

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

November 20, 2020

The Honorable William P. Barr
Attorney General
U.S. Department of Justice

Dear Attorney General Barr:

On October 30, 2020, we requested that the Department of Justice (DOJ) declassify several types of records, including then-Director Comey's briefing notes and FBI Lync messages, relating to Crossfire Hurricane. The DOJ recently produced to the Committees the enclosed partially declassified document titled "Director's Briefing Notes Crossfire Hurricane" dated May 1, 2017. This document appears to summarize the FBI's investigative efforts, as of May 1, 2017, relating to subjects of the Crossfire Hurricane investigation, namely, George Papadopoulos, Michael Flynn, Carter Page, and Paul Manafort.

This 11-page document includes information about the status of the then-ongoing investigations into those individuals and references new information obtained through witness interviews. One of the witnesses named in the section of the document labeled "Michael Flynn [CROSSFIRE RAZOR]" is Miles Taylor.¹ Although the document does not fully explain the FBI's interest in Taylor in relation to Flynn, the memo included a "place holder" for an "interview w/ Miles Taylor."²

Taylor previously worked for the House of Representatives and then in 2017 he joined the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), eventually rising to become then-Secretary Kirstjen Nielsen's chief of staff in February 2019.³ In late October 2020, Taylor revealed that he was the anonymous author of a September 2018 *New York Times* op-ed titled, "I am Part of the Resistance Inside the Trump Administration" where he stated that he intended to "thwart" President Trump's agenda while he was in the administration.⁴ Taylor resigned from DHS in June 2019 and shortly thereafter, in November 2019, he published a book titled "A Warning," which was also critical of President Trump.⁵

¹ Director's Briefing Notes CROSSFIRE HURRICANE 1 May 2017 at 1 [hereinafter DOJ Production].

² *Id.* at 4.

³ Michael D. Shear, *Who is Miles Taylor?*, NY Times, Oct. 28, 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/28/us/politics/anonymous-miles-taylor.html>; Nick Niedzwiadek, *Former DHS official Miles Taylor reveals himself as Anonymous, who wrote critically of Trump*, Politico, Oct. 28, 2020, <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/10/28/anonymous-ex-dhs-official-miles-taylor-433363>.

⁴ *Id.*; Miles Taylor, *I Am Part of the Resistance Inside the Trump Administration*, NY Times, Sept. 5, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/05/opinion/trump-white-house-anonymous-resistance.html>.

⁵ *Id.*

The FBI document appears to list meetings that Taylor had with Michael Flynn's lobbying organization, the Flynn Intel Group, in October 2016.⁶ The document also noted that a "witness interview of Miles Taylor, mentioned in the FARA documents, indicated Flynn Intel Group's involvement with a late 2016 Turkey-related briefing to the now-National Security Adviser to the Vice President."⁷ Further, under a Flynn subsection titled "[m]oving forward in the near-term," the FBI wrote, "[b]ased on Miles Taylor interview + open source reporting, considering an interview of former CIA Director James Woolsey [REDACTED]."⁸

This heavily-redacted document suggests that the FBI spoke directly to Taylor and it also provides additional information relating to Crossfire Hurricane. Accordingly, we request that the entire document be further declassified. We believe that further declassification is appropriate at this time because, among other factors, the Inspector General's review of Crossfire Hurricane is closed; the investigation has already been the subject of years of oversight, public hearings, and document productions; and there is a strong public interest in knowing and understanding what really transpired between and among federal government officials relating to Crossfire Hurricane. Together, these factors outweigh the need to further protect the information contained in the classified records.

In addition, we request all records relating to the FBI's interview of Miles Taylor, including all 302s and notes, to better understand his role in the Flynn investigation. Please produce this information as soon as possible but no later than November 30, 2020. Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely,



Ron Johnson
Chairman
Committee on Homeland Security and
Governmental Affairs



Charles E. Grassley
Chairman
Committee on Finance

Enclosure

⁶ DOJ Production at 3.

⁷ *Id.*

⁸ *Id.* at 5.

[REDACTED]

Director's Briefing Notes
CROSSFIRE HURRICANE
1 May 2017

George Papadopoulos [CROSSFIRE TYPHOON]

PAPADOPOULOS continues to be represented by legal counsel.

On March 24, PAPADOPOULOS made email contact with case agent regarding concerns about his personal email being hacked. The case agent reached back out to PAPADOPOULOS, offering to talk to him about the alleged hack, and also, with OGC, confirming with PAPADOPOULOS legal counsel that it was OK. Legal counsel indicated that it was fine to talk to his client about the email issue, but there was no further response on the subject from PAPADOPOULOS.

-- [REDACTED] 24 March -- Potential email problem From George Papadopoulos To [REDACTED] (FBI) Recipients [REDACTED]@ic.fbi.gov [REDACTED] Hope all is well. Wanted to bring to your attention, and the agency, that I received a warning from [REDACTED] stating that: "my email has been under attack from government backed attackers who seek to steal my password." The threat is a legitimate one that has affected journalists and policy makers recently (as reported in the post). Not sure if this warrants letting you know, but given the circumstances, thought perhaps the agency should know that I have been targeted. Have never received that message before.

PAPADOPOULOS continues to maintain a now-tenuous relationship with a [REDACTED] CHS; [REDACTED] has noted multiple occasions in which PAPADOPOULOS has lied to the CHS about his physical whereabouts.

-- [REDACTED] On April 19, CHS contacted SA [REDACTED] and relayed that PAPADOPOULOS had turned off his/her delivery receipts on his/her cell phone, and that PAPADOPOULOS was not responding to CHS' text messages. CHS then relayed that CHS would send an email to PAPADOPOULOS. Subsequently, the CHS contacted SA [REDACTED] relayed that PAPADOPOULOS had told the CHS that he/she was out of the country: somewhere in Europe. HOWEVER, [REDACTED] observed PAPADOPOULOS on both 04/19/2017 and 04/20/2017.

[REDACTED] is not pursuing FISA, and is awaiting returns on [REDACTED].

We are evaluating returns we have received -- social media/financials/updated tolls (tolls through March 2017)

-- [REDACTED] PAPADOPOULOS downplaying his relationship/connection with [REDACTED] to FBI and FBI CHS; 1 February 2017 PAPADOPOULOS told [REDACTED] in interview that he cut ties [REDACTED]; [REDACTED]

Declassified by FBI-C58W88B61
on 10/10/2020
This redacted version only

1

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] and his connections with PAPADOPOULOS.

-- [REDACTED] Preliminary analysis of financial returns indicated [REDACTED]. Based on the name associated with [REDACTED]. In his February 10 interview with FBI, PAPADOPOULOS said that he was a volunteer and never received any form of payment or reimbursement from the Trump campaign.

[REDACTED] *In late March, Papadopolous was visited in Chicago [REDACTED], who flew to Chicago [REDACTED], met with Papadopoulos, and then flew out.*

-- [REDACTED] On March [REDACTED], 2017, an [REDACTED] surveillance team observed PAPADOPOULOS meeting [REDACTED]. A surveillance video was taken while the subject was departing a restaurant with the two individuals. The following day, FBI CHS reported (1) one of the visitors was [REDACTED]; (2) the other was [REDACTED]; (3) they wanted to meet PAPADOPOULOS and [REDACTED]; (4) [REDACTED] paid for PAPADOPOULOS' meal; and (5) they left Chicago immediately after meeting with him.

[REDACTED] *Moving forward in the near-term –*

-- [REDACTED] continue review and analysis of returns

-- [REDACTED] serving legal process & possible interview of the account owner [REDACTED]

-- [REDACTED] focused effort on Mifsud, the two Olgas he allegedly introduced Papadopoulos to in London, and a Russian male, Ivan Timofeev, who was also allegedly introduced to Papadopoulos in London by Mifsud; there is an individual in [REDACTED] who apparently knows Timofeev

[REDACTED]

Michael Flynn [CROSSFIRE RAZOR]

-- [REDACTED] *The Flynn investigation has been bifurcated. The Logan Act and Russia-related issues continue to be kept under the CROSSFIRE RAZOR investigation; however, potential FARA violations involving Flynn & the Flynn Intel Group, Turkey [REDACTED] have been captioned under a separate [REDACTED]. Our team is managing the entire bifurcated investigation.*

-- [REDACTED] *has received preliminary subscriber and toll returns, the results dated March 2016 to February 2017. Process has also been served on multiple Flynn and Flynn Intel Group-related entities as outlined in his retroactively-submitted FARA forms, received in March from Covington and Burling LLP. A witness interview of Miles Taylor, mentioned in the FARA documents, indicated Flynn Intel Group's involvement with a late 2016 Turkey-related briefing to the now-National Security Adviser to the Vice President.*

-- [REDACTED] Per letter dated 7 March 2017, Covington and Burling LLP responded to DOJ/NSD's FARA Obligation Letter on behalf of Flynn and Flynn Intel Group

-- [REDACTED] Letter argued that Flynn Intel Group's client was foreign corporation vs. foreign government, so Lobbying Disclosure Act (LDA) registration was filed vs. FARA; but, b/c FIG's work for Netherlands-based Inovo BV regarded Fethullah Gulen, it could be construed that the principal constituency was Govt of Turkey; hence, they are filing a retroactive registration in lieu of prior LDA registration

-- [REDACTED] Letter claims that FIG's contract with Inovo BV concluded on 15 November 2016 with non-renewal after Flynn named Nat Sec Advisor

-- [REDACTED] Inovo BV's sole owner Ekim Alptekin

-- [REDACTED] At the time hired...Inovo representing private sector company in Israel seeking to export natural gas to Turkey

-- [REDACTED] 15 August 2016 15 November 2016 \$600K; paid \$530K --

-- [REDACTED] Companies-entities listed in FARA docs: Sphere Consulting (PR firm to create a Gulen-related video); S.G.R. LLC Government Relations and Lobbying (PR firm engaged by FIG on Gulen research work/Gulen schools); White Canvas Group; Operational Behavioral Services.

[REDACTED] 19 September 2016 Flynn met with Turkey's Foreign Minister + Minister of Energy in New York

-- [REDACTED] October 2016 Per FARA documents, Flynn's FIG Vice-Chair & Director, Bijan Rafiekian, met with Miles Taylor (2x) at House Committee on Homeland Security + at FIG offices; raised FIG's work with Inovo + Gulen research; FIG also

[REDACTED]

oversaw outreach, conducted by PR firm, to a state government official in Arkansas

[REDACTED]

— PLACE HOLDER Interview w/ Miles Taylor

— [REDACTED]

-- [REDACTED]

-- [REDACTED]

-- [REDACTED]

-- [REDACTED]

-- [REDACTED]

— [REDACTED]

— [REDACTED] *Over the last month, we've received [REDACTED] reporting from multiple FBI field offices on Flynn.*

[REDACTED]

-- [REDACTED] March 2017 [REDACTED]; PAPADOPOULOS in meeting claimed to have worked very closely with Michael Flynn, and offered to broker meetings with [REDACTED] + Trump administration

-- [REDACTED] March 2017 [REDACTED] would know if Govt of Turkey funded Flynn contract; Ekim Alptekin is close to unnamed individual [REDACTED] who was part of Trump transition team

-- [REDACTED] March 2017 [REDACTED] – *Flynn met with members of Turkish émigré community in September 2016; meeting arranged by Ibrahim Kurtulus; Flynn discussed Obama administration approach to Gulen; President could make DOJ investigate Gulen if he wanted an investigation.*

-- [REDACTED] 13 April 2017 [REDACTED] – *Ibrahim Kurtulus is avid Erdogan supporter and used his connections to arrange meeting with Flynn to influence USG policy on Turkey. Kurtulus lives on [REDACTED].*

-- [REDACTED] March 2017 [REDACTED] Ekim Alptekin is very anti Gulen; he does business with Turkey involving energy deals

-- [REDACTED] March 2017 [REDACTED] – *Flynn attended Russian Embassy “Great Lent” event in late February with politicians and religious leaders; discussed “general” matters, one topic being Orthodox Church in America*

-- [REDACTED] April 2017 [REDACTED] board member of [REDACTED], [REDACTED] – *part owner of [REDACTED] – told [REDACTED] that [REDACTED] on behalf of Erdogan, had relationship with Flynn during 2016 US Presidential Election*

-- [REDACTED] April 2017 [REDACTED] – [REDACTED] had “good connection” with Flynn. They considered Flynn an “inside contact”; [REDACTED] inferred Flynn had conversations with [REDACTED] prior to US Presidential Election.

[REDACTED] Moving forward in the near-term –

-- [REDACTED] Conduct full scope financial analysis and logical interviews as we receive additional returns

-- [REDACTED] Query FBI CHSs for additional information, including [REDACTED] CHS

-- [REDACTED] Based on Miles Taylor interview + open source reporting, considering an interview of former CIA Director James Woolsey [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Carter Page [DRAGON [REDACTED]]

[REDACTED] *has renewed the FISA on PAGE, which expires on June 30. [REDACTED] does not expect a subsequent renewal, and plans on relying on legal process for additional information on accounts and facilities*

-- [REDACTED] On [REDACTED] April 2017, FBI submitted [REDACTED] requests for banking/financial records [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] *To date, [REDACTED] has five interviews with PAGE regarding the 2016 presidential election, previous and ongoing Russian contacts, and various public allegations regarding [REDACTED] Russian-related ties. PAGE has retained legal counsel; future interviews are to be coordinated between NSCLB and PAGE's attorney. A taint team at [REDACTED] is now reviewing FISA-derived material. The following highlights from the interviews:*

- [REDACTED] Ed Cox, Nixon's son-in-law, introduced Page to Michael Glassner, who introduced Page to Sam Clovis
- [REDACTED] Denied meeting with Diveykin and Sechin, but says that he met with current/former Gazprom and Rosneft (Andrey Baranov) AND "briefly passed Deputy Prime Minister Arkady Dvorkovich"; later said that a Duma member's assistant (female) approached him after his speech
- [REDACTED] Very confused narrative about his interactions with AMBO Kislyak at the RNC in Cleveland: Denied "meeting with" Kislyak in Cleveland, but said that he was in the room with him and "may have witnessed" brief convos between Kislyak and Sessions; subsequently, if conversation occurred with Kislyak and JD Gordon, he would have just been listening; he couldn't recall for sure; may have had individual conversation, but "others were close nearby"; later said that he approached Kislyak and gave him his business card, but Kislyak didn't demonstrate any interest in talking to him
- [REDACTED] Claimed zero influence on the change in the GOP platform on Ukraine
- [REDACTED] Agreed that he was "probably on the [SVR's] books" regarding prior relationship with SVR [REDACTED] officers in NY

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] *Moving forward in the near-term –*

-- [REDACTED] Concerted investigative and analytical work on [REDACTED] and an associate, [REDACTED]

-- (1) [REDACTED] we're not opening a case, [REDACTED];

-- (2) [REDACTED] Page claimed to the FBI that Gordon was brought to the campaign by Paul Manafort;

-- (3) [REDACTED] Page claimed to the FBI that Manafort "more likely than not" recommended the platform change

-- (4) [REDACTED] Earlier, in discussing the RNC platform change with an FBI CHS, Page indicated that he had gone to Cleveland but that he had "stayed clear" of the platform committee. Page admitted that there were "a lot of conspiracy theories" regarding his involvement with the platform committee. He told the CHS that "members of our team" were working with the platform committee, but that "it's way better off that [he had] remained at arm's length [from that]."

-- (5) [REDACTED]

-- [REDACTED] Conduct full scope financial analysis and logical interviews as we receive additional returns

-- [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Paul Manafort (CROSSFIRE FURY)

There are multiple lines of effort regarding Paul Manafort, his financial dealings, his involvement with the Trump campaign, and his connections to Russia and pro-Russian political elements in Ukraine. The team is now managing and working to deconflict these elements, and, as Paul indicated, we have a Public Corruption agent serving as the program manager for all of the Manafort lines of effort.

— [REDACTED] In coordination with EDVA and Money Laundering and Asset Recovery Section (MLARS), over [REDACTED] have been issued for [REDACTED] International Corruption investigation [REDACTED]. This involves alleged laundering of money stolen by Yanukovich and paid to Manafort via Cyprus.

-- [REDACTED] Multiple members of the team met with the agents and financial analysts involved in the international corruption investigation on April [REDACTED]. In a recent DOJ-negotiated meeting with the Associated Press, it was learned that AP had a source with information about a storage unit in Alexandria, rented to two partially-named individuals but paid by MANAFORT. [REDACTED] is investigating the storage unit.

— [REDACTED] SDNY has its own mortgage fraud investigation of Manafort-owned properties in New York; this investigation also involves a named bank in Chicago. FBI has not been involved in this investigation to date — SDNY has been using its own 1811s.

-- [REDACTED] This case stems at least in part from open source reporting -- a February 2017 blog post by [REDACTED], a neighborhood blogger, who identified a townhouse in Brooklyn owned by Manafort. The property has large mortgage loans taken out against it exceeding value of the property. Three loans totaling \$16 million are associated with Federal Savings Bank in Chicago — founder/chairman is Steve Calk, who per open source was an early Trump campaign supporter and named member of Trump's Economic Advisory Council. Per open source, \$16M represents 5.4% of the bank's total assets + 23.7% of total shareholder equity.

— [REDACTED]

— [REDACTED] also has a counterintelligence investigation [REDACTED] under which it has moved the CROSSFIRE FURY [REDACTED].

Moving forward in the near-term —

-- [REDACTED] Conduct full scope financial analysis and logical interviews as we receive additional returns, particularly focused on Richard Gates and [REDACTED], both of whom worked with Manafort in Ukraine

[REDACTED]

-- [REDACTED] Concerted investigative and analytical work on [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

-- (1) [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

-- (2) [REDACTED]

-- (3) [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

-- [REDACTED] Conduct review of Podesta Group-related retroactive FARA submissions and materials regarding Manafort/Gates direction of lobbying efforts of Podesta Group + Mercury through European Centre for Modern Ukraine (filed mid-April) possible Yanukovich-tied Brussels think tank; determine any ties between Kilimnik and think tank

[REDACTED]

Validation

-- [REDACTED] agent [REDACTED] meeting Steele's [REDACTED] primary sub-source, [REDACTED]

-- [REDACTED] In-person meetings on [REDACTED] Primary Sub-source [REDACTED] and his legal counsel. [REDACTED] Primary Sub-source [REDACTED]

-- [REDACTED] There are [REDACTED] primary [REDACTED] Primary Sub-source [REDACTED] sub-sources of interest -- [REDACTED]

-- [REDACTED] There are three current libel/slander/defamation legal cases involving the release of some of the Steele [REDACTED] material by BuzzFeed. These involve (1) reports about Alexey Gubarev, Gubarev's global IT company, and Michael Cohen -- [REDACTED]

-- [REDACTED] Gubarev/XBT/Webzilla is suing BuzzFeed filed libel/slander suit in early February in Broward County, FL, and in late February filed Notice of Removal to Federal Court.

-- [REDACTED] Gubarev has also filed a defamation/libel lawsuit in London against Christopher Steele. In a court filing on this case according to Washington Times last Tuesday Steele acknowledged that the material on Gubarev was "unverified," came from "unsolicited intelligence" and "raw intelligence [that] needed to be analyzed and further investigated/verified."

-- [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

-- [REDACTED] *Michael Cohen last Monday said to Washington Times that he has instructed his own attorney to investigate legal action vs. Buzzfeed, and is considering a lawsuit against Christopher Steele.*

-- [REDACTED] Last week, we submitted [REDACTED], in order to validate the Steele reporting on his alleged trip to Prague, his interactions with Russian officials Presidential Administration and/or Rossotrudnichestvo, and his interactions involving setting up deniable payments to hackers [REDACTED]

-- [REDACTED] re: Michael Cohen's relationship with Andrii Artemenko (lobbying for Ukraine "peace plan"), Cohen-Felix Sater brokering meetings with Trump & exiled Libyan opposition figure.

[REDACTED] Moving forward in the near-term --

-- [REDACTED] Intensified efforts on [REDACTED], which would include the use of legal process

-- [REDACTED]

-- [REDACTED]

-- [REDACTED]

-- [REDACTED]

-- [REDACTED] Querying of existing FBI CHSs for Steele validation

-- [REDACTED]

-- [REDACTED]