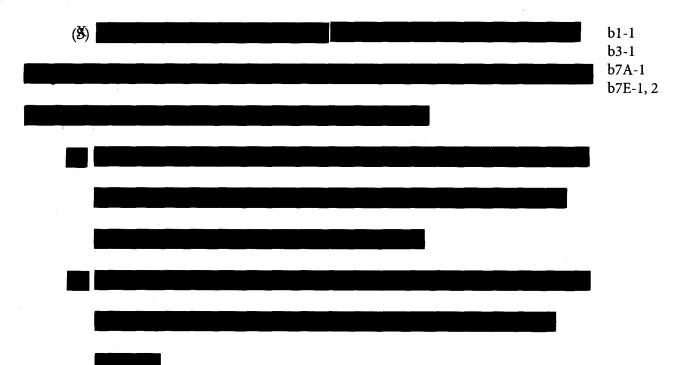
foreign intelligence information.

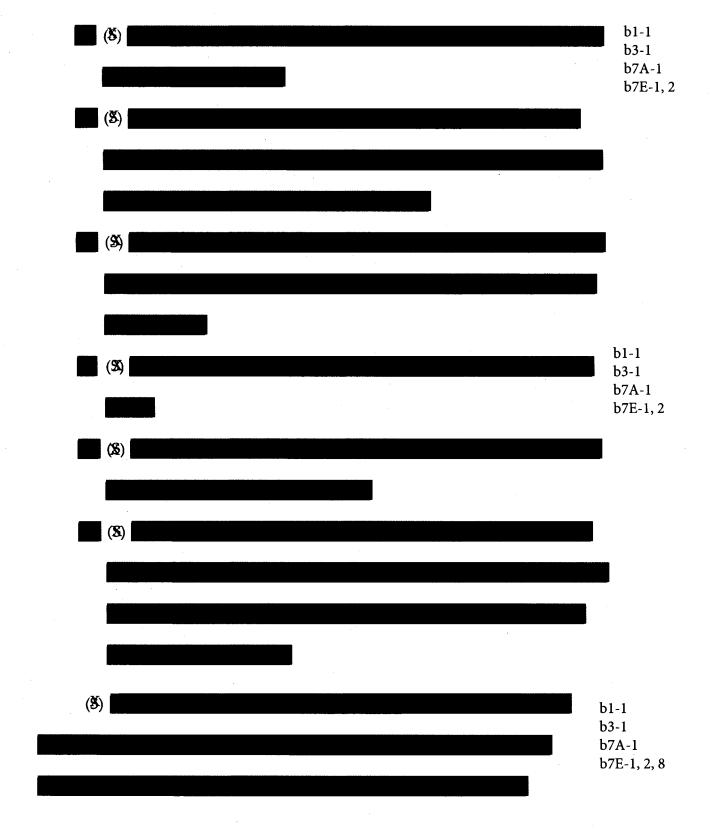
- (B) (U) At least a significant purpose of the authorities requested herein is to obtain foreign intelligence information and, notwithstanding the related criminal matters described in this application, the primary purpose of the authorities requested herein is **not** to obtain information for the 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\$ requested herein cannot be reasonably obtained by normal investigative techniques. \$b7A-1\$ b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
- (U) (D) (3) The type of foreign intelligence information being sought through the authorities requested herein is that described in 50 U.S.C. § 1801(e)(1)(C), i.e.,

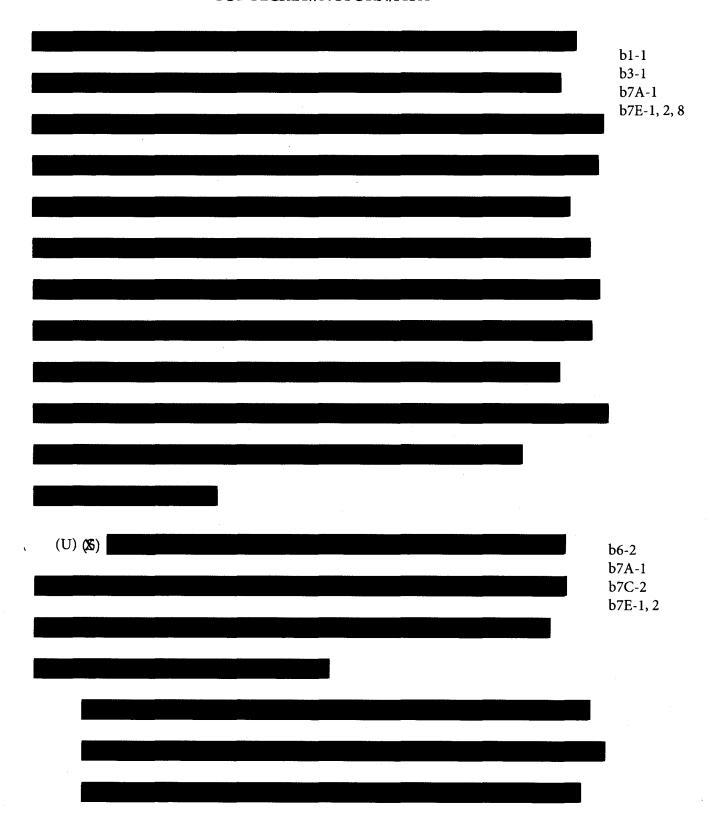
information that relates and is necessary to the ability of the United States to protect against clandestine intelligence activities by an intelligence service or network of this foreign power or by agents of this foreign power, and 50 U.S.C. § 1801(e)(2)(A)-(B), i.e., information with respect to a foreign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

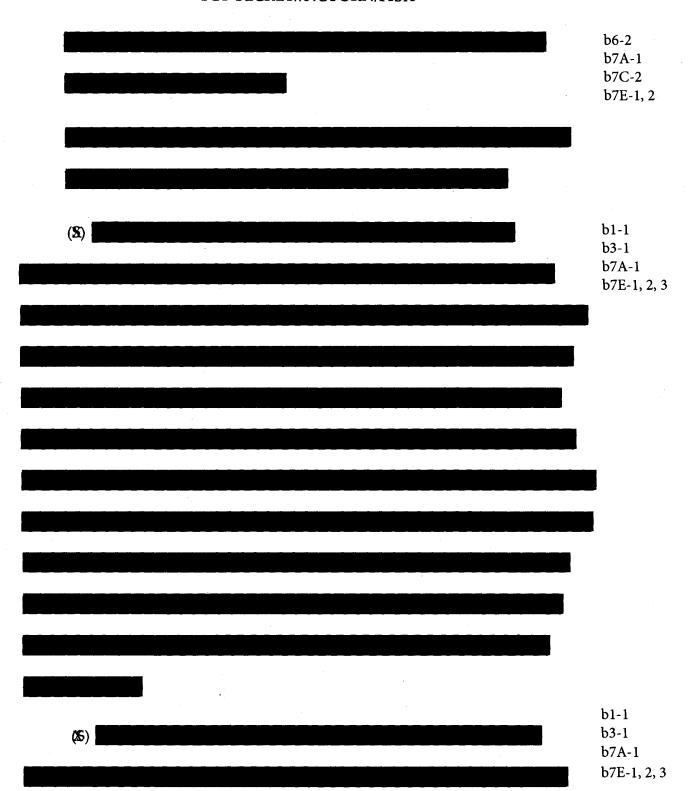
(E) (2) The basis for my certification that the information sought is the type

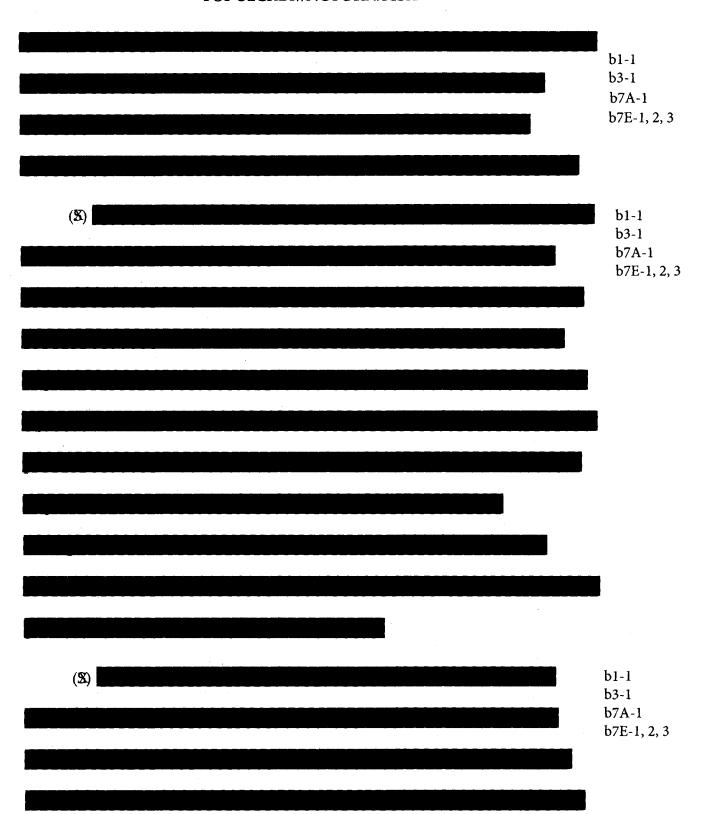
of foreign intelligence information specified herein and that such information cannot b7A-1
b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
be obtained by normal investigative techniques is as follows.



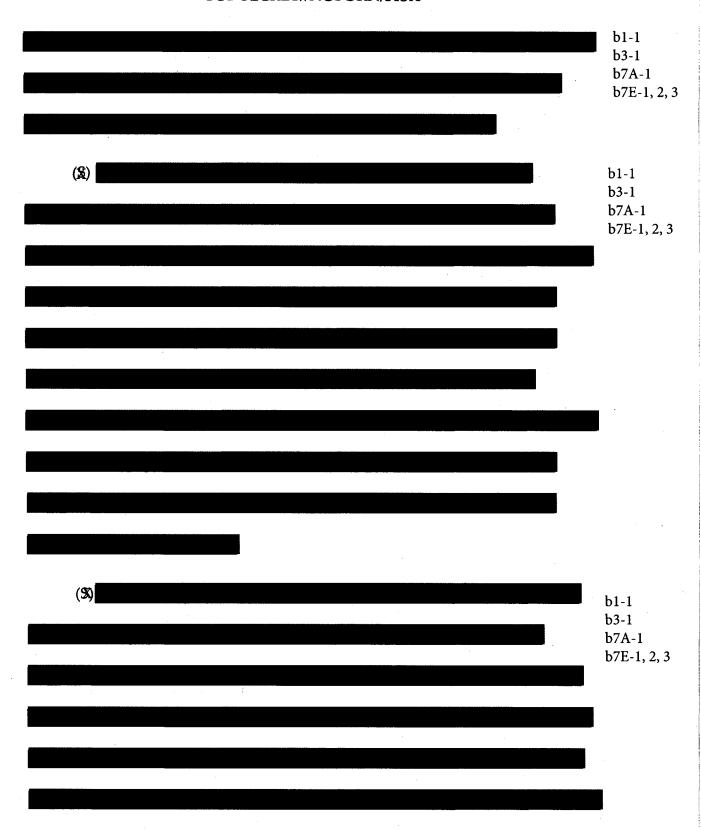








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(U) (§) Based upon the foregoing information, it is the Government's belief that the authorities requested herein targeting Page are critical investigative means for obtaining the foreign intelligence information identified herein.

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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.

Secretary of State
Antony J. Blinken Deputy Secretary of State
Ash Carter Secretary of Defense
Susan E. Rice Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

LeeAnn Flynn Hall, Clerk, FISC, TOP SECRET//NOFORN/FISA certify that this document is a true and correct copy

of the original.

(U) APPROVAL

(U) (3) 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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		b b b
		b
	Loretta E. Lynch Attorney General of the United States	
	San Di Caris	
	Sally Quillian Yates Deputy Attorney General of the United States	
17	Assistant Attorney General for National Security	b1-1 b3-1

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

Date

(U) (\$\mathbb{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,	
	b6-3 b7A-1 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.

Classify By: J23J Reason: (C) Derived From: F Declassify On:		01 -2017	SECR 1	ET	Filed United States I Intelligence Survell	egreign lance Court	
All information is unclassified except otherwise shown.	t where	OREIGN INTE	UNITED S	TATES JURVEILLANCE C	LeeAnn Flynn Hall, C	017 Slerk of Court	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1
			WASHINGTO	ON, D. C.			
	IN RE CARTEI	R W. PAGE, A	U.S.	Docket Number:		b1- b3- b7 <i>F</i>	1
		PRIMA	RY ORDER A	AND WARRANT			
	1. An appli	ication having	been made b	y the United States	of America		
	pursuant to the	Foreign Intell	ligence Survei	llance Act of 1978,	as amended, 50		
	U.S.C. §§		FISA or	the Act), for an or	der and warrant		
	(hereinafter "or	der") for			and full		
	consideration h	aving been gi	ven to the ma	tters set forth there	in, the Court finds	1	
	as follows:					b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1	
	2. The appl	ication has be	en made by a	Federal officer and	l approved by the	b7E-1, 2	, 3, 6
	Attorney Gener	al;					
	3. On the b	asis of the fact	ts submitted in	n the verified appli	cation, there is		
	probable cause	to believe that	t:				
			SECD1	272			

Derived from: Application to the USFISC

Declassify on:

in Docket Number captioned above

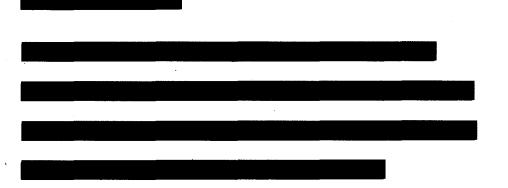
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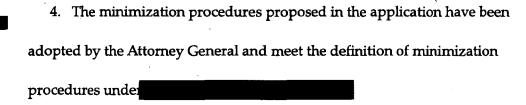
b7A-1

b1-1

(A) The Government of the Russian Federation (Russia) is a foreign power and Carter W. Page is an agent of Russia, as defined by

b7A-1 b7E-1, 2





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

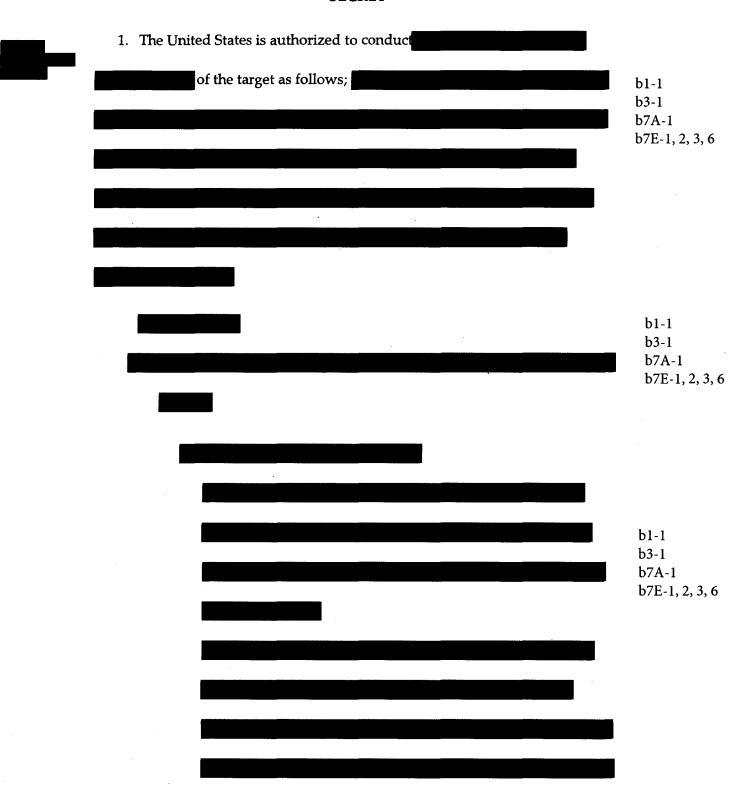
5. The application contains all statements and certifications required by

and the certification is not clearly erroneous on the basis b1-1 b3-1 of the statements made under b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 any other information furnished under b7A-1 b7B-1 b7B-1

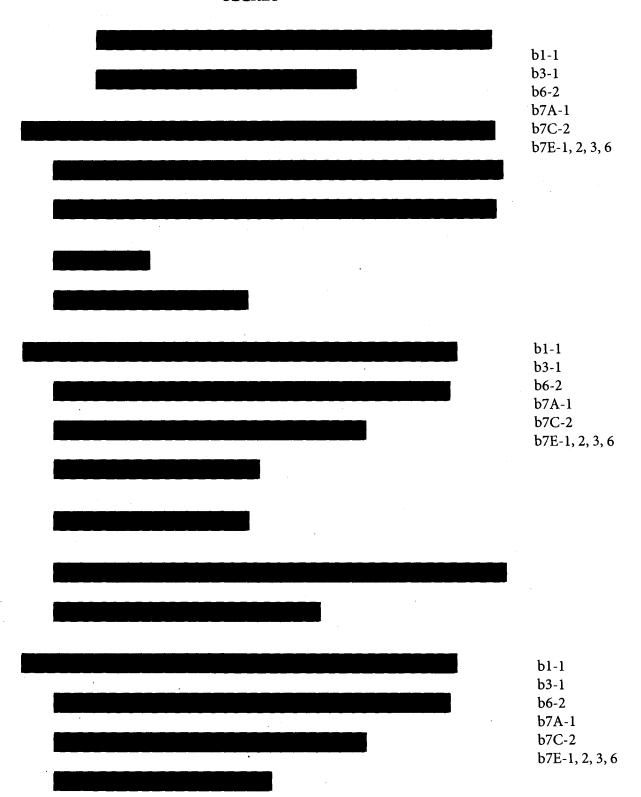
WHEREFORE, IT IS HEREBY ORDERED, pursuant to the authority conferred on this Court by the Act, that the application of the United States is GRANTED, and it is

FURTHER ORDERED, as follows:

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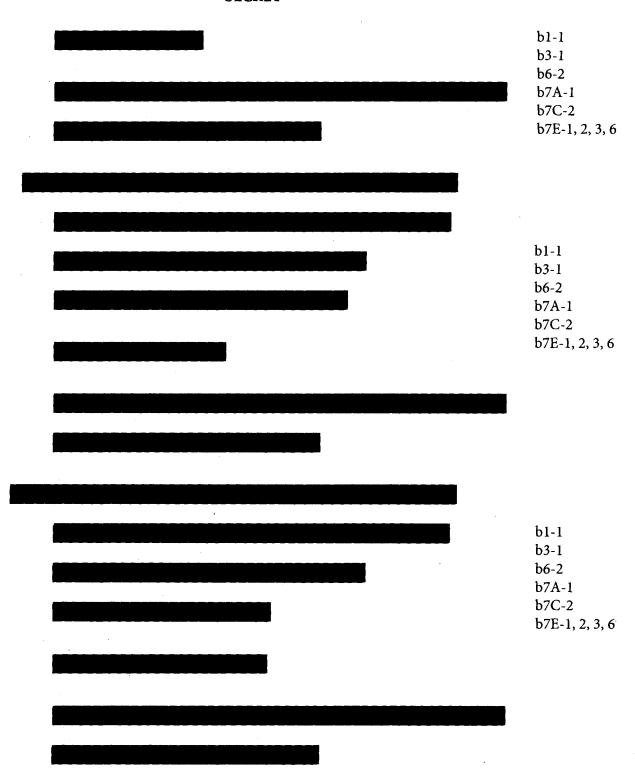


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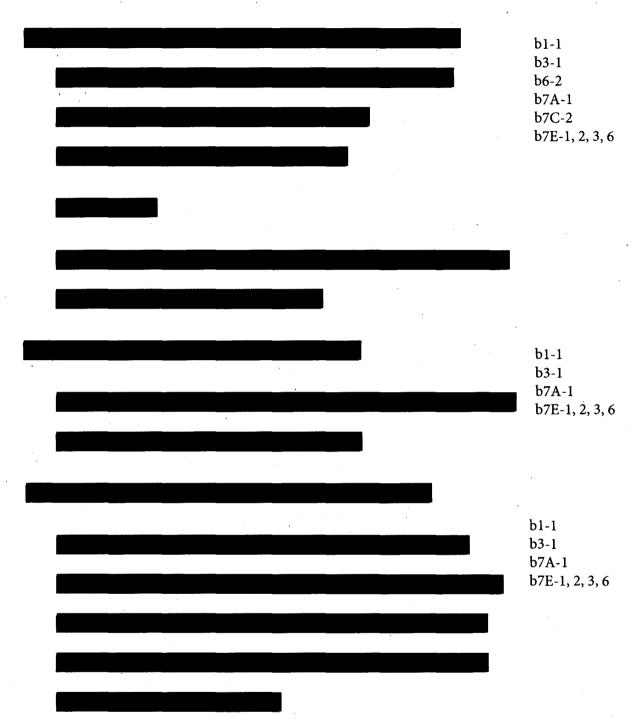


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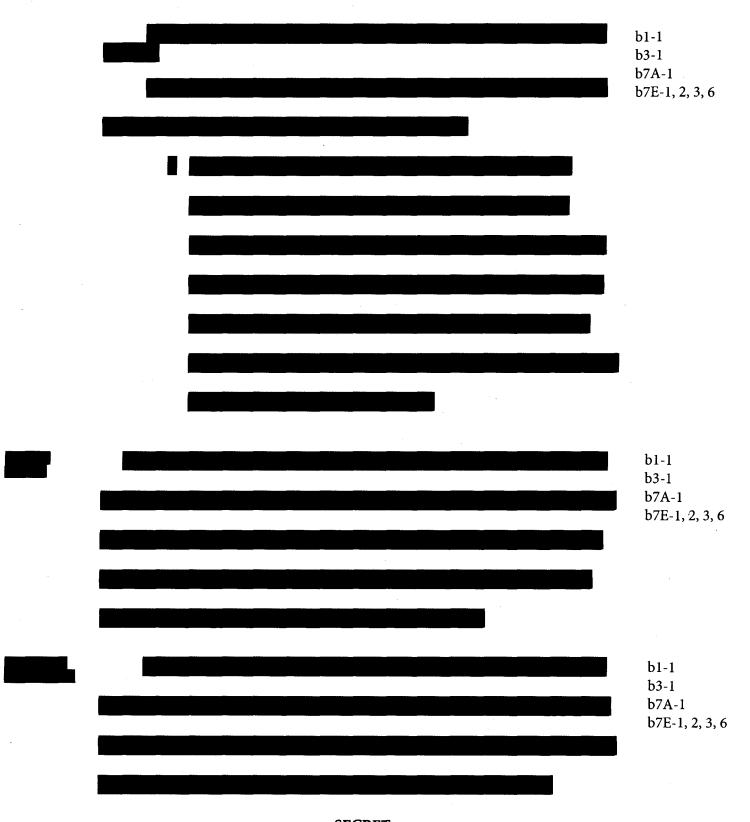


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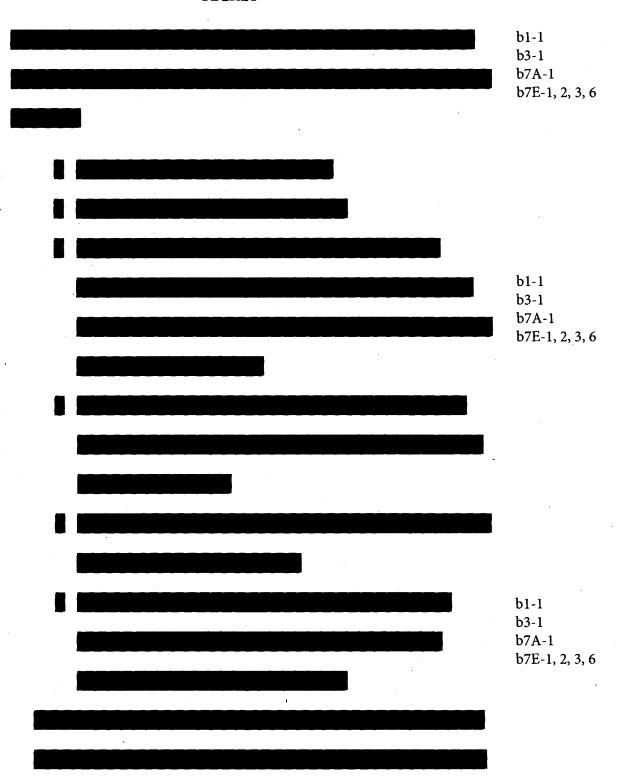
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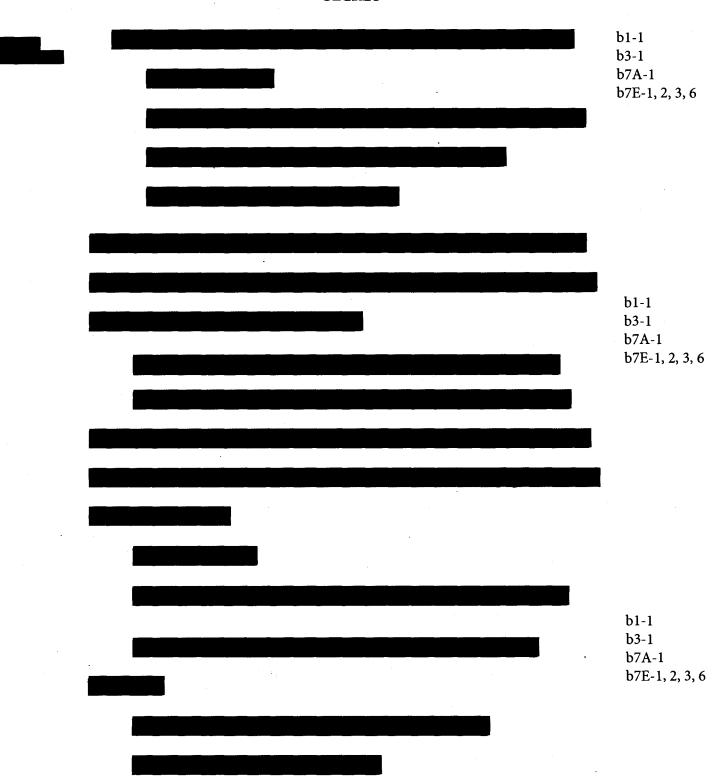
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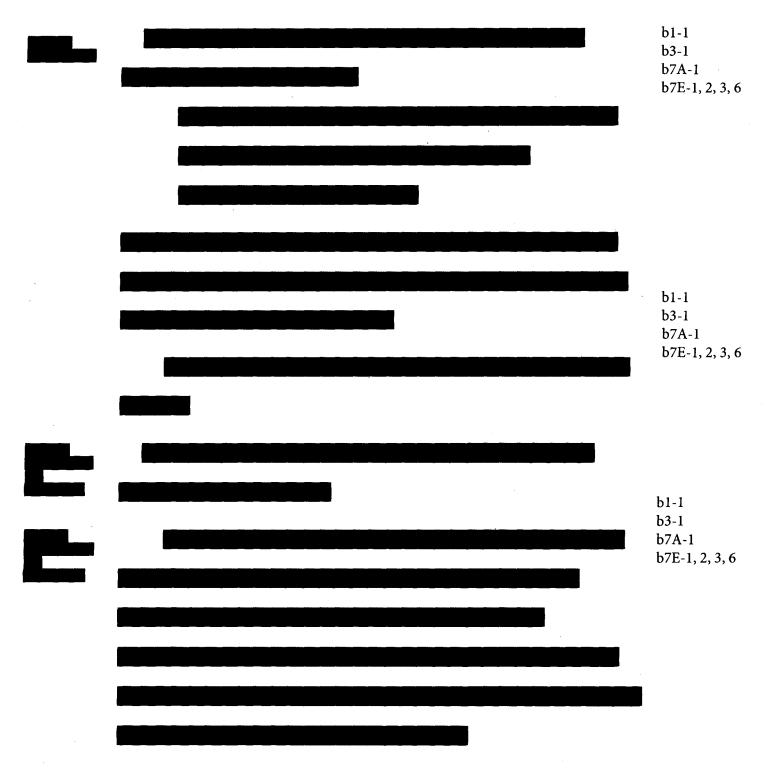
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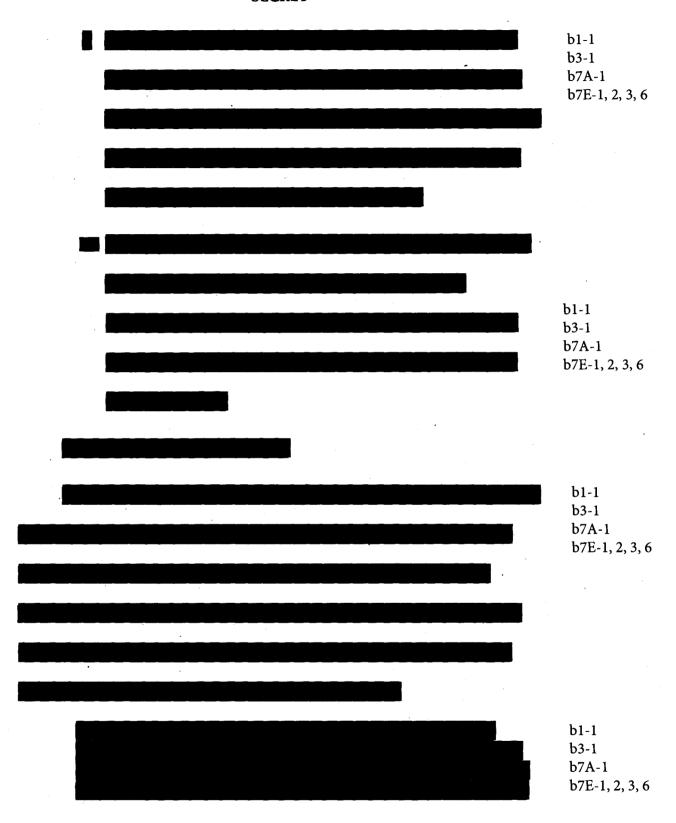
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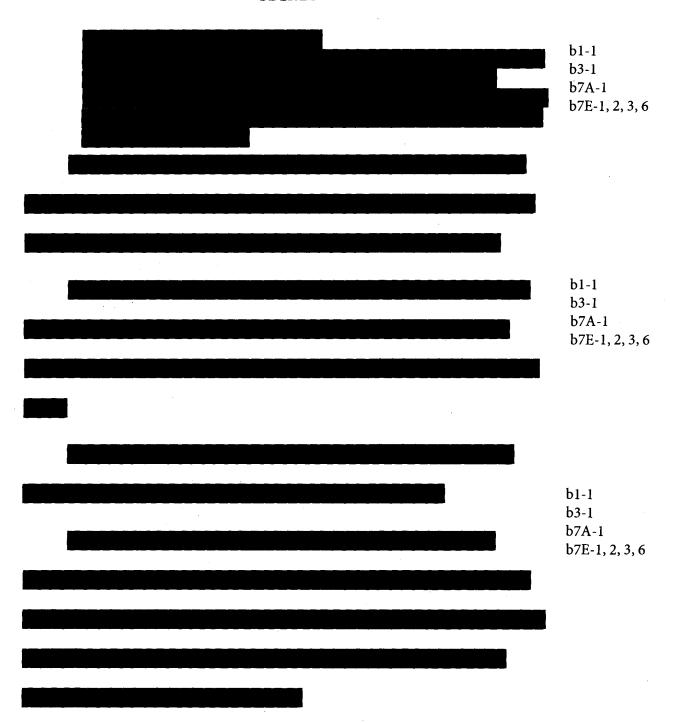
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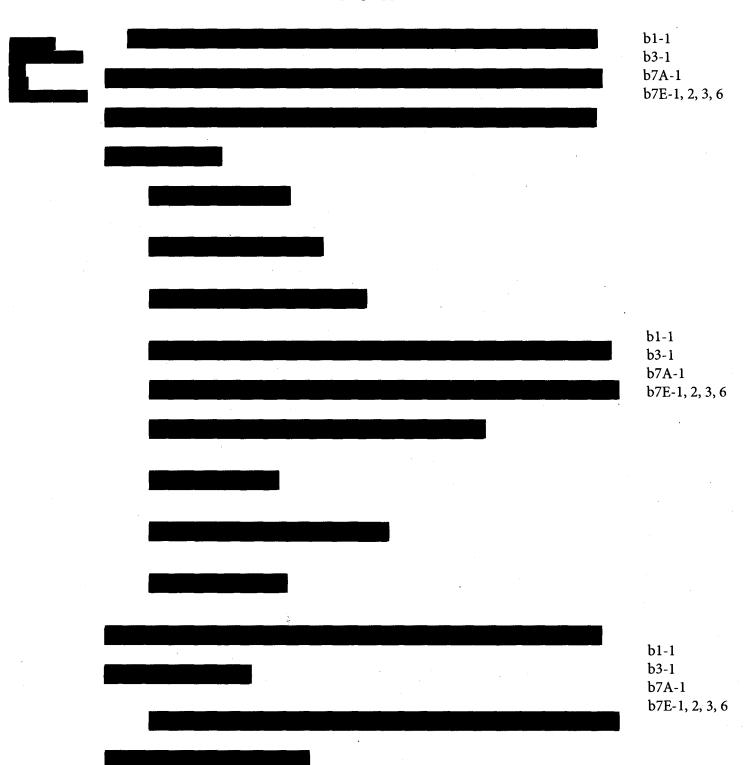
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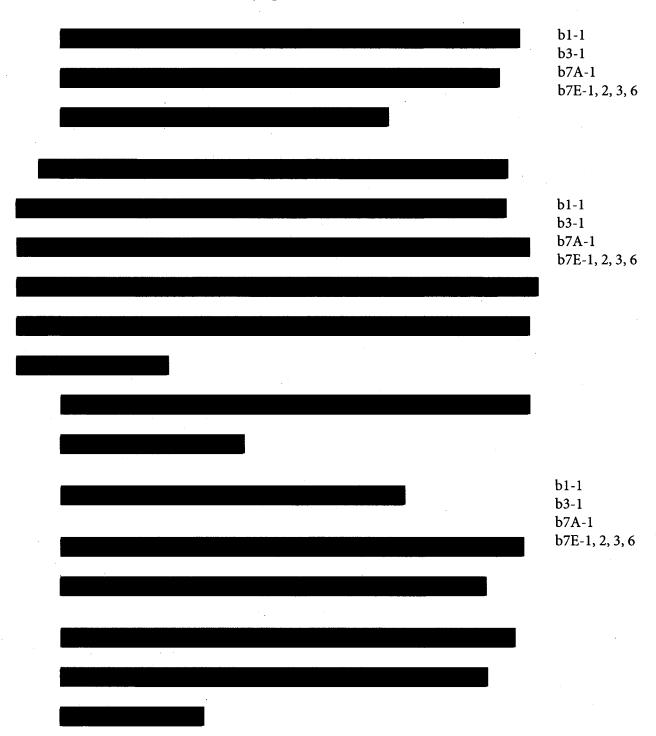
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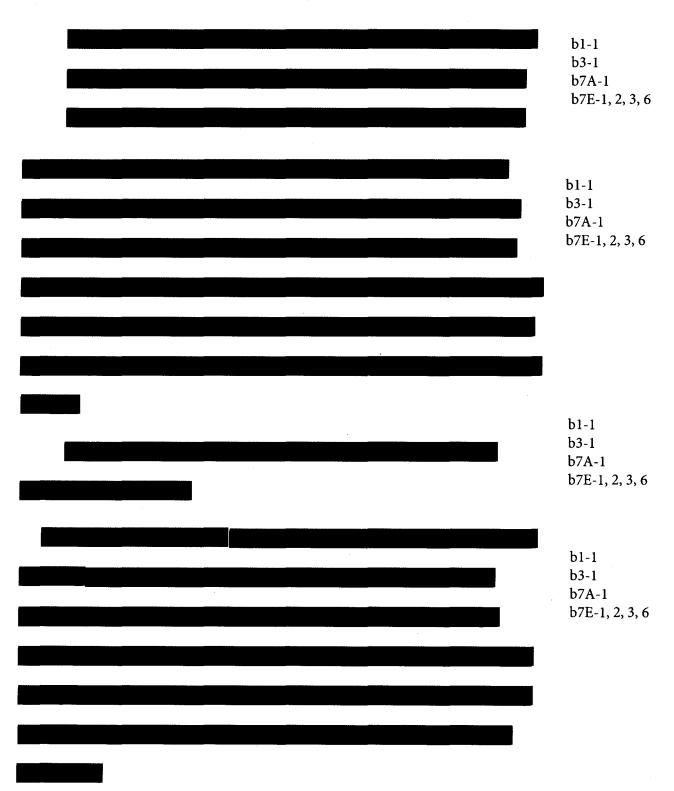
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This authorization regarding Carter W. Page expires

on the ______ day of April, 2017.

bl-1
b3-1
b7A-1

Signed ______ Date Time

Eastern Time

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

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All information is considered
unclassified except where
otherwise shown.

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Classify By: J23J98T32

UNITED STATES

Reason: (C)

Derived From: FBI NSICG, dated FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE SURVEILLANCE COURT MET APR

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Declassify On:

WASHINGTON, D.C.

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

Docket Number:

PERSON.

b1-1 - b3-1 b7A-1

(U) VERIFIED APPLICATION

(3) The United States of America hereby applies to this Court for authority to conduct and a described herein, pursuant b1-1 to the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978, as amended, Title 50, United b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6



1. (U) Identity of Federal Officer Making Application This application is

made by the federal Bureau b1-1 b3-1 b6-1 of Investigation (**FBI**) whose official duties at FBI Headquarters include supervision b7A-1 b7C-1 of the FBI's investigation of the above-captioned target based upon information b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 officially furnished to

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Classified by:

Derived from:

Declassify on:

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b3-1

b7A-1

2. (X) <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.

b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1

b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

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

b7A-1

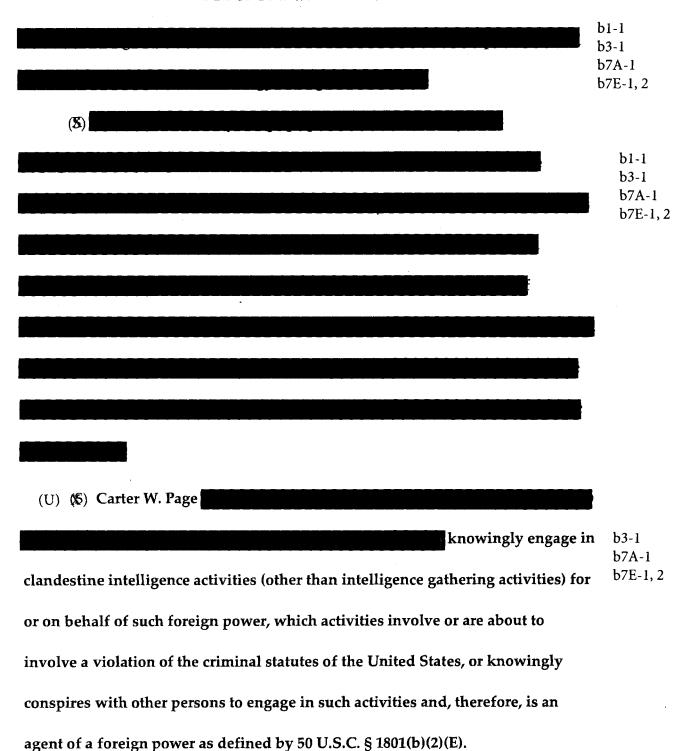
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- a. (§) The target of this application is an agent of a foreign power.
- (3) The following describes the foreign power and sets forth in detail a description of the target and the target's activities for or on behalf of this foreign power.
- (§) This verified application reports on developments in the FBI's (U) 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).

(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 Diplomatic List, published by the United States Department of State, and in Permanent Missions to the United Nations, published by the United Nations, and its establishments in the United States are components thereof.

(\$) Clandestine Intelligence Activities Of The Russian Federation

(\$) b1-1
b3-1
b7A-1
b7E-1, 2



I. (U) Overview.

(SXXXX) This application seeks renewed authority to conduct	b1-1
of Carter Page. The FBI believes that Page has been	b3-1 b6-2
the subject of targeted recruitment by the Russian Government	b7A-1 b7C-2 b7E-1, 2, 3
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
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¹ (S) On or about November 8, 2016, Candidate #1 was elected President.	1.1.1
Although Candidate #1 is now the President, in order to maintain the historical	b1-1 b3-1
accuracy of the background information, unless otherwise stated, the original references to Candidate #1 and members of Candidate #1's campaign team will	b7A-1
remain the same as in previous applications filed in this matter (see docket numbers	

	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2
II. (U) The FBI Believes that the Russian Government Engages in Influence Operations Against the United States.	
(U) A. XS/XXF) RIS Efforts to Influence U.S. Presidential Elections.	
(XXXX) 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
	07L-1, 2

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

In

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

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

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].

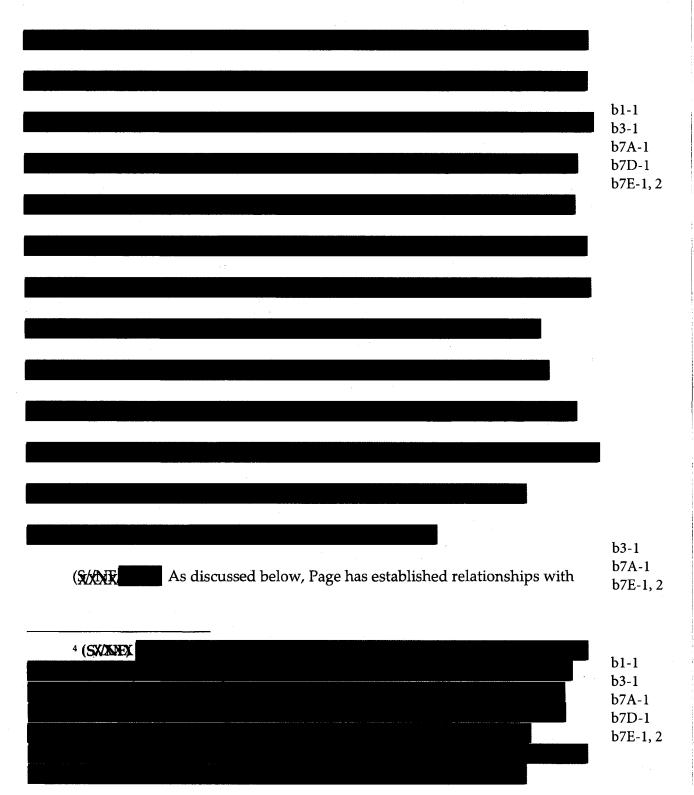
(SYNIX) Based on the Russian Government's historical efforts to influence U.S. and foreign elections, b1-1 and the information discussed herein regarding Russia's coordination b3-1 b7A-1 with Carter Page b7E-1, 2 to attempt to undermine and improperly and illegally influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential election. (U) (SYXXXEX 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 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.

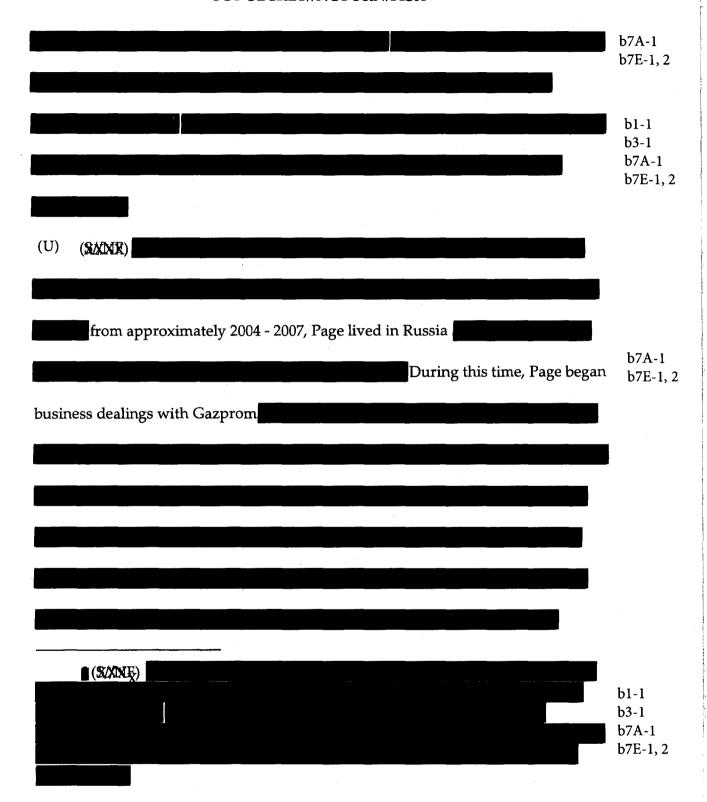
H.R. Rep. No. 95-1283, pt. 1, at 41 (1978).

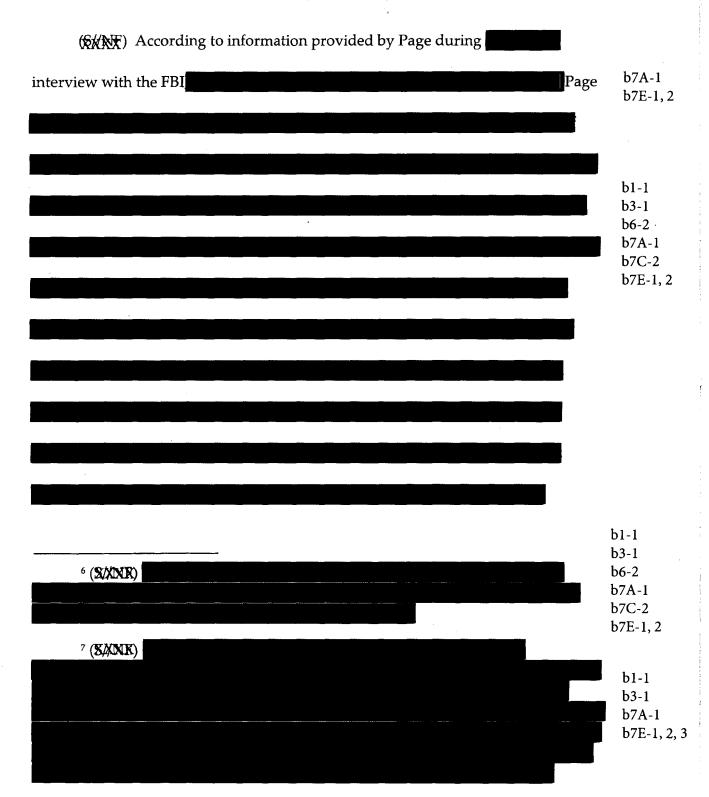
(U) B. XSK The Russian Government's Coordinated Efforts to Influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election.

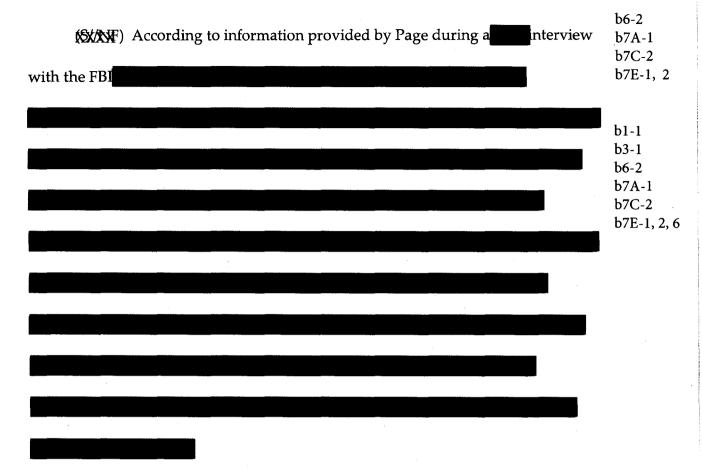
(SX/XXXX) In or about March 2016, George Papadopoulos³ and Carter Page (the target of this application) were publicly identified by Candidate #1 as part of his/her b1-1 foreign policy team. b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2 , the FBI believes that the Russian Government's efforts to influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential election were being coordinated with Page and perhaps other individuals associated with Candidate #1's campaign. b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2 b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2



Russian Government officials, including Russian intelligence officers,	b7A-1 b7D-1
	b7E-1, 2
	b1-1
	b3-1 b7A-1
	b7E-1, 2, 3
III.(U)(S) Carter Page.	
(U) A. (S) Page's Connections to Russia and the RIS.	
(STANK) Page, a U.S. citizen, is the founder and managing partner of Global	
Energy Capital LLC (GEC), an investment management and advisory firm that	
focuses on the energy sector primarily in emerging markets.	
	b7A-1
	b7E-1, 2

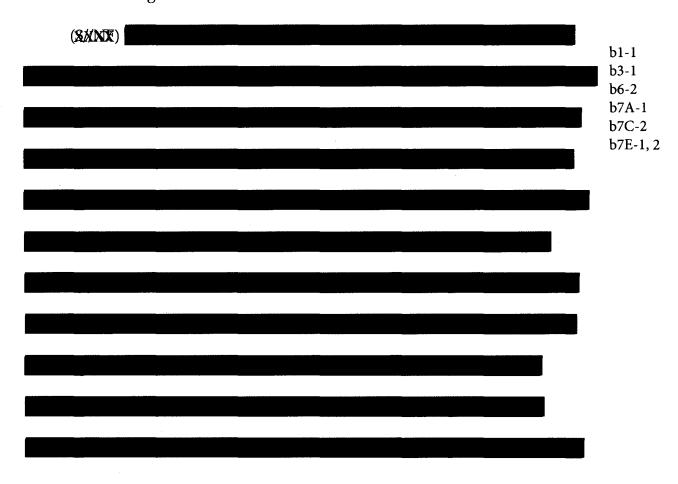




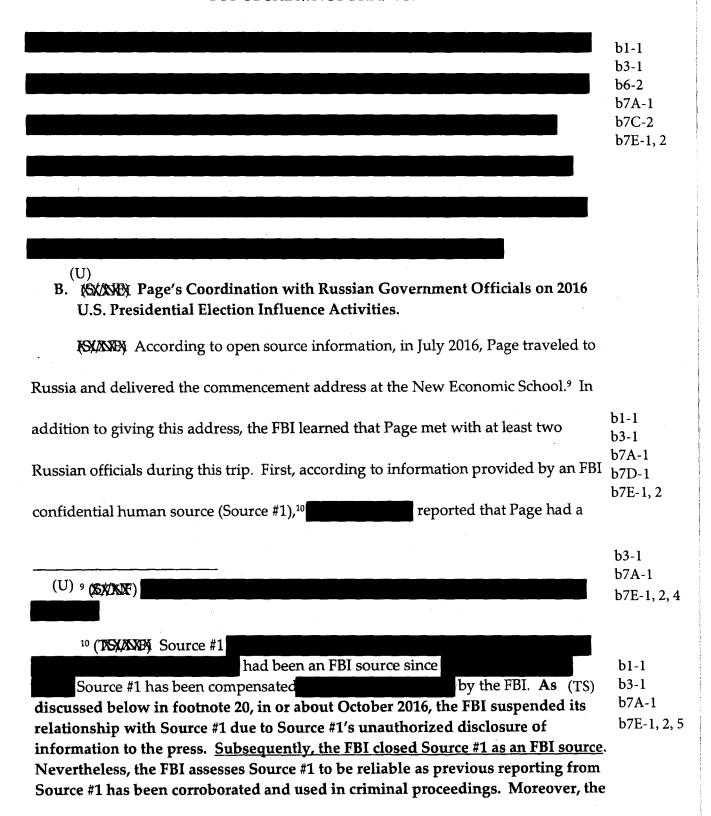


(U) (SYNX) In or about January 2015, Podobnyy, along with Evgeny Buryakov and Igor Sporyshev, were charged by a sealed complaint in the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York for violations of 18 U.S.C. §§ 371 and 951 (conspiring to act, and acting as, an unregistered agent of a foreign 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.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.

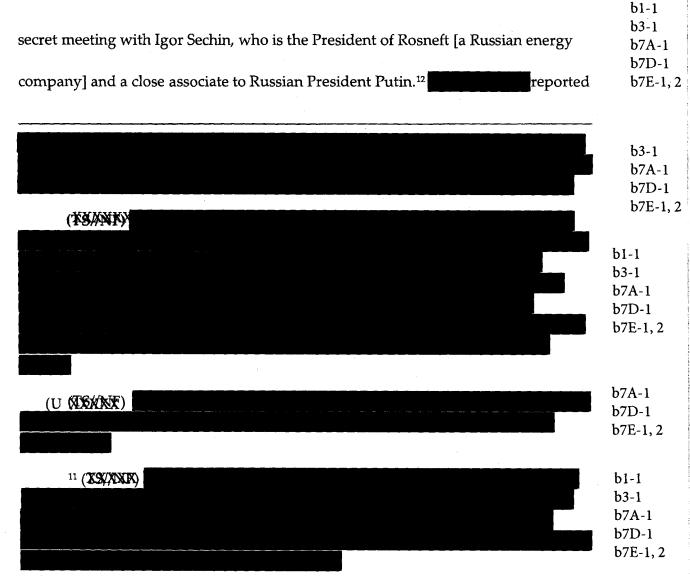


⁽U) ⁸ (SWNF) Buryakov was arrested in or about January 2015. At the time of Buryakov's arrest, Podobnyy and Sporyshev no longer lived in the United States and were not arrested. In or about March 2016, Buryakov pled guilty to conspiring to act in the United States as an agent of Russia without providing 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.

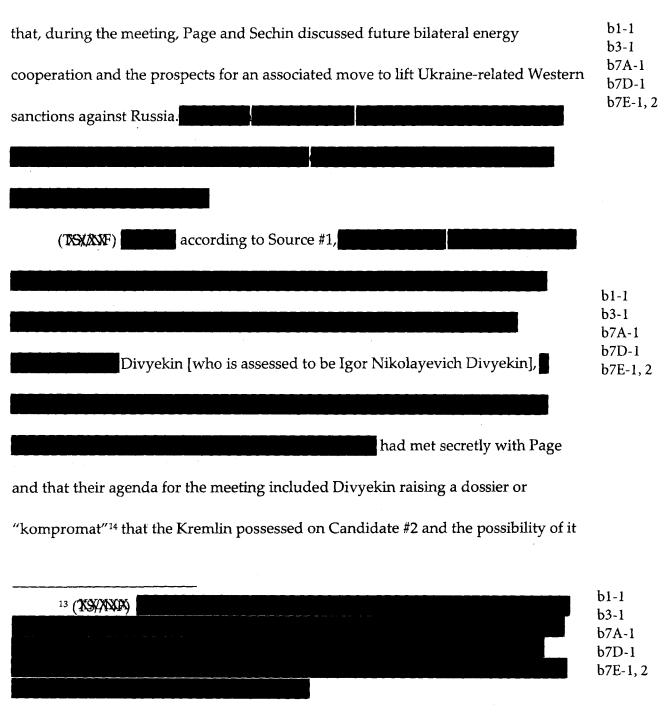


FBI notes that the incident that led the FBI to terminate its relationship with Source #1 occurred after Source #1 provided the reporting that is described herein.

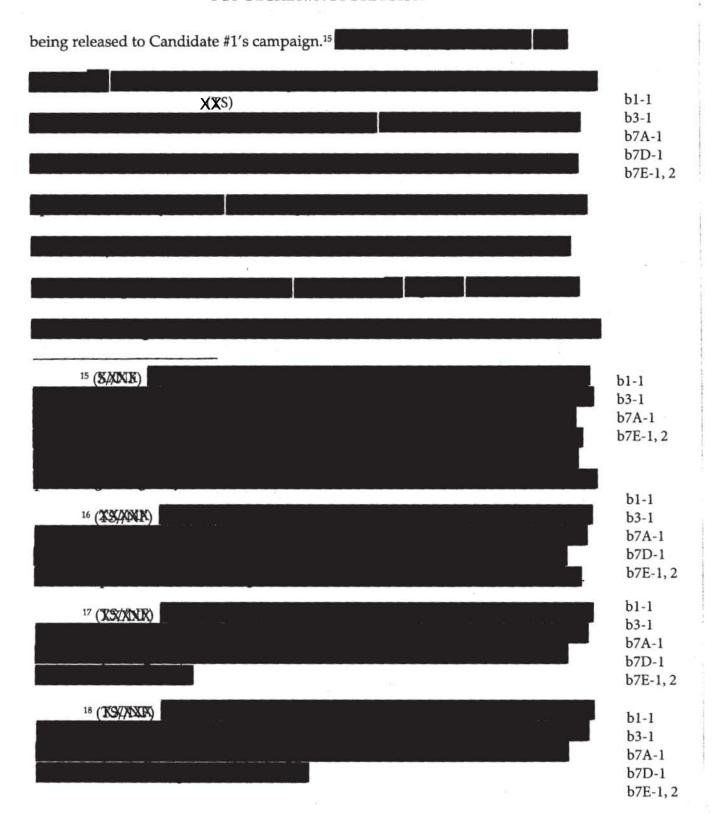
- (U) (MSWAN) Source #1, who now owns a foreign business/financial intelligence firm, was approached by an identified U.S. person, who indicated to Source #1 that a U.S.-based law firm had hired the identified U.S. person to conduct research regarding Candidate #1's ties to Russia (the identified U.S. 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.
- (XXXXXF) Source #1 tasked his sub-source(s) to collect the requisite information. After Source #1 received information from the sub-source(s) described herein, Source #1 provided the information to the identified U.S. person who had hired Source #1 and to the FBI. b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2 (XS/XXX) Notwithstanding Source #1's reason for conducting the research b1-1 into Candidate #1's ties to Russia, based on Source #1's previous reporting history b3-1 with the FBI, whereby Source #1 provided reliable information to the FBI, the FBI b7A-1 believes Source #1's reporting herein to be credible. b7D-1 b7E-1, 2 (**XXXXXX**I) b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2

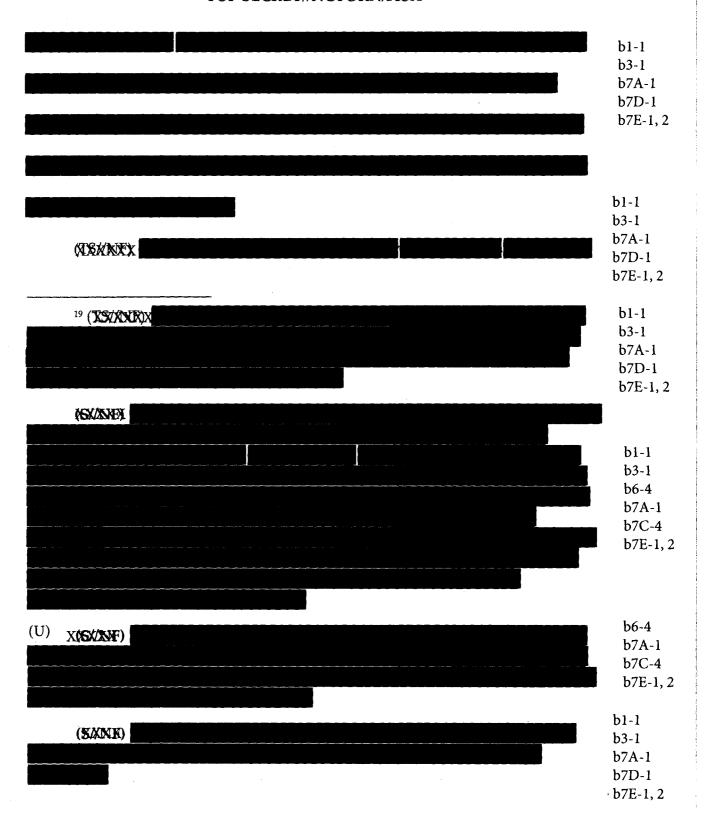


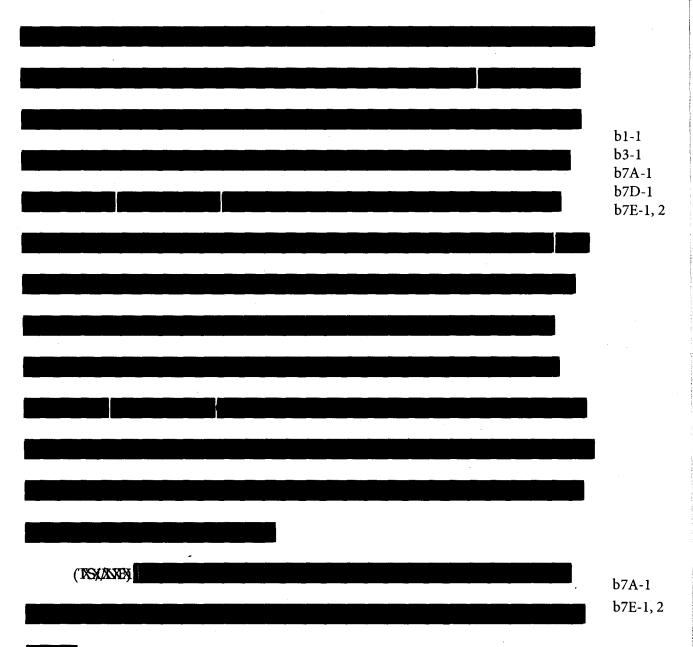
(USDOT) announced sanctions that would be taken against Russian Government officials and entities as a result of Russian efforts to destabilize Ukraine. Sechin was identified as an official of the Russian Government, and further identified as the President and Chairman of the Management Board for Rosneft, 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."



(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.







a July 2016 article in an identified news organization reported that

Candidate #1's campaign worked behind the scenes to make sure Political Party #1's

platform would not call for giving weapons to Ukraine to fight Russian and rebel

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

in Washington. The article stated that Candidate #1's campaign sought "to make sure that [Political Party #1] would not pledge to give Ukraine the weapons it has been asking for from the United States." Further, an August 2016 article published by an identified news organization, which characterized Candidate #1 as sounding like a supporter of Ukraine's territorial integrity in September [2015], noted that Candidate #1 had recently adopted a "milder" tone regarding Russia's annexation of Crimea. The August 2016 article further reported that Candidate #1 said Candidate #1 might recognize Crimea as Russian territory and lift punitive U.S. sanctions against Russia. The article opined that while the reason for Candidate #1's shift was not clear, Candidate #1's more conciliatory words, which contradict Political Party #1's official platform, follow Candidate #1's recent association with several people sympathetic to Russian influence in Ukraine, including foreign policy advisor Carter Page. b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2 b1-1 b3-1

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

(U) (SYAME) 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 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

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) (TSMNN) 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.

²⁰ (**%**) 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.

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) (SYAND) 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

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"

b7A-1 b7E-1, 2

(U) (SYNX) 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

any "final" questions the FBI may have.21

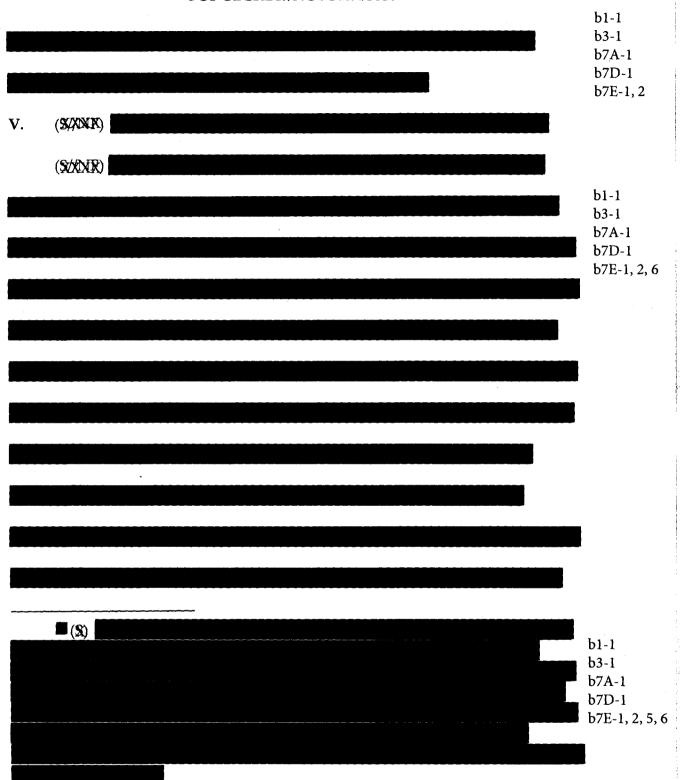
(SYANK) Additionally, on or about September 26, 2016, an identified news organization published an article that was based on an interview with Page (September 26th News Article). In the September 26th News Article, Page stated that all of the accusations were complete "garbage" and that he did not meet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

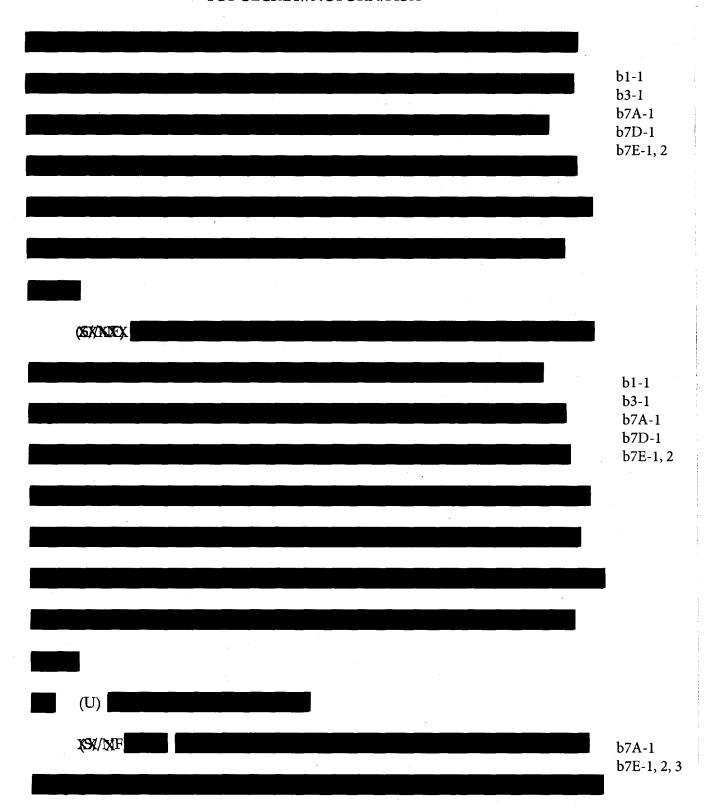
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²¹ (SXNE)		

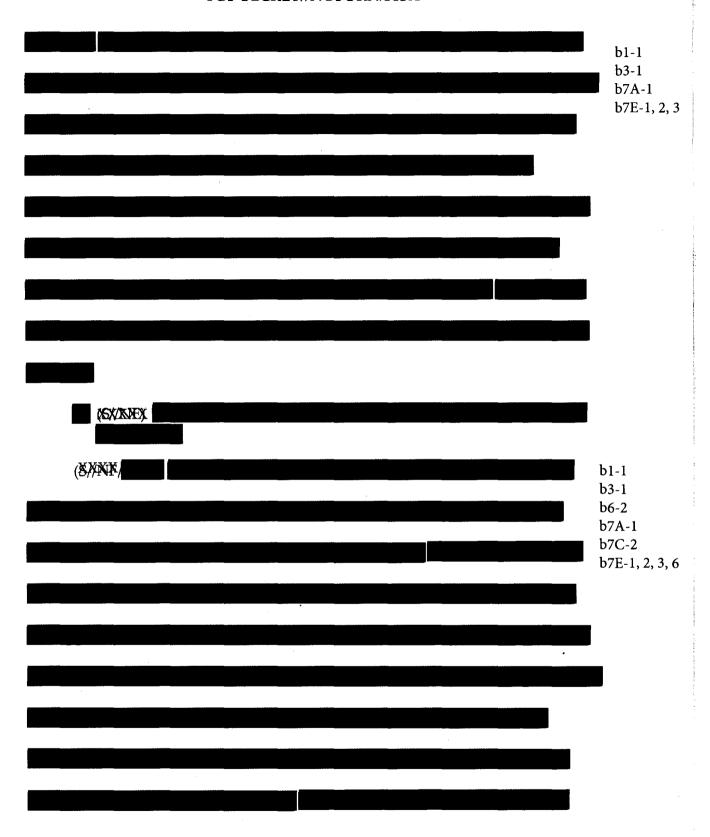
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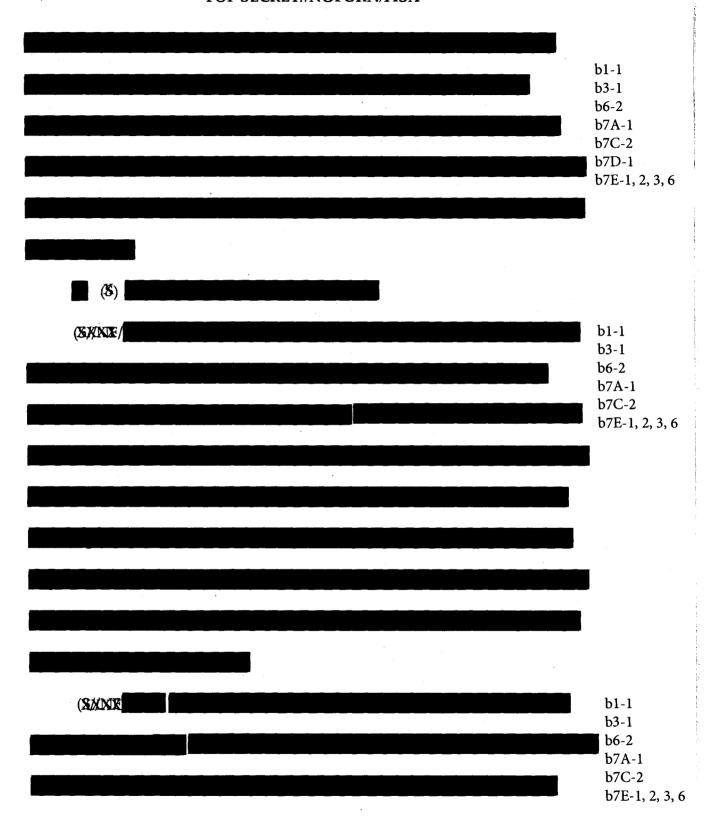
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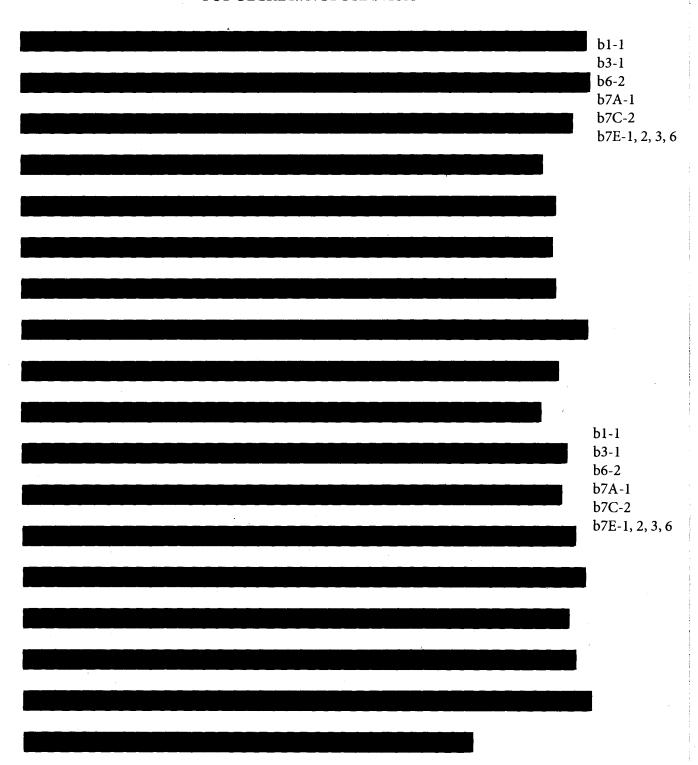


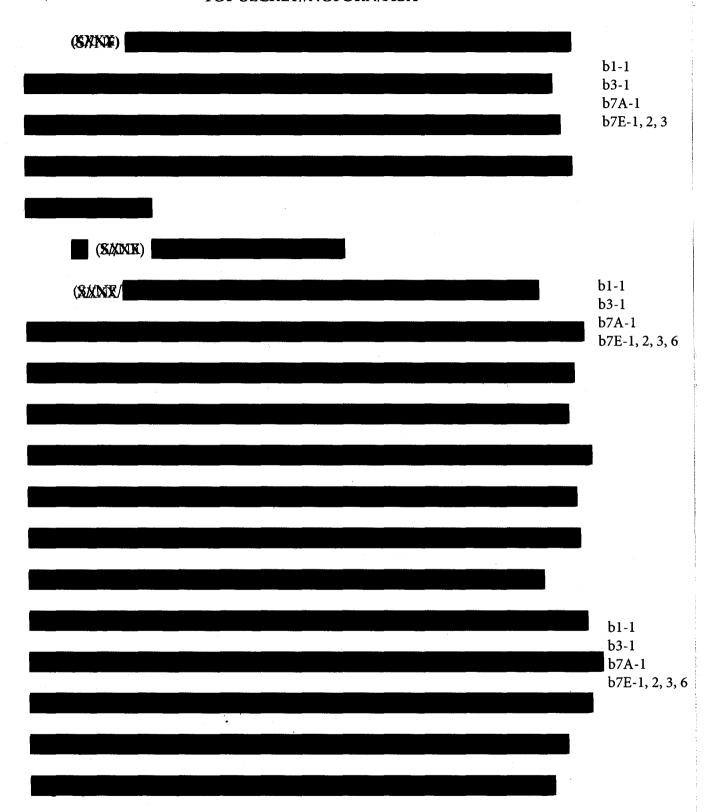


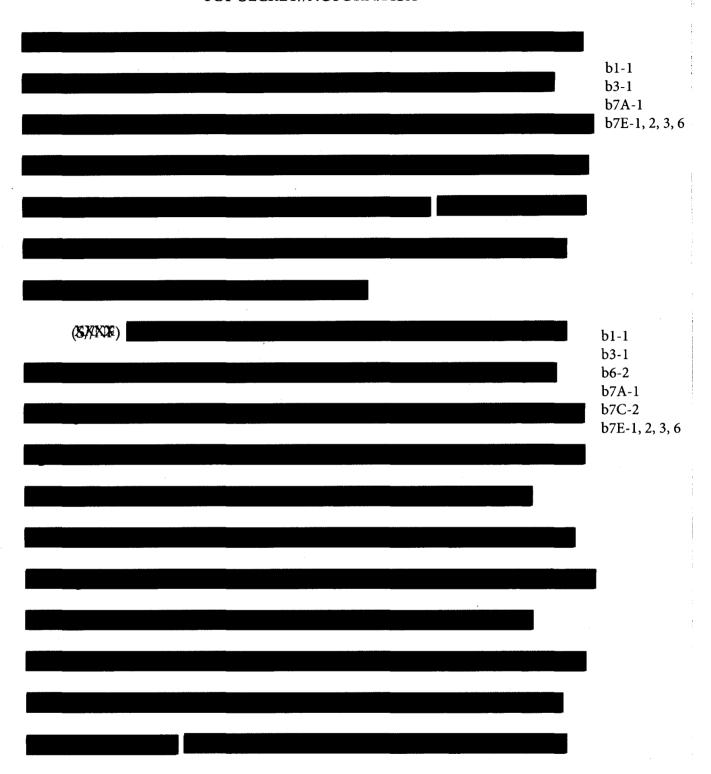


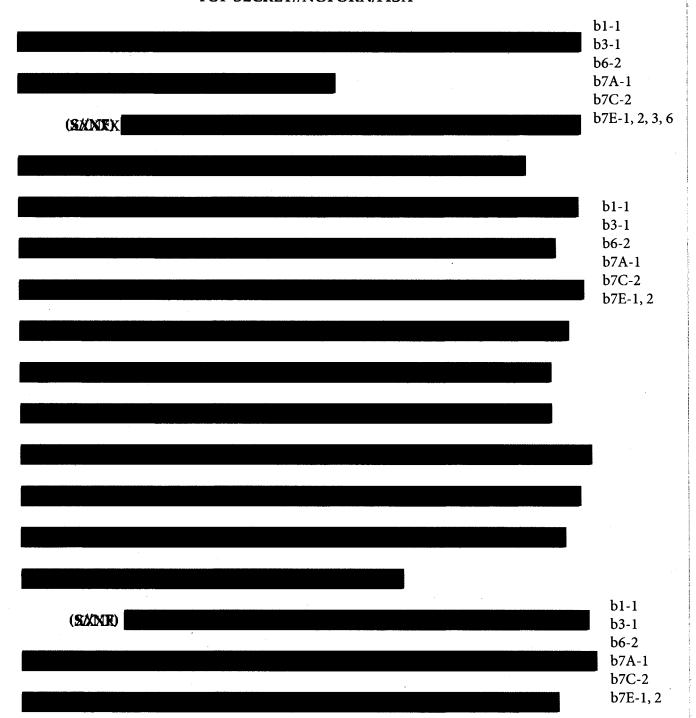
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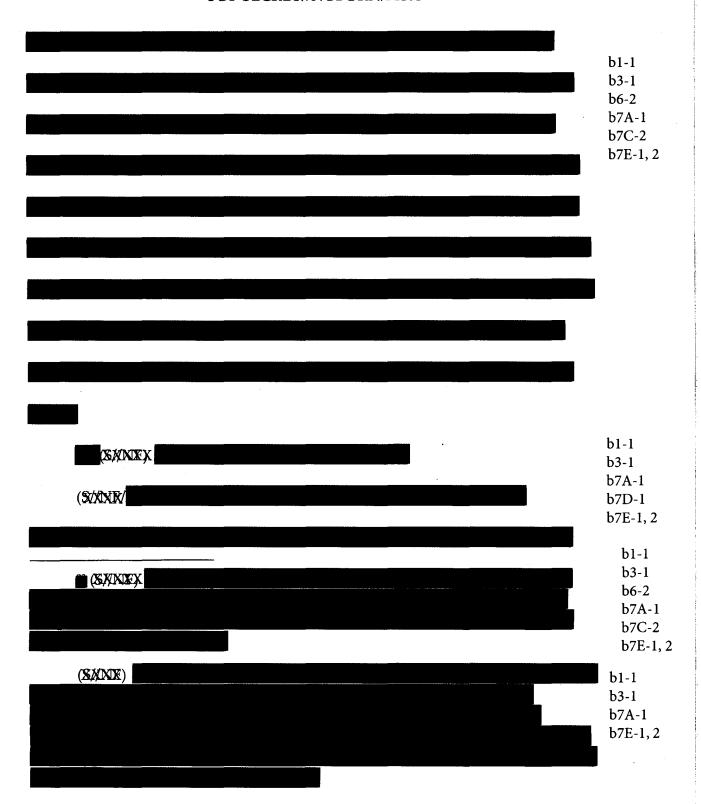


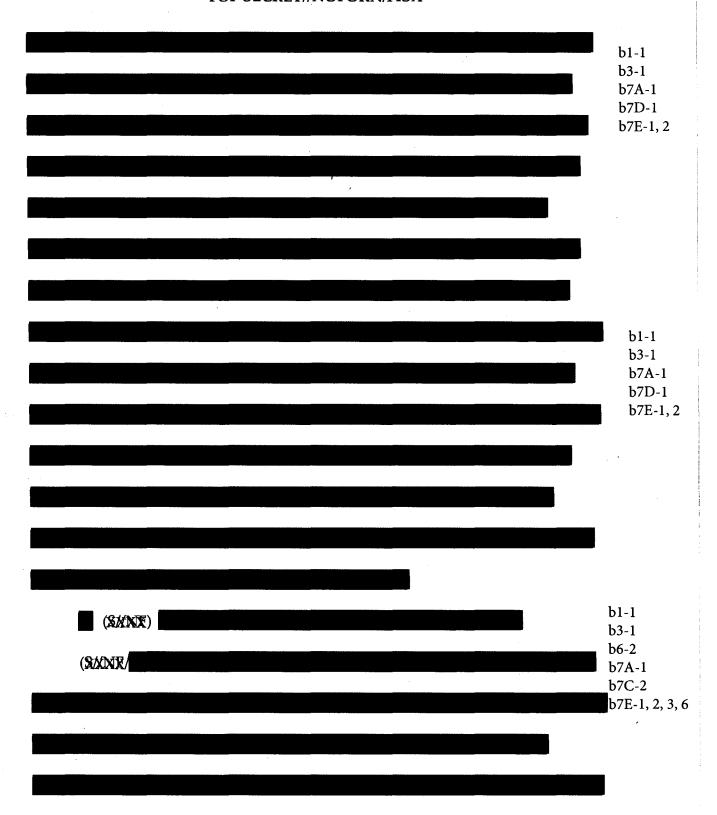




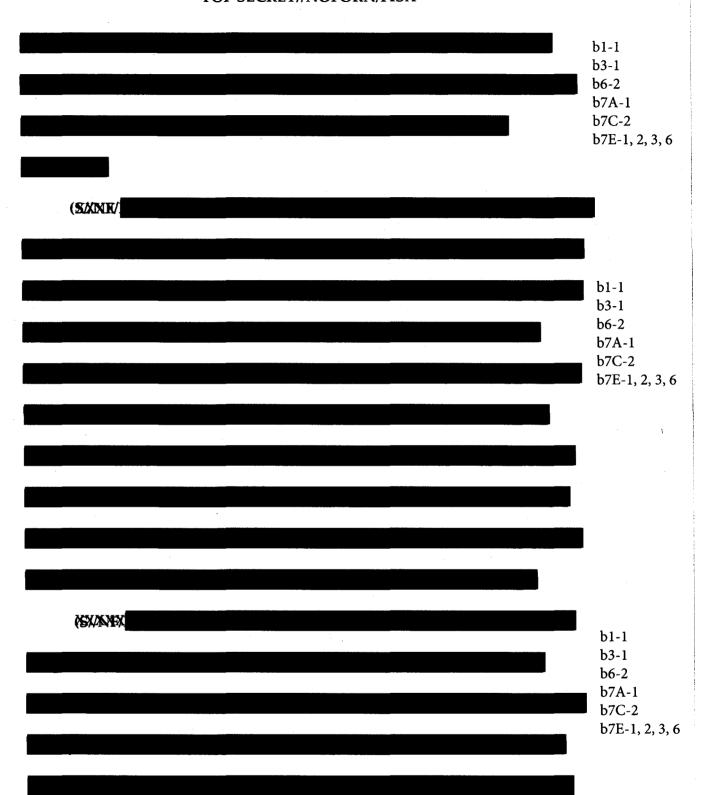


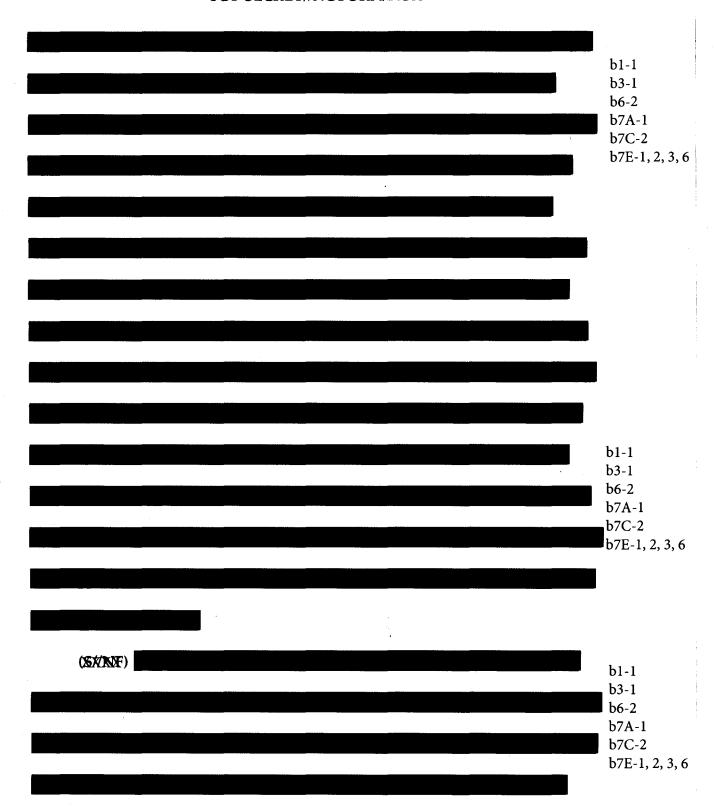




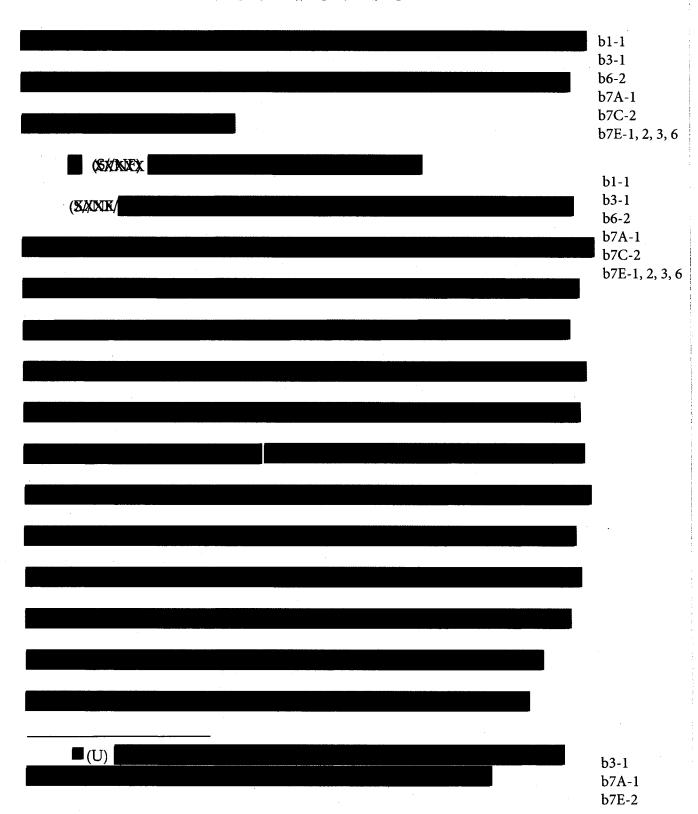


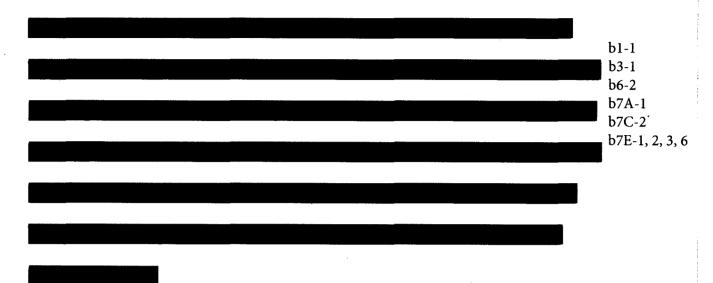
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(U) G. (\$//NF) Page's Letter to the U.S. Department of Justice.

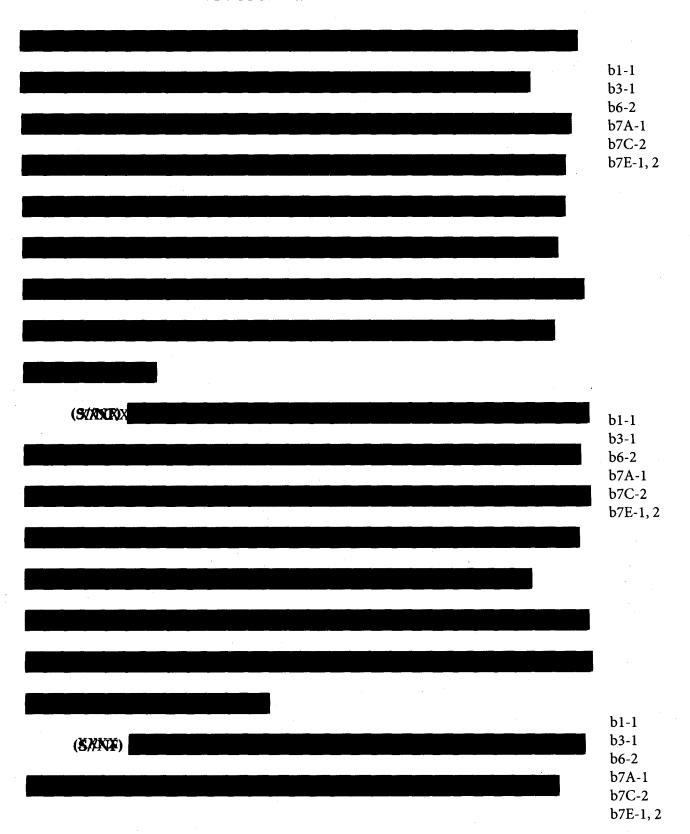
(SXXXXIII) or around February 2017, Page sent a letter to the U.S.

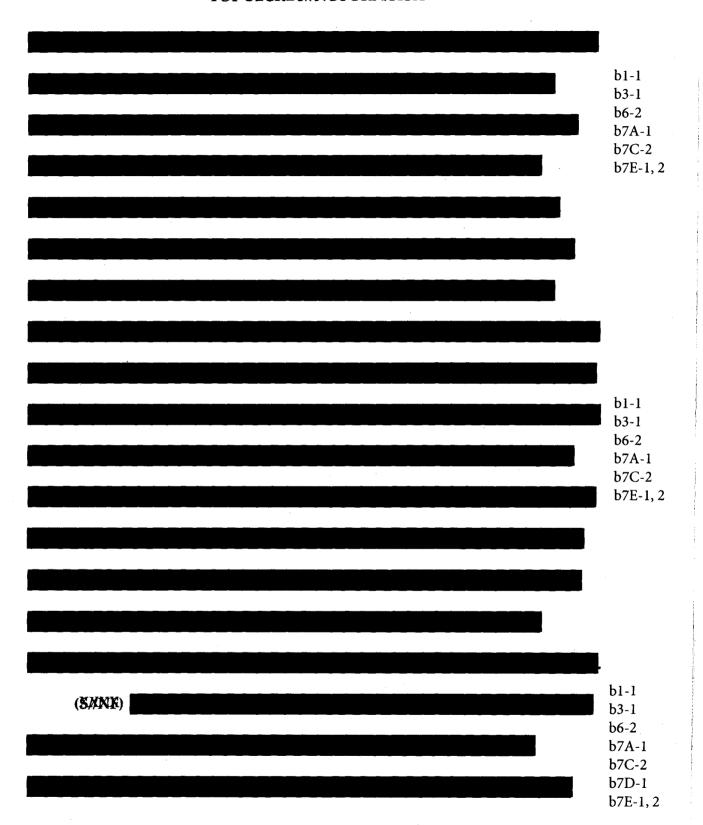
Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division, Voting Section, urging the review of what Page claimed was "severe election fraud in the form of disinformation, suppression of dissent, hate crimes and other extensive abuses led by members of [Candidate #2's] campaign and their political allies last year." 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

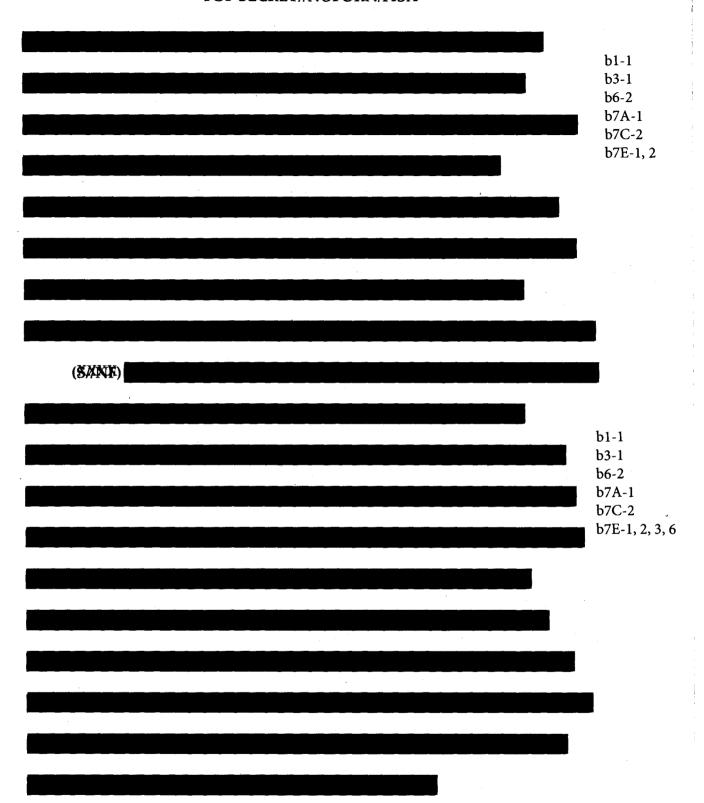
(i.e., Sechin and Diveykin) while he was in Moscow in July 2016 to give the commencement address at the New Economic School, which Page claims is "false evidence," to Candidate #2's campaign. Page further claims that the information relied on by Candidate #2's campaign, certain members of the U.S. Congress,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

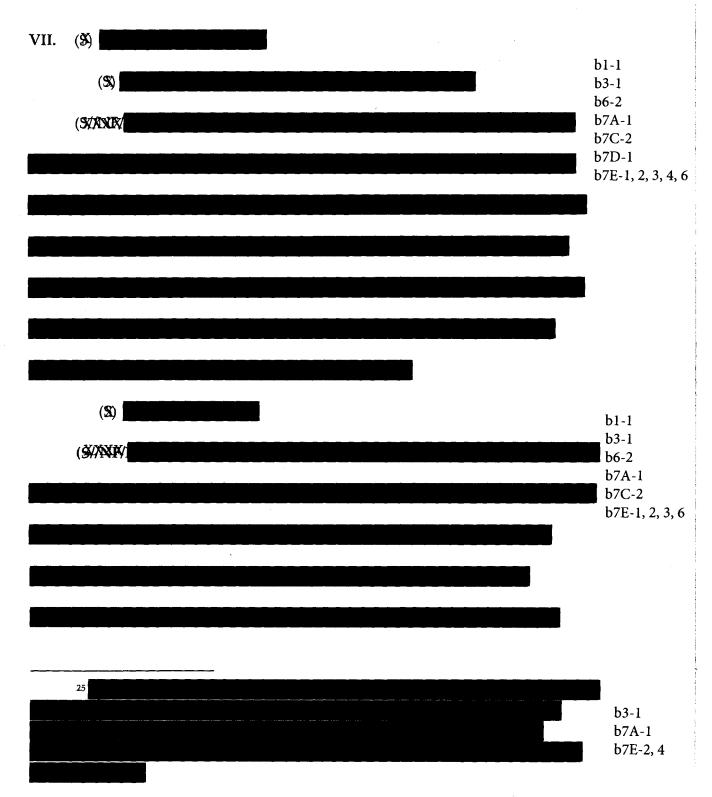


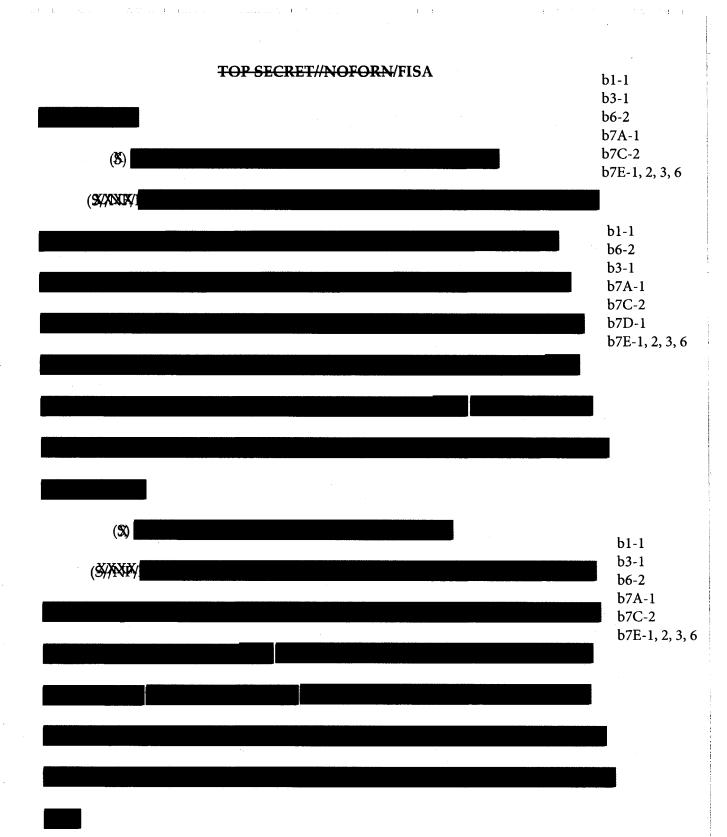
	b1-1 b3-1 b6-2 b7A-1 b7C-2 b7E-1, 2
(SHNE)	b1-1 b3-1 b6-2 b7A-1 b7C-2 b7E-1, 2
(SANK)	b1-1 b3-1 b6-2 b7A-1 b7C-2

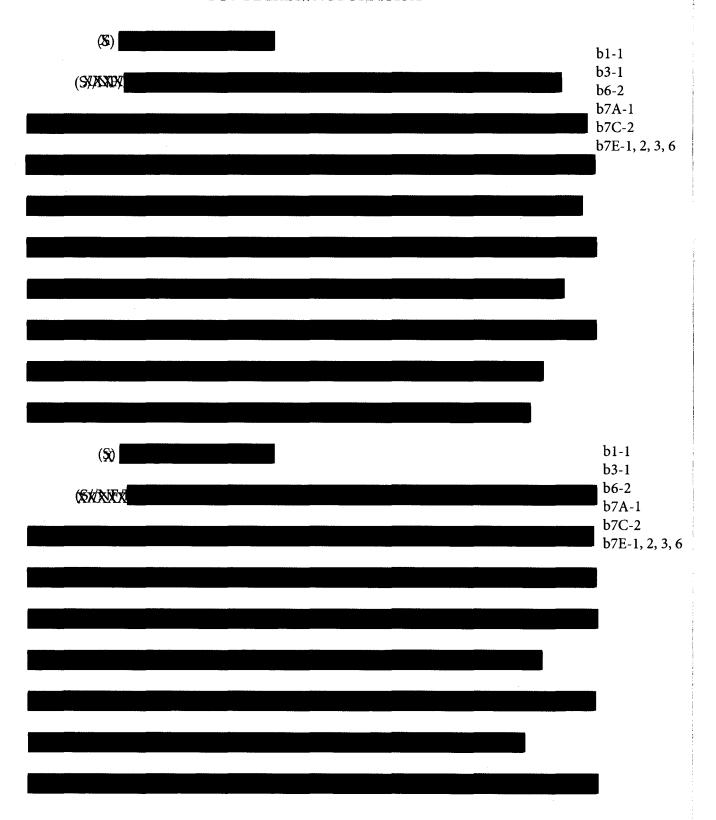


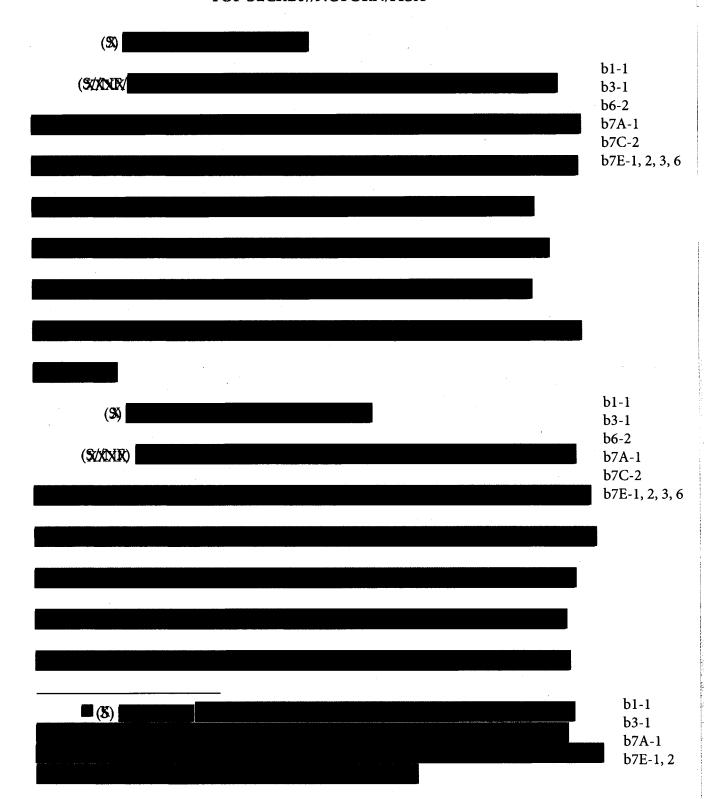






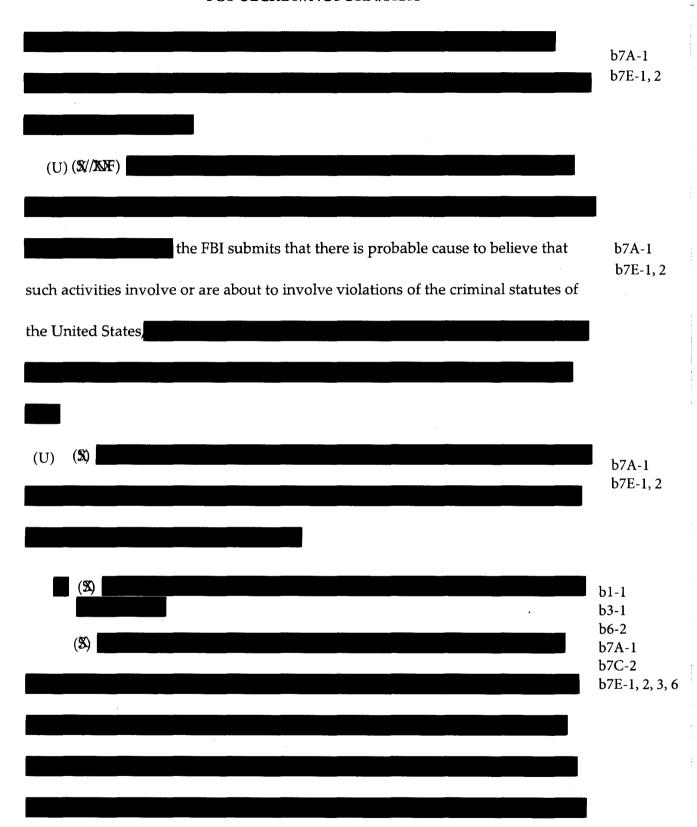




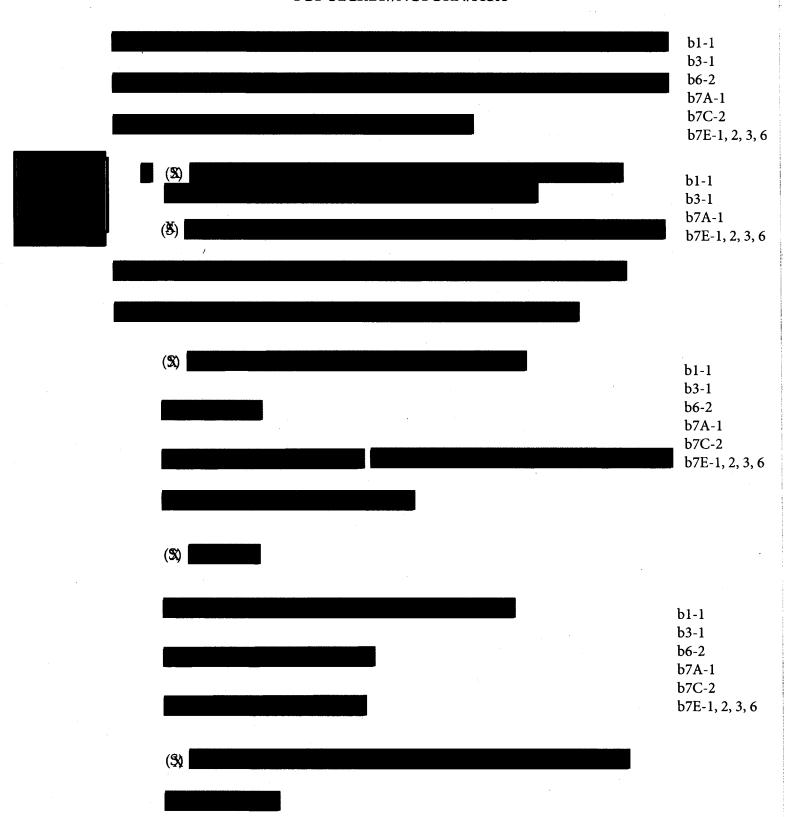




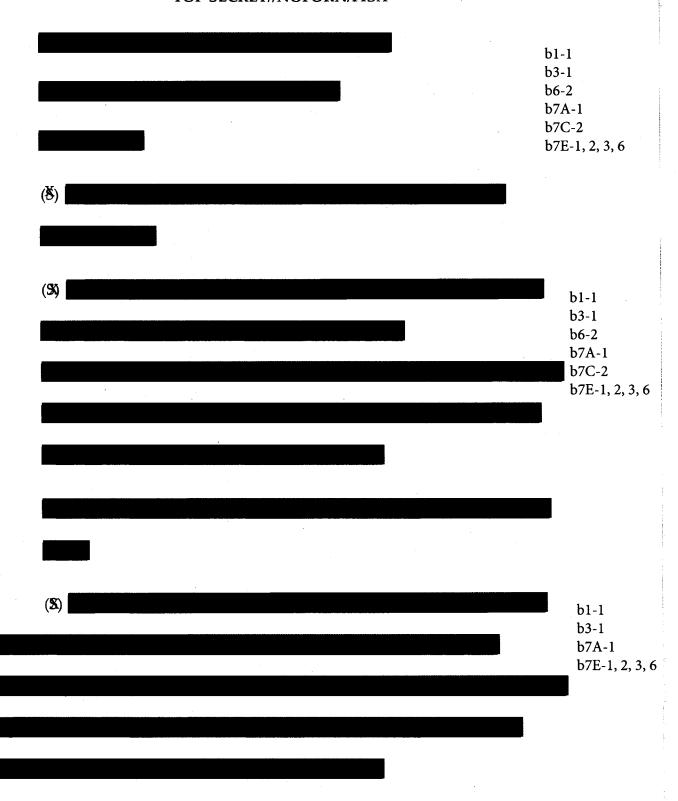
WIII. (U) Conclusion. (U) (WANK) As discussed above, the FBI believes that Page has been collaborating and conspiring with the Russian Government, Based on the b7A-1 b7E-1, 2 and b7A-1 b7E-1, 2 b7A-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2 b7A-1 b7		
b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 VIII. (U) Conclusion. (U) (X/XIX) As discussed above, the FBI believes that Page has been collaborating and conspiring with the Russian Government, Based on the b7A-1 b7E-1, 2 foregoing facts and circumstances, the FBI submits that there is probable cause to believe that Page knowingly engage in		b3-1 b6-2 b7A-1
b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 VIII. (U) Conclusion. (U) (X/XIX) As discussed above, the FBI believes that Page has been collaborating and conspiring with the Russian Government, Based on the b7A-1 b7E-1, 2 foregoing facts and circumstances, the FBI submits that there is probable cause to believe that Page knowingly engage in		
VIII. (U) Conclusion. (U) (SANK) As discussed above, the FBI believes that Page has been collaborating and conspiring with the Russian Government, Based on the b7A-1 b7E-1, 2 foregoing facts and circumstances, the FBI submits that there is probable cause to believe that Page knowingly engage in	(SMNIE)	b3-1 b7A-1
(U) (SCANK) As discussed above, the FBI believes that Page has been collaborating and conspiring with the Russian Government, Based on the b7A-1 b7E-1, 2 foregoing facts and circumstances, the FBI submits that there is probable cause to believe that Page knowingly engage in		b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
(U) (SCANK) As discussed above, the FBI believes that Page has been collaborating and conspiring with the Russian Government, Based on the b7A-1 b7E-1, 2 foregoing facts and circumstances, the FBI submits that there is probable cause to believe that Page knowingly engage in	VIII. (U) Conclusion.	
Based on the $\frac{b7A-1}{b7E-1,2}$ foregoing facts and circumstances, the FBI submits that there is probable cause to believe that Page knowingly engage in		porating
believe that Page knowingly engage in		d on the
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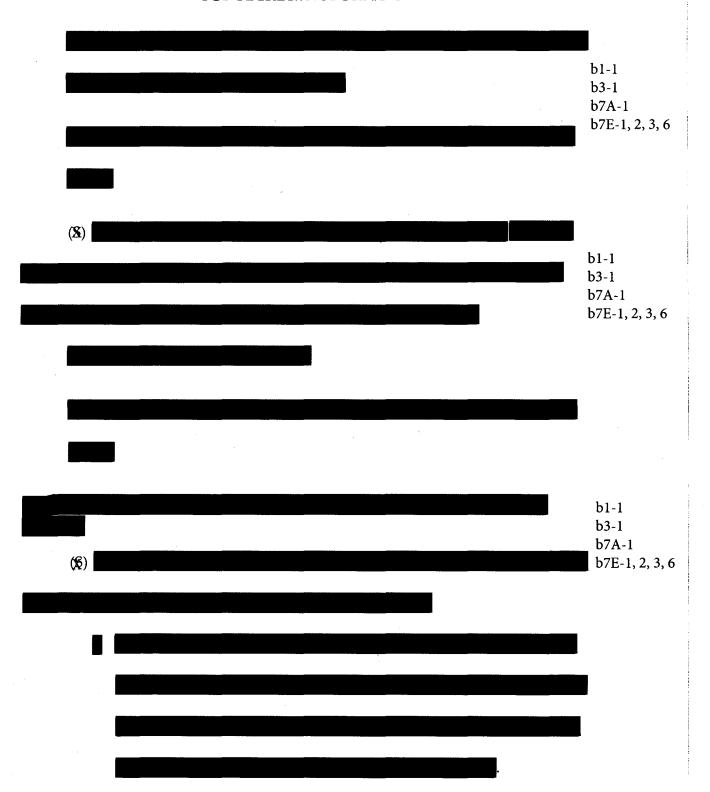


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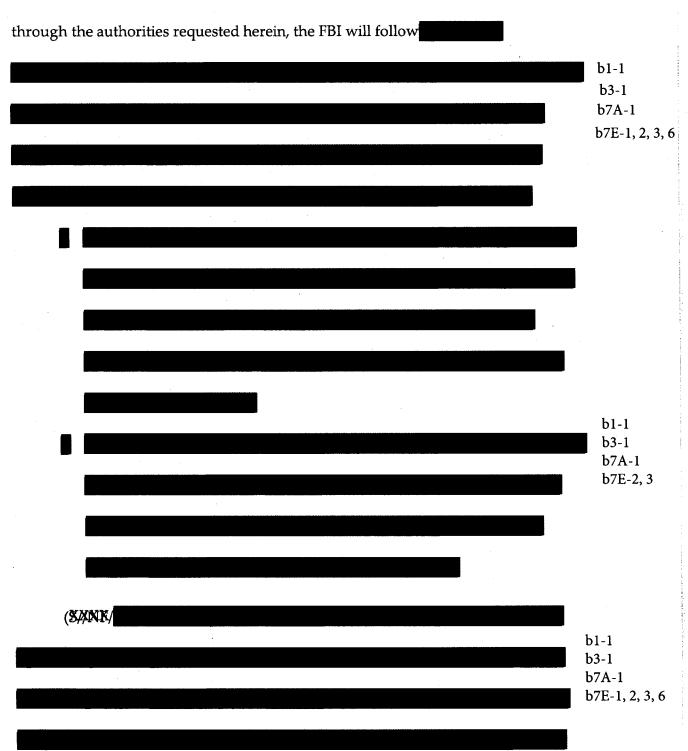


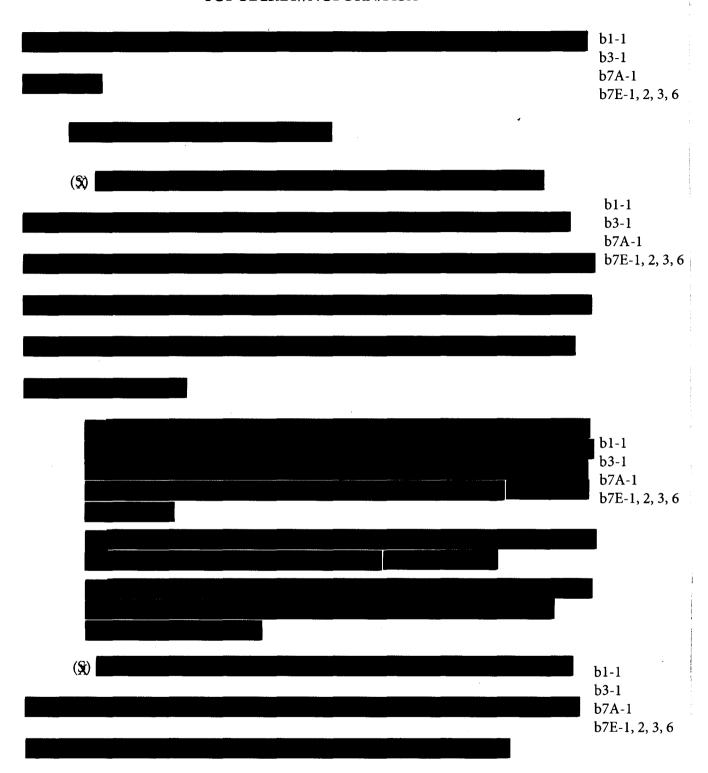


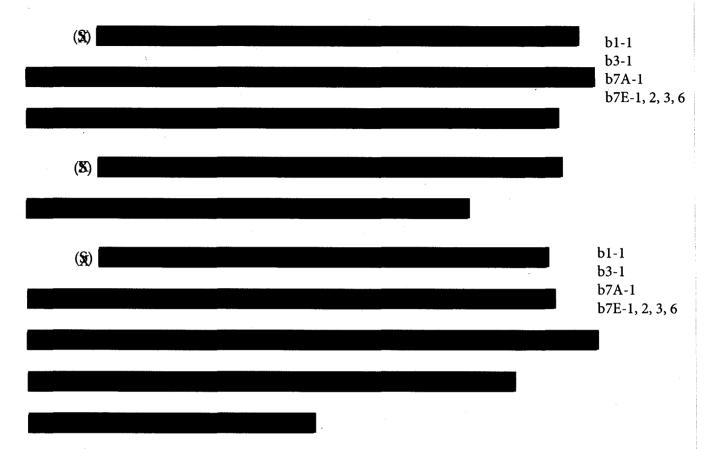




4. (X) Proposed Minimization Procedures As to all information acquired







5. (3) Nature of the Information Sought Through the authorities

boundaries

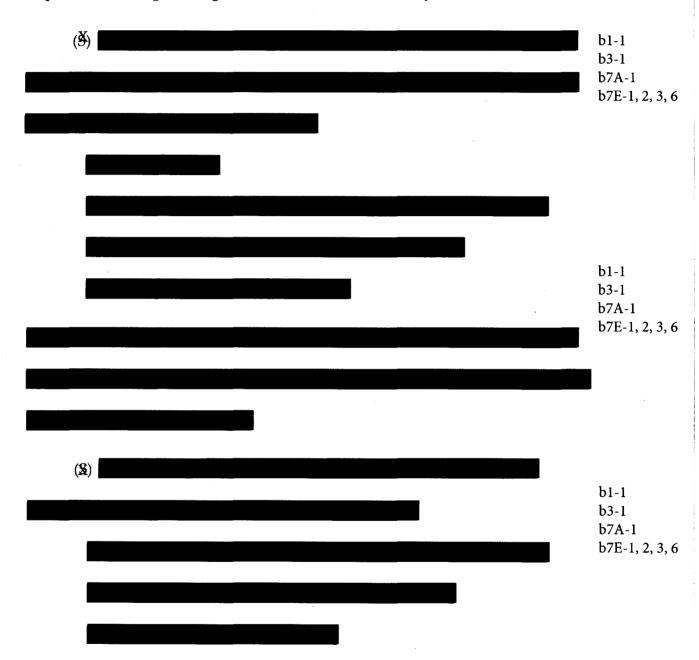
requested herein, the United States is seeking foreign intelligence information with

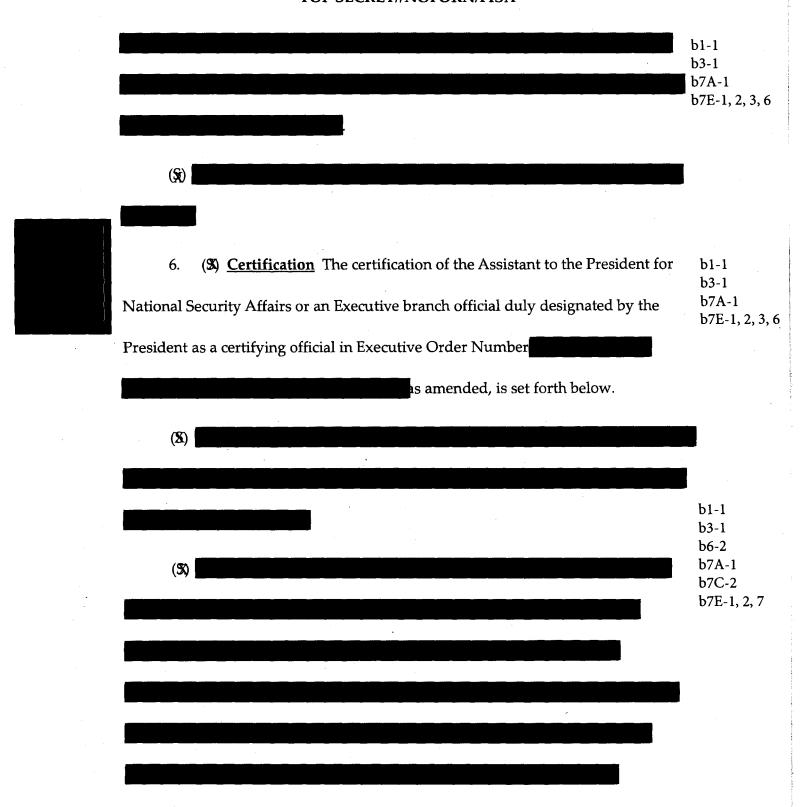
boundaries

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b1-1

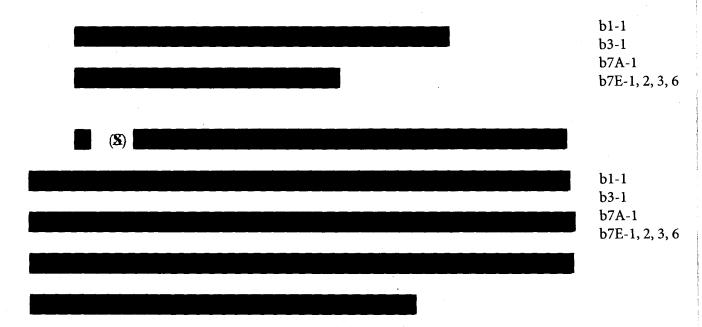
foreign affairs of the United States. These same authorities may also incidentally acquire other foreign intelligence information, as defined by the Act.





(U) The Purpose of the Authorities Requested

(\$) The FBI's foreign intelligence goals for this investigation are set forth in the certification of the Executive Branch official contained herein. However, the authorities requested in this application may produce information and material which might, when evaluated by prosecutive authorities, constitute evidence of a violation of United States law, and this investigation may result in an eventual criminal prosecution of the target. Nevertheless, as discussed in the certification, at b1-1 b3-1 least a significant purpose of this request for b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 is to collect foreign intelligence information as part of the FBI's investigation of this target. b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6



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

b3-1 b7A-1

b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

b1-1

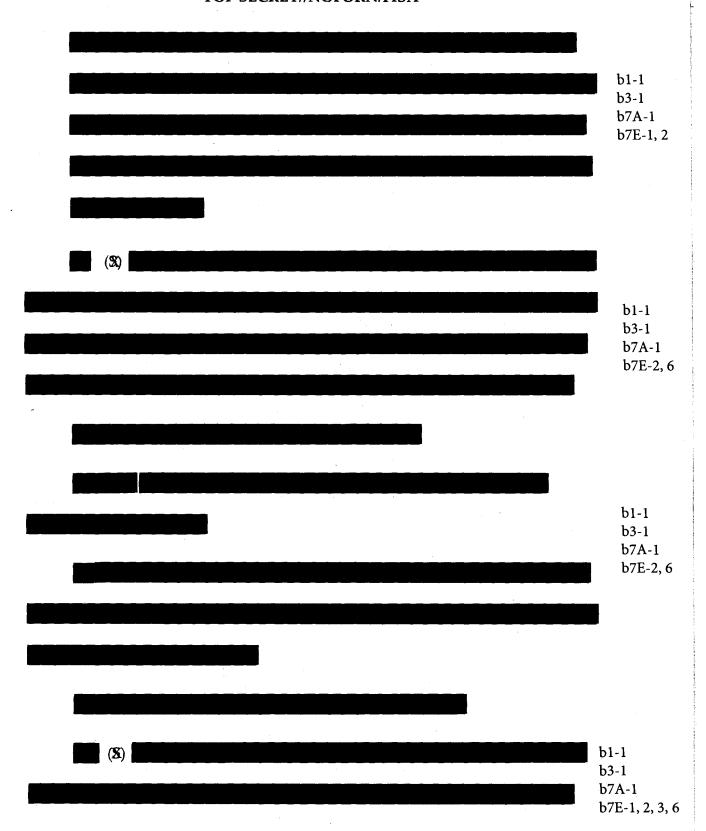
The authorities requested should not automatically terminate when foreign intelligence information has first been obtained. Additional information of the same type will be obtained on a continuous basis throughout the entire period requested. The activities which the United States must identify and monitor 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.

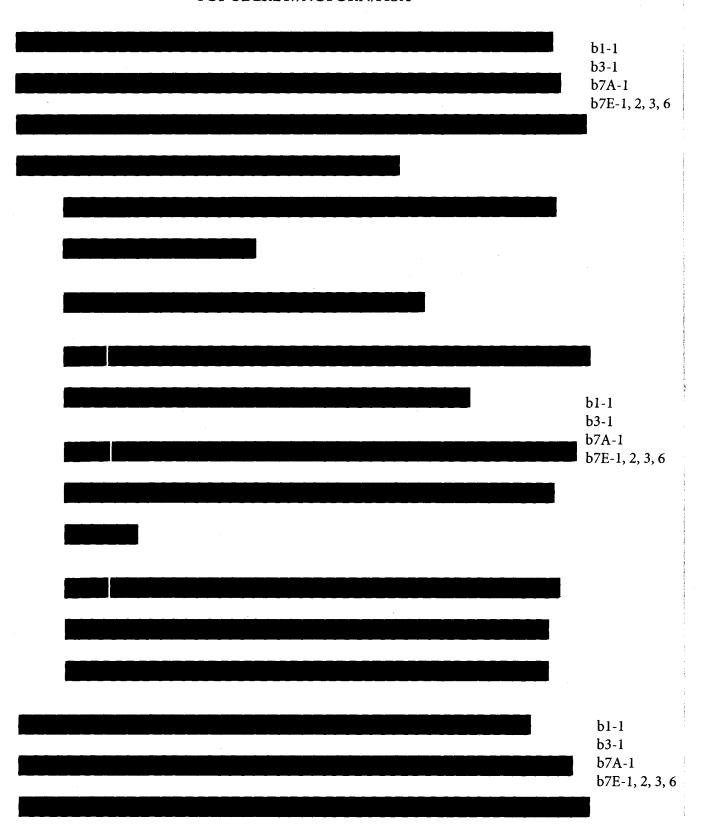
Accordingly, the United States requests the authorities specified herein for a period of ninety (90) days.

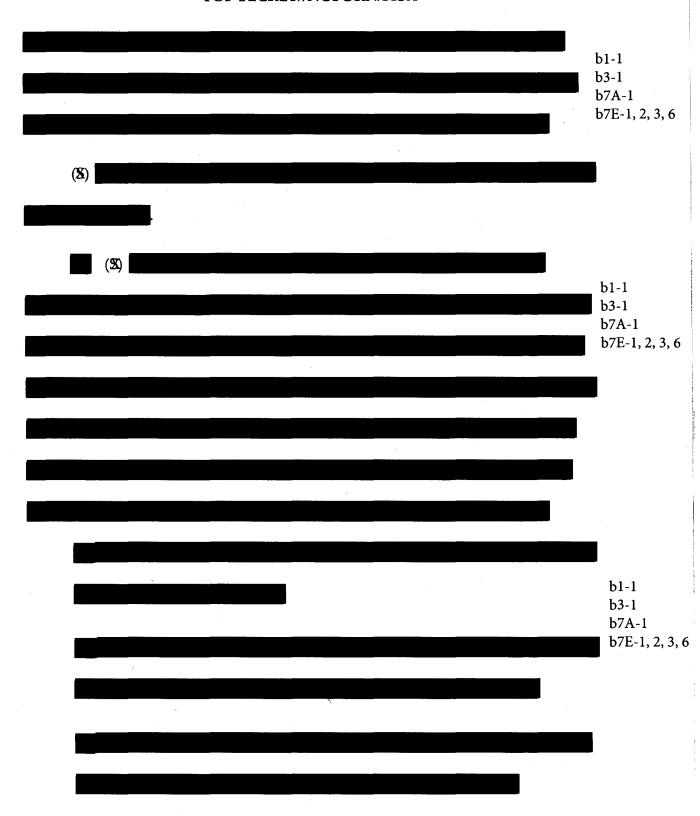
(8)	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2
	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1
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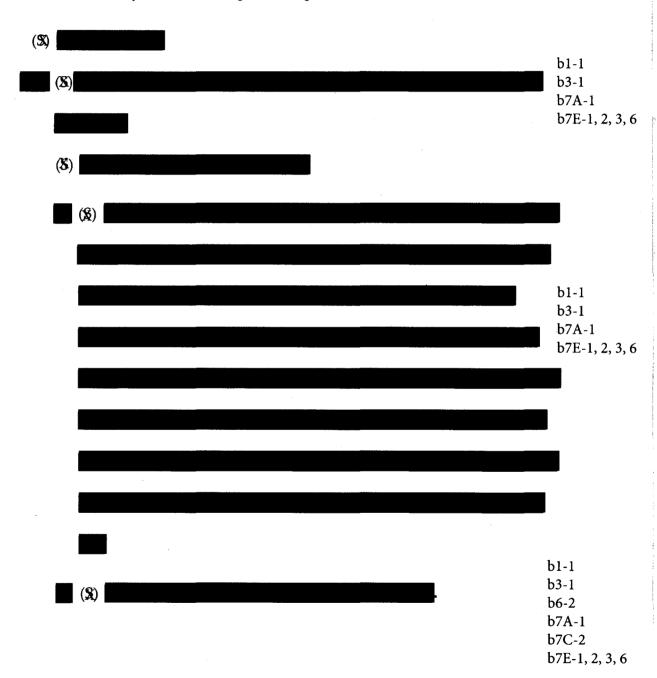
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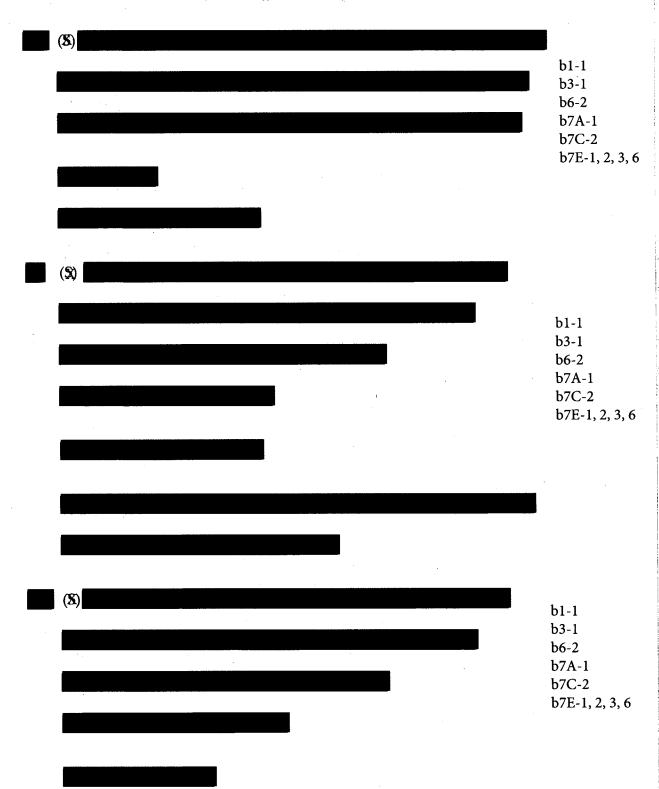




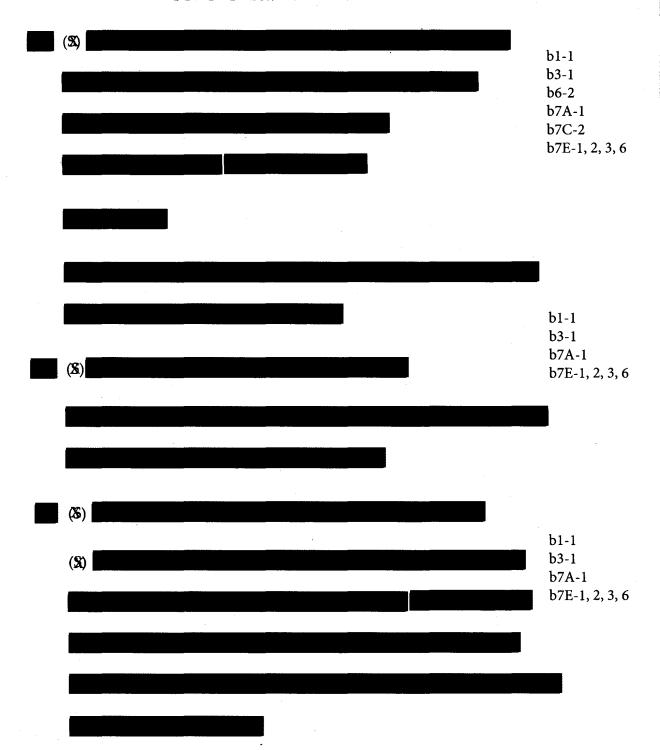


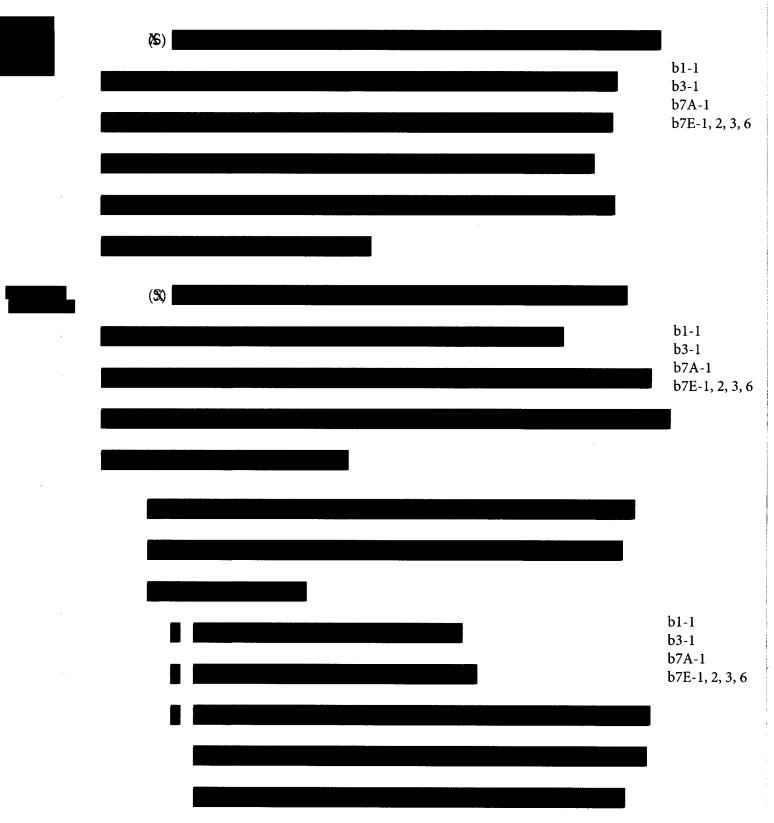
(**S**) <u>Specific Authorities Requested</u> Based upon the foregoing information, the United States requests that this Court authorize the FBI to conduct the activities described immediately below for the period requested herein.

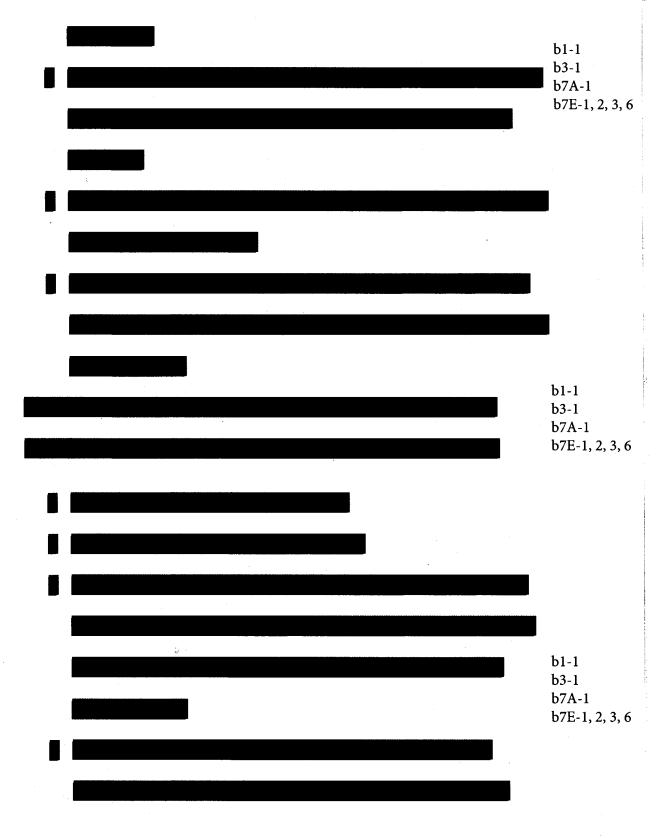












b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

(U) (\$\frac{\mathbb{X}}{2}\$) 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

(\$) 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

b6-1
b7A-1
Supervisory Special Agent
Federal Bureau of Investigation

(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 b1-1

requested in this verified application targeting

b3-1

b7A-1

Carter W. Page, an agent of the Government of Russia, a foreign power, as follows:

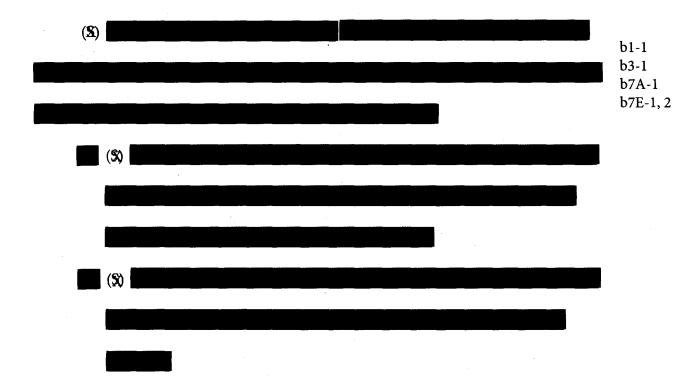
b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

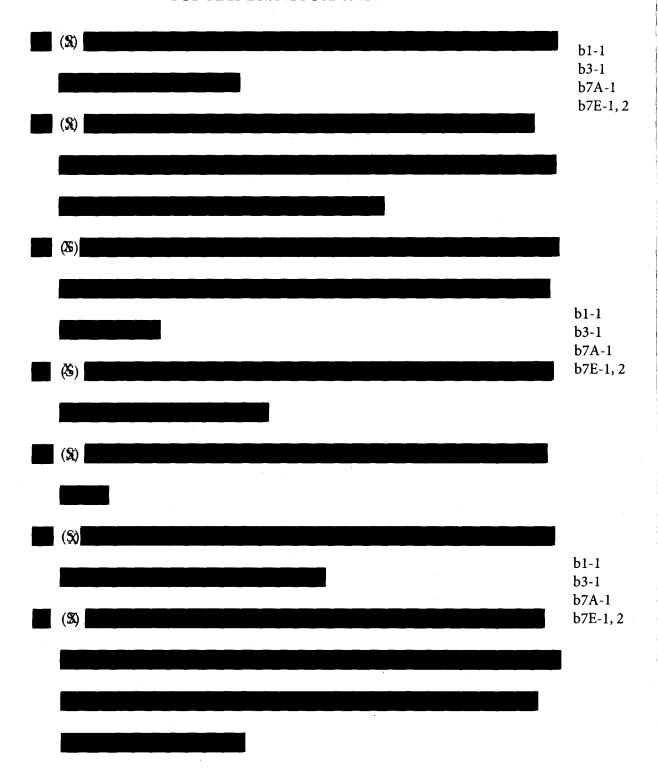
- (A) (U) The information sought through the authorities requested herein is foreign intelligence information.
- (B) (U) At least a significant purpose of the authorities requested herein is to obtain foreign intelligence information and, notwithstanding the related criminal matters described in this application, the primary purpose of the authorities requested herein is <u>not</u> to obtain information for the prosecution of crimes other than those referred to in the Act, 50 U.S.C. § 1801(a)-(e), or related to such foreign intelligence crimes.
- b1-1 (C) (U) The foreign intelligence information sought by the authorities b3-1 b7A-1 requested herein cannot be reasonably obtained by normal investigative techniques. 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.,

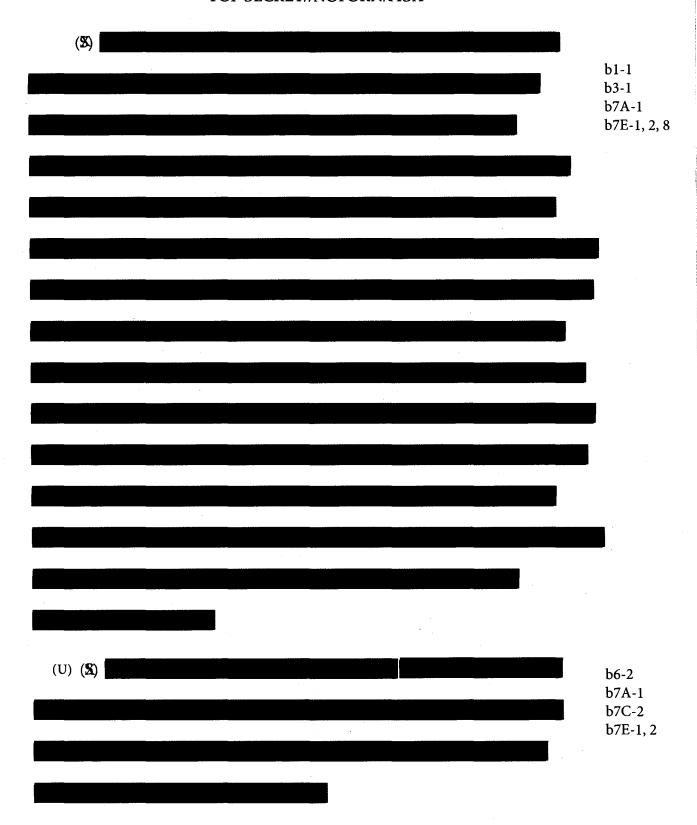
information that relates and is necessary to the ability of the United States to protect against clandestine intelligence activities by an intelligence service or network of this foreign power or by agents of this foreign power, and 50 U.S.C. § 1801(e)(2)(A)-(B), i.e., information with respect to a foreign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

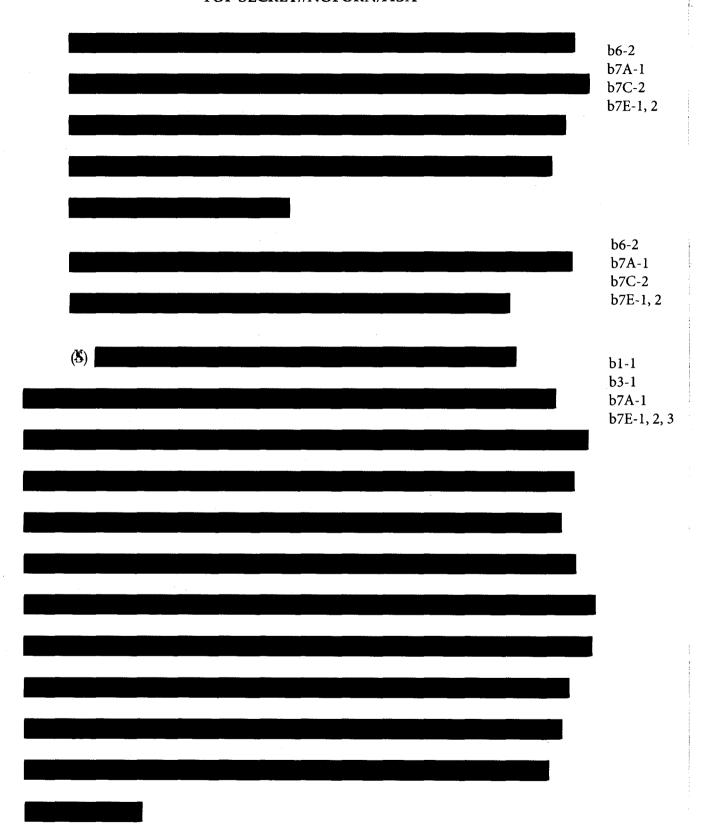
be obtained by normal investigative techniques is as follows.

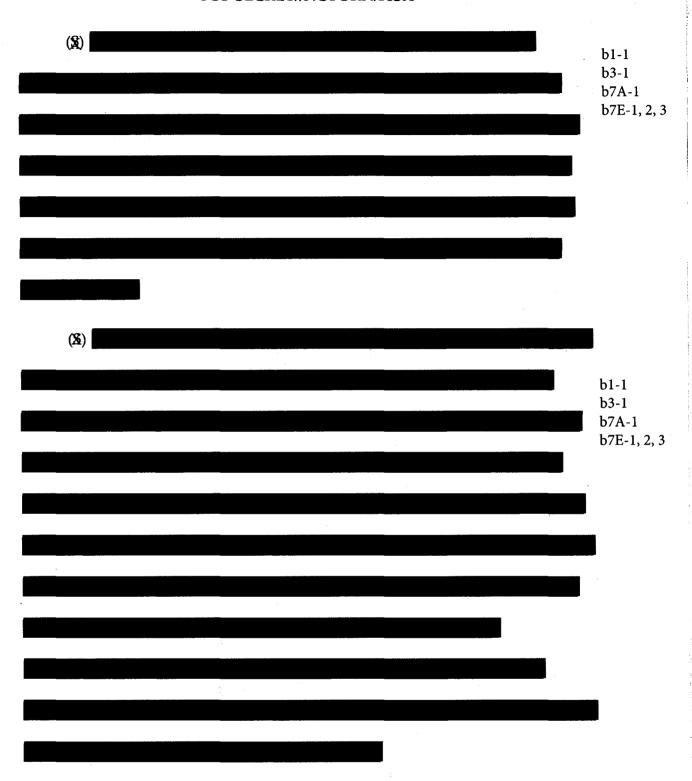
(E) (S) The basis for my certification that the information sought is the type b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 of foreign intelligence information specified herein and that such information cannot

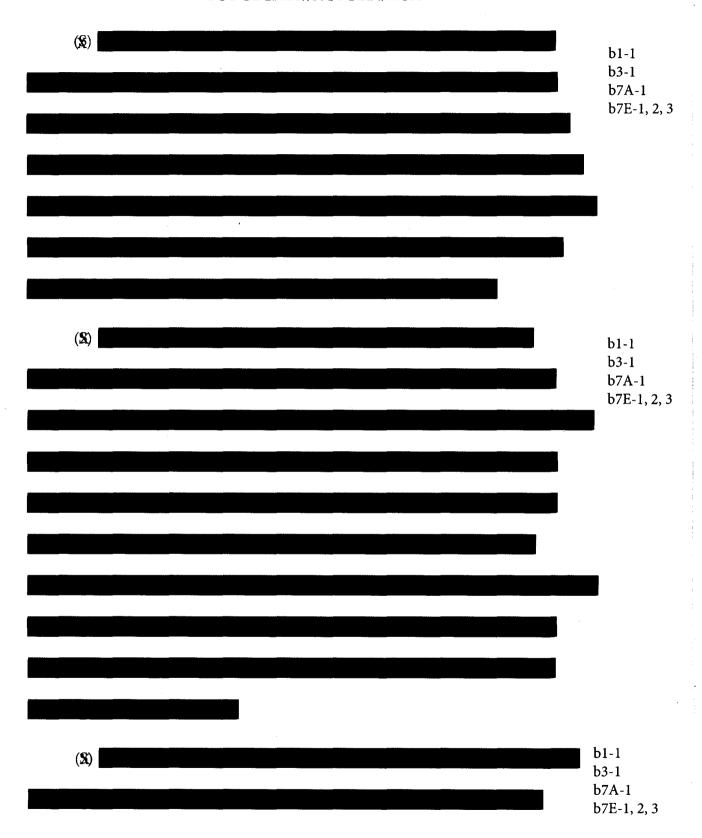


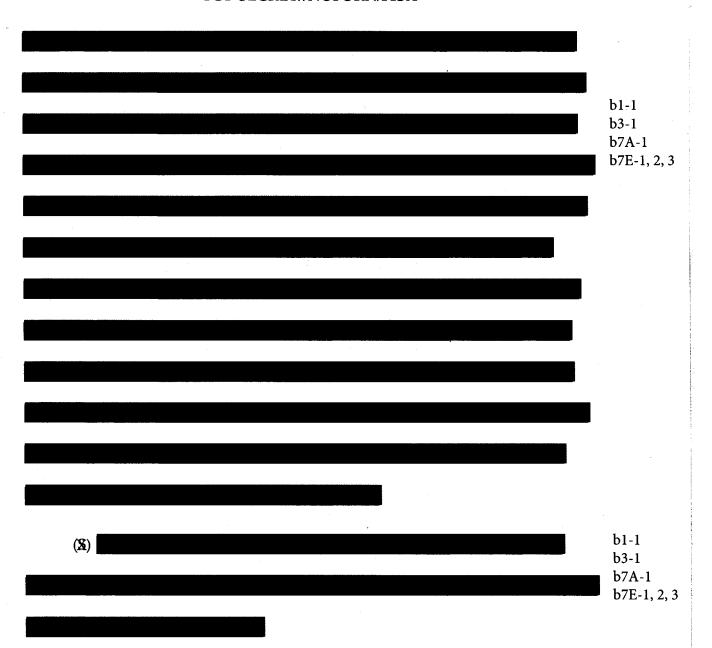












(U) (3) Based upon the foregoing information, it is the Government's belief that the authorities requested herein targeting Page are critical investigative means for obtaining the foreign intelligence information identified herein.

(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.

Rex Tillerson Director Secretary of State Federal Bureau of Investigation Andrew G. McCabe Deputy Director Deputy Secretary of State Federal Bureau of Investigation Michael R. Pompeo James N. Mattis Director of the Central Secretary of Defense Intelligence Agency Daniel R. Coats H.R. McMaster Director of National Intelligence Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs Principal Deputy Director of National Intelligence b1-1 b3-1

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b7A-1

(U) APPROVAL

(U) (§) 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.

(S)							
				<u> </u>			•
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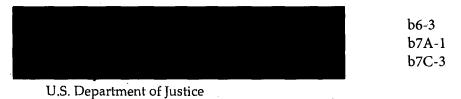
(S) Accordingly, I approve the filing of this application regarding Carter

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

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.

(U) (X) 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,



United States Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court

2017

Classify By: J23J98T32

Reason: (C)

-2017 Declassify On:

Derived From: FBI NSICG, dated

UNITED STATES

LeeAnn Flynn Hall, Clerk of Court

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE SURVEILLANCE COURT

b1-1 b3-1

WASHINGTON, D. C.

b7A-1

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

Docket Number:

PERSON

b1-1 b3-1

b7A-1

PRIMARY ORDER 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 FISA or the Act), for an order and warrant U.S.C. §§ (hereinafter "order") for and full consideration having been given to the matters set forth therein, the Court finds b1-1 as follows: b3-1 b7A-1



2. The application has been made by a Federal officer and approved by the

b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

Attorney General;



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

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

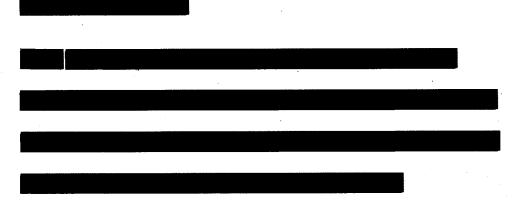
b7A-1

Declassify on:

17-cv-597(FBI)-273

(A) The Government of the Russian Federation (Russia) is a foreign power and Carter W. Page is an agent of Russia, as defined by

b7A-1 b7E-1, 2



4. The minimization procedures proposed in the application have been adopted by the Attorney General and meet the definition of minimization procedures unde

b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1

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
of the statements made unde

b1-1 b3-1

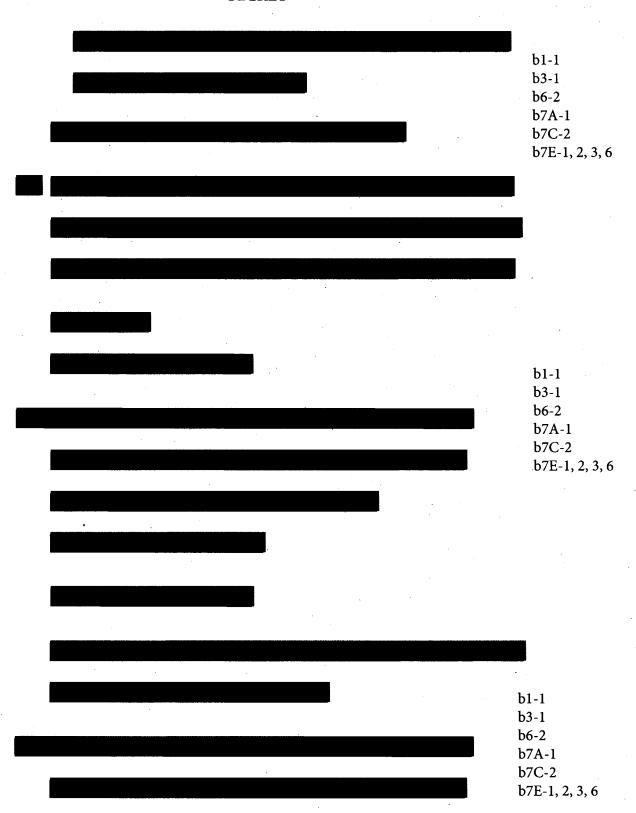
b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

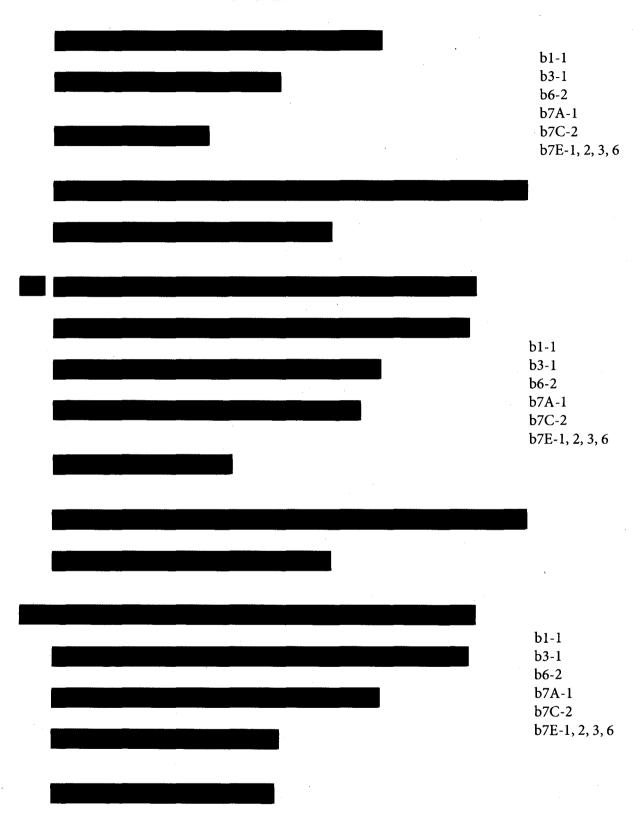
WHEREFORE, IT IS HEREBY ORDERED, pursuant to the authority conferred on this Court by the Act, that the application of the United States is GRANTED, and it is

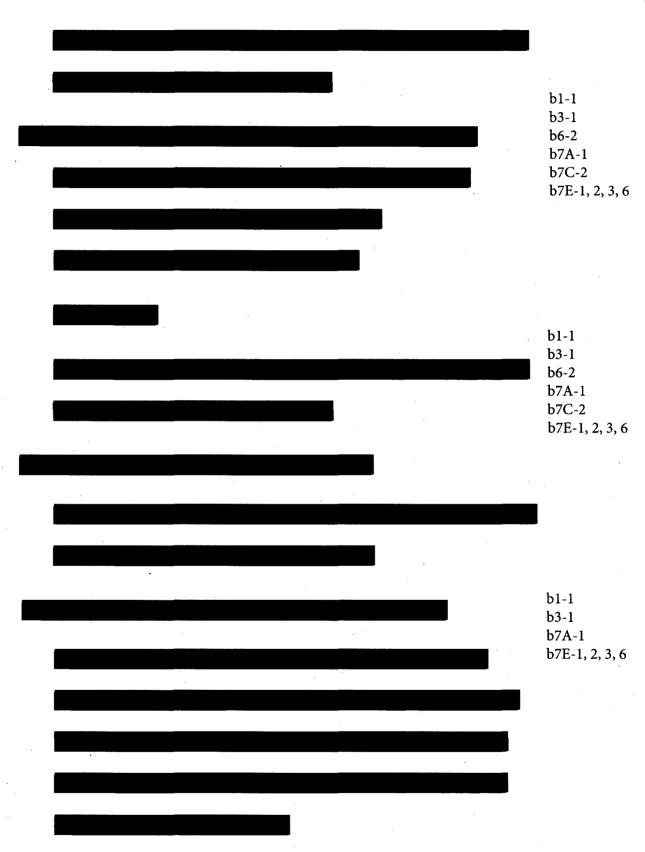
FURTHER ORDERED, as follows:

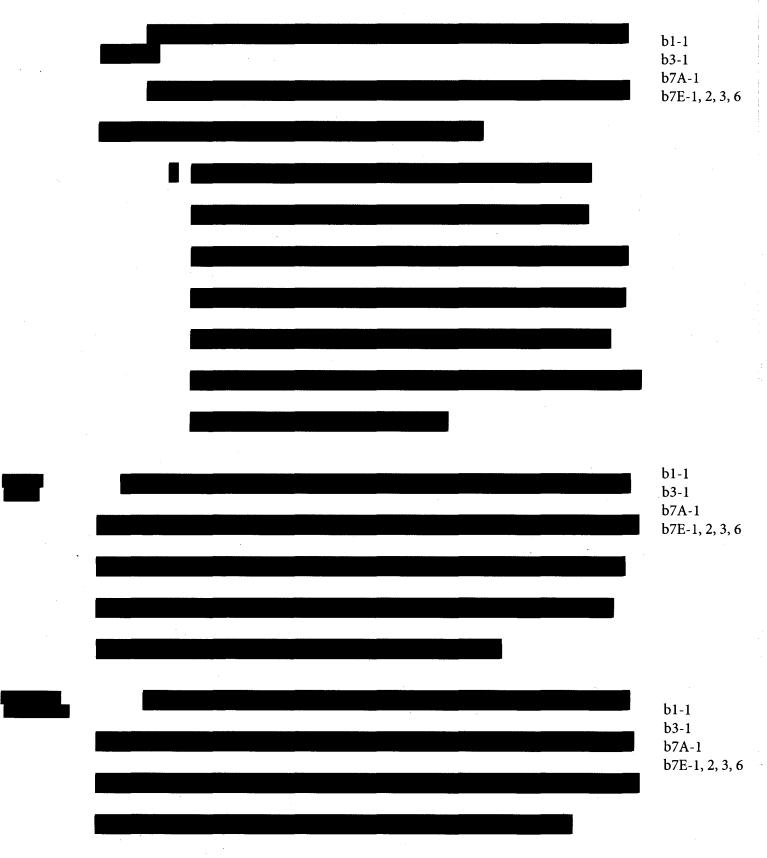
any other information furnished unde

1. The United Sta	ates is authorized to conduct	
of the	e target as follows;	1.1.1
		b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
		b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3,
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		b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6



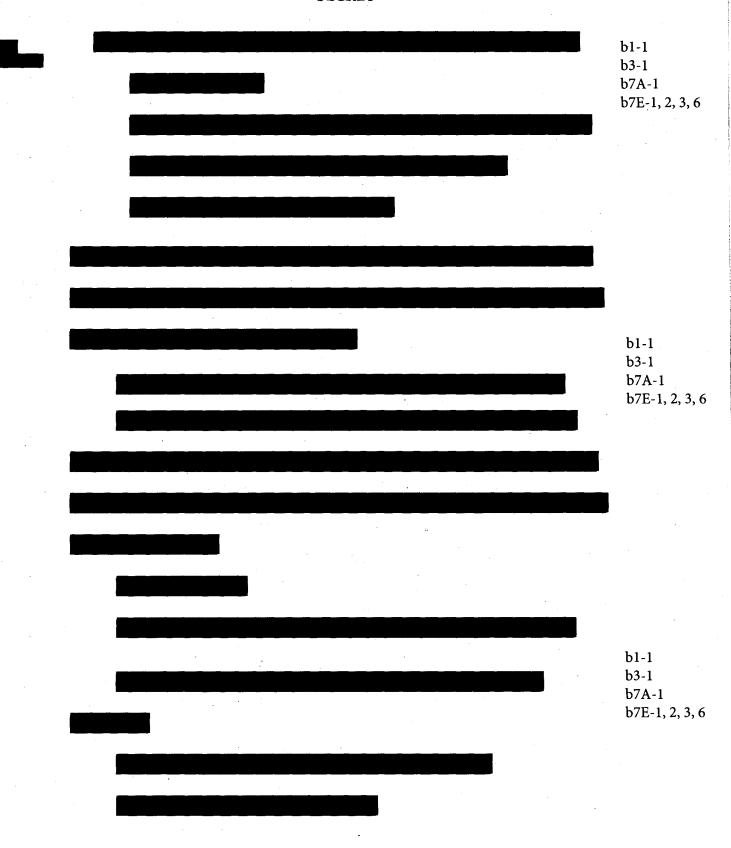






			b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
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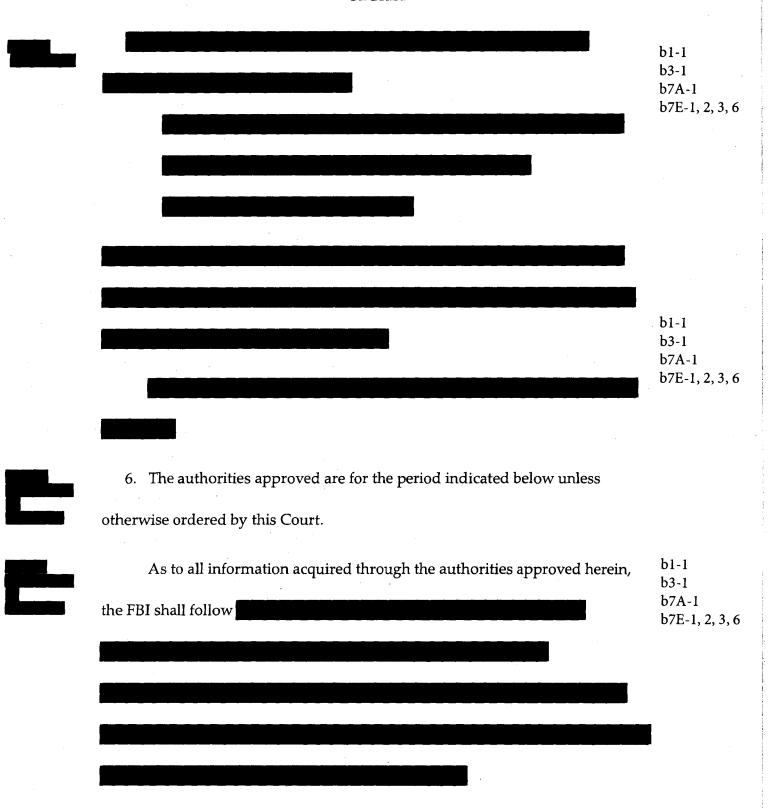
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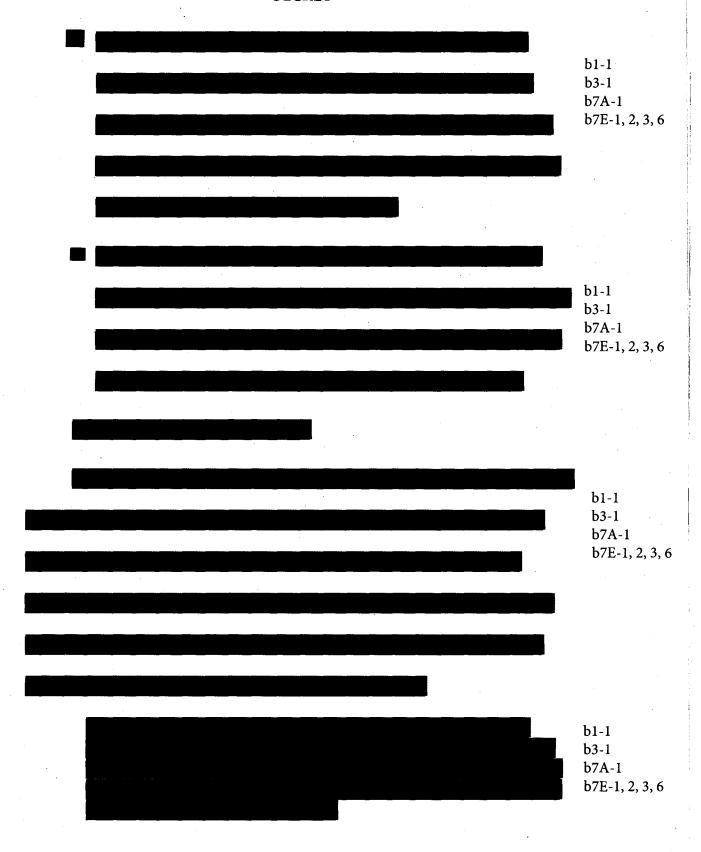


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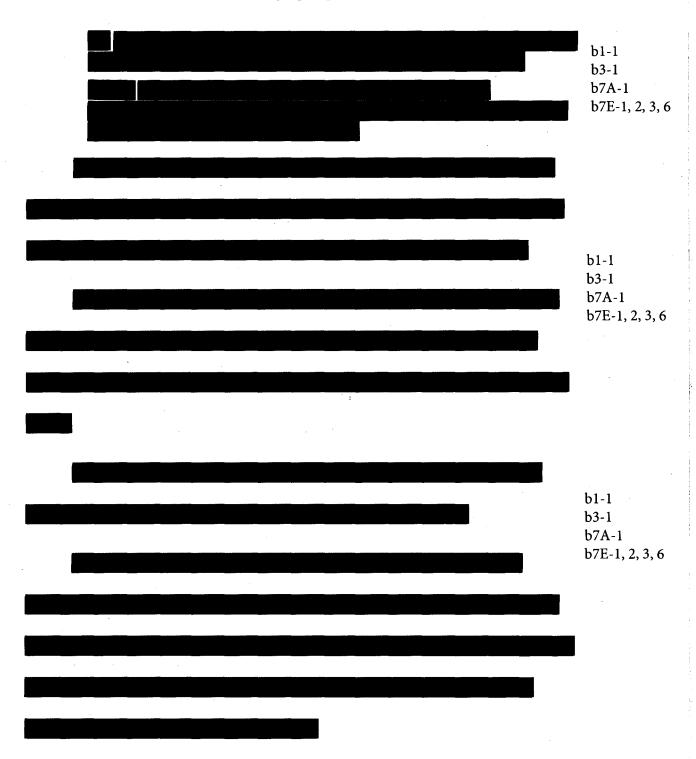
17-cv-597(FBI)-282

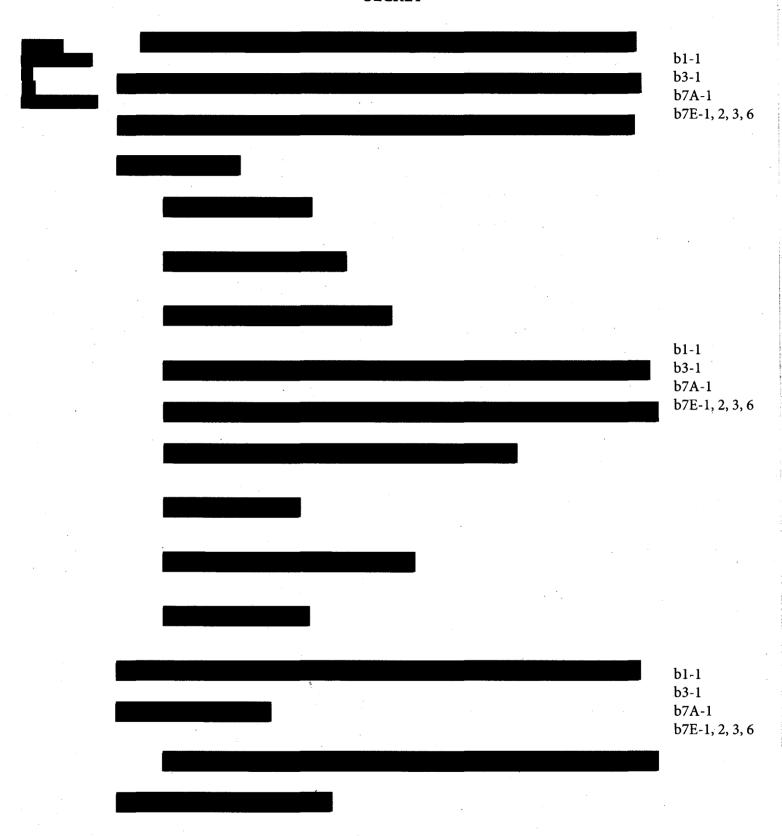


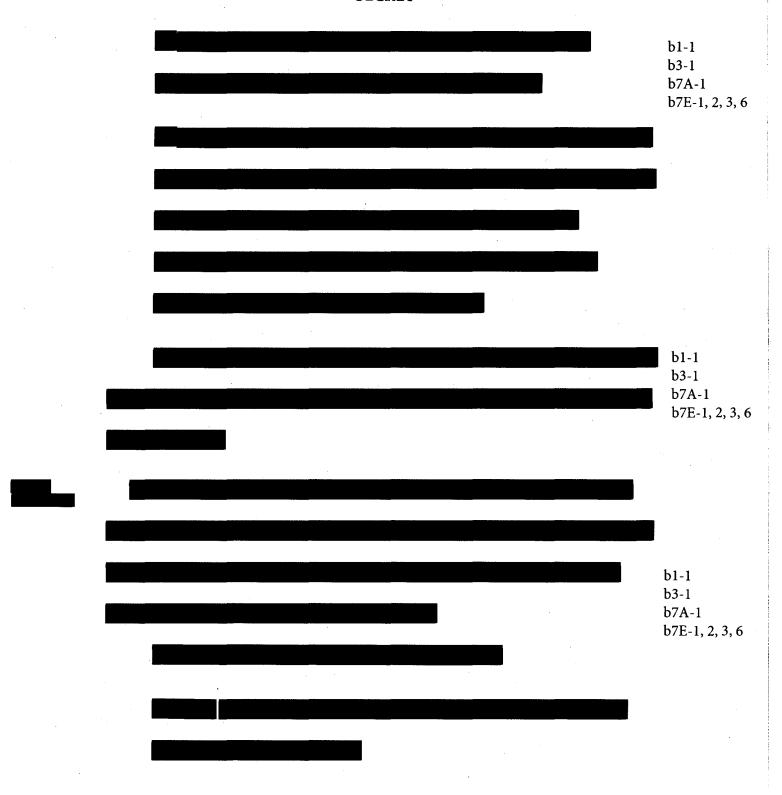


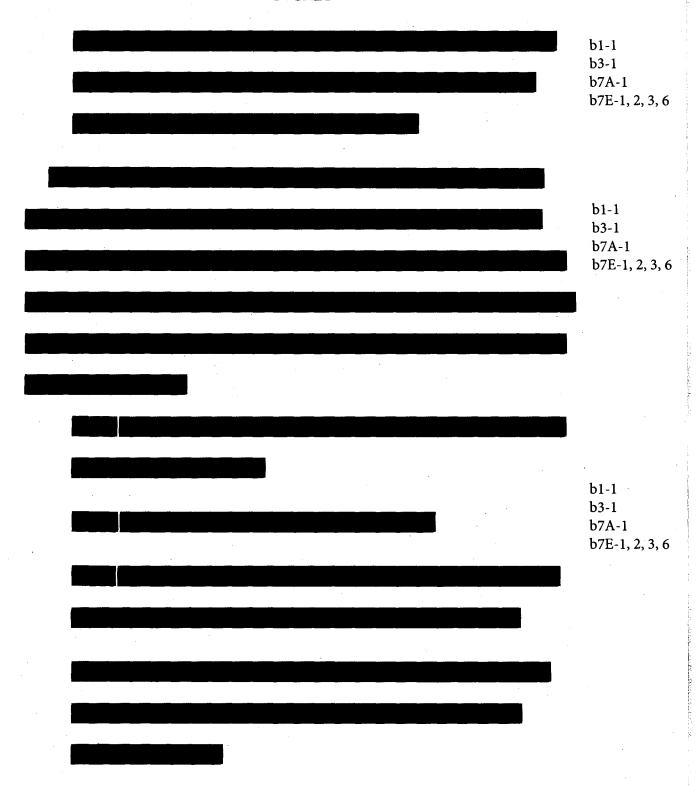
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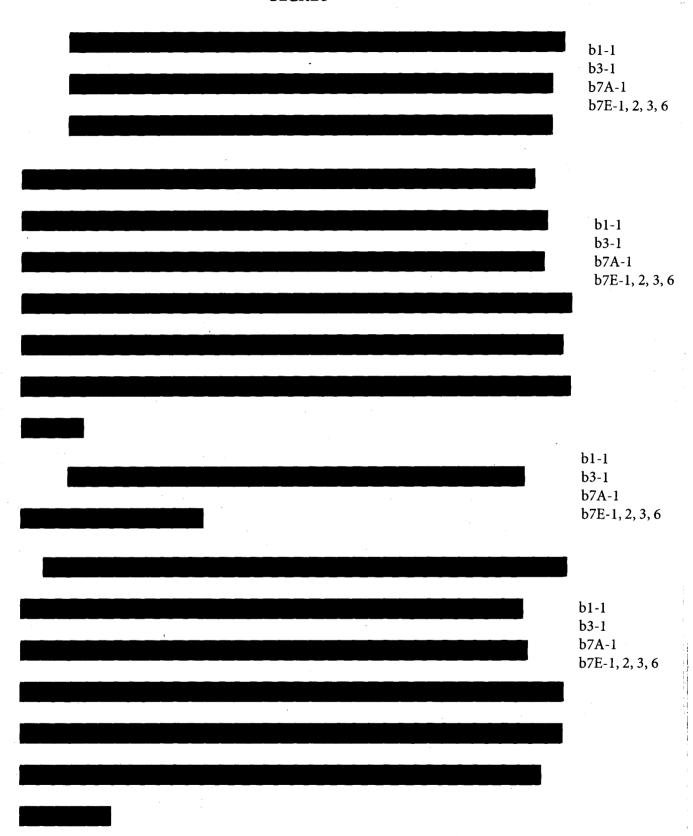




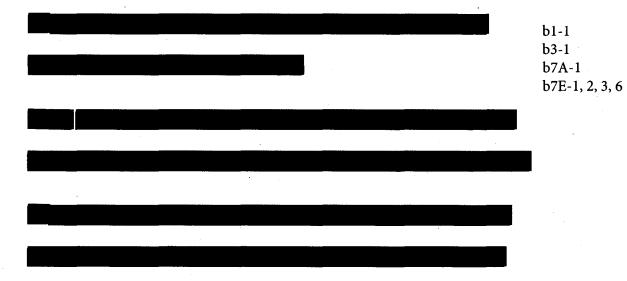




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SECRET

ANNE C. CONWAY

Judge, United States Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court

FISC, certify that the document is a true and control copy of the original.

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	is considered unclassified	UNITED	STATES		2017 ASH	A CONTA
,		I INTELLIGENCE	SURVEILLAN	NCE COURT	1 years	
	23J98T32 : FBI NSICG, dated eclassify On:	WASHING	TON, D.C.	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1	TAKE OF	
_	(S) IN RE CARTER W. P	AGE, A U.S.	Docket Num	ber:	b1-1	ſ
	PERSON.	·			b3-1 b7A	l
		(U) VERIFIED	APPLICATIO	N		
	(S) The United Sta	ates of America he	ereby applies to	this Court fo	or authority to	
	conduct		as d	described here	ein, pursuant	b1-1 b3-1
	to the Foreign Intelligence	e Surveillance Ac	t of 1978, as am	nended, Title	50, United	b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
	States Code (U.S.C.), §§		(FISA or	r the Act).		
	1. (U) Identity	of Federal Office	r Making App	lication This	application is	b1-1
	made by	a Supervisory S	pecial Agent (S	SSA) of the Fe	deral Bureau	b3-1 b6-1 b7A-1
	of Investigation (FBI) wh	nose official duties	at FBI Headqı	uarters includ	e supervision	b7C-1 b7E-1, 2, 3,
	of the FBI's investigation	of the above-capt	tioned target ba	ased upon inf	ormation	2,2,2,0,
	officially furnished to					
			·			
		TOP SECRET#	NOFORN /FIS	A		
	Classified by:				b1-1	
	Derived from:				b3-1 b7A-1	
	Declassify on:					

2. (**S**) <u>Identity of the Target</u> The target of this application is Carter W.

Page, a U.S. person, and an agent of a foreign power, described in detail below. The

b1-1 b3-1

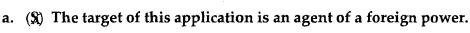
status of the target was determined in or about June 2017 from information provided

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

by the U.S. Department of State.



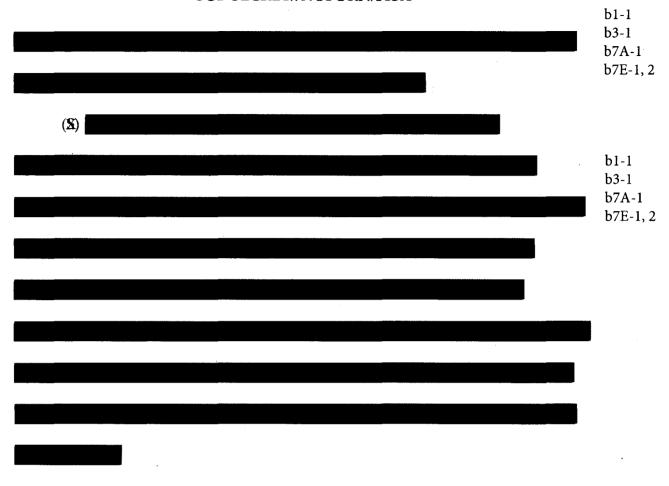
3. (8) Statement of Facts The United States relies upon the following facts b_{1-1} b_{3-1} and circumstances in support of this application. b_{7A-1} b_{7B-1} , $b_{$



- (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) (S) This verified application reports on developments in the FBI's investigation of the above captioned target since the most recent application described herein. Unless stated otherwise herein, information presented in previous applications has been summarized or removed not because it was factually inaccurate but in order to create a more concise document.
- (U) (§) The Government of the Russian Federation is a foreign power as defined by 50 U.S.C. § 1801(a)(1).

(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.

(X) Clandestine Intelligence Activities Of The Russian Federation (X) b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2



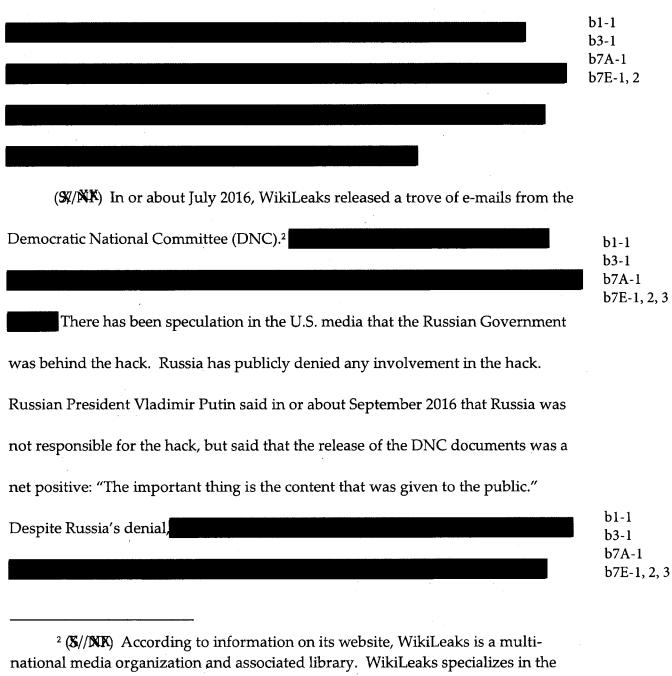
(U) (S) (Carter W. Page
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clandestine intelligence activities (other than intelligence gathering activities) for b7E-1, 2 or on behalf of such foreign power, which activities involve or are about to involve a violation of the criminal statutes of the 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).

(U) Overview.

(X//XX) This application seeks renewed authority to conduct	b1-1
of Carter Page. The FBI believes that Page has been	b3-1 b6-2
the subject of targeted recruitment by the Russian Government	b7A-1 b7C-2 b7E-1, 2, 3,
(%//NK) 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	b1-1
of the 2016 U.S. Presidential election.	b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2
¹ (§) On or about November 8, 2016, Candidate #1 was elected President. Although Candidate #1 is now the President, in order to maintain the historical accuracy of the background information, unless otherwise stated, the original references to Candidate #1 and members of Candidate #1's campaign team will remain the same as in previous applications filed in this matter (see docket numbers	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1

	b1-1 b3-1
	b7A-1 b7E-1, 2
II. (U) (※//NXX) The FBI Believes that the Russian Government Engages in Influence Operations Against the United States.	
(U) A. (S//NK) RIS Efforts to Influence U.S. Presidential Elections.	
(\$\forall \text{NY}) 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



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.

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 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].

(\$\forall \text{XX}) 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.	
	J
(U) (SX//NK)	
	b7A-1 b7E-1, 2
	U/E-1, 2
As stated in the legislative history of FISA:	

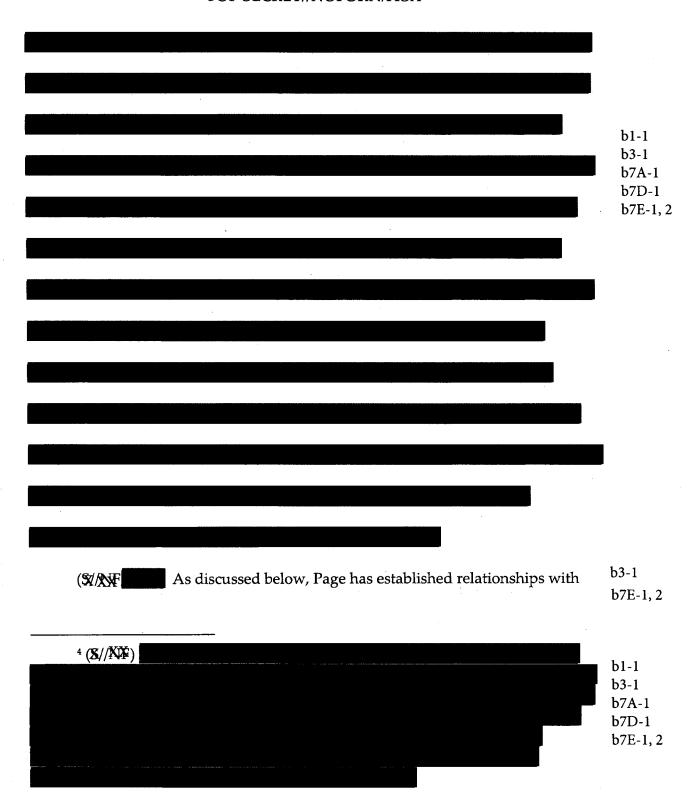
Not only do foreign powers engage in spying in the United States to obtain information, they also engage in activities which are intended to harm the Nation's security by affecting the course of our Government, the course of public opinion, or the activities of individuals. Such activities may include political action (recruiting, bribery or influencing of public officials to act in favor 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).

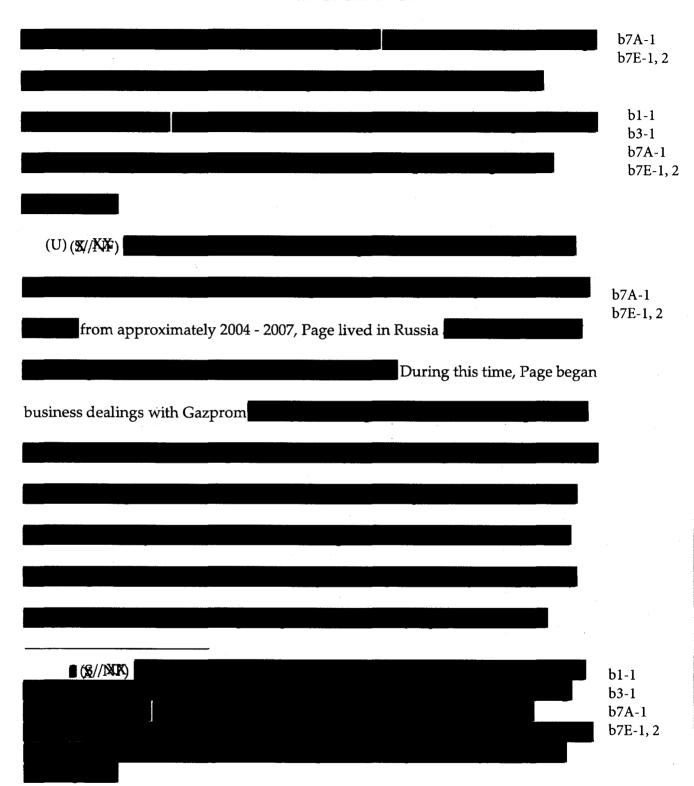
(U) B. (S//NX) The Russian Government's Coordinated Efforts to Influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election.

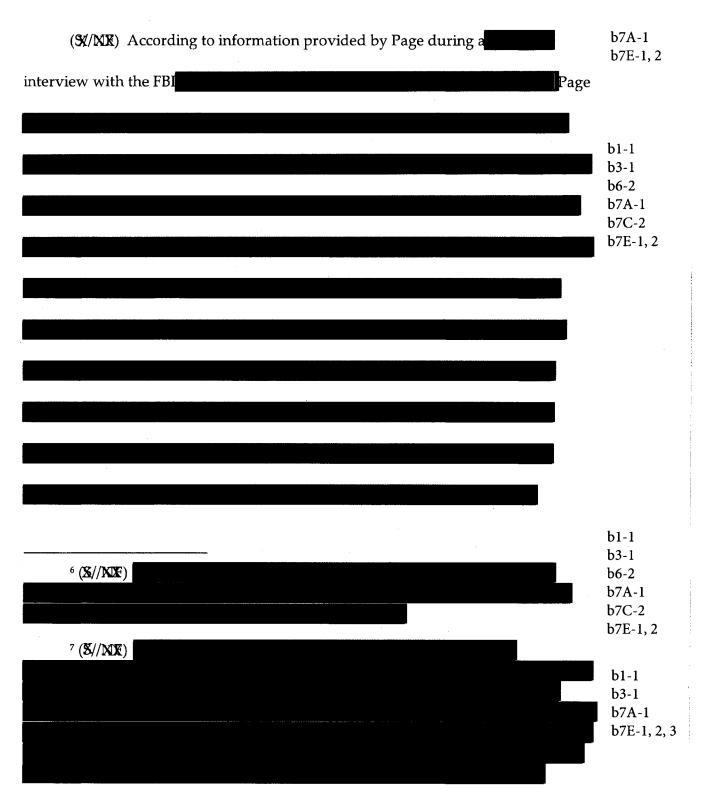
(\$\frac{\text{X}}{\text{NF}}\) In or about March 2016, George Papadopoulos³ and Carter Page (the

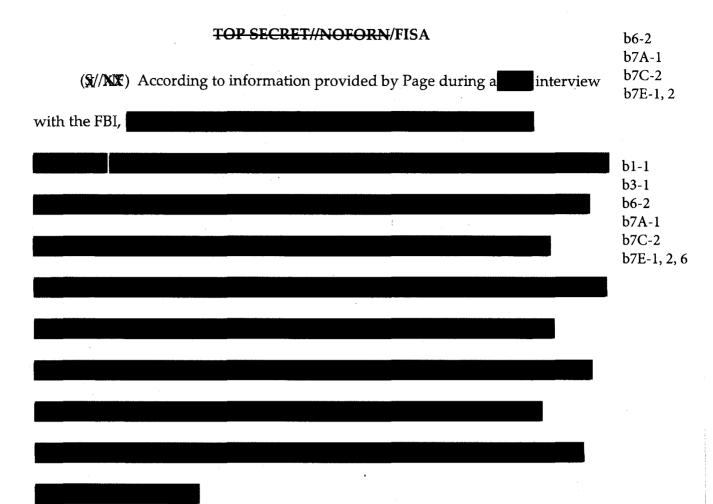
target of this application) were publicly identified by Candidate #1 as part of his/her b1-1 foreign policy team. b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2 the FBI believes that the Russian Government's efforts to influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential election were being coordinated with Page and perhaps other b1-1 individuals associated with Candidate #1's campaign. b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2 b1-1 ³ (**§**) b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2



Russian Government officials, including Russian intelligence officers,	b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2
	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3
	07L-1, 2, 3
III. (U)(S) Carter Page.	
(U) A. (S) Page's Connections to Russia and the RIS.	
(%/NK) Page, a U.S. citizen, is the founder and managing partner of Global	
Energy Capital LLC (GEC), an investment management and advisory firm that	
focuses on the energy sector primarily in emerging markets.	b7A-1 b7E-1, 2



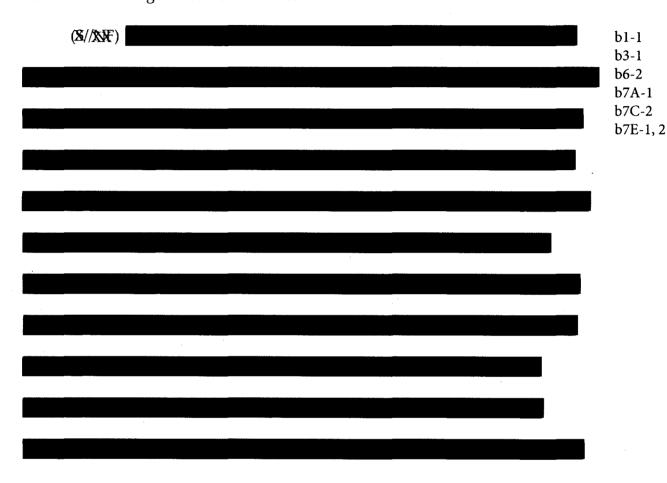




(U) (%/NR) In or about January 2015, Podobnyy, along with Evgeny Buryakov and Igor Sporyshev, were charged by a sealed complaint in the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York for violations of 18 U.S.C. §§ 371 and 951 (conspiring to act, and acting as, an unregistered agent of a foreign 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.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.



⁽U) 8 (X/NX) 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.

	b1-1 b3-1 b6-2 b7A-1 b7C-2 b7E-1, 2
(U) B. (§//NK) Page's Coordination with Russian Government Officials on 2016 U.S. Presidential Election Influence Activities.	
(%//NK) According to open source information, in July 2016, Page traveled to	
Russia and delivered the commencement address at the New Economic School. ⁹ In	
addition to giving this address, the FBI learned that Page met with at least two	
Russian officials during this trip. First, according to information provided by an FBI	b1-1 b3-1
confidential human source (Source #1),10 reported that Page had a	b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2
(U)9 (X // N F)	L2 1
	b3-1 b7A-1
¹⁰ (XX / XX) Source #1	b7E-1, 2, 4
was opened as an FBI source Source #1 has been compensated by the FBI. As (TM)	b1-1
discussed below in footnote 22, in or about October 2016, the FBI suspended its	b3-1
relationship with Source #1 due to Source #1's unauthorized disclosure of	b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 5
information to the press. <u>Subsequently, the FBI closed Source #1 as an FBI source</u> . Nevertheless, the FBI assesses Source #1 to be reliable as previous reporting from	U/E-1, 2, 3
Source #1 has been corroborated and used in criminal proceedings. Moreover, the	

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

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

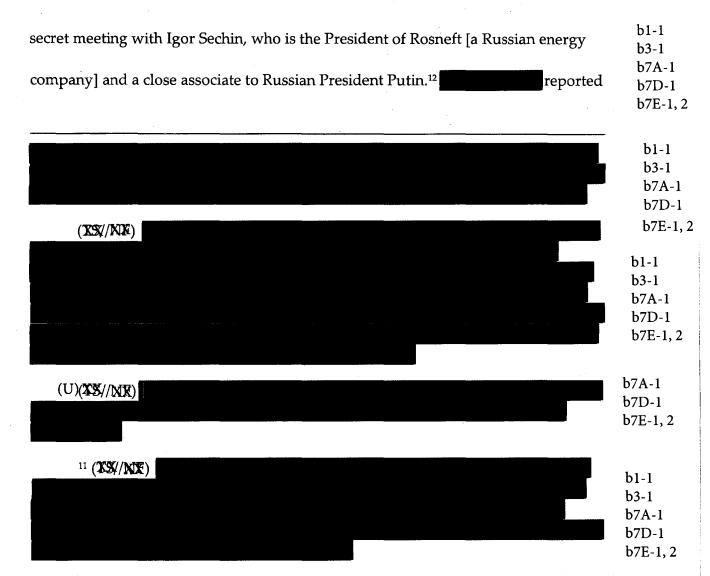
(XX//XX) Notwithstanding Source #1's reason for conducting the research into Candidate #1's ties to Russia, based on Source #1's previous reporting history with the FBI, whereby Source #1 provided reliable information to the FBI, the FBI believes Source #1's reporting herein to be credible.

b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1

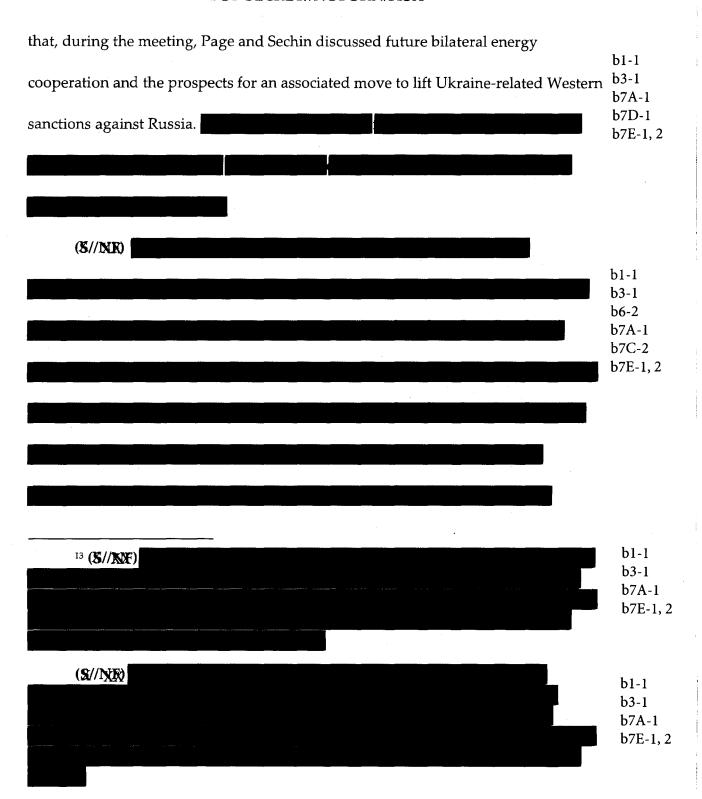
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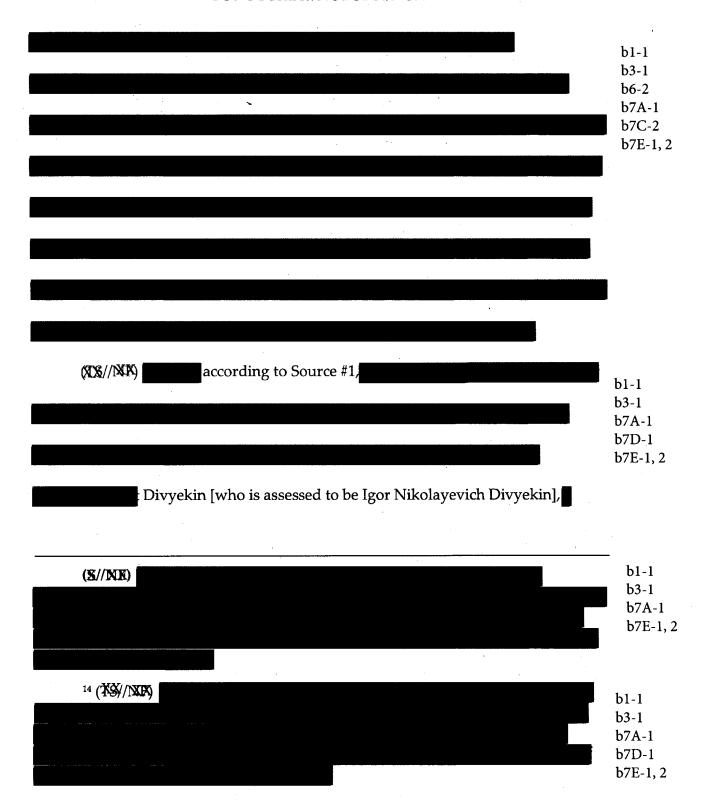
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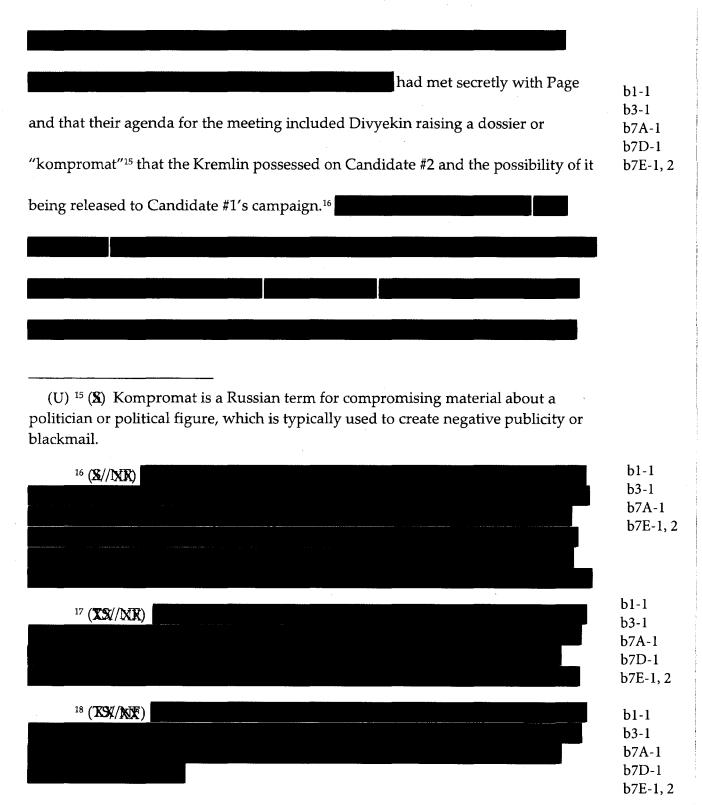
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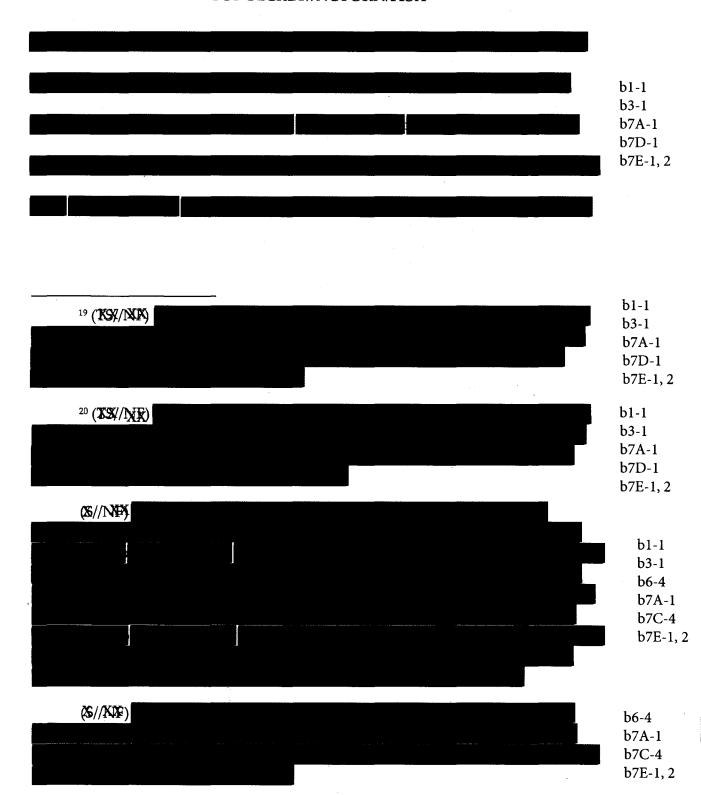


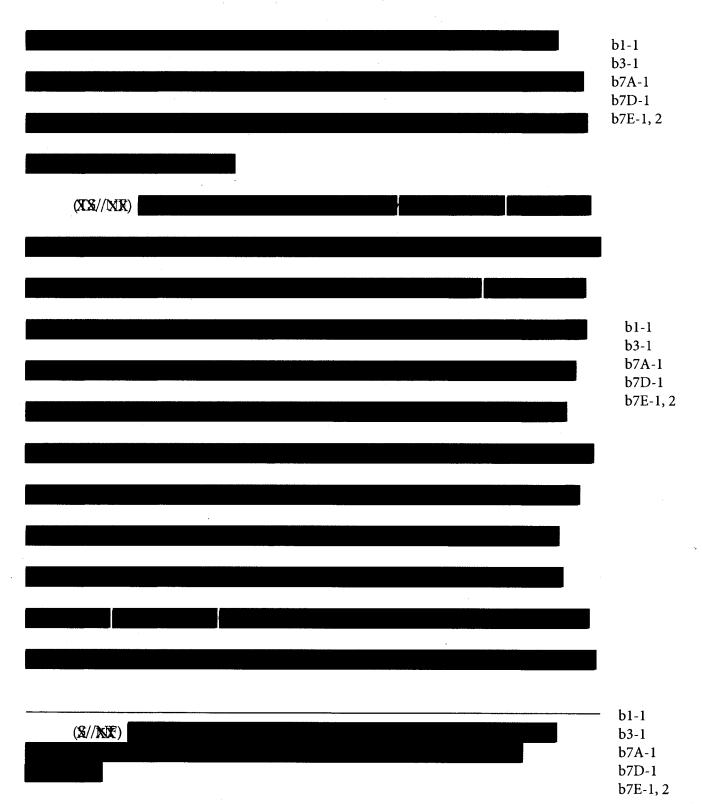
12 (S//NK) In or about April 2014, the U.S. Department of the Treasury (USDOT) announced sanctions that would be taken against Russian Government officials and entities as a result of Russian efforts to destabilize Ukraine. Sechin was identified as an official of the Russian Government, and further identified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





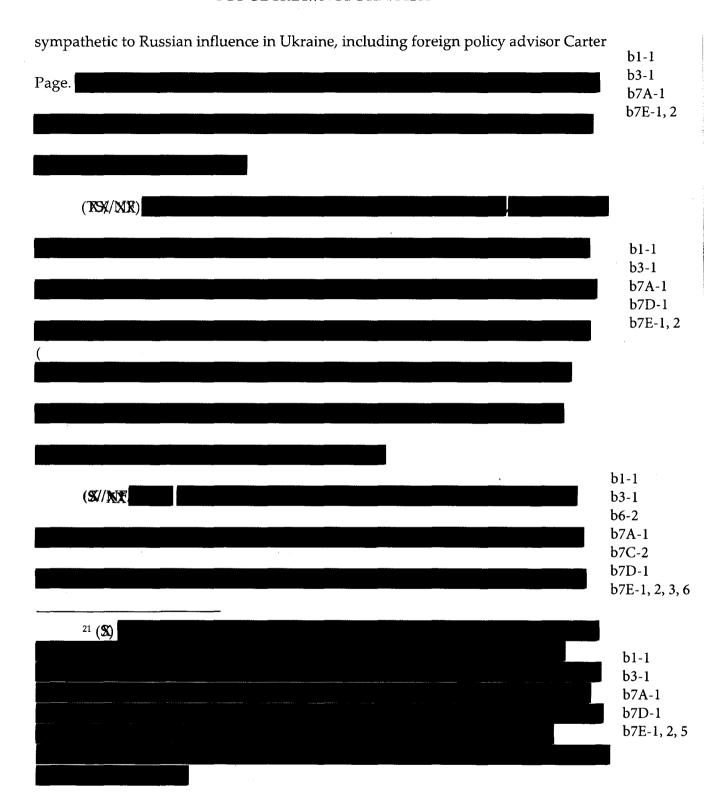


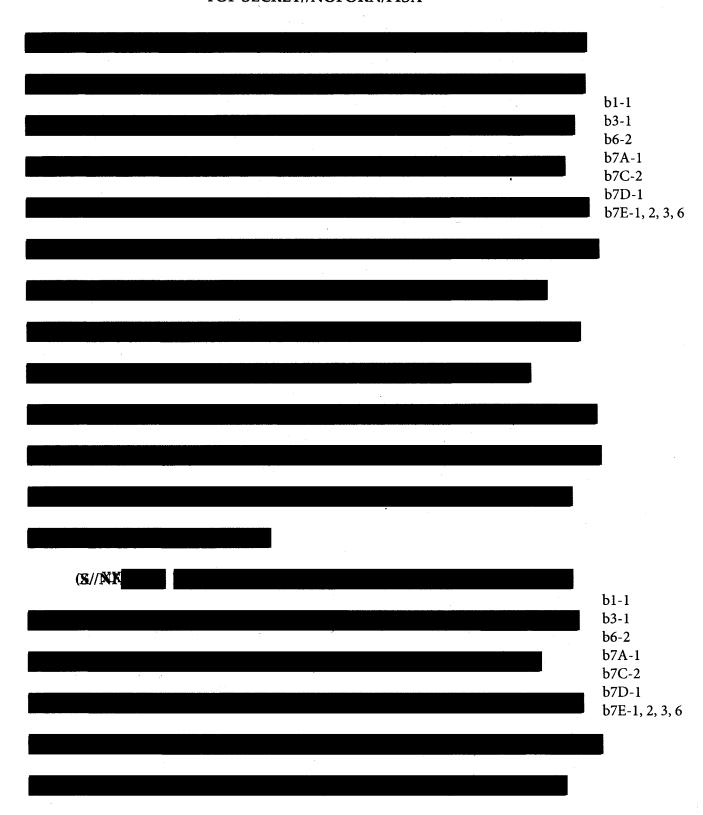


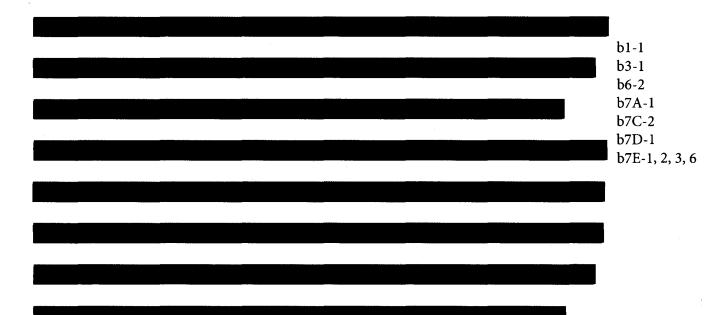


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a July 2016 article in an identified news organization reported that Candidate #1's campaign worked behind the scenes to make sure Political Party #1's platform would not call for giving weapons to Ukraine to fight Russian and rebel forces, contradicting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







- IV. (U)(%//MX) Page's Denial of Cooperation with the Russian Government to Influence the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election.
- (U) (MNR) 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 responsibility for intelligence collected by Russian agencies about the U.S. election.²²

The FBI does not believe that Source #1 directly

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//NE) 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

TOP SECRET//NOFORN/FISA

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

²² (**%**) 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.

- (U) (§//NE) 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 "

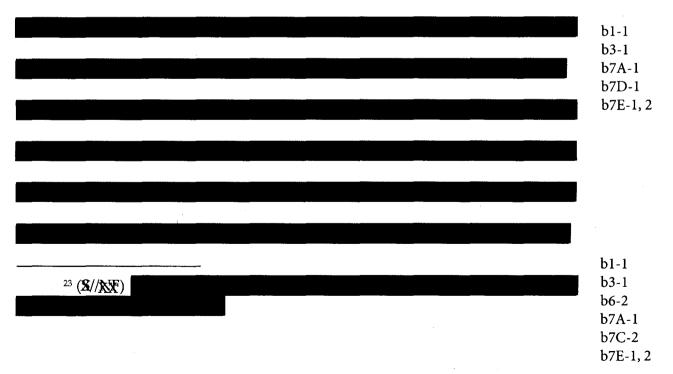
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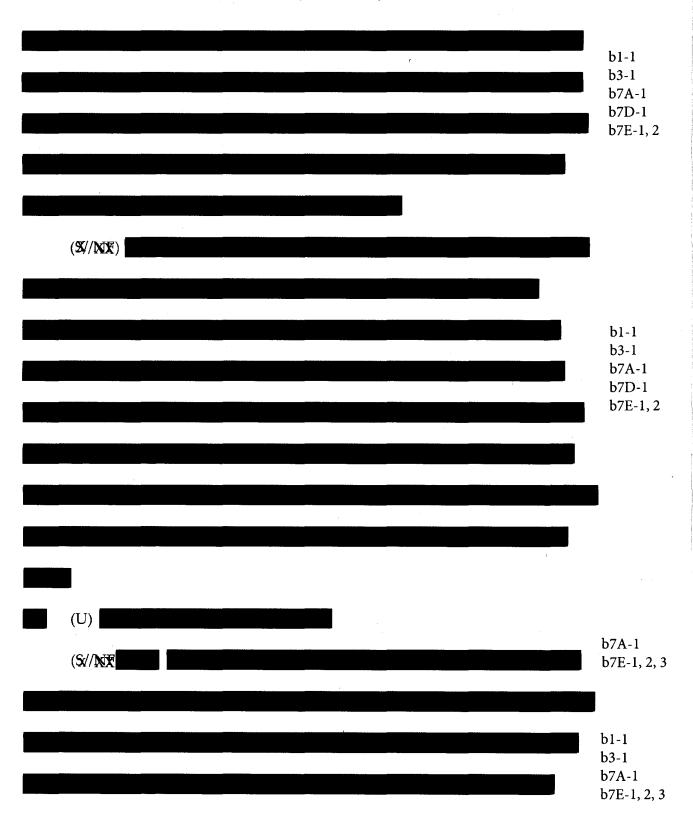
In this letter, Page made reference to the accusations in the September 23rd News

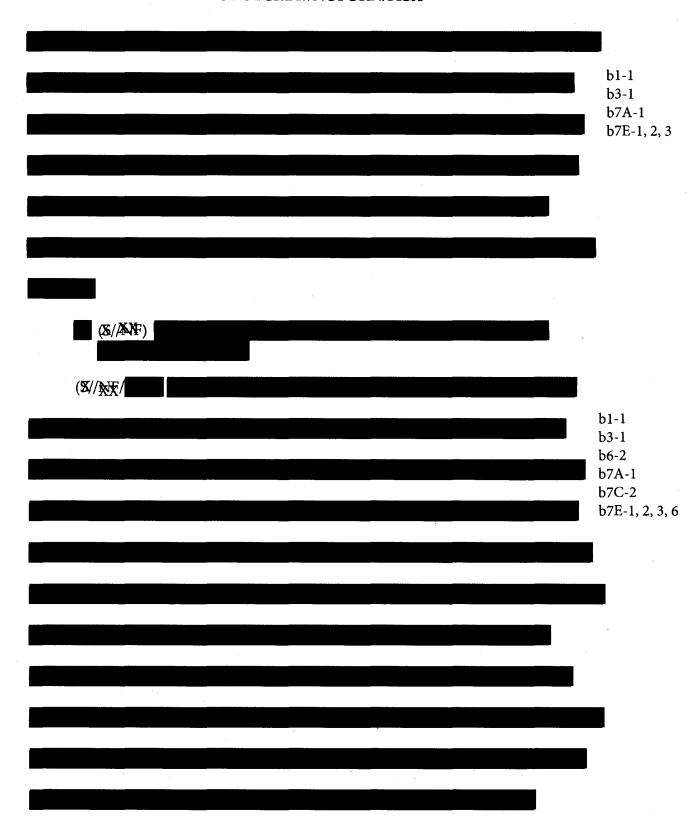
Article and denied them. Page stated that the source of the accusations was nothing
more than completely false media reports and that he did not meet with any
sanctioned official in Russia. Page also stated that he would be willing to discuss
any "final" questions the FBI may have.²³

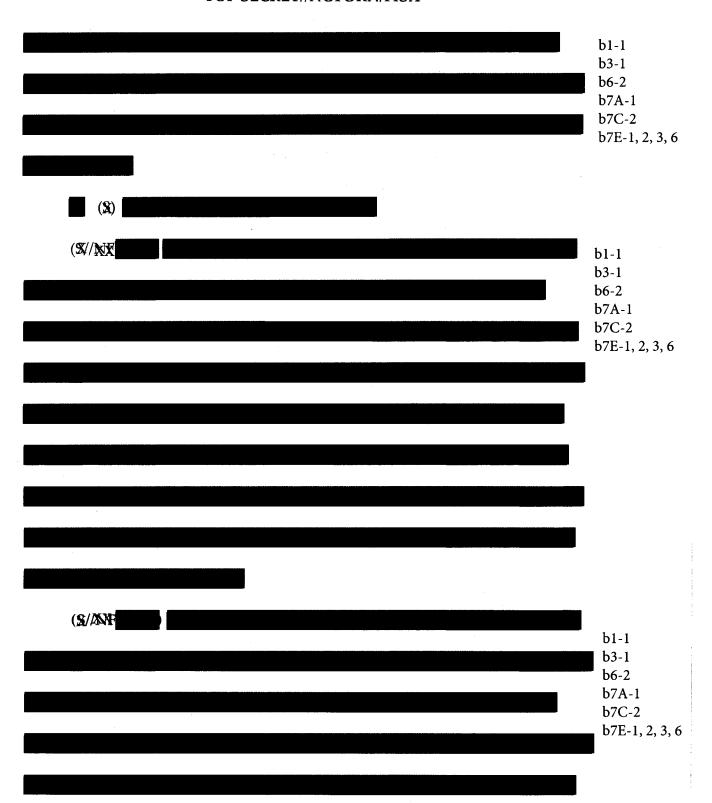
(U)(%/NX) Additionally, on or about September 26, 2016, an identified news organization published an article that was based on an interview with Page (September 26th News Article). In the September 26th News Article, Page stated that all of the accusations were complete "garbage" and that he did not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

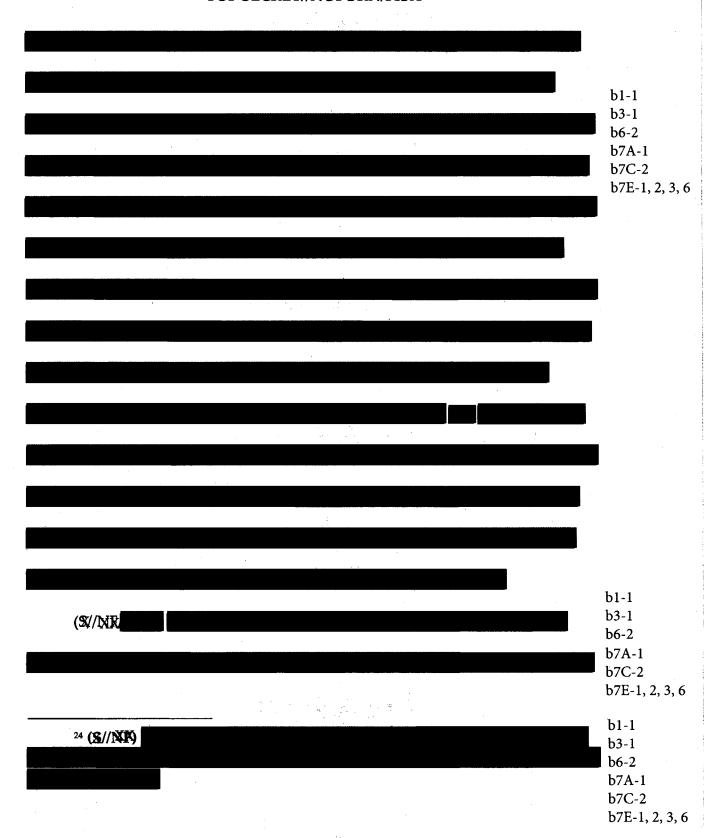


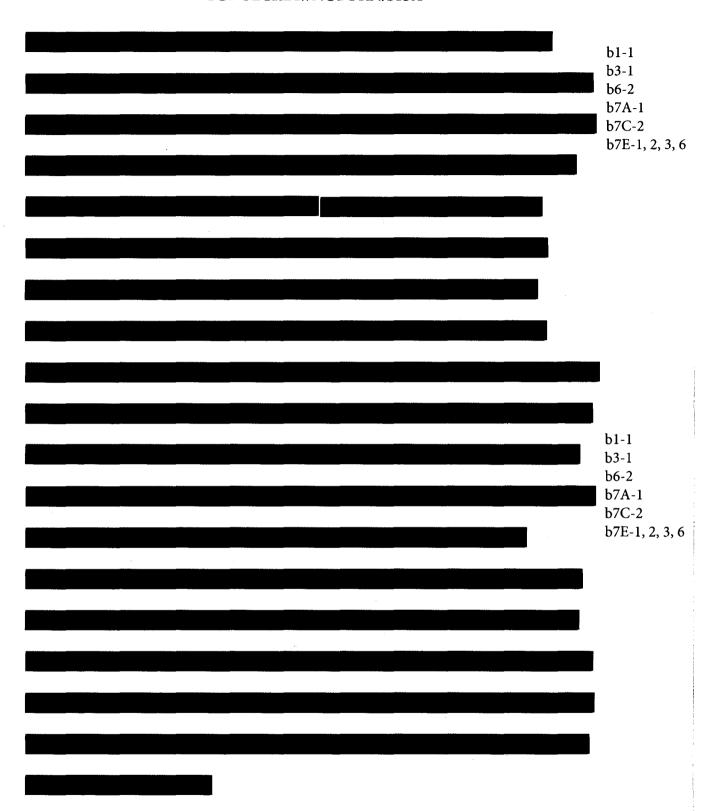
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(S//MR)	b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7D-1 b7E-1, 2, 6

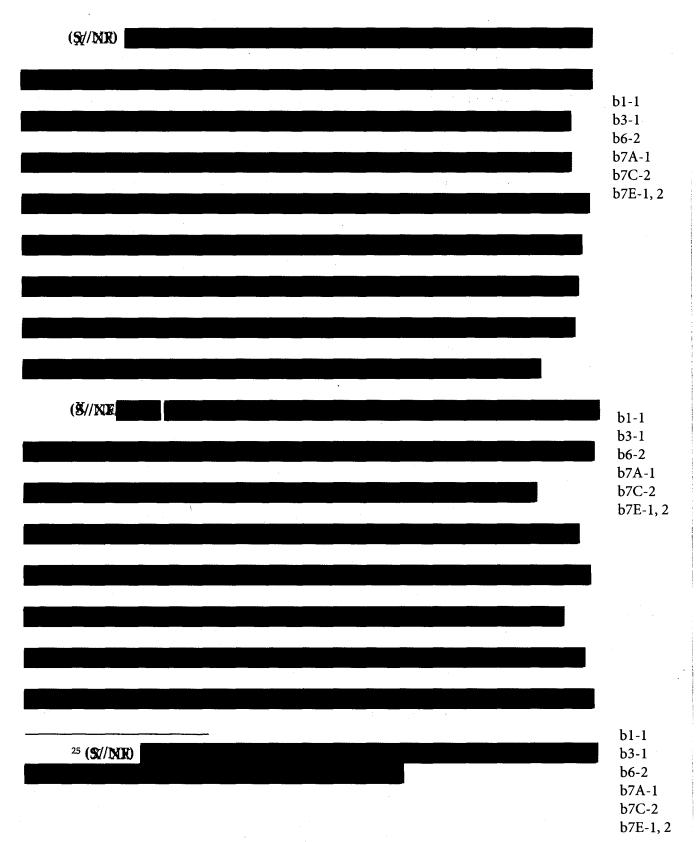


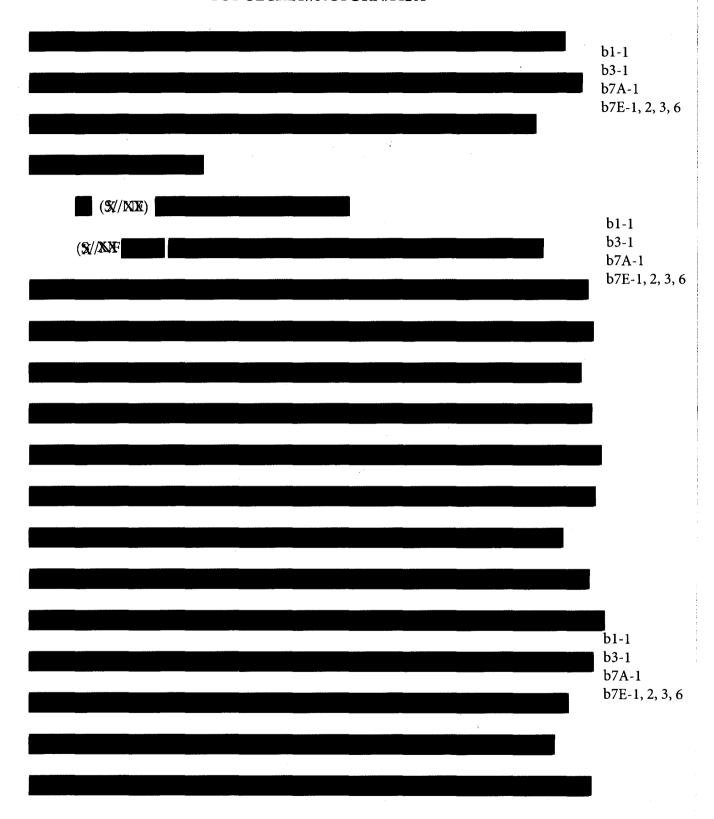


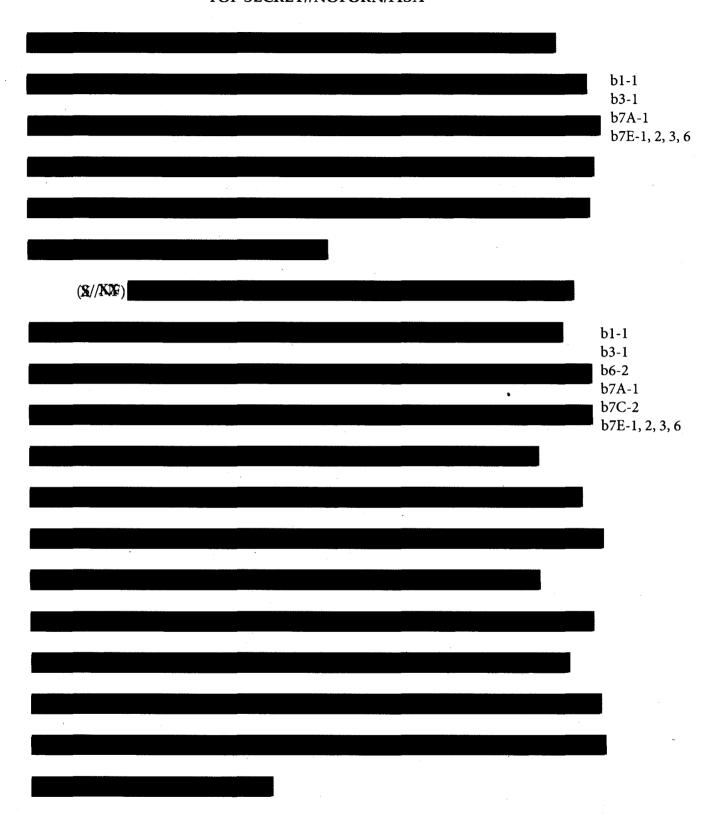


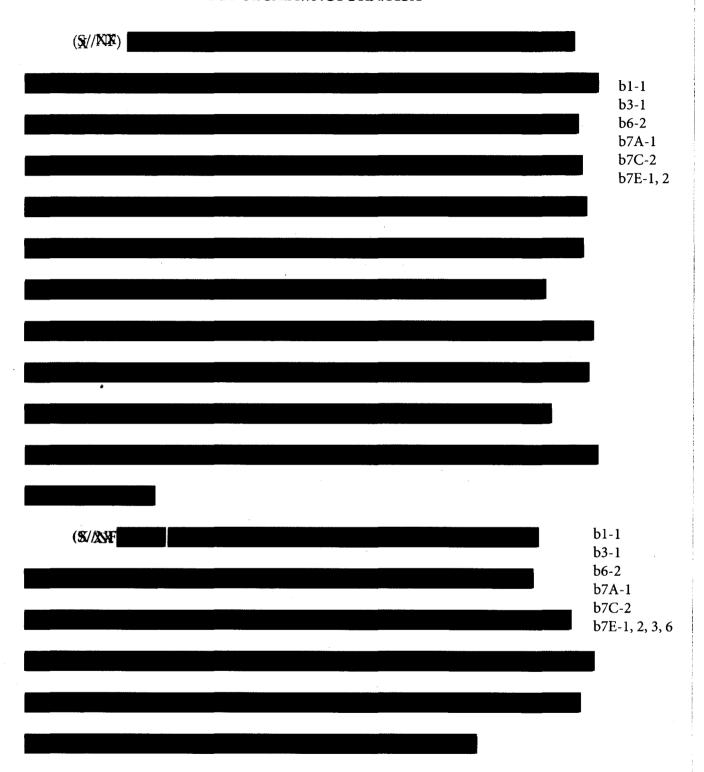


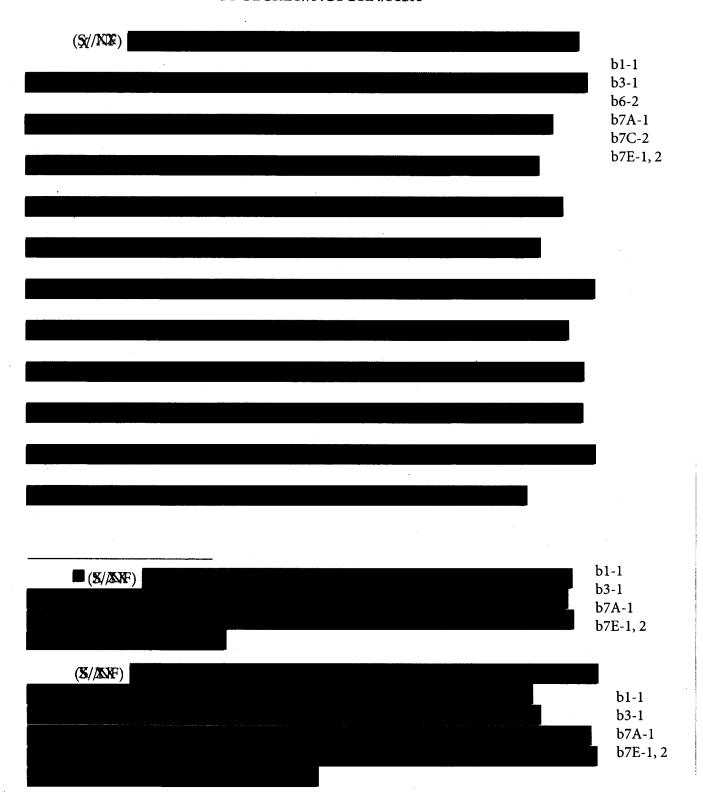


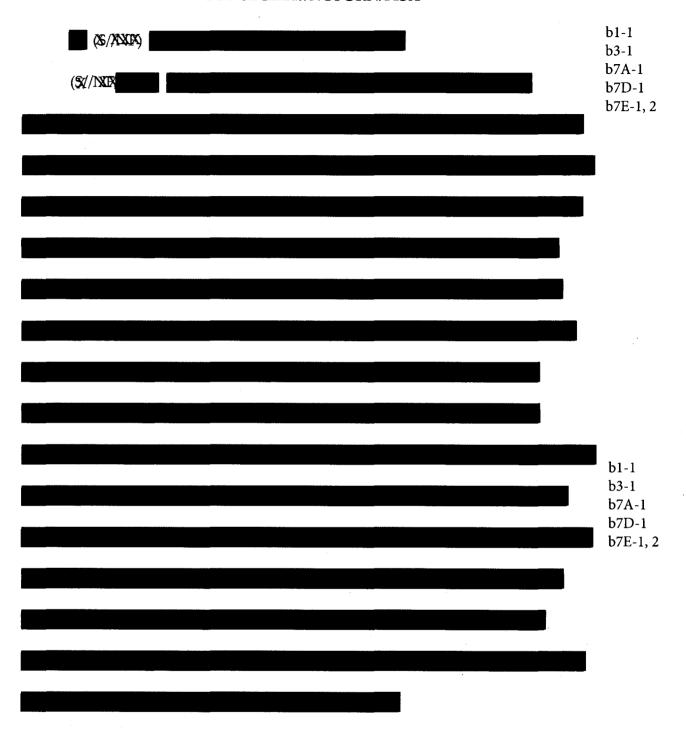


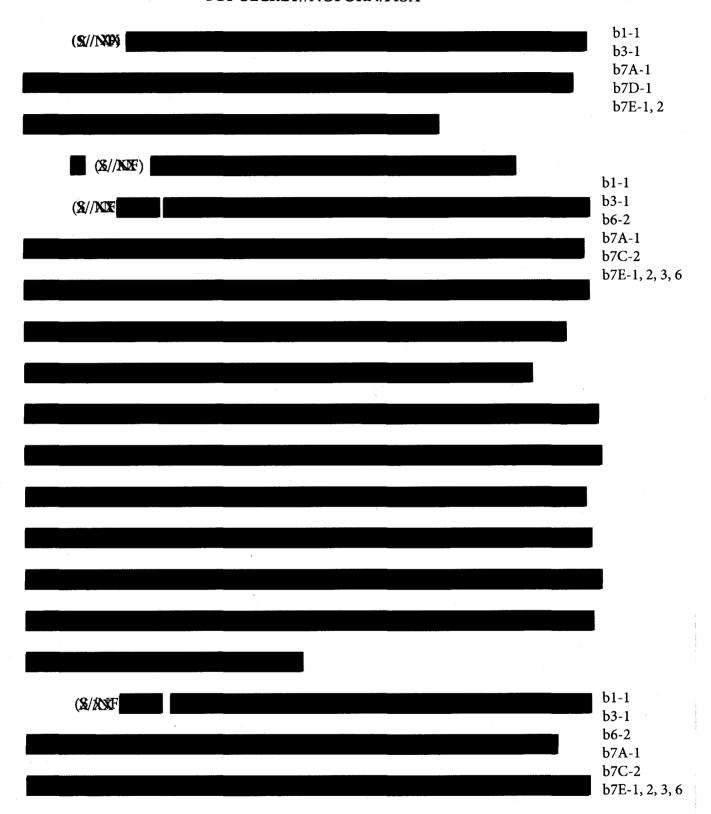


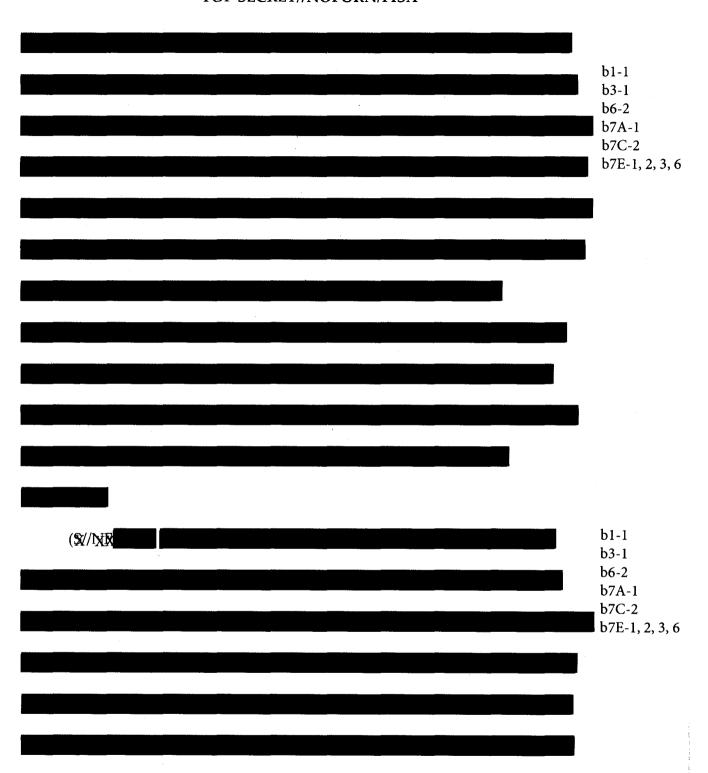


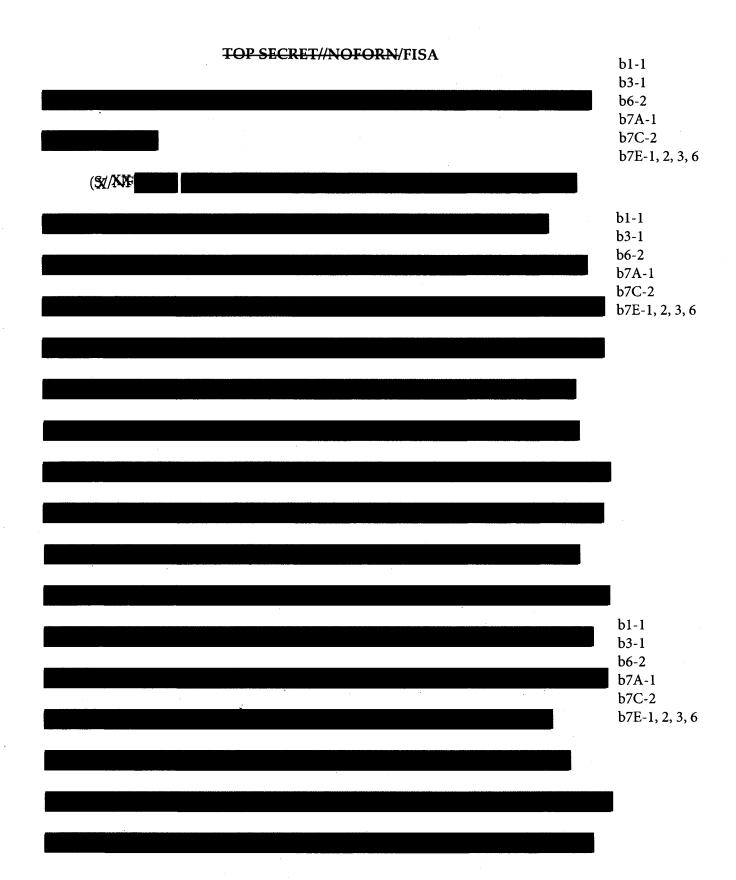


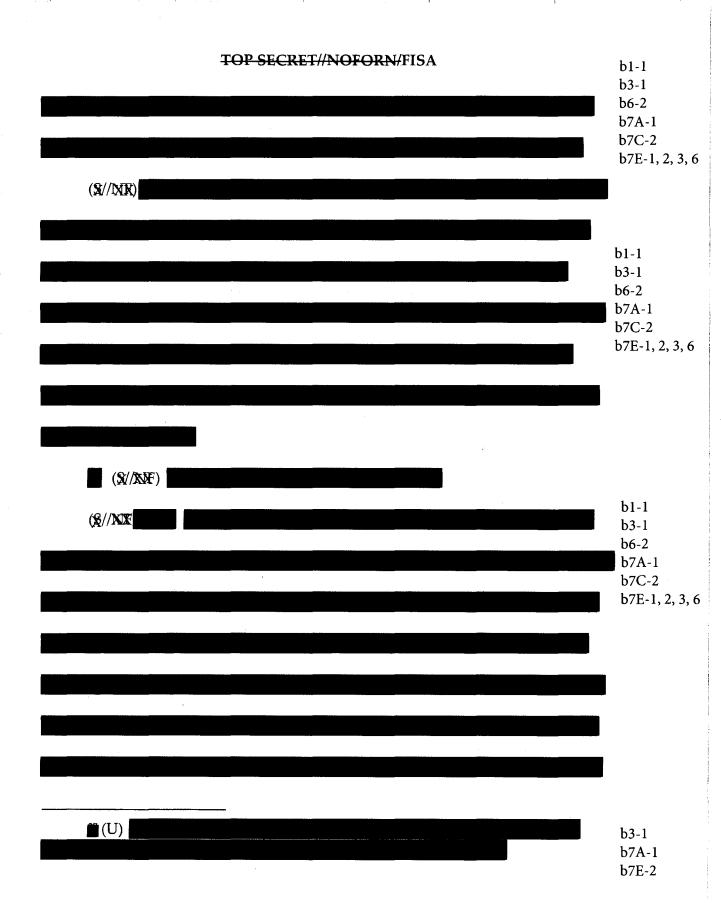


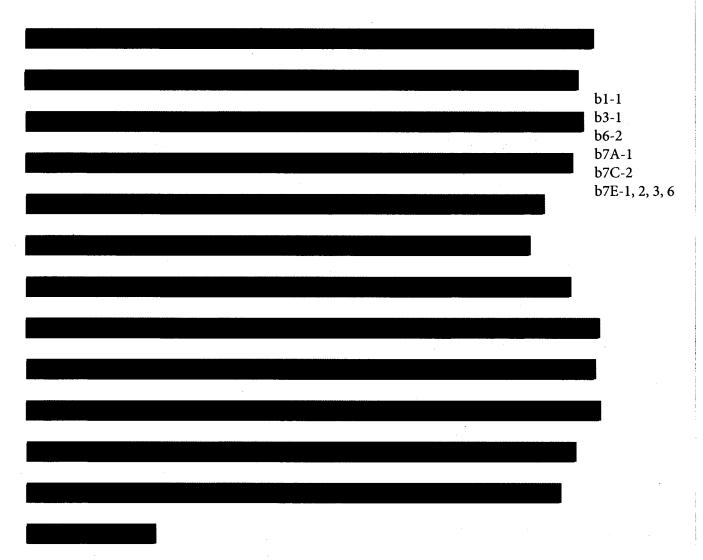








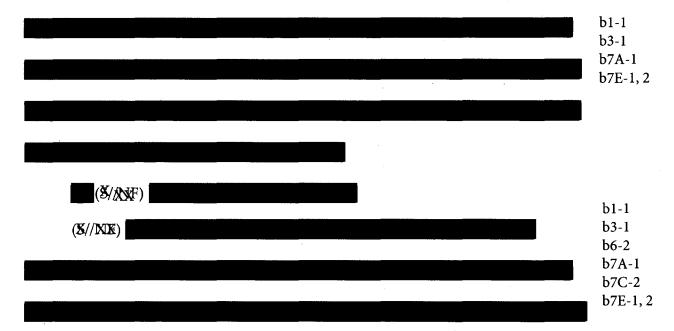


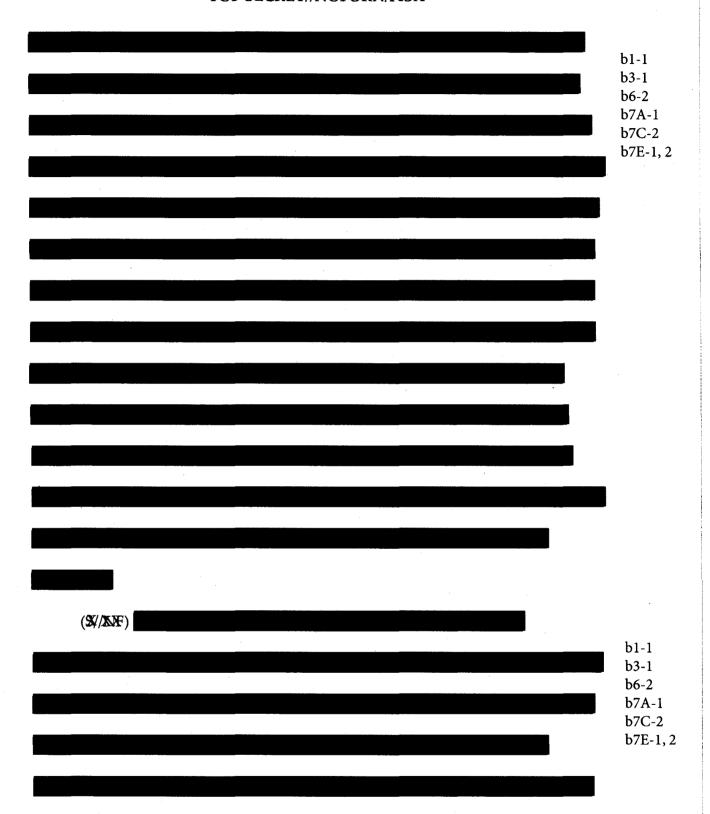


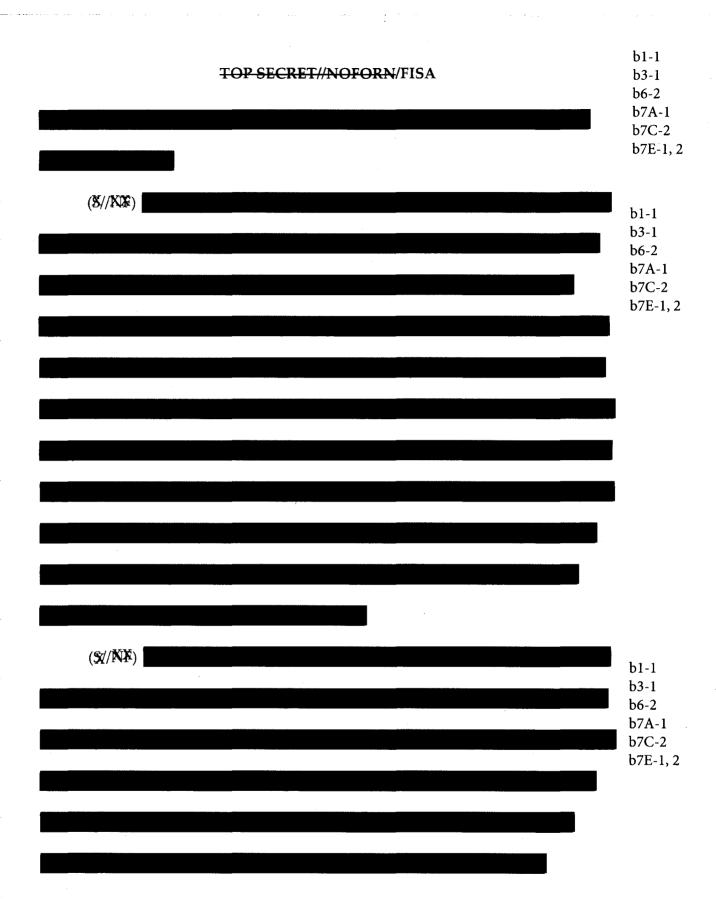
(U) G. (\$/\$XF) Page's Letter to the U.S. Department of Justice.

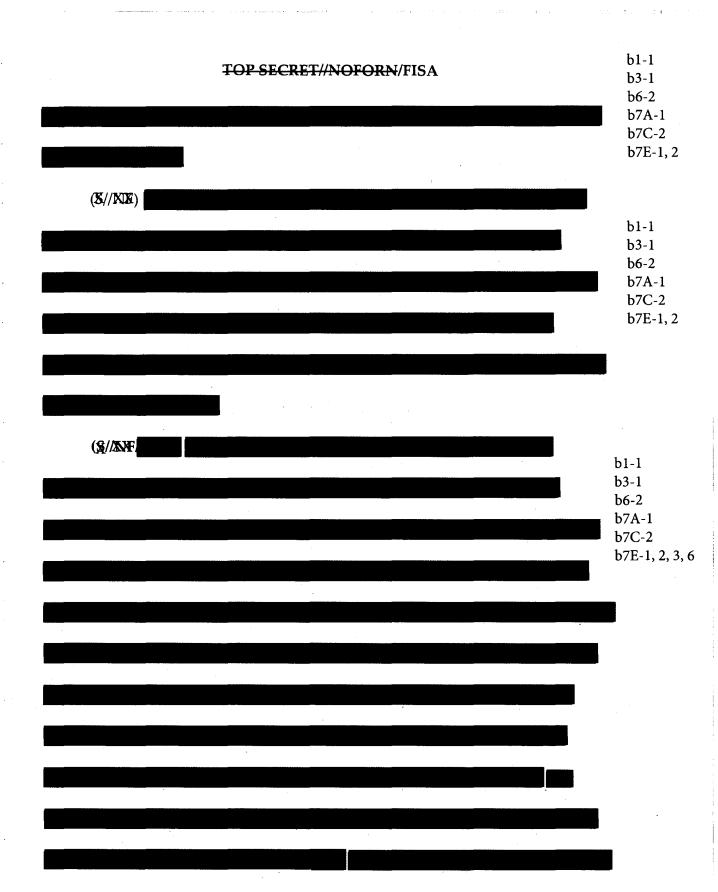
(\$//NXF) In or around February 2017, Page sent a letter to the U.S. Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division, Voting Section, urging the review of what Page claimed was "severe election fraud in the form of disinformation, suppression of dissent, hate crimes and other extensive abuses led by members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

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.

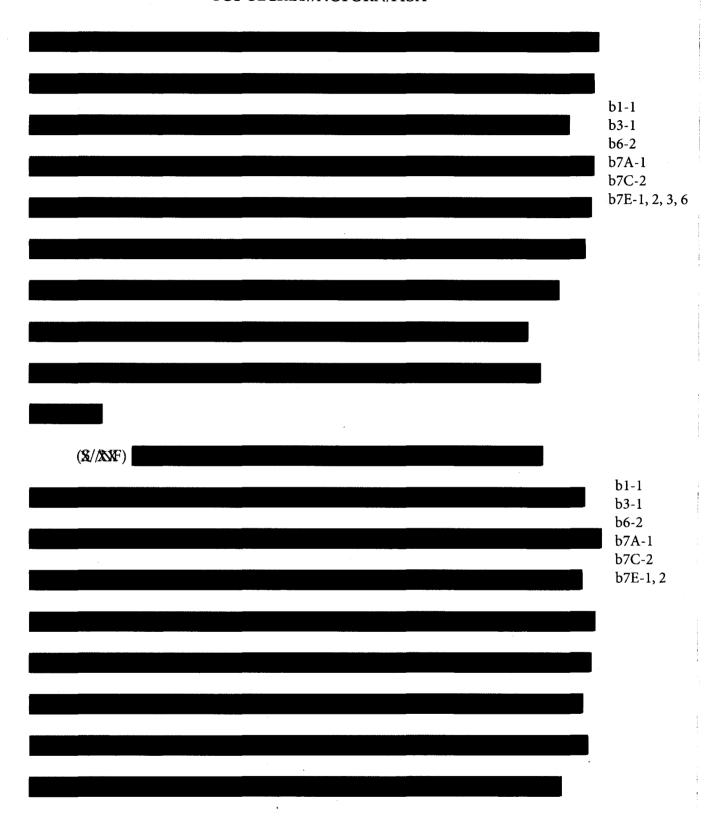


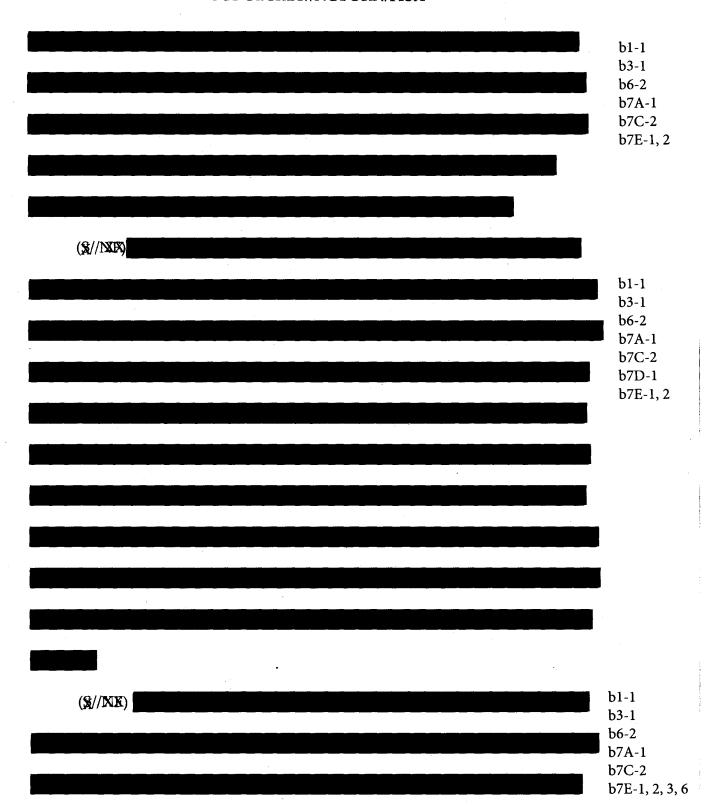


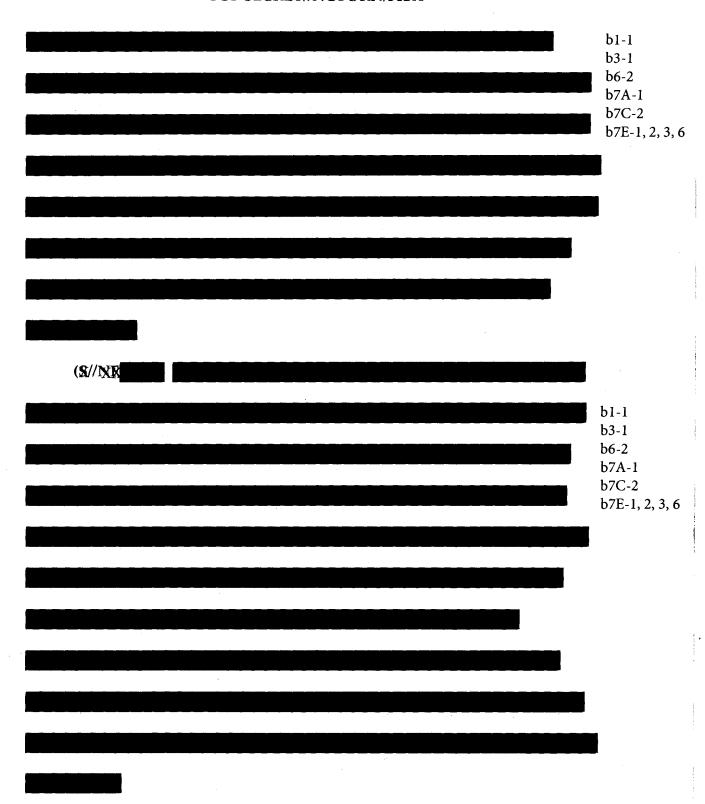


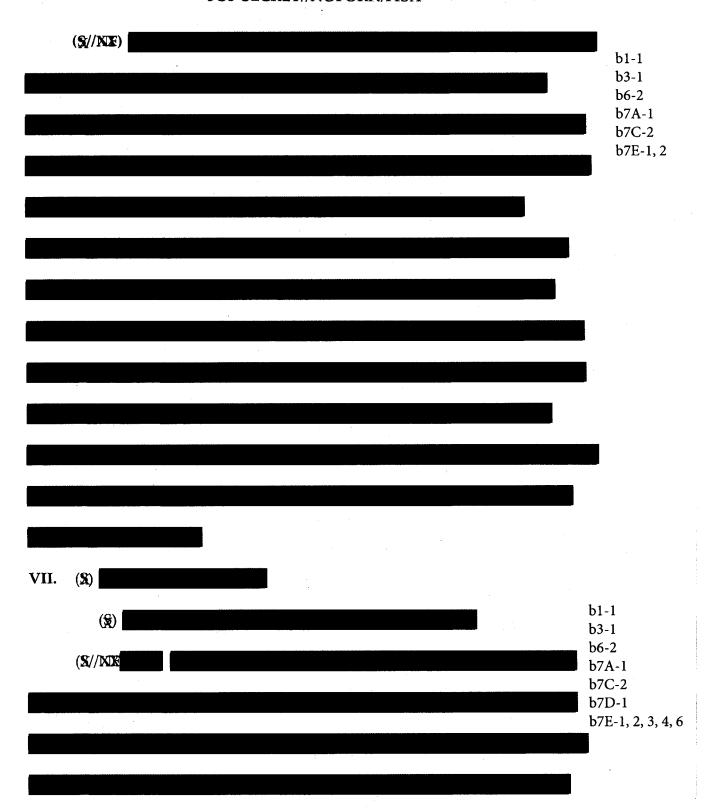


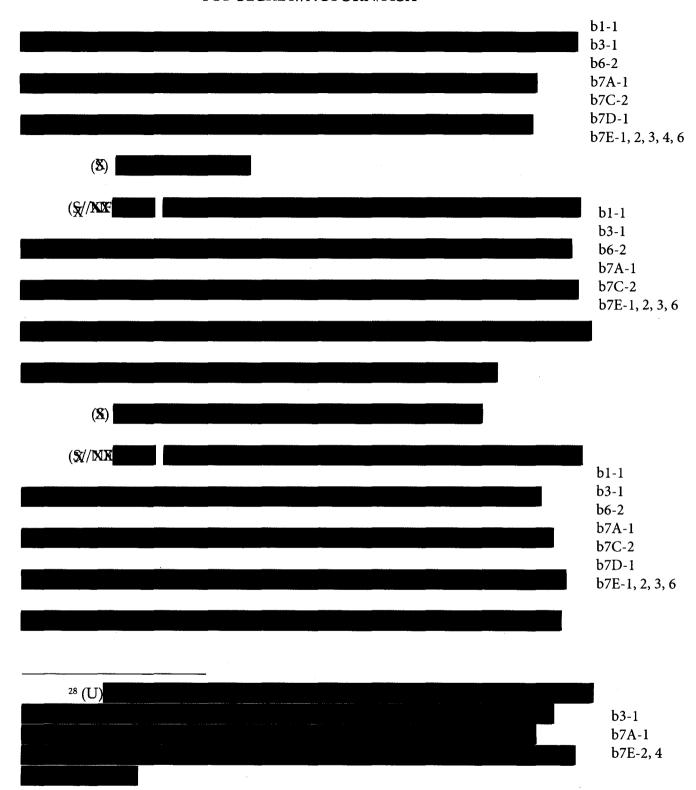
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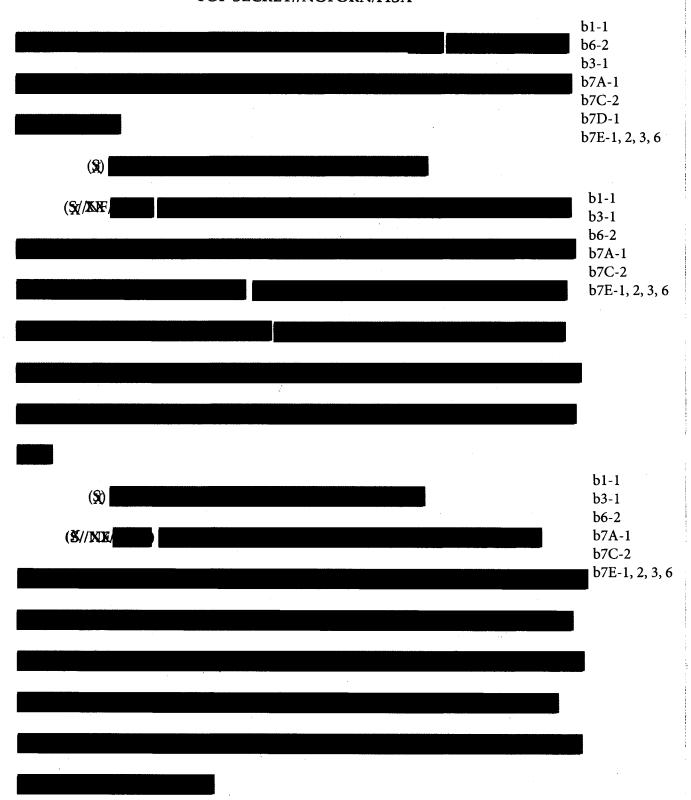


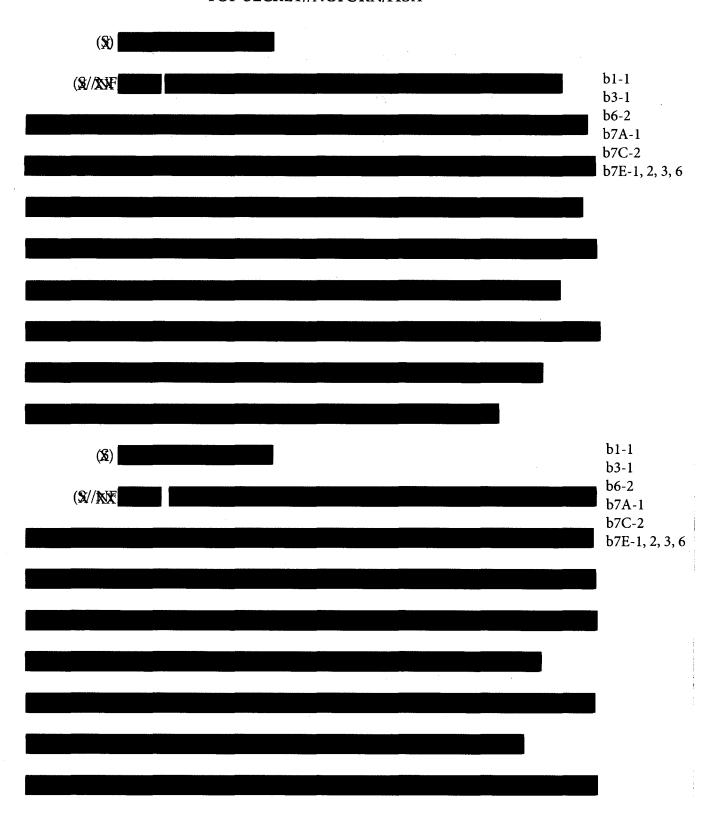


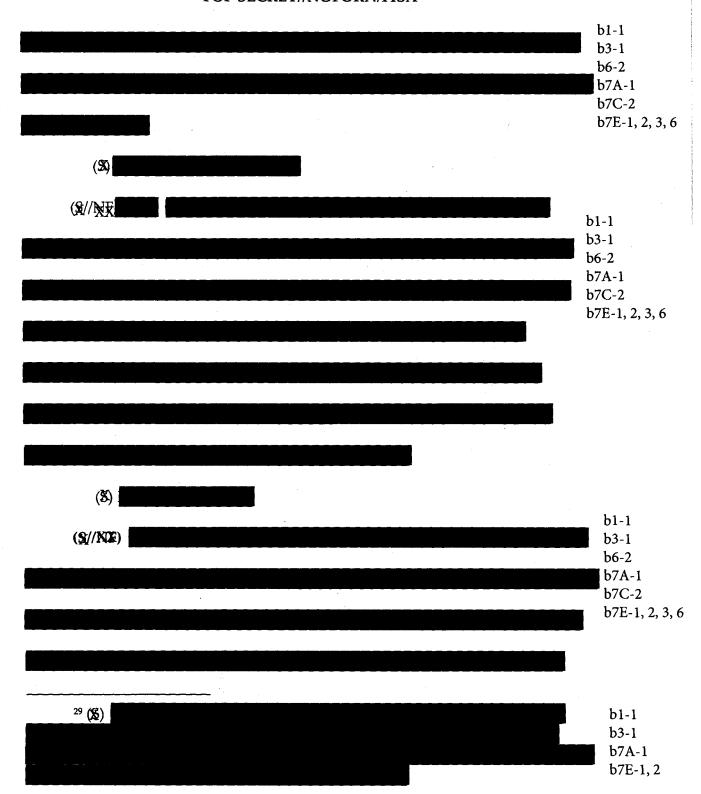


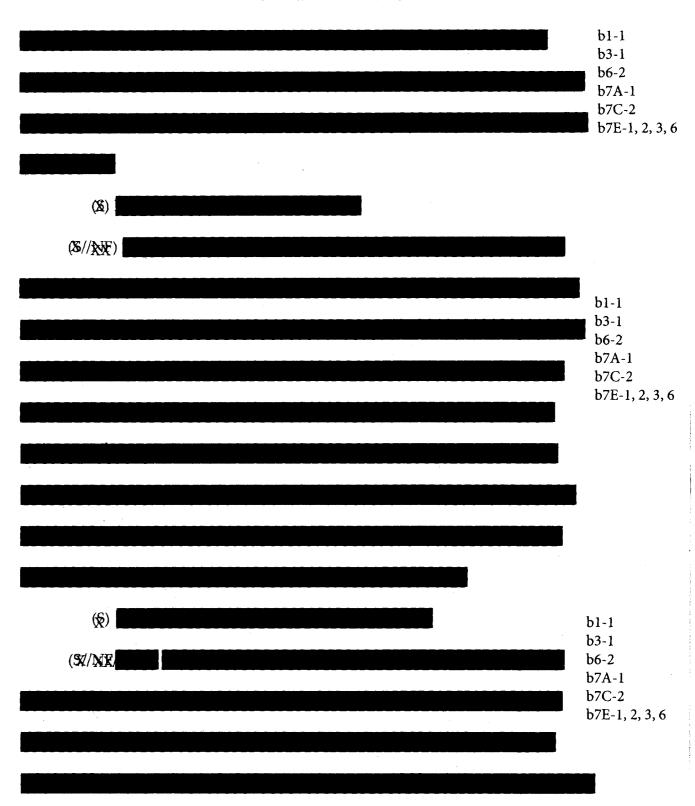




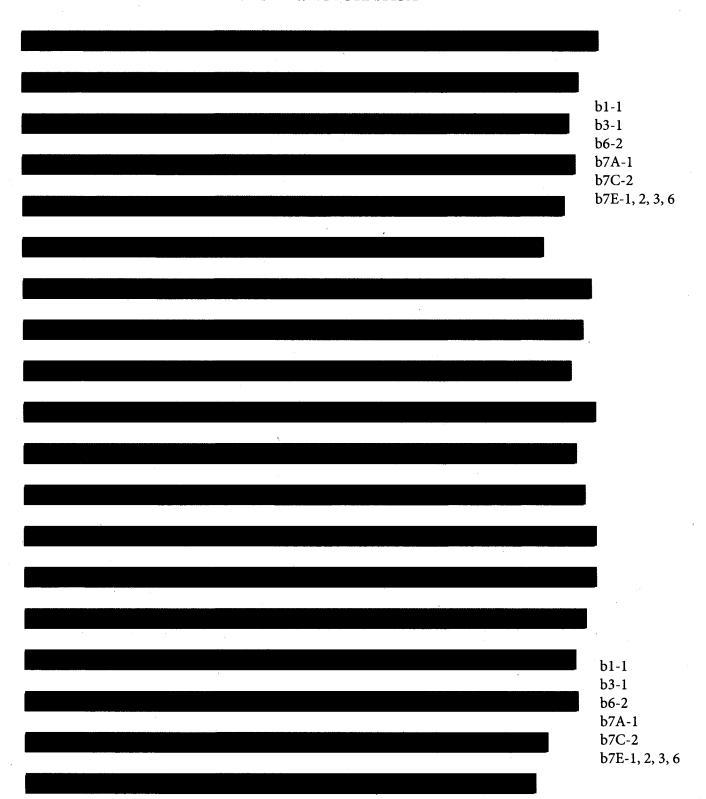


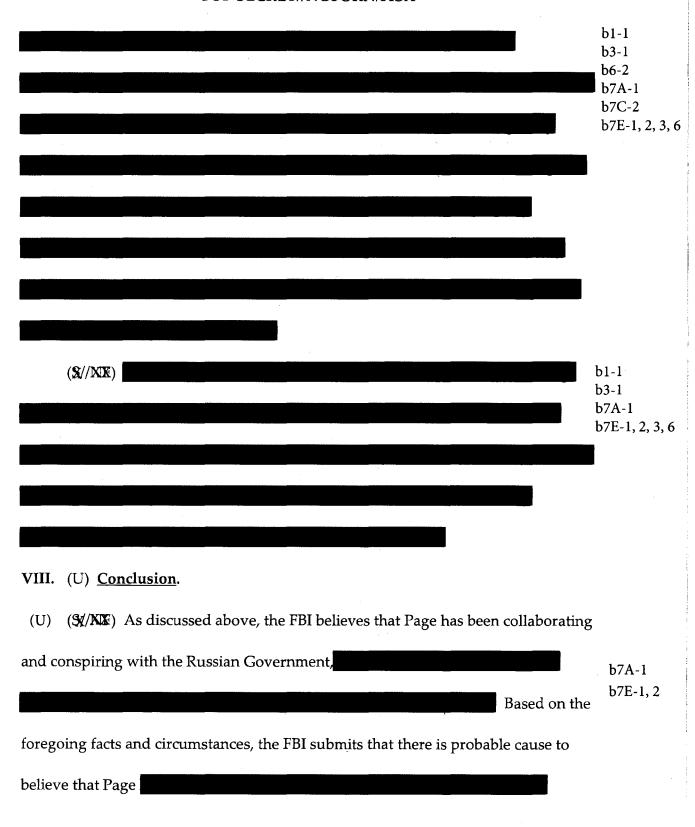




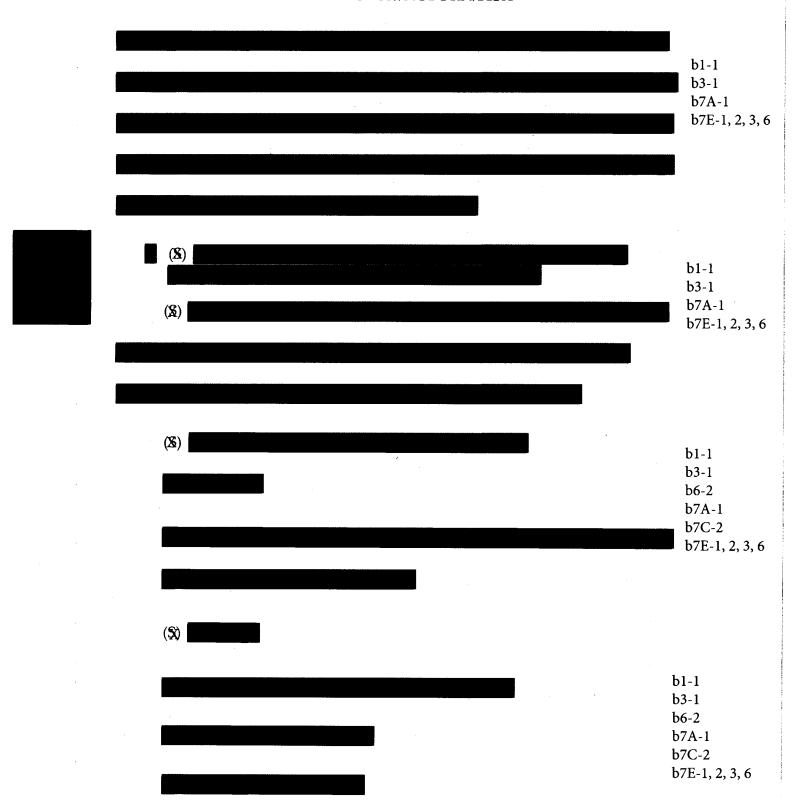


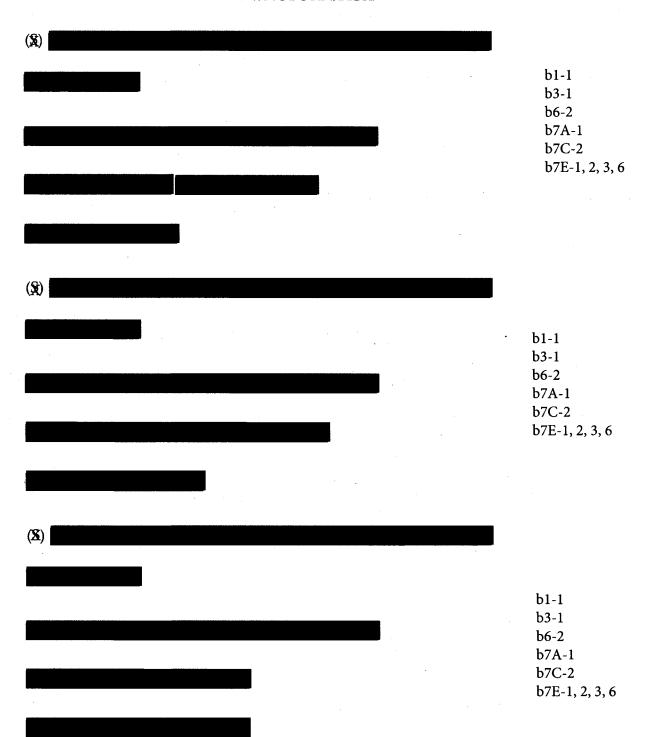
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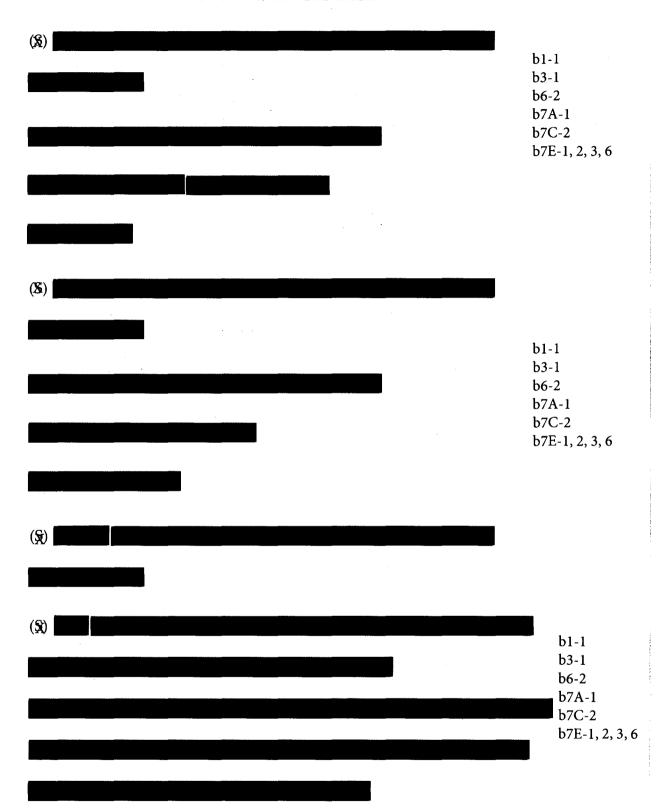


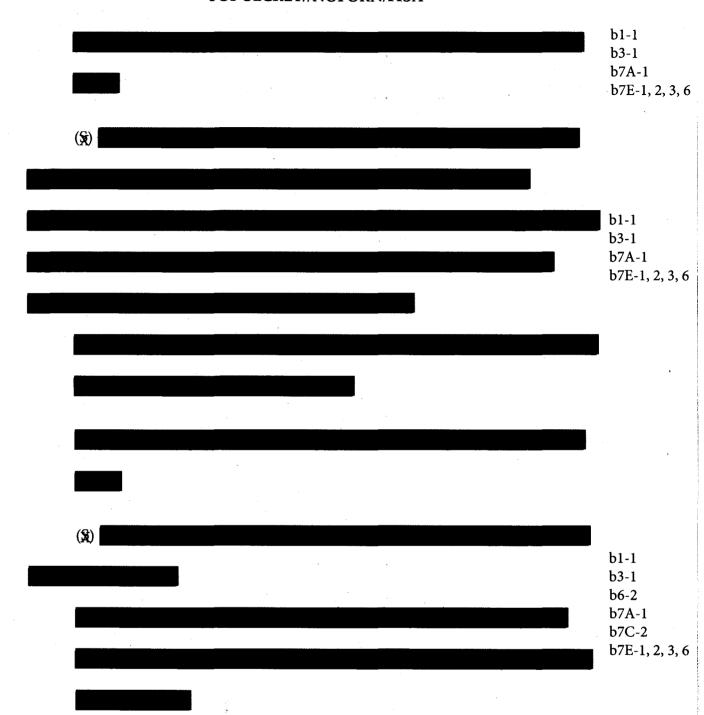


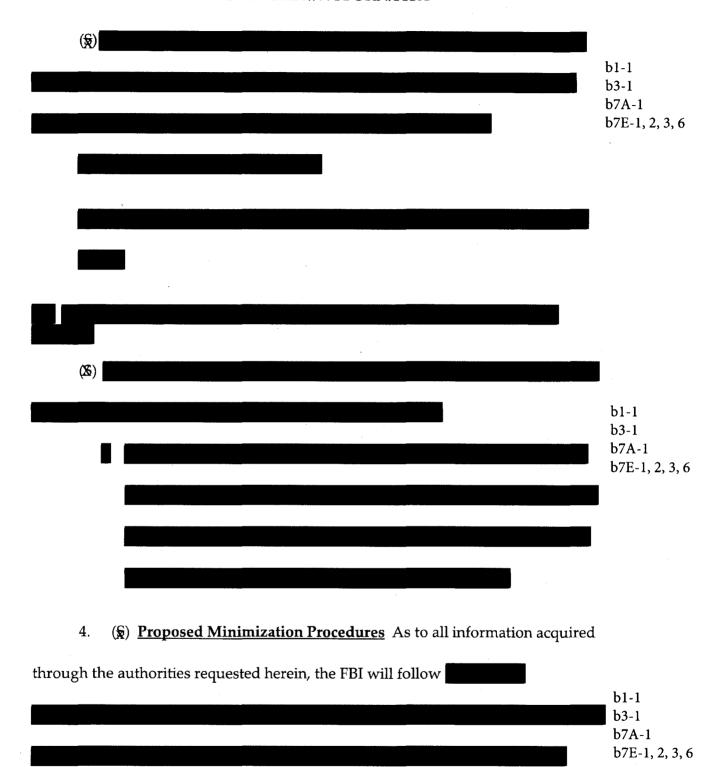
knowingly engage in b7A-1 b7E-1, 2 clandestine intelligence activities (other than intelligence gathering activities) for or on behalf of such foreign power, or knowingly conspires with other persons to engage in such activities and, therefore, is an agent of a foreign power as defined by 50 U.S.C. §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

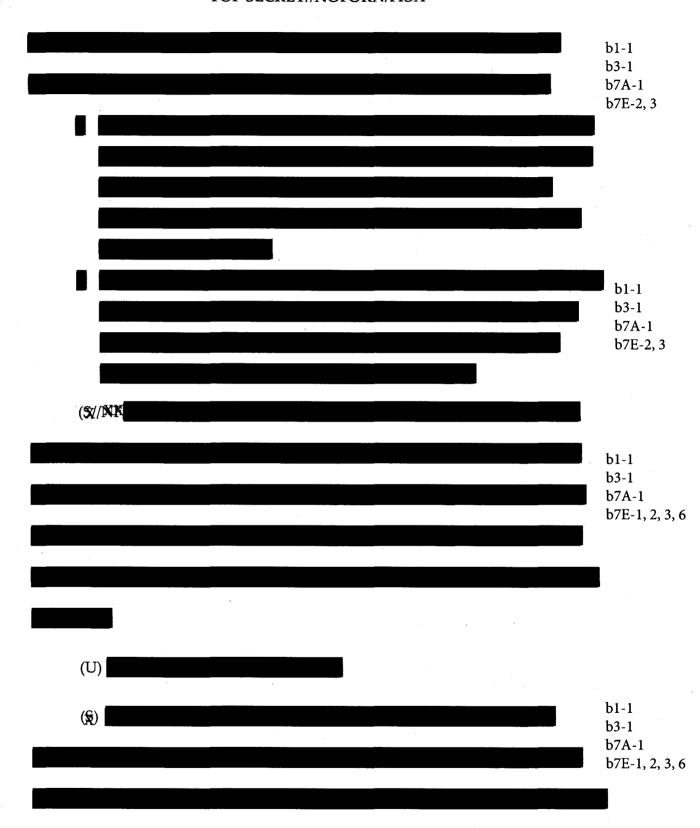


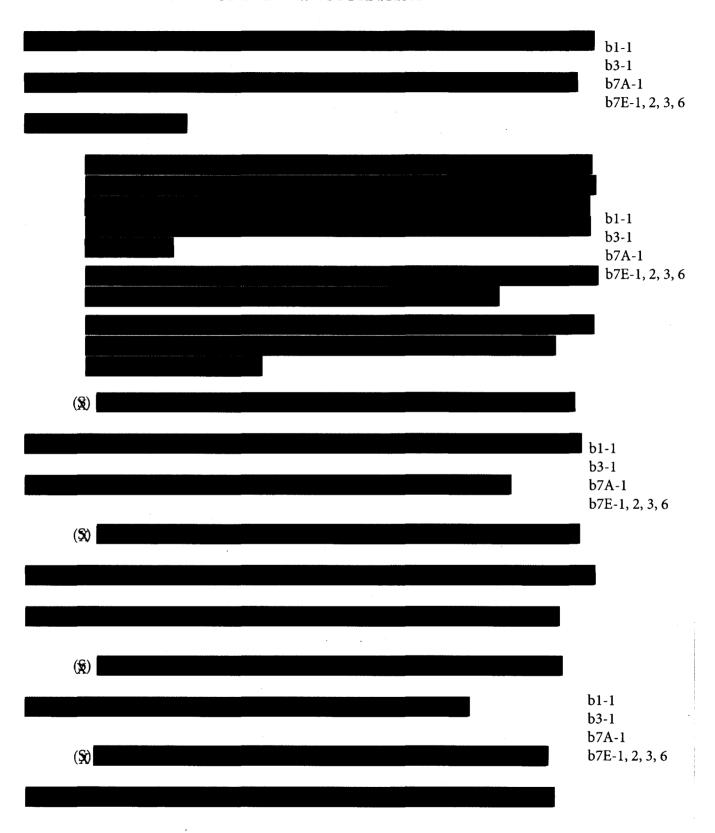








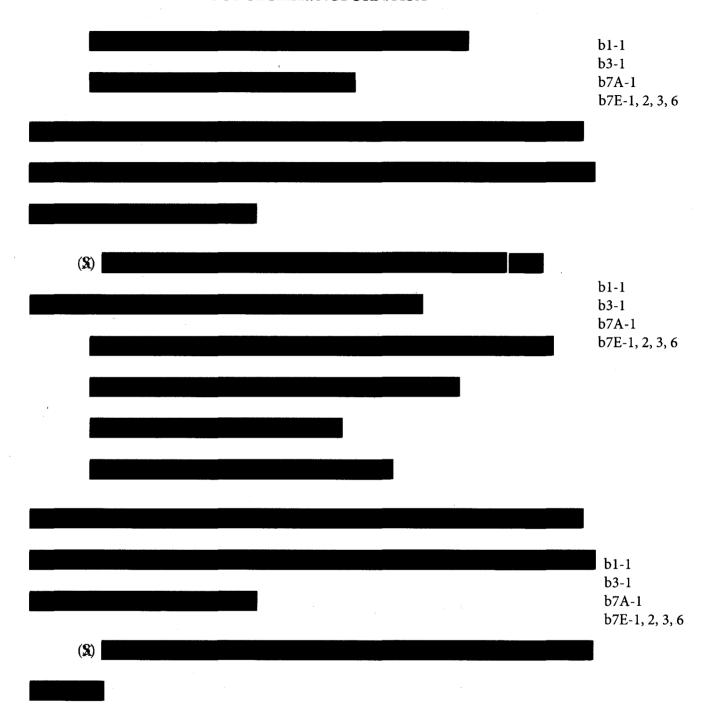


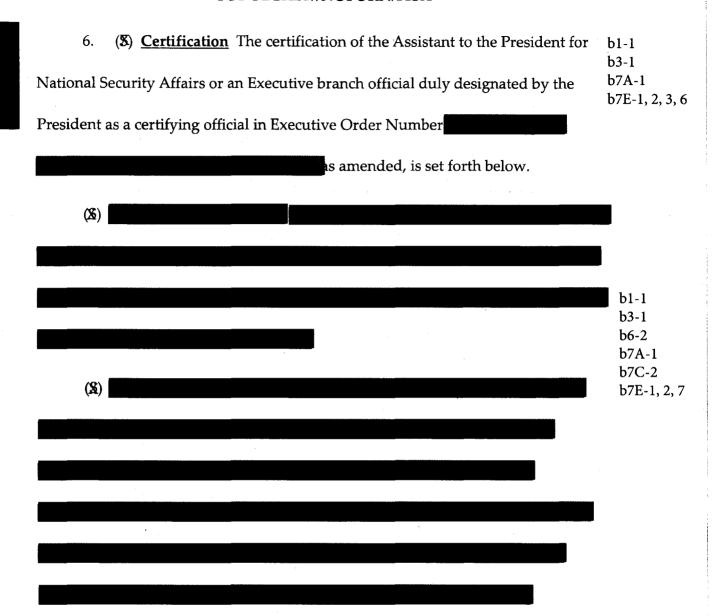


b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

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, 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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			b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1
			b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
		<u>.</u>	





(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 criminal prosecution of the target. Nevertheless, as discussed in the certification, at b1-1 b3-1 least a significant purpose of this request for b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 is to collect foreign intelligence information as part of the FBI's investigation of this target. b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6 b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

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

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

The authorities requested should not automatically terminate when foreign

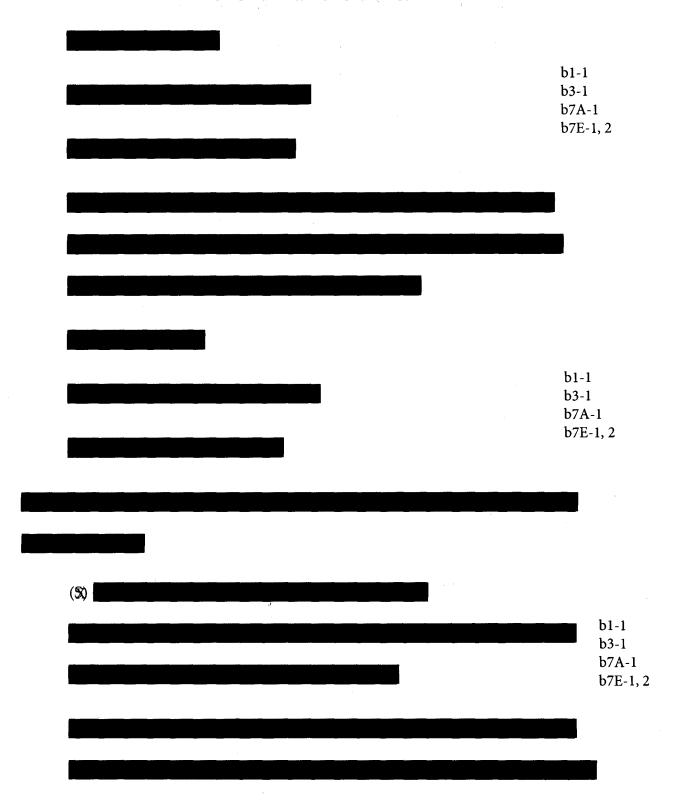
b1-1
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b7A-1
intelligence information has first been obtained. Additional information of the same

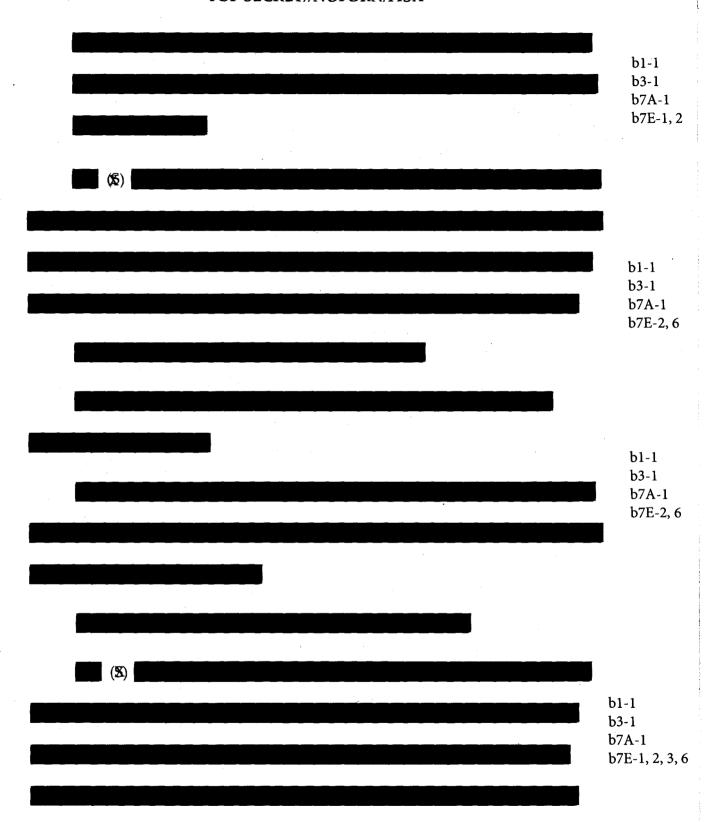
b7E-1, 2, 3, 6
type will be obtained on a continuous basis throughout the entire period requested.

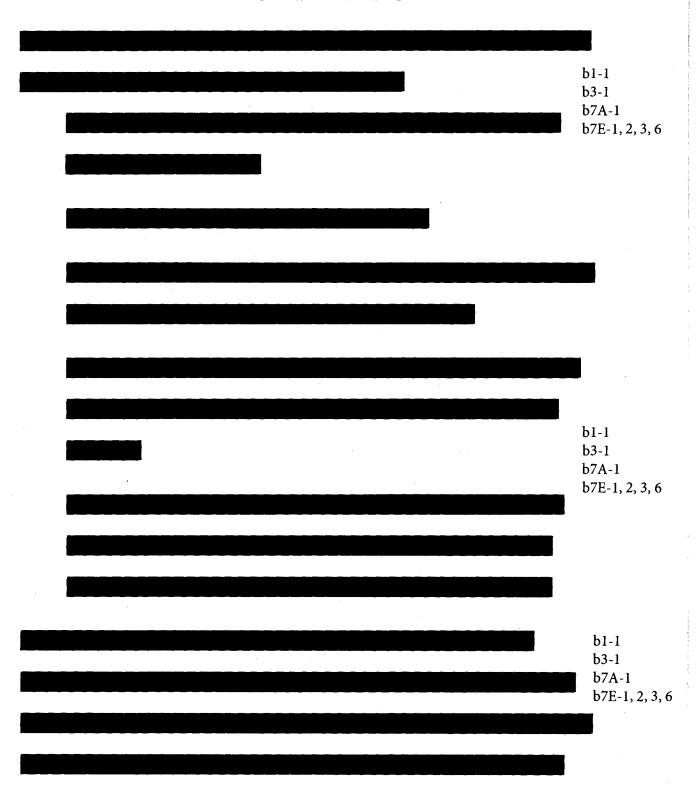
The activities which the United States must identify and monitor are incremental and continuous, and communications relating to such activities are often disguised to appear innocuous. The type of foreign intelligence information being sought and the fact that the activities of this target are ongoing preclude the conclusion that, at a given time, all such information has been obtained and collection can be ended.

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

(%)			
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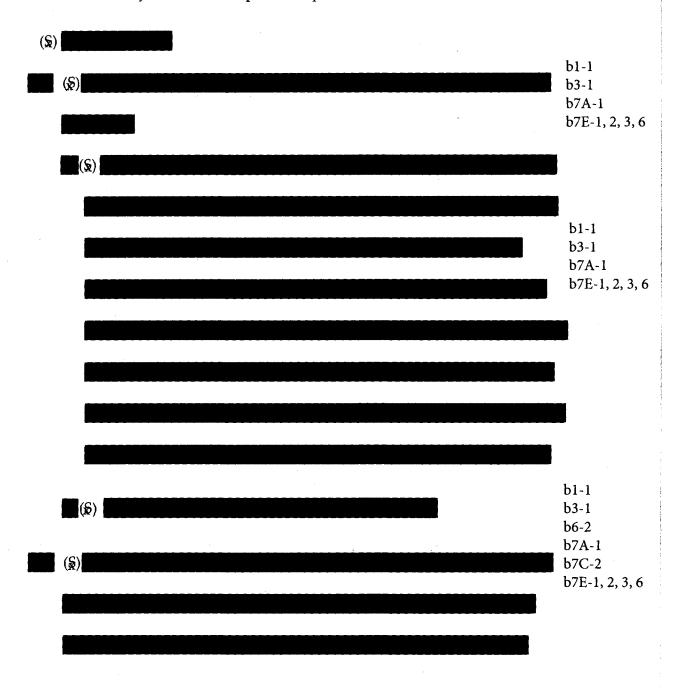


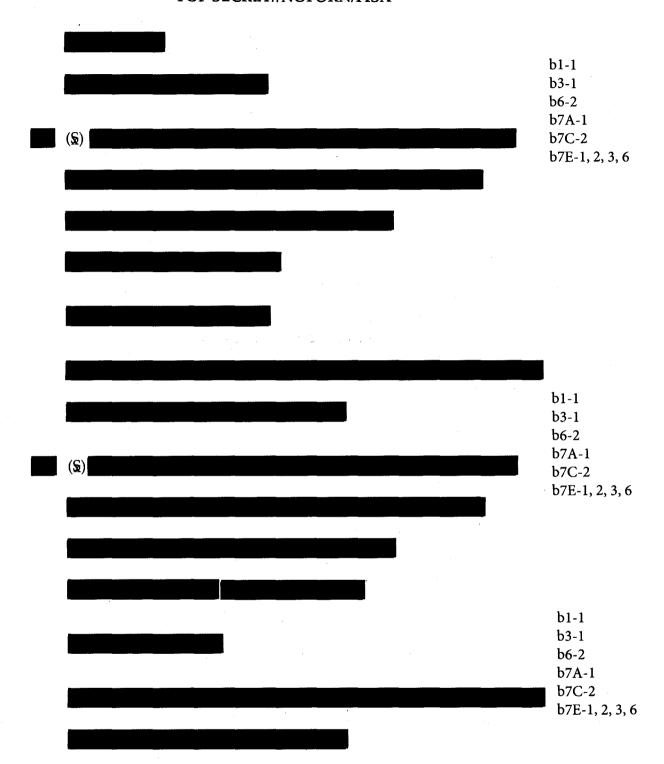


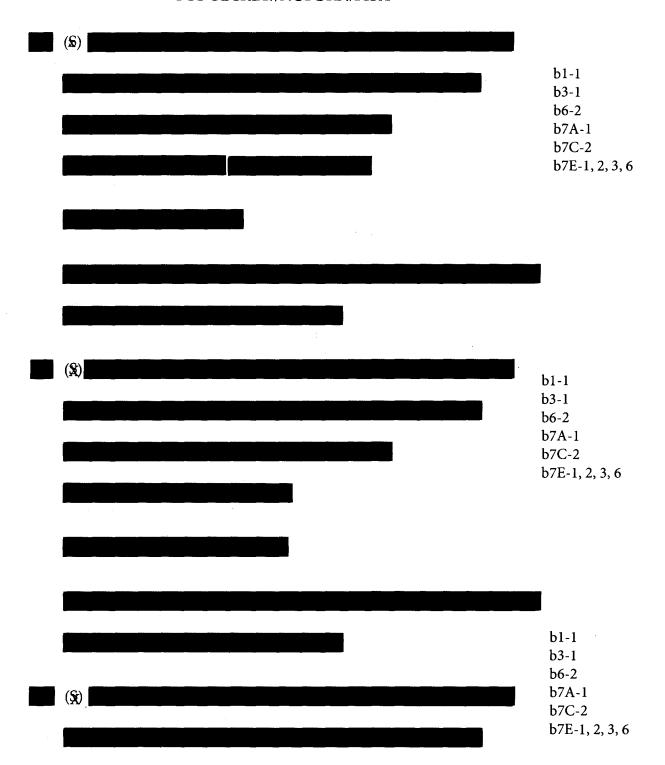


b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1 b7E-1	:
	, 2, 3, 6
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b3-1 b7A-	1 1, 2, 3, 6

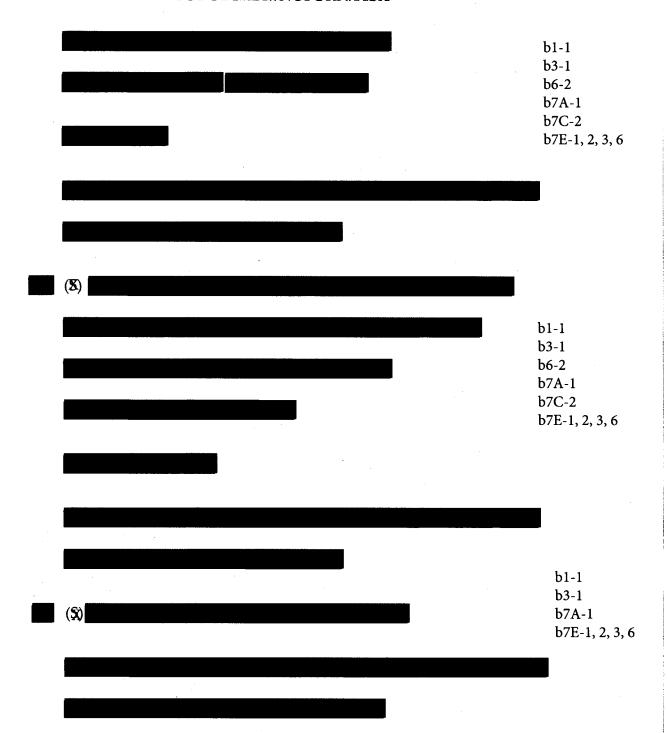
(U) Specific Authorities Requested Based upon the foregoing information, the United States requests that this Court authorize the FBI to conduct the activities described immediately below for the period requested herein.

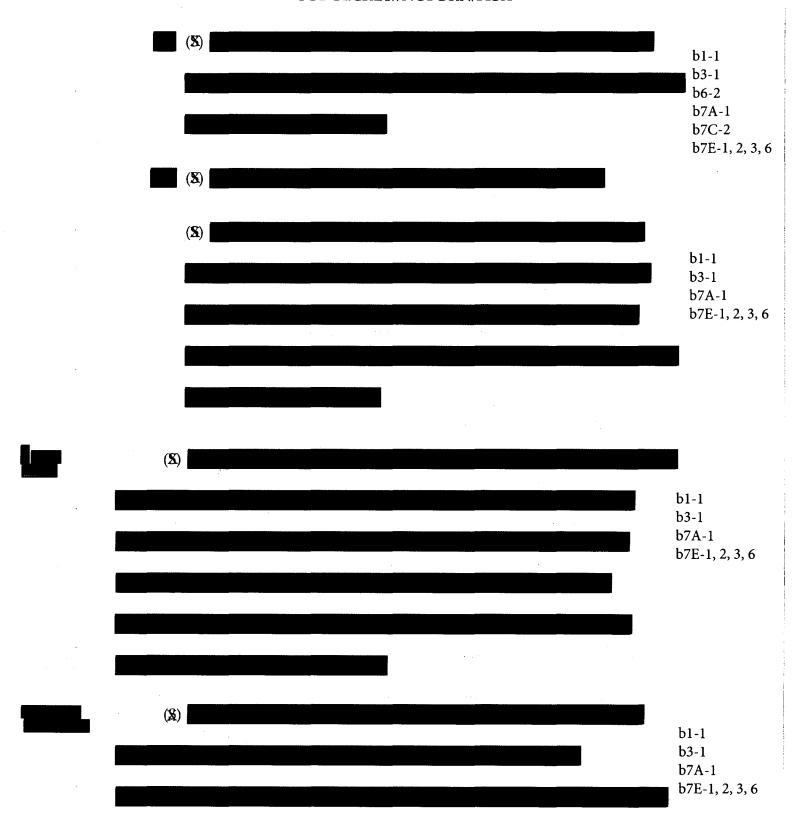


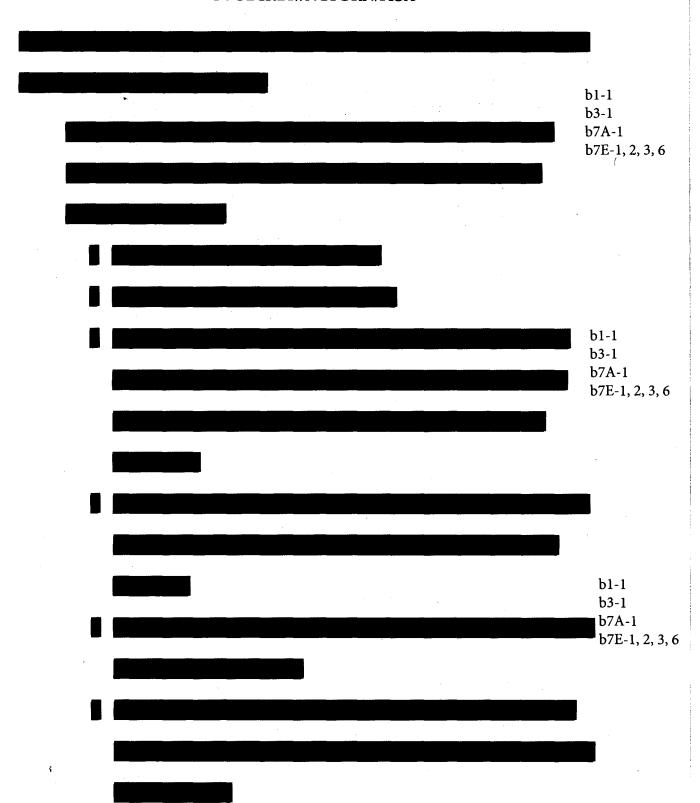


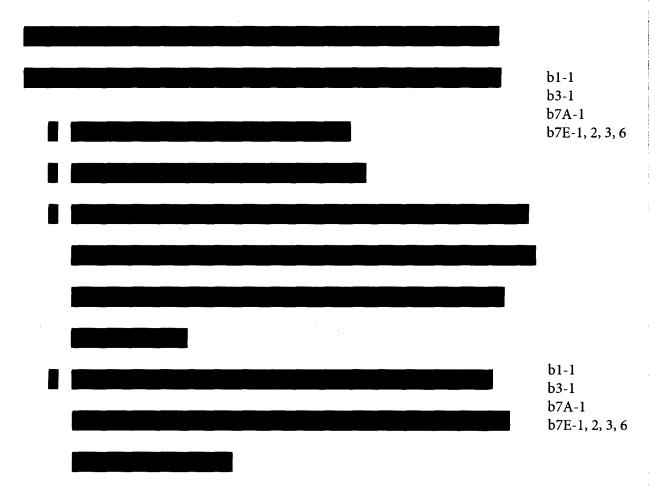


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(U) (3) The FBI has reviewed this verified application for accuracy in accordance with its April 5, 2001 procedures, which include sending a copy of the draft to the appropriate field office(s). A copy of those procedures was previously provided to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

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(U) VERIFICATION

(\$) 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

b1-1 b3-1

b7A-1

b6-1

b7A-1 b7C-1

Supervisory Special Agent Federal Bureau of Investigation

(U) CERTIFICATION

(\$\sigma\$) 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

requested in this verified application targeting

b1-1

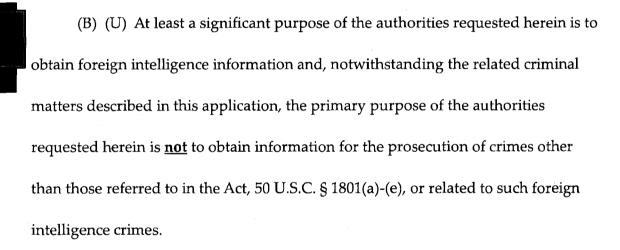
Carter W. Page, an agent of the Government of Russia, a foreign power, as follows: b3-1

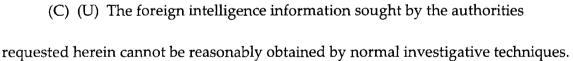
b7A-1

b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

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

foreign intelligence information.





b1-1

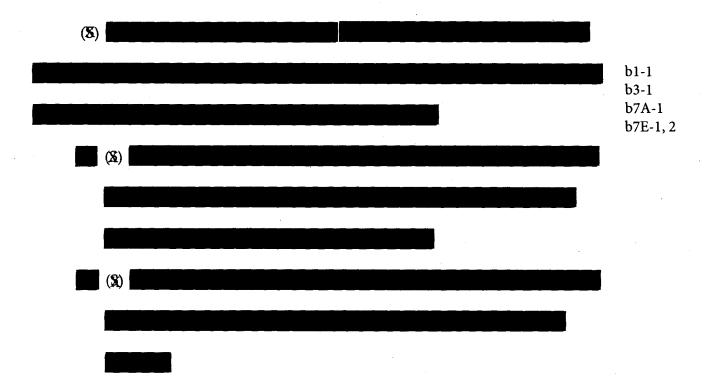
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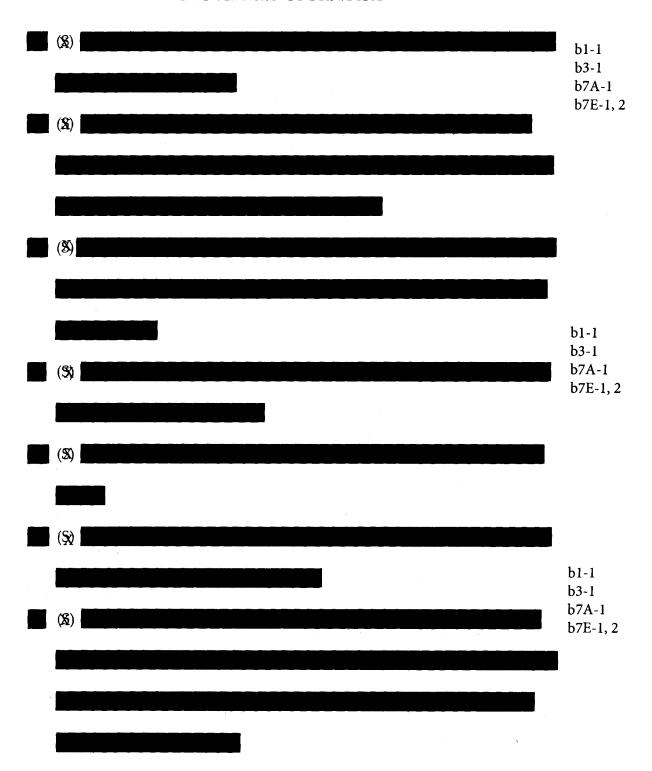
b7A-1 b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

(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.,

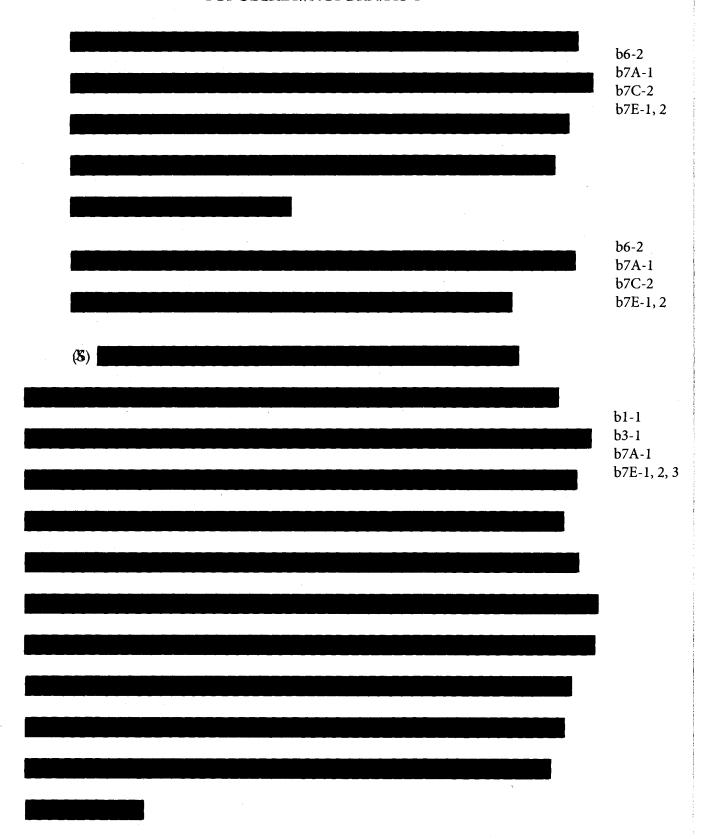
information that relates and is necessary to the ability of the United States to protect against clandestine intelligence activities by an intelligence service or network of this foreign power or by agents of this foreign power, and 50 U.S.C. § 1801(e)(2)(A)-(B), i.e., information with respect to a foreign 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 b1-1 b3-1 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.

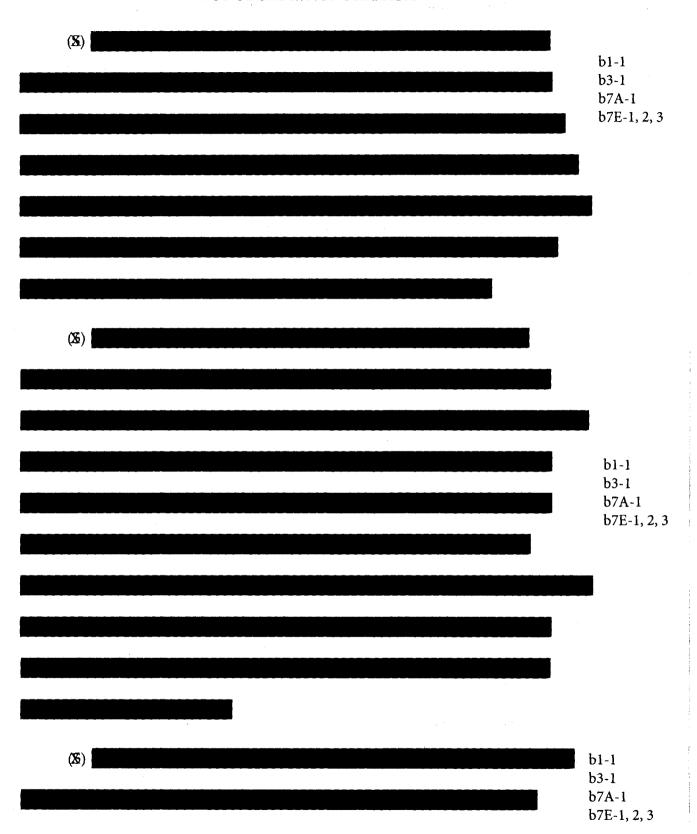


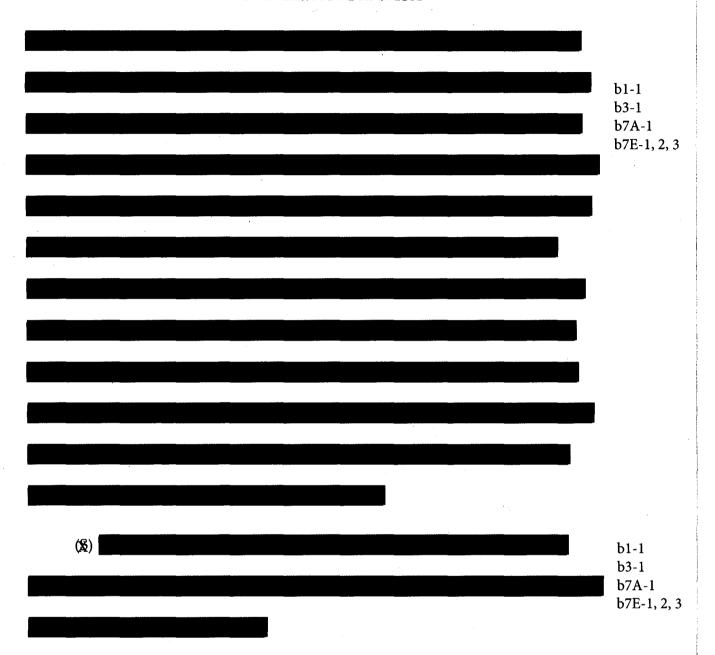


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		b6-2 b7A-1 b7C-2 b7E-1, 2



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(5)				I
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				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.

(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.

	Rex Tillerson
Director	Secretary of State
Federal Bureau of Investigation	
//1. //	
(fleffer	
Andrew G. McCabe	John J. Sullivan
Deputy Director	Deputy Secretary of State
Federal Bureau of Investigation	
Michael Pompeo	James N. Mattis
Director of the Central	Secretary of Defense
Intelligence Agency	occionary of Describe
Daniel R. Coats	H.R. McMaster
Director of National Intelligence	Assistant to the President for
	National Security Affairs
Principal Deputy Director of	•

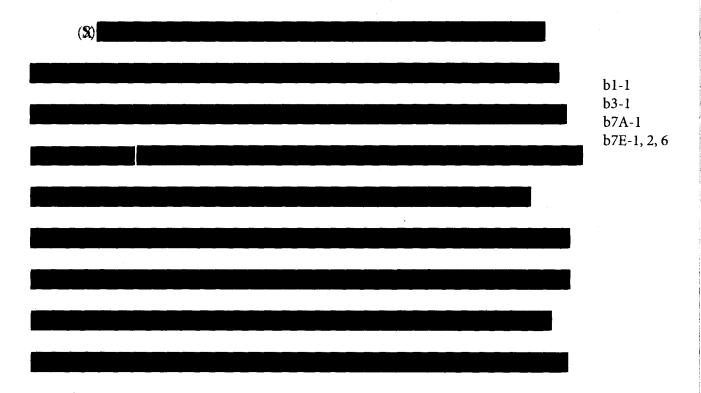
Principal Deputy Director of National Intelligence



b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1

(U) APPROVAL

(U) (X) 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.



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

W. Page with the Court,

b1-1

b3-1

b7A-1 b7E-1

Rod J. Rosenstein

Deputy Attorney General of the United States

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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,



All Information is considered unclassified except where

UNITED STATES

JUN 2017

unclassified except where otherwise shown

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE SURVEILLANCE COURT

Classify By: J23J98T32

WASHINGTON, D. C.

b1-1

Reason: (C)
Derived From: I

Derived From: FBI NSICG, dated

b3-1 b7A-1

6-2017 Declassify On:

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

Docket Number:

b1-1 b3-1

b7A-1

PERSON

PRIMARY ORDER 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 or 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

b1-1
b3-1

2. The application has been made by a Federal officer and approved by the

b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

b7A-1

Attorney General;



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

SECRET

Derived from:

Application to the USFISC

in Docket Number captioned above

b1-1

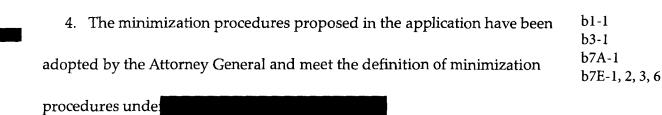
b3-1

Declassify on:

b7A-1

(A) The Government of the Russian Federation (Russia) is a foreign power and Carter W. Page is an agent of Russia, as defined by

b7A-1
b7E-1, 2



5. The application contains all statements and certifications required by

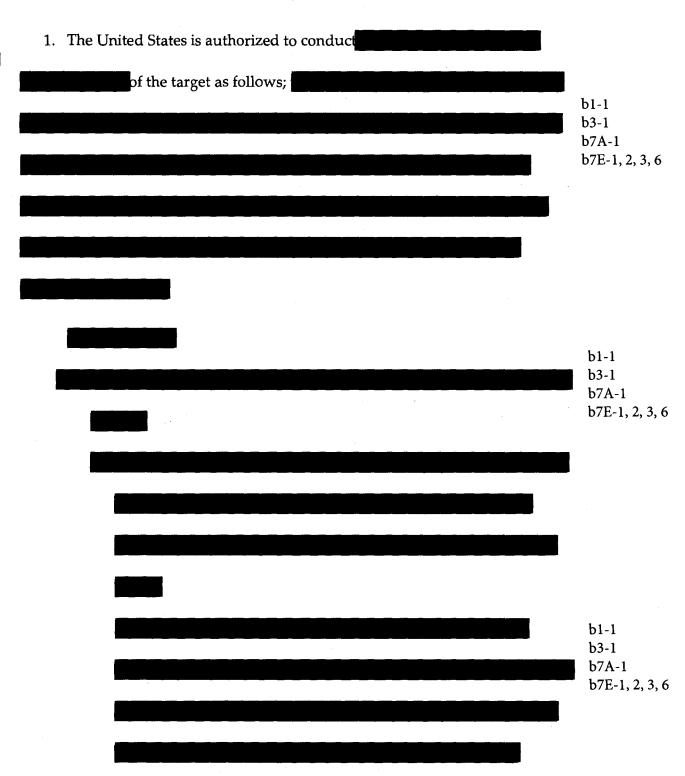
b1-1
b3-1
b7A-1
b7E-1, 2, 3, 6

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

FURTHER ORDERED, as follows:

any other information furnished under

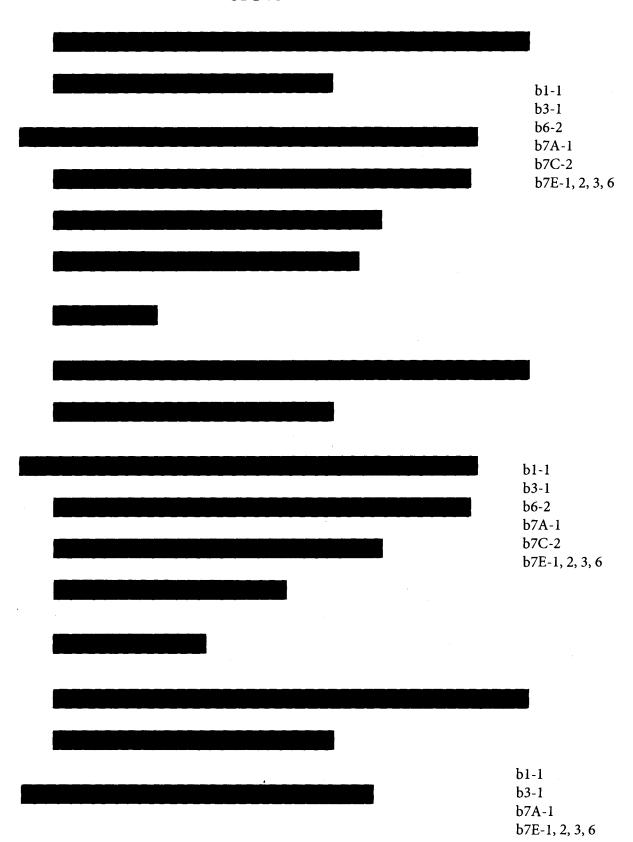
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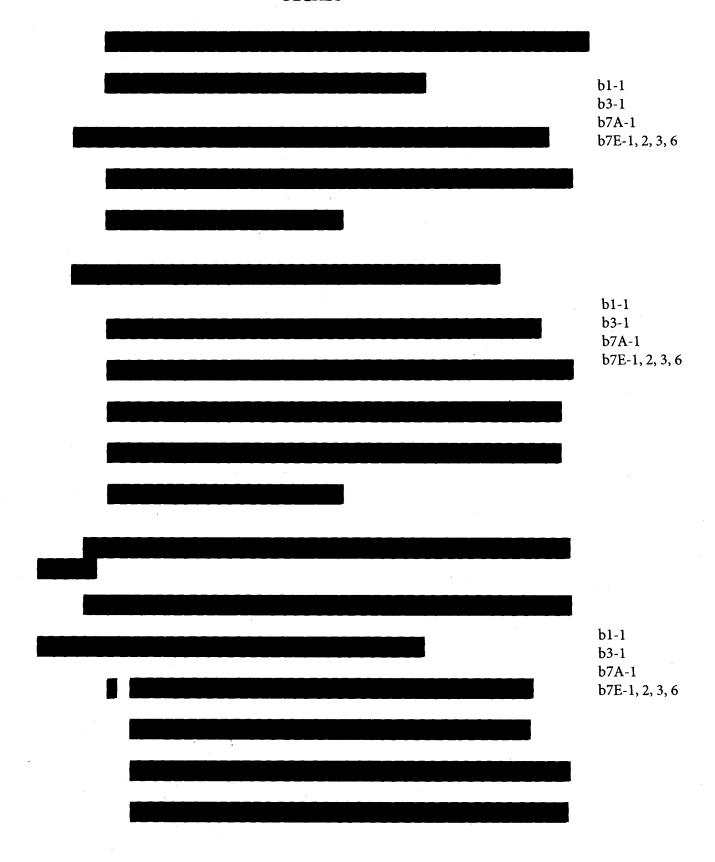




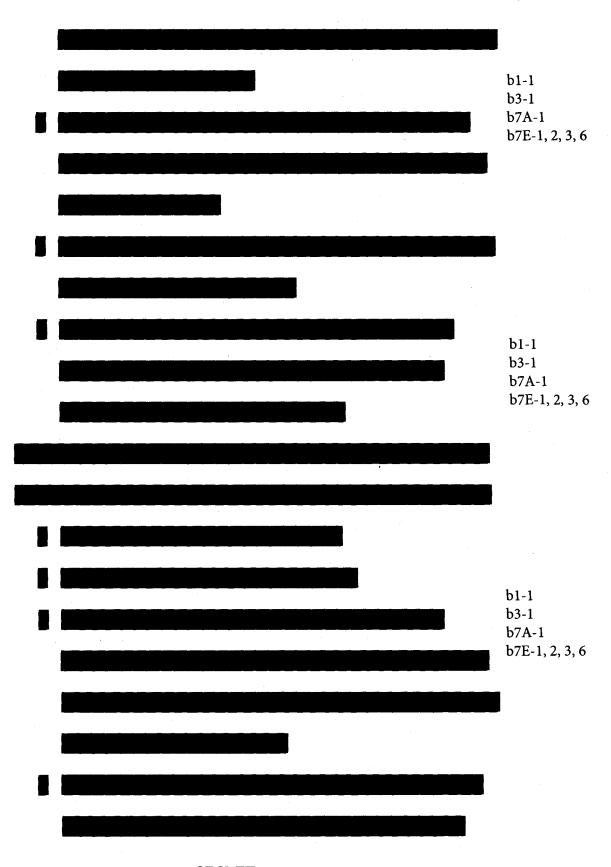
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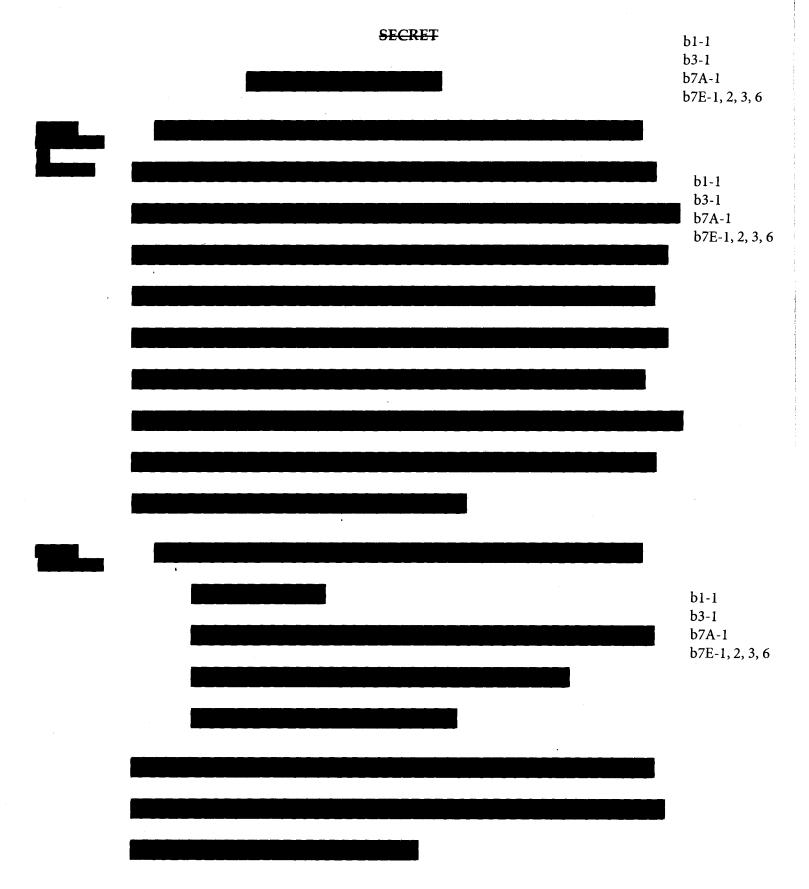




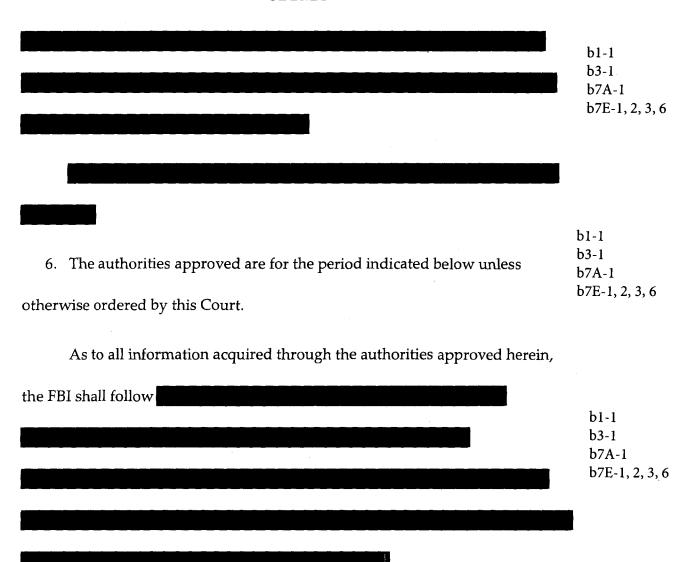


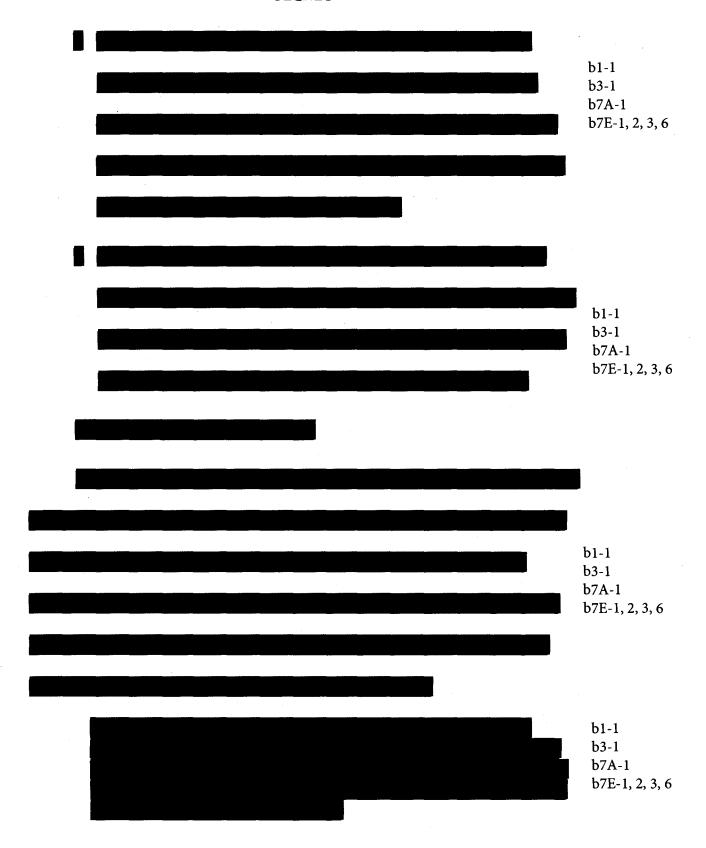
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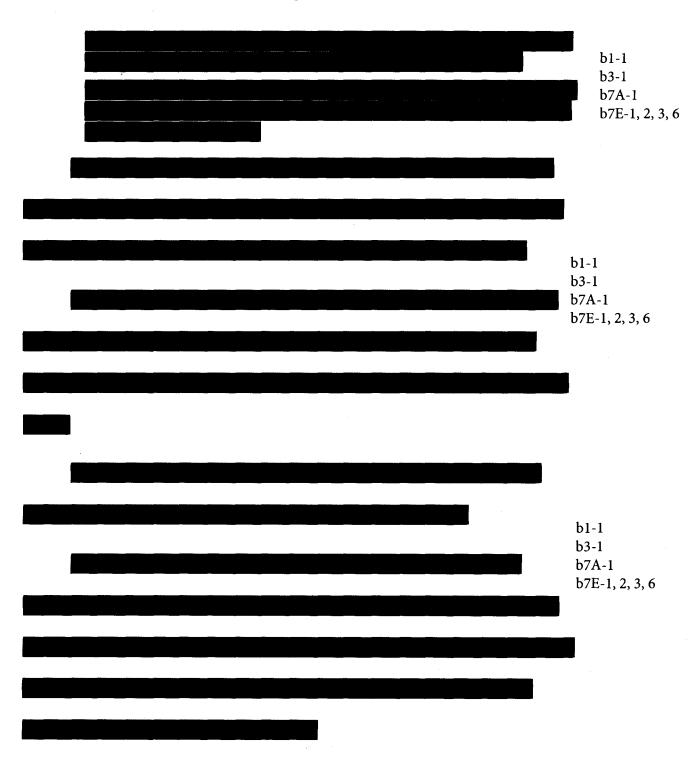
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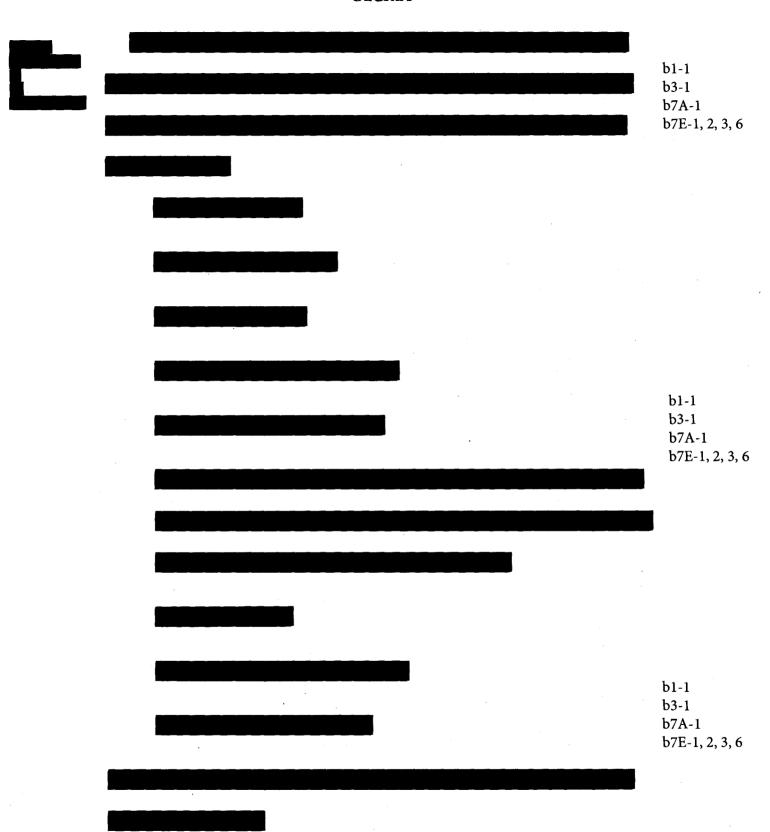




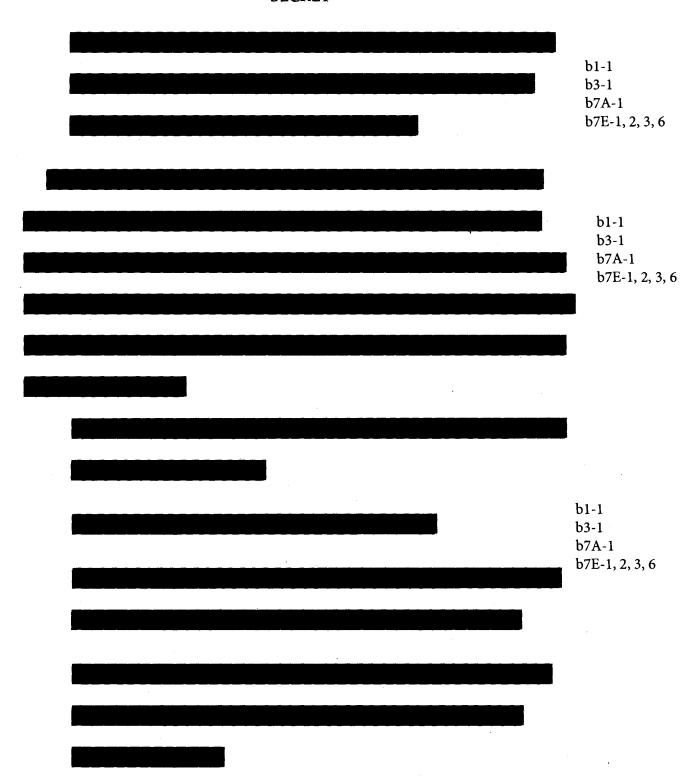


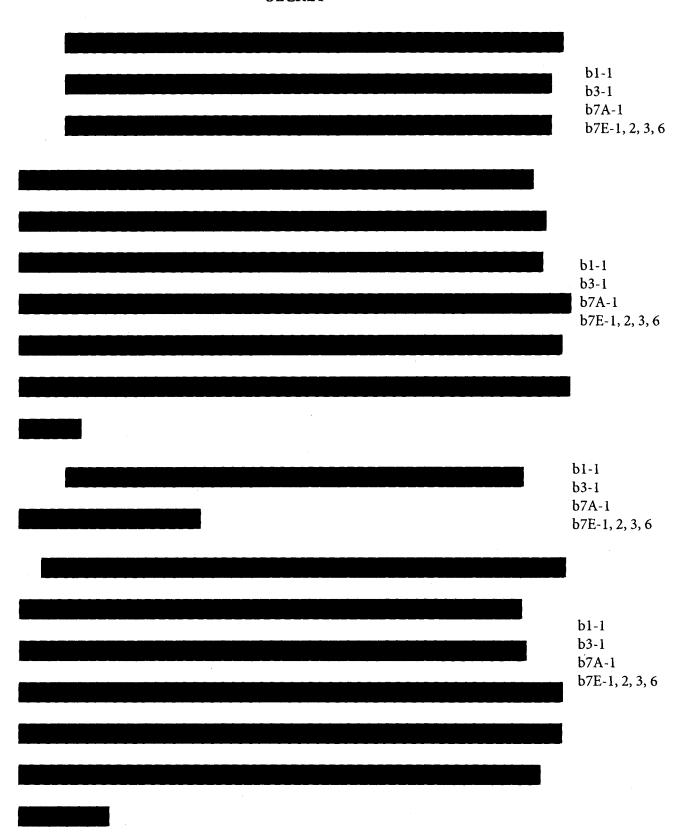


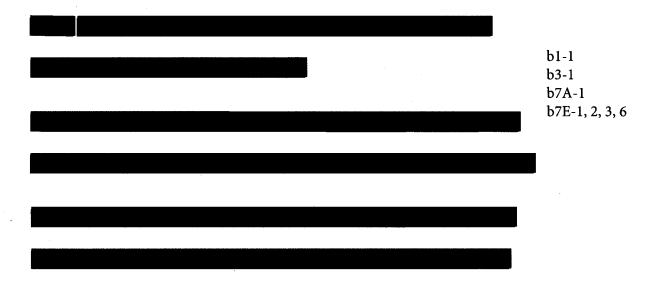












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This authoriz	ation regarding Ca	rter W. Page expire	s at Eastern Tin	ne
on the	day of S	September, 2017.		b1-1 b3-1 b7A-1
Signed	06 - 2017		Eastern Time	
-	Date	Time		
			4.	

RAYMOND J. DEARIE
Judge, United States Foreign
Intelligence Surveillance Court

FISC, certify that this solve of the is a true and correct copy of the origin

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b6-3 b7A-1 b7C-3