



Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D.C. 20535

August 8, 2019

MR. WILLIAM F. MARSHALL  
JUDICIAL WATCH

Judicial Watch v. DOJ, et.al.  
Civil Action No.: 1:18-cv-02107  
FOIPA Request No.: 1413700-000  
Subject: Ohr FD-302's  
(November 22, 2016-May 16, 2017)

Dear Mr. Marshall:

The enclosed documents were reviewed under the Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts (FOIPA), Title 5, United States Code, Section 552/552a. Below you will find checked boxes under applicable statutes for the exemptions asserted to protect information exempt from disclosure. The appropriate exemptions are noted on the processed pages next to redacted information. In addition, a deleted page information sheet was inserted to indicate where pages were withheld entirely pursuant to applicable exemptions. An Explanation of Exemptions is enclosed to further explain justification for withheld information.

**Section 552**

**Section 552a**

(b)(1)

(b)(7)(A)

(d)(5)

(b)(2)

(b)(7)(B)

(j)(2)

(b)(3)

(b)(7)(C)

(k)(1)

50 U.S.C § 3024(i)(1)

(b)(7)(D)

(k)(2)

(b)(7)(E)

(k)(3)

(b)(7)(F)

(k)(4)

(b)(4)

(b)(8)

(k)(5)

(b)(5)

(b)(9)

(k)(6)

(b)(6)

(k)(7)

34 pages were reviewed and 34 pages are being released.

- Deletions were made by the Department of State. To appeal those denials, please write directly to that agency

Please see the paragraphs below for relevant information specific to your request and the enclosed FBI FOIPA Addendum for standard responses applicable to all requests.

- Document(s) were located which originated with, or contained information concerning, other Government Agency (ies) [OGA].
- This information has been referred to the OGA(s) for review and direct response to you.
- We are consulting with another agency. The FBI will correspond with you regarding this information when the consultation is completed.

Please refer to the enclosed FBI FOIPA Addendum for additional standard responses applicable to your request. **“Part 1”** of the Addendum includes standard responses that apply to all requests. **“Part 2”** includes additional standard responses that apply to all requests for records on individuals. **“Part 3”** includes general information about FBI records that you may find useful. Also enclosed is our Explanation of Exemptions.

Please direct any further inquiries about this case to the Assistant United States Attorney representing the Government in this matter. Please use the FOIPA Request Number and/or Civil Action Number in all correspondence or inquiries concerning your request.

See additional information which follows.

Sincerely,



David M. Hardy  
Section Chief  
Record/Information  
Dissemination Section  
Information Management Division

Enclosures:

In response to your Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts (FOIPA) request, enclosed is a processed copy of Bates Stamped documents, FBI (18cv02107)-1 through FBI (18cv02107)-34. The enclosed documents represent the final release of information responsive to your request.

Bruce Ohr's handwritten notes attached to these FD 302's were previously released to you in response to your FOIA Litigation 18-cv-490. See OIP's release dated December 19, 2018, pdf file "12-19 Interim Response Package Part 1 of 3", pages 31-36. In addition, 6 pages were withheld in full in OIP's production pursuant to Exemptions 6, 7(A), 7(C), 7(D), and 7(E).

A document titled "Manafort Chronology" attached to these FD 302's was previously released to you in response to your FOIA Litigation 18-cv-01854. See OIP's release dated July 10, 2019, pdf file "7-10 Interim Response Package Part 18", pages 176-181, corresponding bates stamps 20180618-0000507 to 20170618-0000512.

## FBI FOIPA Addendum

As referenced in our letter responding to your Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts (FOIPA) request, the FBI FOIPA Addendum includes information applicable to your request. Part 1 of the Addendum includes standard responses that apply to all requests. Part 2 includes additional standard responses that apply to all requests for records on individuals. Part 3 includes general information about FBI records. For questions regarding Parts 1, 2, or 3, visit the [www.fbi.gov/foia](http://www.fbi.gov/foia) website under “Contact Us.” Previously mentioned appeal and dispute resolution services are also available at the web address.

### Part 1: The standard responses below apply to all requests:

- (i) **5 U.S.C. § 552(c).** Congress excluded three categories of law enforcement and national security records from the requirements of the FOIA [5 U.S.C. § 552(c) (2006 & Supp. IV (2010))]. FBI responses are limited to those records subject to the requirements of the FOIA. Additional information about the FBI and the FOIPA can be found on the [www.fbi.gov/foia](http://www.fbi.gov/foia) website.
- (ii) **National Security/Intelligence Records.** The FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of national security and foreign intelligence records pursuant to FOIA exemptions (b)(1), (b)(3), and PA exemption (j)(2) as applicable to requests for records about individuals [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(1), (b)(3), and (j)(2); 50 U.S.C § 3024(i)(1)]. The mere acknowledgment of the existence or nonexistence of such records is itself a classified fact protected by FOIA exemption (b)(1) and/or would reveal intelligence sources, methods, or activities protected by exemption (b)(3) [50 USC § 3024(i)(1)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that national security or foreign intelligence records do or do not exist.

### Part 2: The standard responses below apply to all requests for records on individuals:

- (i) **Requests for Records about any Individual—Watch Lists.** The FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of any individual’s name on a watch list pursuant to FOIA exemption (b)(7)(E) and PA exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(7)(E), (j)(2)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that watch list records do or do not exist.
- (ii) **Requests for Records for Incarcerated Individuals.** The FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of records which could reasonably be expected to endanger the life or physical safety of any incarcerated individual pursuant to FOIA exemptions (b)(7)(E), (b)(7)(F), and PA exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(7)(E), (b)(7)(F), and (j)(2)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that such records do or do not exist.

### Part 3: General Information:

- (i) **Record Searches.** The Record/Information Dissemination Section (RIDS) searches for reasonably described records by searching those systems or locations where responsive records would reasonably be found. A reasonable search normally consists of a search for main files in the Central Records System (CRS), an extensive system of records consisting of applicant, investigative, intelligence, personnel, administrative, and general files compiled and maintained by the FBI in the course of fulfilling law enforcement, intelligence, and administrative functions. The CRS spans the entire FBI organization and encompasses the records of FBI Headquarters (FBIHQ), FBI Field Offices, and FBI Legal Attaché Offices (Legats) worldwide and includes Electronic Surveillance (ELSUR) records. For additional information about our record searches visit [www.fbi.gov/services/information-management/foipa/requesting-fbi-records](http://www.fbi.gov/services/information-management/foipa/requesting-fbi-records).
- (ii) **FBI Records.** Founded in 1908, the FBI carries out a dual law enforcement and national security mission. As part of this dual mission, the FBI creates and maintains records on various subjects; however, the FBI does not maintain records on every person, subject, or entity.
- (iii) **Requests for Criminal History Records or Rap Sheets.** The Criminal Justice Information Services (CJIS) Division provides Identity History Summary Checks – often referred to as a criminal history record or rap sheets. These criminal history records are not the same as material in an investigative “FBI file.” An Identity History Summary Check is a listing of information taken from fingerprint cards and documents submitted to the FBI in connection with arrests, federal employment, naturalization, or military service. For a fee, individuals can request a copy of their Identity History Summary Check. Forms and directions can be accessed at [www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/identity-history-summary-checks](http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/identity-history-summary-checks). Additionally, requests can be submitted electronically at [www.edo.cjis.gov](http://www.edo.cjis.gov). For additional information, please contact CJIS directly at (304) 625-5590.
- (iv) **The National Name Check Program (NNCP).** The mission of NNCP is to analyze and report information in response to name check requests received from federal agencies, for the purpose of protecting the United States from foreign and domestic threats to national security. Please be advised that this is a service provided to other federal agencies. Private citizens cannot request a name check.

## EXPLANATION OF EXEMPTIONS

### SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552

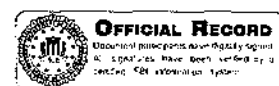
- (b)(1) (A) specifically authorized under criteria established by an Executive order to be kept secret in the interest of national defense or foreign policy and (B) are in fact properly classified to such Executive order;
- (b)(2) related solely to the internal personnel rules and practices of an agency;
- (b)(3) specifically exempted from disclosure by statute (other than section 552b of this title), provided that such statute (A) requires that the matters be withheld from the public in such a manner as to leave no discretion on issue, or (B) establishes particular criteria for withholding or refers to particular types of matters to be withheld;
- (b)(4) trade secrets and commercial or financial information obtained from a person and privileged or confidential;
- (b)(5) inter-agency or intra-agency memorandums or letters which would not be available by law to a party other than an agency in litigation with the agency;
- (b)(6) personnel and medical files and similar files the disclosure of which would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy;
- (b)(7) records or information compiled for law enforcement purposes, but only to the extent that the production of such law enforcement records or information ( A ) could reasonably be expected to interfere with enforcement proceedings, ( B ) would deprive a person of a right to a fair trial or an impartial adjudication, ( C ) could reasonably be expected to constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy, ( D ) could reasonably be expected to disclose the identity of confidential source, including a State, local, or foreign agency or authority or any private institution which furnished information on a confidential basis, and, in the case of record or information compiled by a criminal law enforcement authority in the course of a criminal investigation, or by an agency conducting a lawful national security intelligence investigation, information furnished by a confidential source, ( E ) would disclose techniques and procedures for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions, or would disclose guidelines for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions if such disclosure could reasonably be expected to risk circumvention of the law, or ( F ) could reasonably be expected to endanger the life or physical safety of any individual;
- (b)(8) contained in or related to examination, operating, or condition reports prepared by, on behalf of, or for the use of an agency responsible for the regulation or supervision of financial institutions; or
- (b)(9) geological and geophysical information and data, including maps, concerning wells.

### SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552a

- (d)(5) information compiled in reasonable anticipation of a civil action proceeding;
- (j)(2) material reporting investigative efforts pertaining to the enforcement of criminal law including efforts to prevent, control, or reduce crime or apprehend criminals;
- (k)(1) information which is currently and properly classified pursuant to an Executive order in the interest of the national defense or foreign policy, for example, information involving intelligence sources or methods;
- (k)(2) investigatory material compiled for law enforcement purposes, other than criminal, which did not result in loss of a right, benefit or privilege under Federal programs, or which would identify a source who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;
- (k)(3) material maintained in connection with providing protective services to the President of the United States or any other individual pursuant to the authority of Title 18, United States Code, Section 3056;
- (k)(4) required by statute to be maintained and used solely as statistical records;
- (k)(5) investigatory material compiled solely for the purpose of determining suitability, eligibility, or qualifications for Federal civilian employment or for access to classified information, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;
- (k)(6) testing or examination material used to determine individual qualifications for appointment or promotion in Federal Government service the release of which would compromise the testing or examination process;
- (k)(7) material used to determine potential for promotion in the armed services, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished the material pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence.

FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

- 1 of 3 -



b6 -2  
b7C -2

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 12/19/2016

DRAFT DOCUMENT/DELIBERATIVE MATERIAL

Do not disseminate outside the FBI without the permission of the originator or program manager.

Bruce OHR, [redacted] currently the Associate Deputy Attorney General and Director of the Department of Justice's Organized Crime and Drug Enforcement Task Force (OCDETF) was interviewed at FBI Headquarters. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agent and the nature of the interview, OHR provided the following information:

b6 -5  
b7C -5

(U)

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR met [redacted] in 2007, sometime before a January 2008 conference they both attended. OHR remembers he was at a conference when [redacted] and their first interaction took place prior to that event. As the Chief of DOJ's Organized Crime and Racketeering Section at the time, OHR met [redacted] in London at [redacted]. [redacted] was an expert on Russia, specifically Russian organized crime, and was concerned the west was not taking the Russian threat seriously. Russian oligarchs are brilliant yet cold-blooded and do not act like adults as they kill people for nothing. Over the years OHR and [redacted] had a few more meetings before OHR left [redacted] and joined or founded Orbis. [redacted]

b1 -1  
b3 -1  
b6 -2, 3  
b7C -2, 3  
b7D -1  
b7E -2, 3, 4

[redacted] OHR and [redacted] would see each other once a year in London or the U.S. [redacted] had paid clients, yet provided OHR with the same short intel reports from a [redacted] OHR introduced [redacted]

(U)

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR believes that [redacted]

b3 -1  
b7D -1  
b7E -2, 4

~~Reason: 1.4(b)  
Derived From: FBI  
NSISC-20090615  
Declassify On: 20411231  
SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

Investigation on 11/22/2016 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)  
File # [redacted] Date drafted 11/22/2016  
by [redacted]

b3 -1  
b6 -2  
b7C -2  
b7E -1

~~SECRET//ORCON//NOFORN~~

b3 -1  
b7E -1

(U)

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Interview of Bruce Ohr, On 11/22/2016, Page 2 of 3

b1 -1  
b7A -1  
b6 -2, 3  
b7C -2, 3  
b7E -4

(U)  
(S)

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR believes Russian oligarchs will provide information to the FBI because in Russia everyone talks to the police. Following the 2014 Ukrainian invasion OHR met [Redacted] OHR recalled the three talked about engaging with prospective oligarchs, and that meeting led to a meeting between the FBI, [Redacted]

[Redacted]

~~(U//FOUO)~~

[Redacted]

b7D -1, 2  
b7E -4

(U)

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ In late July 2016, possibly Saturday, July 30, 2016, [Redacted] called OHR and asked to meet for breakfast as he/she was in Washington, D.C. and had some serious stuff to talk about. [Redacted] planned to also tell SA [Redacted] about the information he/she had collected. OHR met [Redacted] for breakfast where OHR was told that Carter Page had met with high level officials in Russia. Page met with Sechin and one other person. The media had already documented Page's trip to Moscow at that time. The FSB had Trump over a barrel [Redacted]

b1 -1  
b3 -1  
b6 -1, 2, 3  
b7A -1  
b7C -1, 2, 3  
b7D -1, 2  
b7E -2, 3, 4

(S)

[Redacted] reported to [Redacted] In addition, [Redacted] was furious at [Redacted] and was making a case against him. [Redacted] were almost ready to talk to the U.S. about the money [Redacted] stole. [Redacted] claimed he had already given some of this reporting to SA [Redacted] and planned to give the rest to him. At that time, [Redacted] had provided [Redacted] with two reports regarding these topics while Glen Simpson had four. OHR provided copies of notes he took during and after the meeting with [Redacted] which are enclosed as attachments.

(S)

(U)

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR knew Glen Simpson hired [Redacted] to dig up Trump's connections to Russia. OHR's wife is a Russian translator and was hired to conduct open source research. Even though she did not know the goal of the project, she was able to surmise the purpose as the individuals she was researching were close to Trump. OHR knew that Glen Simpson was hired by a lawyer who does opposition research. OHR knew [Redacted] reporting on Trump's ties to Russia were going to the Clinton Campaign, Jon Winer at the U.S. State Department and the FBI. OHR was aware that Simpson was passing [Redacted] information to many individuals or entities and at times [Redacted] would attend meetings with Simpson.

b7E -4

(U)

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR met [Redacted] in Washington, D.C. in late September, possibly close to the time when the Yahoo news article was published on September 23, 2016. During that meeting, [Redacted] advised the Alfa server in the US is a link to the Trump campaign and Sergei Millian's Russian/American organization in the U.S. used the Alfa server two weeks

b7E - 4

~~SECRET//ORCON//NOFORN~~

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

(U)

[Redacted]

b3 -1  
b7E -1

Continuation of FD-302 of ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Interview of Bruce Ohr , On 11/22/2016 , Page 3 of 3

prior [Redacted]

(S)

b1 -1  
b3 -1  
b6 -1, 3  
b7C -1, 3  
b7E -4

[Redacted] was desperate that Donald Trump not get elected and was passionate about him not being the U.S. President. OHR believes [Redacted] wanted to blunt or foil the Kremlin's plans. Simpson and [Redacted] could have met with Yahoo or Michael Isikoff jointly, but OHR does not know if they did. OHR provided copies of notes he took after the meeting with [Redacted] which are enclosed as attachments.

(U)

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR never believed [Redacted] was making up information or shading it. He/she would say this is what [Redacted] are telling me. There are always Russian conspiracy theories that come from the Kremlin. One time OHR heard a theory from [Redacted]

b7D -1, 2  
b7E -3, 4

[Redacted]

[Redacted] OHR honestly believes [Redacted] reported what he heard from [Redacted] but that doesn't make that story true.

(U)

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Jon Winer possibly knew [Redacted] OHR met Winer in 1999 or 2000 when Winer was the U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for International Law Enforcement. Winer was very interested in Russian Organized Crime and enthusiastic about the subject, yet at times difficult to deal with. OHR knew Glen Simpson and others were talking to Victoria Nuland at the U.S. State Department.

b6 -1  
b7C -1  
b7E -4

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR does not know how [Redacted] handles or communicates [Redacted] OHR does not know the identity of [Redacted]

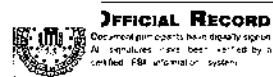
b7D -1, 2  
b7E -4

(U)

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR provided the following contact information for [Redacted]

b6 -4  
b7C -4  
b7D -1  
b7E -4

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~



~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

b6 -2  
b7C -2

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 12/19/2016

DRAFT DOCUMENT/DELIBERATIVE MATERIAL

Do not disseminate outside the FBI without the permission of the originator or program manager.

Bruce OHR, [redacted] currently the Associate Deputy Attorney General and Director of the Department of Justice's Organized Crime and Drug Enforcement Task Force (OCDETF) was interviewed at FBI Headquarters. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agent and the nature of the interview, OHR provided the following information:

b6 -5  
b7C -5

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR has never [redacted] On one occasion, OHR met with [redacted]

b6 -1  
b7C -1  
b7D -2  
b7E -4

[redacted]

(S)

b1 -1  
b3 -1  
b6 -1  
b7C -1  
b7E -4

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR has never been present during meetings between [redacted] and Jon Winer. OHR is only aware that [redacted] and Winer have met as [redacted] advises OHR that the meetings occur.

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Glen Simpson directed [redacted] to speak to the press as that was what Simpson was paying [redacted] to do. OHR does not know if [redacted] going to Mother Jones was Simpson's idea or not.

b7E -4

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Glen Simpson hired OHR's wife to conduct research for his firm. OHR will voluntarily provide his wife's research to the FBI. OHR provided the interviewing Agent with a report on Paul Manafort. The report titled, "Manafort Chronology", was scanned and is a digital attachment to this document.

~~Reason: 1.4(b)  
Derived From: FBI  
NSISC-20090615  
Declassify On: 20411231~~

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

Investigation on 12/05/2016 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File [redacted] Date drafted 12/12/2016

by [redacted]

b3 -1  
b6 -2  
b7C -2  
b7E -1

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.



~~SECRET//ORCON//NOFORN~~

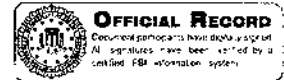
(U)



b3 -1  
b7E -1

Continuation of FD-302 of ~~(S//ORCON//NF)~~ Interview of Bruce Ohr , On 12/05/2016 , Page 2 of 2

~~SECRET//ORCON//NOFORN~~



~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 12/19/2016

b6 -2  
b7C -2

**DRAFT DOCUMENT/DELIBERATIVE MATERIAL**

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Bruce OHR, [redacted] currently the Associate Deputy Attorney General and Director of the Department of Justice's Organized Crime and Drug Enforcement Task Force (OCDETF) was interviewed at FBI Headquarters. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agent and the nature of the interview, OHR provided the following information:

b6 -5  
b7C -5

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR had breakfast at Peet's Coffee, 11th and E St. NW, Washington, D.C. with Glenn Simpson at 10:00 A.M. on December 10, 2016. During breakfast Simpson provided OHR with an 8GB Verbatim USB micro digital media drive (thumb drive). OHR does not know what is on the thumb drive but believes it is in regards to the work [redacted] was hired to do for Simpson. The thumb drive was entered into evidence at WFO as original evidence [redacted] and a working copy CD-ROM was produced for investigative use. An evidence FD-302 was generated and serialized to this file.

b7E -4, 5

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR took notes after the meeting with Simpson to preserve his memory and referred to them during the interview. OHR's notes are an attachment to this document.

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Simpson identified Michael Cohen, a lawyer in Brooklyn, NY as having many Russian clients in the Brighton Beach, NY area. Cohen is the go-between Russia and the Trump Campaign and replaced Paul Manafort and Carter Page. Cohen's wife's last name is Shusterman [redacted] [redacted] Cohen may have attended a meeting in Prague, possibly in September, regarding the Trump Campaign and the Russians.

b6 -1  
b7C -1

~~Reason: 1.4(b)  
Derived From: FBI  
NSISC-20090615  
Declassify On: 20411231~~

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

Investigation on 12/12/2016 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 12/14/2016

by [redacted]

b3 -1  
b6 -2  
b7C -2  
b7E -1

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

b3 -1  
b7E -1

(U)

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Interview of Bruce Ohr, On 12/12/2016, Page 2 of 3

(U)

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ According to Simpson, much of his collection about the Trump campaign ties to Russia comes from [Redacted]

b6 -3  
b7C -3

(U)

[Redacted] Simpson does not know his name.

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ A former Trump campaign official, possibly Rick Wilson, was talking about some of the Trump ties to Russia and the Trump Campaign tried to sue him for violating his non-disclosure agreement.

(U)

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ A Russian senator and mobster named Torshin may be involved in running the Central Bank of Russia. Torshin's name comes up in in Law Enforcement Organized Crime circles as he is well known in a famous Spanish case that shows direct linkages between Russian Organized Crime, Torshin and the Russian Government. Torshin may have funneled Russian money to the National Rifle Association (NRA) to use in support of Trump. An NRA lawyer, [Redacted] found out about the money pipeline and was very upset, but the election was over by the time she learned of it. Simpson stated there are pictures or Torshin with Trump. Simpson provided OHR with an article on the NRA and Torsion. The article is an attachment to this document.

b6 -1  
b7C -1

(U)

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Some of Simpson's staff believe the NRA spent an abnormally large amount of money during the election, possibly indicating Russian involvement, but others in his company disagree.

(U)

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ The New York Times story from October 3, 2016, that downplayed the connection between Alfa Bank servers and the Trump campaign was incorrect. There was communication and it wasn't spam. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

(U)

b1 -1  
b3 -1  
b6 -1,3  
b7A -1  
b7C -1,3  
b7E -2,3

(U)

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Simpson received a bizarre tip on December 9 that the [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted] Simpson is not sure whether to believe this.

(U)

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Simpson still thinks Sergei Millian is a key figure connecting Trump to Russia. Looking at Millian led Simpson's company to Cohen. Simpson would be surprised if Millian was still in the U.S. Simpson believes Millian is an SVR officer, however he is deducing this from Millian's alias, not because he was told Millian was SVR. Millian may have overseen many financial transfers from Russia to assist the Trump campaign.

(U)

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Simpson asked [Redacted] to speak to the Mother Jones reporter as it was Simpson's Hail Mary attempt.

b7E - 4

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

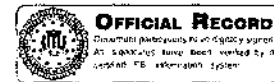
[Redacted]

b3 -1  
b7E -1

(U) Continuation of FD-302 of ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Interview of Bruce Ohr , On 12/12/2016 , Page 3 of 3

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR asked Simpson if he was concerned about his personal safety. Simpson responded that he learned from his Russian investigative reporting what they were capable of but there was no way for him to know if they were coming after him. Simpson mentioned that someone called and asked him to find out where all of the Alfa Bank stories were coming from. Simpson did not state this was a threat from the Russians, but that was the impression made upon OHR based upon the timing of the comment and using that story as a response to OHR's question.

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~



~~SECRET//ORCON//NOFORN~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 12/27/2016

**DRAFT DOCUMENT/DELIBERATIVE MATERIAL**

Do not disseminate outside the FBI without the permission of the originator or program manager.

Bruce OHR, [redacted] currently the Associate Deputy Attorney General and Director of the Department of Justice's Organized Crime and Drug Enforcement Task Force (OCDETF) was interviewed at FBI Headquarters. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agent and the nature of the interview, OHR provided the following information:

b6 -5  
b7C -5

(U)

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ On December 20, 2016, at 11:00 A.M. OHR provided writer with an 8GB SanDisk Cruzer Glide USB micro digital data storage drive (thumb drive). Glen Simpson at Fusion GPS hired OHR's wife, Nellie Ohr, to conduct research for his firm. OHR voluntarily provided his wife's research to the FBI. OHR provided the interviewing Agent with the thumb drive and indicated it contained the totality of the work Nellie Ohr conducted for Simpson, but the Fusion GPS header was stripped. Nellie Ohr is a Russian linguist/analyst and a former Russian History professor. The thumb drive was entered into evidence.

~~Reason: 1.4(b)  
Derived From: FBI  
NSISC-20090615  
Declassify On: 20411231  
SECRET//ORCON//NOFORN~~

Investigation on 12/20/2016 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)  
File # [redacted] Date drafted 12/20/2016  
by [redacted]

b3 -1  
b6 -2  
b7C -2  
b7E -1

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~~SECRET//ORCON//NOFORN~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 01/31/2017

**DRAFT DOCUMENT/DELIBERATIVE MATERIAL**

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(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Bruce OHR, [redacted] currently the Associate Deputy Attorney General and Director of the Department of Justice's Organized Crime and Drug Enforcement Task Force (OCDETF) was interviewed at FBI Headquarters, 935 Pennsylvania Ave., Washington, DC. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Special Agent and Intelligence Analyst and the nature of the interview, OHR provided the following information:

b6 -5  
b7C -5

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ On January 20, 2017, OHR received an e-mail from Glen Simpson asking OHR to contact Simpson. OHR subsequently contacted Simpson telephonically. During the telephonic conversation, Simpson told OHR that one of [redacted] has been identified and will likely be publicly named by the media within the next couple of days. [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] When OHR asked for more information regarding [redacted] and the nature of the threat, Simpson replied he would contact Steele for more information and then re-contact OHR.

b6 -1, 4  
b7C -1, 4  
b7D -1, 2  
b3 -1

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ In the early hours of January 21, 2017, OHR received a text message from Steele which OHR did not notice until later in the morning. Around 8:00 am on the same day, OHR received call from Steele. During this conversation Steele relayed his concerns regarding the safety of [redacted]

~~Reason: 1.4(b)  
Derived From: FBI  
NSISC-20090615  
Declassify On: 20421231~~

~~SECRET//ORCON//NOFORN~~

Investigation on 01/23/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted]

Date drafted 01/25/2017

by [redacted]

b3 -1  
b6 -2  
b7C -2  
b7E -1

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

b3 -1  
b7E -1

(U) [redacted] (S//OC/NF) Interview of Bruce Ohr 23

Continuation of FD-302 of January 2017 On 01/23/2017 Page 2 of 2  
[redacted] was released in the media. Steele stated if [redacted] "may need help quickly."

b3 -1  
b6 -1, 4  
b7C -1, 4  
b7D -1, 2  
b7E -2, 3

[redacted]

(U) (S//OC/NF)

[redacted]

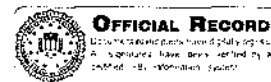
b3 -1  
b6 -1, 3  
b7C -1, 3  
b7D -1, 2  
b7E -2, 3

(U) (S//OC/NF) Steele also told OHR that he spoke with a staff member of Senator John McCain's office sometime prior to October 2016. Steele had this conversation at the request of [redacted] Since October 2016, Steele had not spoken to anyone regarding the Trump dossier.

b6 -1  
b7C -1

(U) (S//OC/NF) OHR took notes during the contact with Simpson and Steele to preserve his memory and referred to them during the interview. OHR's notes are an attachment to this document.

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~



~~SECRET//ORCON//NOFORN~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 01/27/2017

**DRAFT DOCUMENT/DELIBERATIVE MATERIAL**

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(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Bruce OHR, [redacted] currently the Associate Deputy Attorney General and Director of the Department of Justice's Organized Crime and Drug Enforcement Task Force (OCDETF) was interviewed at FBI Headquarters, 935 Pennsylvania Ave., Washington, DC. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Special Agents and the nature of the interview, OHR provided the following information:

b6 -5  
b7C -5

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ On January 24, 2017, OHR received a WhatsApp notification from Christopher Steele. On January 25, 2017, Steele contacted and spoke with OHR via WhatsApp. [redacted]

[Large redacted block]

b3 -1  
b6 -1, 4  
b7C -1, 4  
b7D -1, 2  
b7E -3

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR took notes during the contact with Steele to preserve his memory and referred to them during the interview. OHR's notes are an attachment to this document.

~~Reason: 1.4(b)  
Derived From: FBI  
NSISC-20090615  
Declassify On: 20421231~~

~~SECRET//ORCON//NOFORN~~

Investigation on 01/25/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 01/25/2017

by [redacted]

b3 -1  
b6 -2  
b7C -2  
b7E -1



FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

- 1 of 1 -



~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 01/27/2017

**DRAFT DOCUMENT/DELIBERATIVE MATERIAL**

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(U)

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Bruce OHR, [redacted] currently the Associate Deputy Attorney General and Director of the Department of Justice's Organized Crime and Drug Enforcement Task Force (OCDETF) was interviewed at FBI Headquarters, 935 Pennsylvania Ave., Washington, DC. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Special Agents and the nature of the interview, OHR provided the following information:

b6 -5  
b7C -5

(U)

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ On January 27, 2017, OHR received a WhatsApp notification from Christopher Steele indicating [redacted] and Steele would like to keep the line of communication open with OHR for future contact. OHR replied in the affirmative.

b6 -4  
b7C -4  
b7D -2

Reason: 1.4(b)  
Derived From: FBI  
NSISC-20090615  
Declassify On: 20421231

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

Investigation on 01/27/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 01/27/2017  
by [redacted]

b3 -1  
b6 -2  
b7C -2  
b7E -1

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- 1 of 2 -



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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 02/08/2017

DRAFT DOCUMENT/DELIBERATIVE MATERIAL

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(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Bruce OHR, [redacted] currently the Associate Deputy Attorney General and Director of the Department of Justice's Organized Crime and Drug Enforcement Task Force (OCDETF) was interviewed at FBI Headquarters, 935 Pennsylvania Ave., Washington, DC. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Special Agents and the nature of the interview, OHR provided the following information:

b6 -5  
b7C -5

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR stated he had been contacted by Christopher Steele, via WhatsApp, on January 31, 2017. On January 30, 2017, the Trump Administration fired Acting Attorney General Sally Q. Yates and Steele had contacted OHR to determine if OHR anticipated being fired as well and, if so, who in the Department of Justice could he continue to reach out to. OHR added that he had previously explained to Steele at some point, his contact with the U.S. Government would have to involve the FBI. Interviewing agents asked OHR to ask Steele if he would be comfortable getting the name of an FBI agent.

(S) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR advised Kathleen Kavalec, Deputy Assistant Secretary, Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs, U.S. Department of State would be meeting [redacted] representatives in order to discuss potential Russian influence in their upcoming Presidential elections. OHR reminded the interviewing agents Kavalec did speak with Steele several times prior to the 2016 US Presidential election and believed Steele's reporting to have generated from mainly [redacted]

b1 -1 Per DOS  
b6 -4  
b7C -4  
b7D -2

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR also advised [redacted] an attorney representing [redacted] explained his client felt [redacted] were recently complicated by the FBI, who he [redacted]

b1 -1  
b3 -1  
b6 -1, 3  
b7C -1, 3  
b7A -1

Reason: 1.4(b)  
Derived From: FBI  
NSISC-20090615  
Declassify On: 20421231

~~SECRET//ORCON//NOFORN~~

Investigation on 02/06/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 02/08/2017

by [redacted]

b3 -1  
b6 -2  
b7C -2  
b7E -1

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~~SECRET//GRCON/NOFORN~~

b3 -1  
b7E -1

(U)

[Redacted]

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Interview of Bruce Ohr 06

Continuation of FD-302 of February 2017 On 02/06/2017 2 of 2  
felt viewed him as a criminal. [Redacted] informed OHR that [Redacted] would

like to 'clean things up' and felt the circumstances surrounding the 2016 US Presidential election had become 'too emotional.' OHR stated, as he understood it, [Redacted] was informed of what was required during the FBI interview.

b3 -1  
b6 -1, 3, 4  
b7C -1, 3, 4  
b7A -1  
b7D -1  
b7E -2, 3

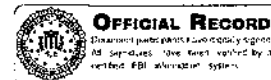
(U)

~~(S//OC/NF)~~

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

~~SECRET//GRCON/NOFORN~~



~~SECRET//ORCON//NOFORN~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 02/15/2017

**DRAFT DOCUMENT/DELIBERATIVE MATERIAL**

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(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Bruce OHR, [redacted] currently the Associate Deputy Attorney General and Director of the Department of Justice's Organized Crime and Drug Enforcement Task Force (OCDETF) was interviewed at FBI Headquarters, 935 Pennsylvania Ave., Washington, DC. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Special Agents and the nature of the interview, OHR provided the following information:

b6 -5  
b7C -5

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR stated he had been contacted by Christopher Steele, via WhatsApp and OHR responded via FaceTime on 02/11/2017.

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Steele advised OHR that [redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted] OHR added [redacted]  
[redacted]

b6 -1, 4  
b7C -1, 4  
b7D -2

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Steele's company is continuing to work for both [redacted] another attorney for [redacted]. However, OHR explained Steele is beginning to worry about his business and was preparing a [redacted] to broker a business relationship with the FBI. Steele advised OHR, 'You may see me re-emerge in a couple of weeks.'

b6 -1, 3, 4  
b7C -1, 3, 4  
b7A -1

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR responded he had yet to ask Steele if he would like to be provided with an FBI contact.

b7E -2, 3

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR also advised [redacted] was doing fine, but were still a bit "freaked out." However, it seemed to Steele that things were calming down and he was pleased about a recent CNN article that stated U.S.

~~Reason: 1.4(b)  
Derived From: FBI  
NSISC-20096615  
Declassify On: 20421231  
SECRET//ORCON//NOFORN~~

Investigation on 02/14/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 02/15/2017  
by [redacted]

b3 -1  
b6 -2  
b7C -2  
b7E -1

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

b3 -1  
b7E -1

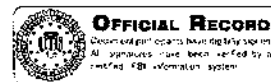


(U)

~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Interview of Bruce Ohr 14

Continuation of FD-302 of February 2017 On 02/14/2017 Page 2 of 2  
~~Government investigations had confirmed some of the reporting in his~~  
dossier.

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~



~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 05/10/2017

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ On 5/8/2017, SA [redacted] and SSA [redacted] interviewed BRUCE OHR, [redacted] currently the Associate Deputy Attorney General and Director of the Department of Justice's Organized Crime and Drug Enforcement Task Force (OCDETF) at FBI Washington Field Office, 601 4th Street, Washington, DC. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agents and the nature of the interview, OHR provided the following information:

b6 -2, -5  
b7C -2, -5

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ OHR and STEELE communicated via text message in WhatsApp and arranged a call for 5/3/2017 at 8:00 AM. STEELE told OHR that business was good.

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ STEELE had been worried about Director Comey's upcoming testimony to congress, especially his response to questions that would be raised by Representative Grassley. STEELE was specifically concerned about anything Director Comey would say [redacted]. [redacted] STEELE was happy with Director Comey's response.

b3 -1  
b6 -4  
b7C -4  
b7D -2

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ In a previous conversation, STEELE had expressed concern for [redacted].

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ STEELE informed OHR that the disclosure laws in the UK were more narrow than in the United States and therefore limited his ability to testify before Congress. STEELE cited specifically that he was restricted from [redacted].

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ [redacted] and had been on the staff of the [redacted]. At the time of the interview, [redacted] was working with the [redacted].

b6 -1, 4  
b7C -1, 4  
b7D -2

~~Reason: 1.4 (b)  
Derived From: National  
Security Information SCG  
Declassify On: 20271231~~

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

Investigation on 05/08/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 05/08/2017

by [redacted]

b3 -1  
b6 -2  
b7C -2  
b7E -1

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

b3 -1  
b7E -1

(U)

[Redacted]

~~(S//OC/NF)~~

Interview of Bruce Ohr 8 May

05/08

Continuation of FD-302 of 2017

, On

/2017

, Page

2 of 2

(U)

~~(S//OC/NF)~~

GLENN SIMPSON of FUSION-GPS and [Redacted] would be visiting STEELE soon and were in the process of "lawyering up" (NFI).

b6 -1  
b7C -1

(U)

~~(S//OC/NF)~~

JONATHAN WINER was bringing over a letter separately (NFI).

(U)

~~(S//OC/NF)~~

STEELE was interested in working with the FBI and had additional information if the FBI was interested.

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

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- 1 of 1 -



~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 05/12/2017

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ On 5/12/2017, SA [redacted] and SSA [redacted] interviewed BRUCE OHR, [redacted] currently the Associate Deputy Attorney General and Director of the Department of Justice's Organized Crime and Drug Enforcement Task Force (OCDETF) at FBI Washington Field Office, 601 4th Street, Washington, DC. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agents and the nature of the interview, OHR provided the following information:

b6 -2, -5  
b7C -2, -5

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ STEELE sent OHR a text message in WhatsApp some time around Tuesday and they set up a call via WhatsApp for Wednesday 2:00 PM EST.

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Over the course of their telephone call, STEELE informed OHR that he had received a letter from the Senate Intelligence Committee (SIC). The letter requested answers to the following questions:

1. Had STEELE provided information to the US Government?
2. What was the scope of STEELE's investigation?
3. Did STEELE have any additional information to provide?

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ STEELE mentioned that SIC was considering sending staffers to the UK.

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ [redacted] requested that OHR ask STEELE if he would be willing to have a conversation with FBI agents in the UK. OHR agreed to pass along the message.

b6 -2  
b7C -2

~~Reason: 1.4(b)  
Derived From: National  
Security Information SCG  
Declassify On: 20271231~~

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

Investigation on 05/12/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

by [redacted] Date drafted 05/12/2017

b3 -1  
b6 -2  
b7C -2  
b7E -1





~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 05/16/2017

b6 -2, -5  
b7C -2, -5

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ On 5/15/2017, SA [redacted] and SSA [redacted] interviewed BRUCE OHR, [redacted] currently the Associate Deputy Attorney General and Director of the Department of Justice's Organized Crime and Drug Enforcement Task Force (OCDETF) at FBI Washington Field Office, 601 4th Street, Washington, DC. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agents and the nature of the interview, OHR provided the following information:

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ CHRISTOPHER STEELE sent OHR a text message in WhatsApp on or around Friday, 5/12/2017. The two set up a call via WhatsApp for Saturday at 9:00 AM EST.

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ Per FBI's previous request, OHR asked STEELE if he would be willing to meet with FBI agents. STEELE responded that the answer was an immediate yes but that he would need to check with [redacted]. OHR was clear that this would be nothing more than a conversation with the FBI and STEELE said that would be alright.

b6 -1  
b7C -1

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ STEELE informed OHR that he had information regarding a conversation between [redacted]

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ STEELE contacted OHR via Whatsapp at 9:45 AM on Monday, 5/15/2017. STEELE said that [redacted] were both ok with him talking to the FBI.

b6 -1, 2  
b7C -1, 2

(U) ~~(S//OC/NF)~~ SSA [redacted] told OHR that he would communicate with headquarters regarding FBI agents meeting with STEELE and let him know when he received a response.

~~Reason: 1.4(b)  
Derived From: National Security Information SCG  
Declassify On: 20271231~~

~~SECRET//ORCON/NOFORN~~

Investigation on 05/15/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

b3 -1  
b6 -2  
b7C -2  
b7E -1

File # [redacted] Date drafted 05/15/2017

by [redacted]



Josh Israel [Follow](#)

Senior Editor, [The Right to Bear Arms](#) Column, [jisrael@thinkprogress.org](mailto:jisrael@thinkprogress.org)  
10/27/18 - 8:41 AM EDT

## Why has the NRA been cozying up to Russia?

The Right to Bear Arms in Moscow enjoys a close relationship with America's leading gun-rights group.



Photo illustration by [Adrian Cook](#) / [iKilled11.com](#) Images, Marki Bohm

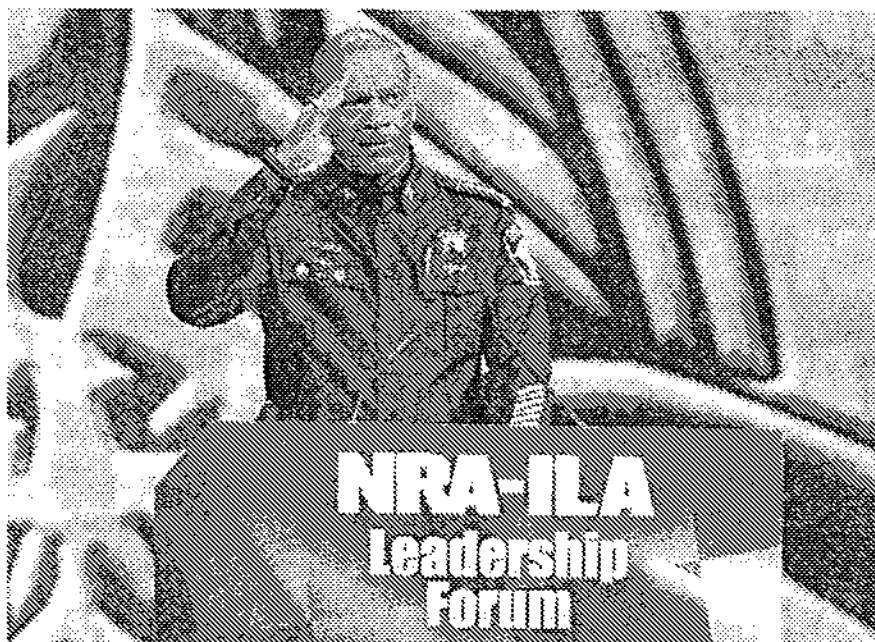
Throughout the 2016 presidential campaign, there was a steady stream of stories published about Donald Trump, his second campaign manager, his supporters at Wikileaks, and the ties they appeared to have to Russian President Vladimir Putin and the Russian Federation. Reporting also highlighted that, more than any other national organization, the National Rifle Association (NRA) went all-in to elect Trump.

But no attention was given to the ties between the NRA, a Russian gun-rights group run by a twenty-something gun activist named Maria Butina, and her close friend and boss, the deputy governor of the Russian central bank, Alexander Torshin.

Why does an American gun group that promotes gun rights as a defense against tyranny align itself with a group with close ties to an authoritarian regime? Why would Putin allies build a grassroots non-profit to loosen Russia's gun laws, rather than just enact them? Experts who spoke to ThinkProgress say they are not sure, but they discussed whether the whole arrangement is a cover for a larger effort to undermine American sanctions against Russia.

## A meeting in Moscow

On December 11, 2015, in the depths of a biting Moscow winter, The Right to Bear Arms hosted a delegation from its American counterpart, the NRA. David Keene, an NRA board member and former national president of the organization, flew to Russia to attend the event. Also at that meeting were NRA First Vice President Pete Brownell, CEO of the world's largest firearm accessories supplier; NRA funder Dr. Arnold Goldschlager and his daughter, NRA Women's Leadership Forum executive committee member Hilary Goldschlager; and Outdoor Life channel head Jim Liberatore. Perhaps the most famous guest at the gathering, trading his customary uniform for a black leather vest over a button-down shirt, was Milwaukee County Sheriff and Fox News regular David A. Clarke.



Milwaukee Journal Sentinel photo Fabio Clarke at the National Rifle Association's 2014 convention. (BROWN AP Photo/Alamy)

Clarke said little publicly about the event. Two weeks earlier, his office put out a vague press release noting that he would “travel to the Middle East and Asia beginning November 28, 2015 and returning December 13, 2015,” including that he’d “receive briefings on issues facing those regions and visit historic sites.”

But the Milwaukee Journal Sentinel’s Daniel Bice noticed that Clarke’s January 2016 ethics disclosure filing shed some light on the trip. Part one was \$20,155 trip to Israel, paid for by the NRA Ring of Freedom. During his week-plus of travel there, he did a remote interview from Jerusalem for Fox Business Network. The remaining days were spent in Russia. His airfare to Moscow and visas, totaling \$13,785.10, were paid for by Brownell; his \$6000 worth of meals, hotel, transportation, and excursions were provided by the “All-Russia Public Organization ‘The Right to Bear Arms.’”

Clarke’s office declined to release any records to Bice about the trip, the reporter wrote, “saying it was personal — not official — travel, even though personal trips (a.k.a. vacations) are not supposed to be listed on the ethics form.”

At that conference, according to a post on the Right to Bear Arms’ Facebook page, in addition to group’s chairman and founder Maria

Butina, a welcoming speech was delivered by honorary member of The Right to Bear Arms Alexander Torshin.



CARDNY: The Right to Bear Arms Facebook page

## The Godfather and the Godmother?

Maria Butina grew up in Altai, a mountainous area in southern Siberia, but moved to Moscow when she was 22. Almost overnight, she gaining notice as the founder and chair of Russia's gun-rights movement. Reportedly a strong supporter of Putin and his United Russia Party, she helped start The Right to Bear Arms about five years ago as a non-profit organization. The group, she vowed, would not be a front for "any bloody lobby" and would be funded through dues from members. "I personally have a furniture and household appliances business," she told Russian newspaper Izvestia.

"People who give us money for work, they are usual gun owners because to have a gun in Russia is very expensive. So these people, they have money and they give us money," Butina explained in a 2014 interview with Townhall's Katie Pavlich. "We have no money from government, not one coin from government." The group now claims 10,000 members.

Though Russia's constitution does not contain Second Amendment-like gun rights, her rhetoric is remarkably similar to the NRA's. "More legal guns equal less crime," she told the *Moscow Times* this year, "If a country bans guns, only criminals have access to them."

After the Sandy Hook mass shooting in 2012, her group criticized gun-free school zones as ineffective prohibitionist policies. “In this shooting six teachers died, six people who could literally use only their hands to defend children... The murderer planned this knowing that no one would be armed,” she told Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty. “What is the right to life, ingrained in our constitution, if you don’t have the right to bear arms? If a person wishes to defend himself, he has no means for protection.”

Maria Butina, Chairman of the Russian orga...



Like the NRA, Butina tends to dismiss the connection between guns and death, including suicides. “People online take facts from my blog, turn them upside and scream ‘Just look at this! In the States, 30,000 people die from firearms every year! How awful!’ But so what?” she told the New Republic in 2012. “Switzerland has the most suicides using a gun, and yet, Switzerland has the least number of total suicides. Moreover, a gun is the most humane weapon for suicide compared to all the other methods that exist.”

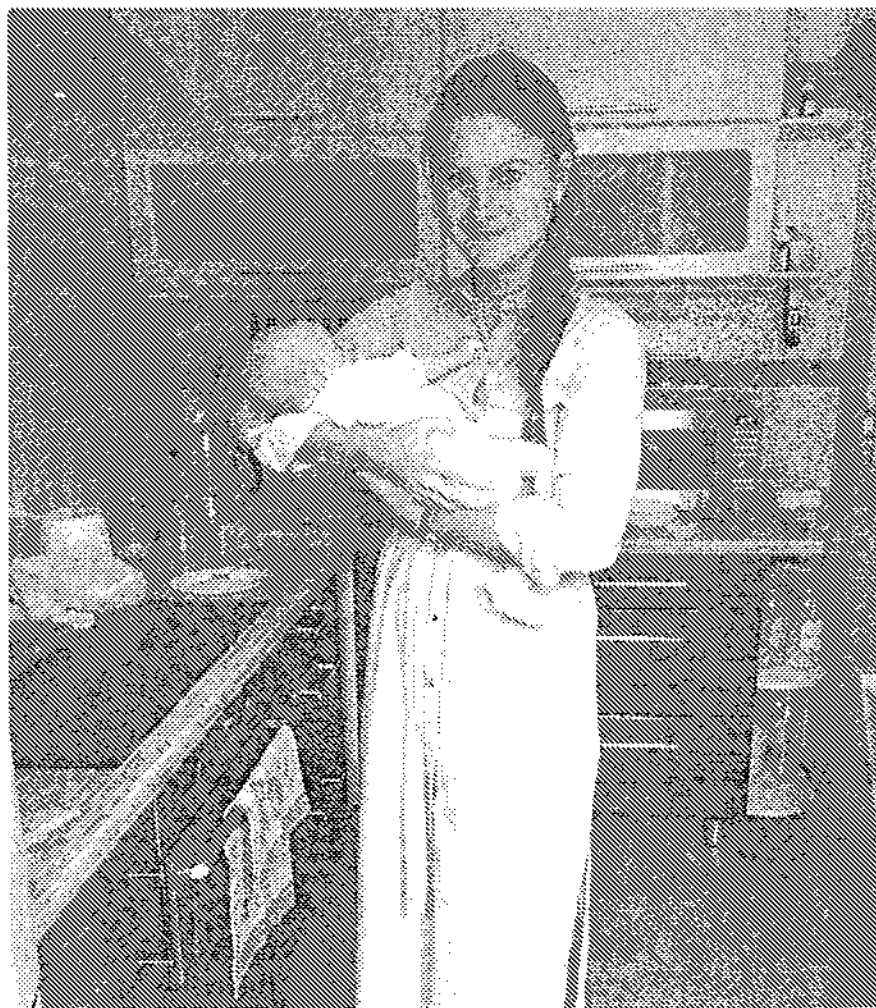
The same article noted that, early on, Butina “gained a powerful ally”— Alexander Torshin, who is an NRA Life Member, a “high-ranking member” of Putin’s United Russia and, at the time, the first deputy speaker of the Russian senate.

The NRA took note when Torshin authored an unsuccessful bill that year that would have allowed public use of firearms. When he presented the bill to his colleagues, days after the Aurora, Colorado, movie theater shooting that left a dozen dead, his colleagues were

not sold. They feared Russians, too, would all shoot each other. "How can you have so little trust for yourself, for your people," he asked them. In 2014, however, Putin's government did change the law to allow licensed gun owners to carry weapons in public for self-defense.

After years serving in the upper house of parliament, in 2015 he was appointed deputy governor for Russia's central bank. Butina was appointed "special assistant" to Torshin at the bank.

Their close relationship is evident in their work and social media presence. In 2014, she praised him as a "great gun lover" who supports both The Right to Bear Arms group and the NRA. Last month, Torshin tweeted a photo of her holding a baby, calling her "the godmother" of the child.



Torshin also has been called "the godfather." While he's only admitted to having been a godfather in the religious sense, Spanish investigators claimed in an August report that the "Russian politician Alexander Porfirievich Torshin stands above [an alleged figure in the Moscow-based Taganskaya crime syndicate], who calls him 'godfather' or 'boss'" and conducted on his behalf "activities and investments." Torshin denied the allegation, telling Bloomberg "I'm a public individual and I'm not hiding anywhere."

Torshin told the New Republic's Julia Toffe in 2012 that he admires the NRA because it represents "'stability'—the credo of Putin's reign."

## The Keene connection

In May of 2013, Torshin traveled to the NRA convention in Houston. Months later, he wrote about it in an Washington Times OP/ED about the passing of Mikhail Kalashnikov (the inventor of the AK-47). "Last year, I had the pleasure of attending the National Rifle Association's annual meeting in Houston," he recounted. "Kalashnikov couldn't join me, though we have both been 'life members' of the NRA for years. At 93, his health was even then beginning to fail, but I thought of him as I toured the exhibit area where I saw dozens of AK-47 clones." The opinion editor for the paper is the NRA's David Keene.

In between, Keene traveled to Russia for a fall 2013 gun conference, hosted by The Right to Bear Arms. Butina's online advertisements for the event specifically highlighted his participation, calling him "the former president of the legendary NRA." She chaired the event, Torshin attended, and Keene spoke. Keene posted a picture of his visit with Torshin on his personal website and shared it on Facebook. Weeks after the conference, Butina explained in a LiveJournal post that just because a foreign citizen is an NRA member, that does not necessarily mean they are a spy.

In April of 2014, Butina traveled to the NRA's annual meeting in Indianapolis. She was given the "rare privilege" of ringing the organization's replica of the Liberty Bell and presented a plaque to NRA President Jim Porter. She attended a women's luncheon as the



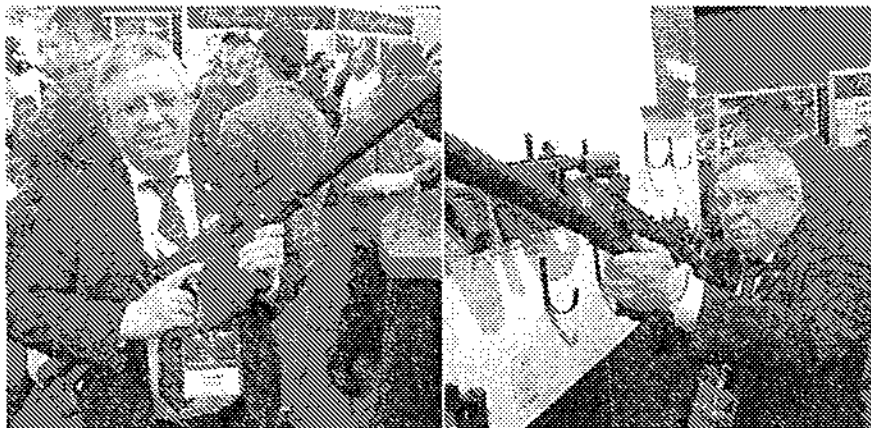
guest of former NRA President Sandy Froman and participated in the general meeting as Keene's special guest.



Butina blogged about her trip, noting that she was invited to speak at the exclusive Ring of Freedom dinner with "the patrons who donated" more than \$1 million to the NRA. Before leaving the country, she stopped by the organization's national headquarters in Fairfax, Virginia, and posed for a picture with Keene.

Butina returned the following April for the annual convention in Nashville. She marveled about winning a necklace and earrings at the silent auction, attending the women-only NRA women's forum, and about the lack of democracy in decision-making. "In spite of all democracy, foreigners, even if the members of the NRA, can not vote for the adoption of decisions," she observed, noting that at The Right to Bear Arms, "we maintain direct democratic elections. In my opinion, as the founder of the organization, it is more fair to the citizens."

Torshin attended the May 2016 convention in Louisville, Kentucky, meeting with Trump and even sharing a table with Donald Trump Jr. at one of the dinners.



 **А.П. Торшин**

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The Right to Bear Arms has a ways to go before they can develop the outsized level of influence its American counterpart enjoys. But in 2014, it successfully convinced the Russian parliament to pass a castle doctrine bill. Butina has talked a great deal about bringing the NRA's successful programs, like the group's Eddie Eagle curriculum for kids, to Russia.

## A hidden purpose?

Butina's interests appear to go beyond just guns. She frequently writes about her opposition to economic sanctions by the west, including those on Russian arms. In a 2015 article for *The National Interest*, she wrote, "It may take the election of a Republican to the White House in 2016 to improve relations between the Russian Federation and the United States."

Not long after Butina's 2014 visit, the NRA put out a little-noticed statement criticizing the Obama administration's sanctions against Russia. Noting that the crackdown included Russia's arms manufacturer, they wrote: "While the United States government blames the Ukrainian conflict for this latest move, gun control advocates will no doubt applaud the ban on importation of some of the very types of firearms at the center of recent domestic attempts

to ban so-called 'assault weapons.'" Weeks later, The Right to Bear Arms announced it would soon host another NRA representative in Moscow, "life member" Paul Erickson, for an "open meeting."

In 2015, Butina traveled around country following Republican presidential candidates. She attended Gov. Scott Walker's (R-WI) announcement speech in Waukesha, Wisconsin. As an audience member at a Trump campaign event in Las Vegas, she asked the candidate about sanctions and his commitment to lift them if elected.

Josh Horwitz, executive director of the Coalition to Stop Gun Violence, told ThinkProgress that U.S.-Russian economic ties, rather than gun rights, could be the real aim of The Right to Bear Arms. "I think the important thing is all those involved with this are close with Putin. If Putin wanted more guns in Russia, he doesn't need to develop an NRA in Russia to push him," he observed.

"What are the NRA officials doing cavorting around with people close to Putin? The NRA says they're the nation's oldest civil rights group. I could see them being in line with dissidents in Russia, who are out of power, discriminated against, and subjugated by the Russian government," he continued. "But the idea that the NRA is running around with someone who is basically a dictator—the question is why. The people he's running around with are all about removing sanctions on drilling and other things. I think this is more about getting out to the American Right the views about lifting the sanctions than anything about gun rights."

Josh Sugarman, executive director of the Violence Policy Center, added that the sanctions could be of key interest to the NRA's financial backers as well. "The NRA is a gun industry trade association masquerading as a shooting sports foundation," he observed. "The organization has received tens of millions of dollars in gun industry financial support from around the globe and has partnered with gunmakers on a wide range of marketing efforts. The NRA's reasoning in working to establish a Russian beachhead could range from working to end Obama Administration sanctions that ban the import of Russian-made AK-47s and assault shotguns to

hoping for new financial donors as the result of a loosening of the country's gun laws."

Butina told ThinkProgress in an email that there are no financial connections between the American and Russian groups. "The Right to Bear Arms and your American NRA are completely separate organizations. We have no political or financial ties of any kind," she wrote, adding that they are "literally 'comrades in arms' in a shared belief that a right to own a firearm makes people safer."

"I'm sorry to disappoint you," she wrote, "but there is no international conspiracy at work surrounding the organization I founded, 'The Right to Bear Arms.'" She added that her group's payments for Sheriff Clarke's visit and others in the NRA delegation were "something any decent host would do when friends visit," but did not respond to questions about whether other American politicians had also been brought to Moscow at the group's expense.

The National Rifle Association and Torshin did not respond to ThinkProgress inquiries about their relationship.

Now with Trump and Putin agreeing to normalize relations in the coming year, expect the already close relations between Trump's friends at the NRA and Putin's friends at The Right to Bear Arms to be closer still. Perhaps it will become evident just what these two groups are really up to.



