

The Ritz Carlton episode involving TRUMP reported above was confirmed by Source E, a senior (western) member of staff at the hotel, who said that s/he and several of the staff were aware of it at the time and subsequently. S/he believed it had happened in 2013. Source E provided an introduction for a company ethnic Russian operative to Source F, a female staffer at the hotel when TRUMP had stayed there, who also confirmed the story.<sup>847</sup>

Certain of the information in the June 20, 2016 Steele Report reflected facts that Dolan learned during the June Planning Trip to Moscow. For example, while at the Ritz Carlton, Dolan (1) received a tour of the hotel and (according to Dolan) possibly the Presidential Suite, and (2) met with the senior Western member of staff – in context the general manager – and other staff of the Ritz Carlton. As noted, Danchenko did not stay at the Ritz Carlton in June 2016, but had lunch with Dolan during the June Planning Trip at some other location.

Notably, when interviewed by the Office, U.S. Person-1 recalled he and Dolan took a tour of the Presidential Suite.<sup>848</sup> Following his initial interview with the Office, Dolan called U.S. Person-1 and U.S. Person-1 confirmed that he (U.S. Person-1) and Dolan had in fact taken a tour of the Presidential Suite.<sup>849</sup> During that tour, a hotel staff member told the participants that Trump had previously been a guest in the Presidential Suite.<sup>850</sup> According to U.S. Person-1, the staff member informed them that Donald Trump had stayed in the Suite, but did not mention any sexual or salacious activity.<sup>851</sup> When interviewed by the Office, Dolan's recollection about taking a tour of the Presidential suite at the Ritz Carlton was inconsistent and his recollection vacillated over the course of several interviews. Dolan stated, in sum, that it was possible that he (Dolan) told Danchenko about the Presidential Suite and Trump, but he had no specific recollection of doing so.<sup>852</sup> Dolan was adamant that he never told Danchenko about any salacious sexual activity that occurred in the suite.<sup>853</sup>

The Office also interviewed the then-general Manager of the Ritz-Carlton Moscow. The general manager, a German citizen who does not speak Russian, was described in the Steele Report as a "senior (western) member of staff at the hotel and identified as "Source E."<sup>854</sup> The general manager did not recognize the photograph of Danchenko he was shown by the Office.<sup>855</sup>

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<sup>847</sup> SCO-105084 (Documents Known to the FBI Comprising the "Steele Dossier") at 3, (Company Intelligence Report 2016/080).

<sup>848</sup> OSC Report of Interview of U.S. Person-1 on Apr. 13, 2021 at 3.

<sup>849</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Charles Dolan on Nov. 1, 2021 at 1.

<sup>850</sup> OSC Report of Interview of U.S. Person-1 on Apr. 13, 2021 at 3.

<sup>851</sup> *Id.* at 3.

<sup>852</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Charles Dolan on Nov. 1, 2021 at 1.

<sup>853</sup> *Id.*

<sup>854</sup> SCO-105084 (Documents Known to the FBI Comprising the "Steele Dossier") at 3, (Company Intelligence Report 2016/080).

<sup>855</sup> OSC Report of Interview of general manager of the Moscow Ritz Carlton on Aug. 9, 2022 at 4.

He also denied having knowledge of the Ritz-Carlton allegations concerning Trump at any time prior to their being reported in the media.<sup>856</sup> As such, the general manager adamantly denied discussing such allegations with, or hearing them from, Danchenko, or anyone else.<sup>857</sup> Further, the Office obtained records from the Ritz Carlton Moscow that reveal that Trump was a guest at the hotel in 2013, but did not stay in the Presidential Suite then or at any other time.<sup>858</sup>

When interviewed by the FBI in January 2017, Danchenko claimed that he had sourced this information, in part, while staying at the Ritz-Carlton Moscow during the June Planning Trip.<sup>859</sup> While Danchenko initially told the FBI that he had been a guest at the Ritz-Carlton Moscow during the June Planning Trip, in a later interview, he acknowledged that he had visited, but not stayed at, the hotel during that June Planning Trip.<sup>860</sup> Danchenko also claimed that he inquired about the Ritz-Carlton allegations with hotel staff who did not deny their validity.<sup>861</sup> Finally, Danchenko told the FBI that he reported the names of these hotel staff members to Christopher Steele.<sup>862</sup> In his September 2017 interview, Steele also told the FBI that “Source E” and “Source F” were employees at the Ritz Carlton Moscow with whom his primary sub-source [Danchenko] personally met.<sup>863</sup> Thus, it seems apparent that Danchenko provided the general manager’s information to Steele. Danchenko also told the FBI that “Source D” – another purported source of the Ritz Carlton allegations – could be referring to Sergei Millian.<sup>864</sup>

In a subsequent May 2017 FBI interview (while serving as an FBI CHS), Danchenko again confirmed that he had spoken with hotel management about the Ritz-Carlton allegations.<sup>865</sup> In that interview, Danchenko also stated that “Source E” was probably one of the hotel managers.<sup>866</sup>

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<sup>856</sup> *Id.* at 6-7.

<sup>857</sup> *Id.*

<sup>858</sup> SCO-101769 (Moscow Ritz Carlton Records).

<sup>859</sup> SCO-005801 (Interview of Igor Danchenko Electronic Communication dated 02/09/2017) at 38-39.

<sup>860</sup> Transcript of meeting with Danchenko on May 18, 2017 at 27-29.

<sup>861</sup> SCO-005801 (Interview of Igor Danchenko Electronic Communication dated 02/09/2017) at 39.

<sup>862</sup> *Id.*

<sup>863</sup> SCO-006313 (Interview of Christopher Steele on Sept. 18, 2017) at 14.

<sup>864</sup> However, as discussed in more detail below, Danchenko told the FBI that his purported first contact with Millian was July 21, 2016. Since Danchenko was the only Orbis person who reported had contact with Millian, his contention that Millian could be a source for the Steele Report dated June 20, 2016 was an impossibility. SCO\_105282 (CHS Reporting Document dated May 18, 2017).

<sup>865</sup> Transcript of meeting with Danchenko on May 18, 2017 at 25-27.

<sup>866</sup> *Id.* at 28.



When interviewed by the FBI in September 2017, Christopher Steele stated that “Source D” was in fact Sergei Millian, an individual who was in direct contact with his primary sub-source [Danchenko].<sup>867</sup> However, given that Danchenko repeatedly told the FBI that the *first* and *only* time he allegedly communicated with someone he thought was Millian was late July 2016 when he received an anonymous call from a male with a Russian accent, it would have been impossible for Millian to have been a source of the Ritz Carlton allegations (and other information) to Danchenko in June 2016. Thus, Danchenko’s statements to the FBI about having no previous contact with Millian were false, or Danchenko’s statements to Steele about Source D were false, or Steele gave knowingly false information to the FBI.<sup>868</sup>

The Office found the general manager’s statement that he never met with Danchenko to be credible, especially in light of his well-spoken, thoughtful demeanor, and his confidence in his recollections.

Based on the above analysis, the only person who met with both Danchenko and the Ritz Carlton general manager (and the other managers) during the June Planning Trip was Dolan.

The same Steele Report (2016/080) that contained the Ritz Carlton allegations also contained the following allegation:

Continuing on this theme, Source G, a senior Kremlin official, confided that the CLINTON dossier was controlled exclusively by senior Kremlin spokesman, Dimitry PESKOV, on the direct instructions of Putin himself. The dossier had not been made available, as yet, *inter alia*, to any foreigners, including TRUMP and his inner circle. However, PUTIN’s intentions with regard to the dossier and future dissemination remained unclear.<sup>869</sup>

When interviewed by the FBI in September 2017, Steele identified “Source G” as Alexey Pavlov<sup>870</sup> – the Deputy Press Secretary for the Russian Presidential Administration. Steele stated, in sum, that this information was collected by his primary sub-source (Danchenko) during a trip to Russia, which, given the date of the Report, would coincide with his June 2016 trip and Dolan’s June Planning Trip.

The FBI appears to have never addressed this particular allegation with Danchenko or explored whether Danchenko maintained a relationship with Alexey Pavlov. The Office has not seen any independent evidence to indicate that Danchenko had a relationship with Pavlov. As discussed above, Dolan, however, did have a relationship with Pavlov. Leading up to the June Planning Trip, Dolan attempted to contact Pavlov on several occasions.<sup>871</sup> Dolan, however, stated that he could not recall if he connected with Pavlov prior to or during the June Planning

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<sup>867</sup> SCO-006313 (Interview of Christopher Steele on Sept. 18, 2017 at 14).

<sup>868</sup> As discussed below, the Crossfire Hurricane team appears to have never endeavored to resolve this question.

<sup>869</sup> SCO-105084 (Documents Known to the FBI Comprising the “Steele Dossier”) at 4, (Company Intelligence Report 2016/080).

<sup>870</sup> SCO-006313 (Interview of Christopher Steele on Sept. 18, 2017) at 14.

<sup>871</sup> SCO-005678 (Email from Dolan dated 06/03/2016); SCID\_00000790 (Email from Dolan to Galkina dated 06/14/2016).

Trip.<sup>872</sup> In light of these facts, there appears to be a real likelihood that Dolan was the actual source of much of the Ritz Carlton and Pavlov information contained in the Steele Reports.

v. *Dolan returns to Cyprus in July 2016*

Following the June Planning Trip, Dolan returned to Washington, D.C. where he continued to communicate with both Danchenko and Galkina. In July 2016, Dolan returned to Cyprus to meet with Galkina, Gubarev and other executives at Servers.com.<sup>873</sup> Curiously, Steele was in Cyprus at the same time Dolan was meeting with Galkina and others in Cyprus.<sup>874</sup>

During this July trip and continuing through the fall of 2016, Dolan and Galkina communicated regularly via telephone, email and social media. In several of these communications, Dolan and Galkina discussed their political views, support for Clinton, and Galkina's future employment. For example, during the July 2016 meetings in Cyprus, Dolan gave Galkina an autobiography of Clinton, which he signed and inscribed with the handwritten message, "To my good friend Olga, A Great Democrat."<sup>875</sup> On July 13, 2016, Galkina sent a message to a Russia-based associate and stated that Dolan had written a letter to Dimitry Peskov, the Russian Press Secretary, in support of Galkina's candidacy for a position in the Russian Presidential Administration.<sup>876</sup> In his interviews with the Office, Dolan did not recall the specific position Galkina was referring to, and noted that it was "possible" that he reached out to Peskov on behalf of Galkina, but had no specific recollection of doing so.<sup>877</sup>

On July 22, 2016, Dolan sent an email to Galkina and informed her that he would be attending a reception for Hillary Clinton. Shortly thereafter, Galkina responded: "[T]ell her please she [Clinton] has a big fan in [city name], Cyprus. Can I please ask you to sign for me her (anything)."<sup>878</sup> In August 2016, Galkina sent a message to a Russia-based associate describing Dolan as an "advisor" to Hillary Clinton.<sup>879</sup> Galkina further commented regarding what might happen if Clinton were to win the U.S. presidential election, stating in Russian, "[W]hen Dolan takes me off to the State Department [to handle] issues of the former USSR, then we'll see who is looking good and who is not."<sup>880</sup> In September 2016, Galkina made a similar comment in a

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<sup>872</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Charles Dolan on Aug. 31, 2021 at 4; OSC Report of Interview of Charles Dolan on Sept. 7, 2021 at 2.

<sup>873</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Charles Dolan on Aug. 31, 2021 at 3; *Danchenko* Tr. 10/13/2022 AM at 614:3-17.

<sup>874</sup> Doc. ID 0.7.23326.102657 (Email from Steele to Bruce Ohr dated 07/01/2016). As discussed more below, SA Kevin Helson speculated that Charles Dolan may have directly communicated with Christopher Steele. The Office, however, uncovered no evidence to support this speculation.

<sup>875</sup> SCO-002223 (Galkina Facebook messages dated 07/21/2016).

<sup>876</sup> SCO-002228 (Galkina Facebook messages dated 07/13/2016).

<sup>877</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Charles Dolan on Nov. 1, 2021 at 2.

<sup>878</sup> SCO\_002190 (Email from Galkina to Dolan dated July 22, 2016)

<sup>879</sup> SCO\_002235 (Galkina Facebook messages dated Aug. 21, 2016).

<sup>880</sup> *Id.*



message to the same associate, stating in Russian that Dolan would “take me to the State Department if Hillary wins.”<sup>881</sup>

On October 15, 2016, Galkina communicated with a Russia-based journalist and stated that because of her [Galkina] “acquaintance with Chuck Dolan and several citizens from the Russian presidential administration,” Galkina knew “something and can tell a little about it by voice.”<sup>882</sup>

On November 7, 2016 (the day before the 2016 U.S. Presidential election), Galkina emailed Dolan in English and stated, in part:

I am preparing you some information on former USSR/UIC countries, Igor [Danchenko] possibly told you about that . . . Tomorrow your country is having a great day, so, as a big Hillary fan, I wish her and all her supporters to have a Victory day. Hope, that someday her book will have one more autograph on it).

Thank you for your help and support,

Best regards,

Olga<sup>883</sup>

When initially interviewed by the Office, Dolan stated that Galkina was the “last person” with whom he would ever discuss U.S. politics.<sup>884</sup> However, in a subsequent interview when confronted with emails and social media messages with Galkina evincing communications about Clinton and the 2016 U.S. presidential election, Dolan admitted that he had some discussions with Galkina about the 2016 election and her support for Clinton.<sup>885</sup> However, in an August 2017 FBI interview, Galkina stated, in sum, that she discussed some of the information contained in the Steele Reports with Dolan.<sup>886</sup> Despite Galkina’s identification of Dolan as someone with whom she discussed the Steele Reports, and the fact that Dolan resided in the Washington, D.C. area, the FBI failed to interview Dolan about Galkina’s statements concerning the Steele Reports.

*vi. Dolan is a source for certain information in a Steele Report*

At least one allegation contained in a Steele Report dated August 22, 2016 (2016/105), reflected information that Danchenko collected directly from Charles Dolan. In particular, that Report detailed the August 2016 resignation of Trump’s campaign manager Manafort and his allegedly strained relationship with Corey Lewandowski. The allegation in the Steele Report stated:

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<sup>881</sup> SCO\_002238 (Galkina Facebook messages dated Sept. 2, 2016).

<sup>882</sup> SCO\_076721 (Galkina Facebook messages dated Oct. 15, 2016).

<sup>883</sup> SCID\_00001417 (Email from Galkina to Dolan dated 11/07/2016).

<sup>884</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Charles Dolan on Aug. 31, 2021 at 3.

<sup>885</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Charles Dolan on Nov. 1, 2021 at 2.

<sup>886</sup> *Danchenko* Tr. 10/14/2022 AM at 977:3-13.

Close associate of TRUMP explains reasoning behind MANAFORT's recent resignation. Ukraine revelations played part but others wanted MANAFORT out for various reasons, especially LEWANDOWSKI who remains influential . . . . Speaking separately, also in late August 2016, an American political figure associated with Donald TRUMP and his campaign outlined the reasons behind MANAFORT's recent demise. S/he said it was true that the Ukraine corruption revelations had played a part in this, but also, several senior players close to TRUMP had wanted MANAFORT out, primarily to loosen his control on strategy and policy formulation. Of particular importance in this regard was MANAFORT's predecessor as campaign manager, Corey LEWANDOWSKI, who hated MANAFORT personally and remained close to TRUMP with whom he discussed the presidential campaign on a regular basis.<sup>887</sup>

This Steele Report contained information that Danchenko had gathered directly from Dolan in response to a specific request. In particular, on August 19, 2016, Danchenko emailed Dolan to solicit any "thought, rumor, or allegation" about Paul Manafort. In the email, Danchenko also informed Dolan that he (Danchenko) was working on a "project against Trump":

Could you please ask someone to comment on Paul Manafort's resignation and anything on Trump campaign? Off the record of course! Any thought, rumor, allegation. I am working on a related project against Trump. I asked [U.S. Person-2]] three months ago but he didn't say much although shared a couple of valuable insights.

Thanks a lot!

Best,

Igor<sup>888</sup>

Danchenko referenced U.S. Person-2, a Republican lobbyist and acquaintance of Dolan, who was present at the meeting between Dolan and Galkina in March 2016 regarding the proposed business venture between kglobal and Servers.com. In connection with a voluntary interview by the Office, U.S. Person-2 provided an email which appears to be referenced by Danchenko above, which stated, in part:

I have a question about Viktor Yanukovich and Dmitry Firtash, former Ukrainian president and former gas oligarch respectively, and some Russian oligarchs. The relationship is mentioned, for example here [internet address].

My question is:

My friends in England [in context, Steele] have heard that a number of oligarchs, including Oleg Deripaska, Suleïman Kerimov and Dmitry Firtash made certain investments in the U.S. real estate, maybe other sectors . . . And that then they made various "loans," "good will payments" etc., coincidentally in the summer of 2008, just in the run up to the presidential election, where Mr. Manafort and also

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<sup>887</sup> SCO-105084 (Documents Known to the FBI Comprising the "Steele Dossier") at 18-19, (Company Intelligence Report 2016/105) (capitalization in original).

<sup>888</sup> SCID\_00006671 (Email from Danchenko to Dolan dated 08/19/2016).



Richard Davis were working for the Republican candidate. Was that the case? What were they trying to achieve? Can these payments- if existed – be viewed as political contributions? I understand it is a sensitive question. I'll be happy to discuss it or other perhaps more general things over a coffee at any time. At my end, I'll be happy to share insights on Russia/FSU.

Thanks a lot!

Kind Regards,

Igor<sup>889</sup>

When interviewed by the FBI in September 2017, Steele stated that his initial entrée into U.S. election-related material dealt with Paul Manafort's connections to Russian and Ukrainian oligarchs. In particular, Steele told the FBI that Manafort owed significant money to these oligarchs and several other Russians.<sup>890</sup> At this time, Steele was working for a different client, Russian oligarch Oleg Deripaska, often referred to as "Putin's Oligarch" in media reporting, on a separate litigation-related issue.<sup>891</sup> This information comports with Danchenko's inquiries to U.S. Person-2 in April 2016. As mentioned above, U.S. Person-2's name was provided by Steele during his October 2016 interview with the FBI as an individual who would have information regarding Trump's connections to Russia.

In any event, on August 19th, Dolan replied to Danchenko, stating in part:

Let me dig around on Manafort. Pretty sure the new team wanted him gone asap and used today's NYT story to drive a stake in his heart.<sup>892</sup>

On August 20, 2016, Dolan emailed Danchenko the following:

Hi Igor:

I had a drink with a GOP friend of mine who knows some of the players and got some of what is in this article, which provides even more detail. She also told me that Corey Lewandowski, who hates Manafort and still speaks to Trump regularly played a role. He is said to be doing a happy dance over it. I think the bottom line is that in addition to the Ukraine revelations, a number of people wanted Manafort gone. It is a very sharp elbows crowd.<sup>893</sup>

Dolan attached to the email a link to a *Politico* news article that discussed Manafort's resignation as Trump's campaign manager.<sup>894</sup> Later that day, Danchenko replied to Dolan

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<sup>889</sup> SCO-061675 (Email from Danchenko to U.S. Person-2 dated 04/18/2016).

<sup>890</sup> SCO-006313 (Interview of Christopher Steele on Sept. 18, 2017) at 6.

<sup>891</sup> Kenneth P. Vogel & Matthew Rosenberg, *Agents Tried to Flip Russian Oligarchs. The Fallout Spread to Trump*, N.Y. Times (Sept. 1, 2018).

<sup>892</sup> SCID\_00000936 (Email from Dolan to Danchenko dated 08/19/2016).

<sup>893</sup> SCID\_00000941 (Email from Dolan to Danchenko dated 08/20/2016).

<sup>894</sup> Kenneth P. Vogel & Marc Caputo, *Inside the fall of Paul Manafort*, *Politico* (Aug. 19, 2016).

expressing his appreciation for the information, and stating that their “goals clearly coincide[d]” with regard to Danchenko’s efforts to gather derogatory information about Trump.

Dear Chuck,

Thank you for this. Any additional insights will be much appreciated. It is an important project for me, and our goals clearly coincide. I’ve been following the Russia trail in Trump’s campaign. It is there so what you read in the news is hardly an exaggeration. Some things are less dramatic while others are more than they seem.<sup>895</sup>

Dolan replied to Danchenko with the following: “Thanks! I’ll let you know if I hear anything else.”<sup>896</sup>

Dolan provided this information regarding Manafort to Danchenko two days before it appeared in the August 22, 2016 Steele Report (2016/105). As reflected above, the information provided by Dolan was substantially the same as the information contained in that Steele Report. In particular: (i) Dolan claimed to have received the information from a “GOP friend,” whom the Steele Report describes as a “close associate of Trump”; (ii) in his email, Dolan referred to “Ukraine revelations” about Manafort, which the Steele Report also refers to as the “Ukraine corruption revelations”; (iii) Dolan’s email stated that “a number of people wanted Manafort gone,” and the Steele Report similarly stated that “several senior players close to TRUMP had wanted Manafort out”; and (iv) Dolan’s email stated that “Corey Lewandowski, who hates Manafort and still speaks to Trump regularly played a role” in Manafort’s departure, and the Steele Report similarly stated that Manafort’s departure was due to “Corey Lewandowski, who hated Manafort personally and remained close to TRUMP.”

When interviewed by the Office, Dolan later acknowledged that he never met with a “GOP friend” in relation to the information that he passed to Danchenko but, rather, fabricated the fact of the meeting in his communications with Danchenko.<sup>897</sup> Dolan instead obtained the information about Manafort from public news sources.<sup>898</sup>

According to Dolan, he was not aware at the time of the specifics of Danchenko’s “project against Trump,” or that Danchenko’s reporting would later appear in the Steele Reports.<sup>899</sup> Dolan agreed that the information about Manafort contained in Steele Report 2016/105 appeared to be based on the information he provided to Danchenko.<sup>900</sup> Dolan, however, denied that he had knowingly provided any additional information to Danchenko that appeared in the Steele Reports, but acknowledged that it was possible that he could have been an

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<sup>895</sup> SCID\_00006677 (Email from Danchenko to Dolan dated 08/20/2016).

<sup>896</sup> SCID\_00000938 (Email from Dolan to Danchenko dated 08/20/2016).

<sup>897</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Charles Dolan on Nov. 1, 2021 at 3.

<sup>898</sup> *Id.*

<sup>899</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Charles Dolan on Nov. 1, 2021 at 1; OSC Report of Interview of Charles Dolan on Aug. 31, 2021 at 7; *Danchenko* Tr. 10/13/2022 AM at 641.

<sup>900</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Charles Dolan on Sept. 7, 2021 at 2.



unwitting source for the Reports.<sup>901</sup> Nevertheless, as discussed below, Dolan appears to have had access to substantially similar information to that which would later appear in other Steele Reports as well.

vii. *The Kalugin allegation in Steele Report 2016/111*

For example, in connection with the YPO Conference, Dolan and U.S. Person-1 met with Russian Ambassador Sergei Kislyak and Russian diplomat Kalugin, the head of the Russian Embassy's Economic Section in Washington. These meetings took place in May, July, and October 2016.<sup>902</sup> According to Dolan, Danchenko was not present at these meetings.<sup>903</sup> Following the meeting on May 31, 2016, a member of Kalugin's staff, Maria Antonova, sent an email to Dolan and U.S. Person-1 telling them that, among other things, Kalugin would be returning to Moscow in September 2016 and would be replaced by another diplomat, Andrey Bondarev. Specifically, Antonova wrote:

Mikhail [Kalugin] assumes that the right contact point at the MFA could be Mr. Andrey Bondarev who is the Deputy Head of Economic Section at the Ministry's Department of North America. Andrey will be replacing Mikhail here as the Head of Economic Office this September so it may be useful to start working with him now. Though, we need to double-check first whether he will be in Moscow during your visit. We will get back to you when we have a reply.<sup>904</sup>

Danchenko was not a recipient of the email. On August 19, 2016, Kalugin sent an email to Dolan and others. The email stated, in part:

Dear Colleagues and Friends,

After six years of Foreign Service in Washington, it feels very timely now to bid farewell and go back home to Moscow for embarking on my new endeavors.

[...]

Let me also take this opportunity and introduce you [to] the new Head of Economic Office, Counselor Mr. Andrey Bondarev. Many of you may remember that Mr. Bondarev since his previous appointment at the Embassy a couple of years ago. Andrey is a talented diplomat and economist with impressive experience in American studies. I'm glad to leave you in a such a good company and have no doubts that you will find common ground very soon.<sup>905</sup>

Again, Danchenko was not a recipient of this email.

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<sup>901</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Charles Dolan on Nov. 1, 2021 at 3.

<sup>902</sup> SCID\_00016319 (Email from U.S. Person-1 to Dolan, Kalugin, others dated 05/31/2016); SCID\_00016626 (Email from U.S. Person-1 to Dolan, others dated 07/15/2016); SCID\_00017124 (Email to Kalugin, U.S. Person-1, Dolan, others dated 10/14/2016).

<sup>903</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Charles Dolan on Nov. 1, 2021 at 1-2.

<sup>904</sup> SCID\_00016319 (Email from U.S. Person-1 to Dolan, Kalugin, others dated 05/31/2016).

<sup>905</sup> SCO-002194 (Email from Kalugin to various recipients dated 08/19/2016).

A Steele Report dated September 14, 2016 (2016/111) contained the following allegation:

[S]peaking separately to the same compatriot, a senior Russian MFA official reported that as a prophylactic measure, a leading Russia diplomat, Mikhail Kalugin, had been withdrawn from Washington on short notice because Moscow feared his heavy involvement in the US presidential election operation, including the so-called veterans' pensions ruse (reported previously), would be exposed in the media there. His replacement, Andrei Bondarev however was clean in this regard.<sup>906</sup>

This allegation bore substantial similarities to information that Dolan received in May and August 2016 from Russian Embassy staffer Maria Antonova and Kalugin himself, insofar as Dolan was aware that Kalugin was being replaced by Bondarev. Further, records obtained by the Office revealed that Dolan reached out to Danchenko on September 13, 2016 – the day prior to the date of the Steele Report.<sup>907</sup> On the day of the call, Danchenko was initially in Russia but later traveled to London.<sup>908</sup>

When interviewed by the FBI in January 2017, Danchenko stated that he had known Kalugin since 2014.<sup>909</sup> Danchenko purported to learn the information about Kalugin's departure from Kalugin himself when the diplomat was allegedly assisting Danchenko in obtaining a new Russian passport. Danchenko further stated that Kalugin described his replacement, Andrei Bondarev, as a "bright young guy."<sup>910</sup> Danchenko also stated that his conversation with Kalugin took place in late spring 2016 – which also happened to be the same time in which Dolan received the email from Embassy staffer Maria Antonova, indicating that Kalugin was being replaced in the ordinary course.<sup>911</sup>

A review of Danchenko's phone records, emails and social media accounts do not indicate that Danchenko maintained a relationship with Kalugin. Moreover, during the January 2017 interviews, Danchenko provided the FBI with a business card for Kalugin.<sup>912</sup> The business card contained a handwritten cell phone number on the card. When interviewed by the Office, Dolan identified the handwriting on the business card as his own.<sup>913</sup>

When Steele was interviewed by the FBI in September 2017, he stated, in sum, that Danchenko told him that he (Danchenko) had learned of the Kalugin information after bumping

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<sup>906</sup> SCO-105084 (Documents known to the FBI comprising the "Steele Dossier") at 20-22, (Company Intelligence Report 2016/111).

<sup>907</sup> AT&T Record dated 09/13/2016. (The records reflect a duration of only 16 seconds).

<sup>908</sup> SCO-007308 (Danchenko Facebook entry dated 09/13/2016).

<sup>909</sup> SCO-005801 (Interview of Igor Danchenko Electronic Communication dated 02/09/2017) at 25.

<sup>910</sup> *Id.* at 27-28.

<sup>911</sup> *Id.* at 26.

<sup>912</sup> SCO-005860 (Interview of Igor Danchenko Electronic Communication dated 02/09/2017 1A) at 4.

<sup>913</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Charles Dolan on Nov. 1, 2021 at 2.



into Kalugin on a Moscow street in August 2016 – which was the same time that Dolan received the email from Kalugin indicating that he was leaving for Moscow and being replaced by Andrey Bondarev.<sup>914</sup> However, the Office’s investigation has revealed that Danchenko was present in the United States during the entire month of August 2016.<sup>915</sup>

Steele further told the FBI that the information contained in Report 2016/111 was derived from his primary sub-source’s [Danchenko’s] direct contact with multiple sub-sources.<sup>916</sup> These sub-sources included Alexey Pavlov [Deputy Press Secretary of the Russian Presidential Administration], senior Ministry of Foreign Affairs personnel, and two other unidentified individuals.<sup>917</sup> Steele did not identify the two other individuals. However, as noted above, (i) Charles Dolan maintained a relationship with Alexey Pavlov; (ii) had attempted to reach out to Pavlov in connection with the YPO Conference; and (iii) had met with two deputies from the Press Office during the June Planning Trip. Again, the Office found no evidence showing that Danchenko met directly with Pavlov or had previously maintained a relationship with Pavlov. Indeed, in the months leading up to the YPO conference, it was Dolan – not Danchenko – who had reached out to Pavlov on behalf of both YPO and Olga Galkina.<sup>918</sup> Dolan informed the Office that he would be surprised if Galkina had any contacts in the Kremlin.<sup>919</sup>

When initially interviewed by the Office, Dolan stated, in sum, that he was unsure if he told Danchenko about Kalugin being replaced by Bondarev, but that he had no specific recollection of doing so.<sup>920</sup> In a later interview, Dolan stated, in sum, that he believed there was a low probability that he mentioned the Kalugin departure to Danchenko, but that he could not completely rule out the possibility.<sup>921</sup>

Nevertheless, on February 9, 2018, Dolan sent the following email to three U.S.-based acquaintances:

Dear boy – you must pay attention. Unlike your pal the short lived National Security Advisor General Flynn, I can remember meeting with Mr. Mikhail KULAGIN [sic]<sup>922</sup> several times and would be happy to come forward with details to the FBI and others. There are several other

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<sup>914</sup> SCO-006313 (Interview of Christopher Steele on Sept. 18, 2017) at 11, 16; SCO-002194 (Email from Kalugin dated 08/19/2016).

<sup>915</sup> U.S. Customs and Border Protection Person Encounter List for Igor Danchenko at 3.

<sup>916</sup> SCO-006313 (Interview of Christopher Steele on Sept. 18, 2017) at 17.

<sup>917</sup> *Id.*

<sup>918</sup> SCO-005678 (Email from Dolan dated 06/03/2016); SCID\_00000776 (Email from Dolan to Galkina on 06/13/2016).

<sup>919</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Charles Dolan on Nov. 1, 2021 at 2.

<sup>920</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Charles Dolan on Sept. 7, 2021 at 2.

<sup>921</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Charles Dolan on Nov. 1, 2021 at 1-2.

<sup>922</sup> In Steele Report 2016/111 Mikhail Kalugin’s name is misspelled as “Kulagin.”

points in the dossier that are true! Let me know if you need additional clarification.<sup>923</sup>

Dolan attached to the email a BBC News article titled “Trump Russia dossier key claim ‘verified.’” In the article, BBC journalist Paul Wood stated that “sources I know and trust have told me the US government identified Kalugin as a spy while he was still at the embassy.”<sup>924</sup> In this email, Dolan appears to volunteer that he possesses inside information on the Steele Report allegations concerning Kalugin as well as other information pertaining to the veracity of additional Steele Report allegations.

*viii. The Ivanov allegation contained in Steele Report 2016/111*

An additional allegation appearing in the same Steele Report as the Kalugin allegation (2016/111) concerned the firing of Sergei Ivanov, the then-chief of staff of the Russian Presidential Administration. The allegation stated, in part:

PUTIN had been receiving conflicting advice on interfering from three separate and expert groups. On one side had been the Russian ambassador to the US, Sergei KISLYAK, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, together with an independent and informal network run by presidential foreign policy advisor, Yuri USHAKOV (KISLYAK’s predecessor in Washington) who had urged caution and the potential negative impact on Russia from the operation/s. On the other side was former PA Head, Sergei IVANOV, backed by Russian Foreign Intelligence (SVR), who had advised PUTIN that the pro-TRUMP, anti-CLINTON operation/s would be both effective and plausibly deniable with little blowback. The first group/s had been proven right and this had been the catalyst in PUTIN’s decision to sack IVANOV (unexpectedly) as PA Head in August. His successor, Anton VAINO, had been selected for the job partly because he had not been involved in the US presidential election operation/s.<sup>925</sup>

This allegation coincided with information that Dolan had received from Galkina regarding changes in the Russian Presidential Administration in the weeks prior to the issuance of Steele Report 2016/111. In particular, on August 12, 2016, the same day that Ivanov was reportedly fired, Galkina sent a Facebook message to Dolan stating, “Russian presidential administration is making significant changes right now.”<sup>926</sup> Danchenko was not copied on this message. Minutes later, Dolan and Galkina spoke for approximately 10 minutes.<sup>927</sup> On September 13, 2016 – the

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<sup>923</sup> KG\_0002357 (Email from Dolan dated 02/09/2018).

<sup>924</sup> Paul Wood, *Trump Russia Dossier key claim ‘Verified,’* BBC News (Mar. 30, 2017). <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-39435786>.

<sup>925</sup> SCO-105084 (Documents Known to the FBI Comprising the “Steele Dossier”) at 20-21, (Company Intelligence Report 2016/111) (capitalization in original).

<sup>926</sup> SCO-002232 (Facebook exchange between Dolan and Galkina dated 08/12/2016).

<sup>927</sup> SCO-101564 (Dolan Facebook entry dated 08/12/2016).



day prior to the date of the Steele Report containing the Ivanov allegation – Dolan called Danchenko.<sup>928</sup> As discussed above, at the time of this call, Danchenko was in Russia.

When interviewed by the FBI in January 2017, the FBI asked Danchenko about the sourcing of this allegation. Danchenko stated that he learned about the allegation involving Ivanov from Galkina and “two other friends.”<sup>929</sup> According to the FBI’s interview report, Danchenko did not identify the two other “friends,” nor did he mention Dolan in connection with the allegation.<sup>930</sup> The FBI interview report does not state whether Danchenko was asked to provide the names of the “two other friends.”

When interviewed by the FBI in September 2017, Steele stated that the information in this Report was derived from Danchenko’s direct contact with multiple sub-sources, including Alexey Pavlov.<sup>931</sup>

When interviewed by the Office, Dolan initially stated that he never discussed Russian politics with Galkina.<sup>932</sup> When confronted with the Facebook exchange regarding the shakeup in the Russian Presidential Administration, Dolan stated that it was “possible” that he had spoken with Galkina about Ivanov being fired, but, again, had no specific recollection of doing so.<sup>933</sup>

*ix. The YPO Conference – October 2016*

On September 30, 2016, U.S. Person-1 sent Dolan the final draft agenda for the YPO Conference.<sup>934</sup> Dolan replied “Thanks – will send to Peskov.”<sup>935</sup> Thereafter, in early October 2016, Dolan and Danchenko made their way separately to Moscow for the YPO Conference. During the January 2017 interviews, Danchenko informed the FBI that he did not collect any information for Steele during the YPO conference.<sup>936</sup> Steele, however, told the FBI that, in fact, two reports (2016/130 and 2016/132) were comprised of information that Danchenko purported to gather during the YPO Conference.<sup>937</sup>

In any event, the YPO Conference featured several Russian government officials including Konstantin Kosachev, a senior member of the Russian Duma (parliament) and Mikhail Kalugin, a member of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (and, as discussed above, formerly

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<sup>928</sup> AT&T Record dated 09/13/2016. (The records reflect a duration of only 16 seconds).

<sup>929</sup> SCO-005801 (Interview of Igor Danchenko Electronic Communication dated 02/09/17) at 45.

<sup>930</sup> *Id.*

<sup>931</sup> SCO-006313 (Interview of Christopher Steele on Sept. 18, 2017) at 17.

<sup>932</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Charles Dolan on Aug. 31, 2021 at 3.

<sup>933</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Charles Dolan on Nov. 1, 2021 at 2.

<sup>934</sup> SCID\_00007020 (Email from U.S. Person-1 to Dolan dated 09/30/2016).

<sup>935</sup> SCID\_00001127 (Email from Dolan to U.S. Person-1 dated 09/30/2016).

<sup>936</sup> SCO-005801 (Interview of Igor Danchenko Electronic Communication dated 02/09/2017) at 49-50.

<sup>937</sup> SCO-006313 (Interview of Christopher Steele on Sept. 18, 2017) at 18-19.

assigned to the Russian Embassy in Washington).<sup>938</sup> Andrei Bondarev, another member of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (and, as discussed above, the diplomat who replaced Kalugin in Washington), was listed as a point of contact for the conference.<sup>939</sup> Dolan informed the Office that during the conference he sat next to Kosachev.<sup>940</sup> A Steele Report dated October 20, 2016 (2016/136) – less than two weeks after the YPO Conference – contained the following allegation:

The Kremlin insider went on to identify leading pro-PUTIN Duma figure, Konstantin KOSACHEV (Head of the Foreign Relations Committee) as an important figure in the TRUMP campaign-Kremlin liaison operation. KOSACHEV, also “plausibly deniable” being part of the Russian legislature rather than executive, had facilitated the contact in Prague and by implication, may have attended the meeting/s with COHEN there in August.<sup>941</sup>

During the January 2017 interviews, Danchenko stated the information in the Steele Reports related to Cohen and Prague came from Galkina.<sup>942</sup> This is consistent with what Steele informed the FBI during his September 2017 interview.<sup>943</sup> However, as discussed more below, when interviewed by the FBI in August 2017, Galkina denied knowing anything about a Cohen meeting in Prague.<sup>944</sup> Indeed, the FBI found no evidence that Cohen had met Russian officials in Prague.<sup>945</sup>

*x. Dolan’s contact with Danchenko following the YPO Conference*

Upon returning from the YPO Conference in early October 2016, Dolan and Danchenko continued to communicate. On October 8, 2016, Danchenko traveled from Moscow to London to meet with Christopher Steele.<sup>946</sup> On October 9, 2016, Danchenko asked Dolan – who was still in Moscow – to purchase medication for him from a Russian pharmacy.<sup>947</sup> Dolan agreed that he would collect the medicine and deliver it to Danchenko when he (Dolan) returned to

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<sup>938</sup> SCID\_00007020 (Email from U.S. Person-1 to Dolan dated 09/30/2016) at 4.

<sup>939</sup> SCID\_00016533 (Email from U.S. Person-1 dated 07/09/2016) at 11.

<sup>940</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Charles Dolan on Sept. 7, 2021 at 2.

<sup>941</sup> SCO-105084 (Documents Known to the FBI Comprising the “Steele Dossier”) at 33, (Company Intelligence Report 2016/136).

<sup>942</sup> SCO-005801 (Interview of Igor Danchenko Electronic Communication dated 02/09/2017) at 30-33.

<sup>943</sup> SCO-006313 (Interview of Christopher Steele on Sept. 18, 2017) at 19-20.

<sup>944</sup> SCO-FBIPROD\_022241 (Debriefing of Olga Galkina dated 08/26/2017) at 3.

<sup>945</sup> See *Redacted OIG Review* at 196.

<sup>946</sup> SCO-007318 (Danchenko Facebook entries dated 10/08/2016); SCO-005801 (Interview of Igor Danchenko Electronic Communication dated 02/09/2017) at 49-50.

<sup>947</sup> SCO-101469 (Facebook exchange between Dolan and Danchenko dated 10/09/2016).



Washington, D.C.<sup>948</sup> Thereafter, on October 18, 2016, Danchenko and Dolan met at kglobal's office in Washington, ostensibly for Danchenko to secure the medication from Dolan.<sup>949</sup>

The day following this meeting at kglobal, two Steele Reports were generated (2016/135 and 2016/136). These reports alleged, among other things, that Cohen was heavily engaged in covering up Trump's ties to Russia, and specifically, to contain further scandals involving Manafort and Page. As discussed above, this Report 2016/136 also contains reference to Konstantin Kosachev. In the January 2017 interviews, Danchenko attributed this information to Galkina. Again, Galkina told the FBI that she was not aware of Cohen's alleged meeting in Prague.

Later, on November 3, 2016, Dolan and Danchenko met for lunch in Washington, D.C.<sup>950</sup> After that, on New Year's Day 2017, Danchenko and Dolan met in a park in Arlington, Virginia.<sup>951</sup> When asked about the circumstances of this meeting, Dolan informed the Office, in sum, that he was looking at Facebook and he noticed that Danchenko had posted a picture with his daughter in the park.<sup>952</sup> Dolan stated that since the park was close to his house, he decided to drive over to meet Danchenko.<sup>953</sup>

On the evening of January 10, 2017, BuzzFeed became the first media outlet to publish the Steele Reports.<sup>954</sup> On the morning of January 11, 2017, Dolan called Danchenko.<sup>955</sup> Dolan stated that he called Danchenko because he had suspicions that Danchenko was behind the Steele Reports based on the fact that, among other things, he learned "it was a London operation" and he knew that Danchenko did due diligence work for Orbis, which was based in London.<sup>956</sup> Dolan also thought Galkina might have been a source for Danchenko given her employment at Servers.com.<sup>957</sup> During the call, Danchenko told Dolan, in sum, that he did not know who was behind the reports, but that he would let Dolan know if he came across any information.<sup>958</sup>

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<sup>948</sup> *Id.* at 1.

<sup>949</sup> *Id.* at 3.

<sup>950</sup> SCO-101471 (Facebook exchange between Dolan and Danchenko dated 11/02/2016).

<sup>951</sup> SCO-101472 (Facebook exchange between Dolan and Danchenko dated 01/01/2017).

<sup>952</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Charles Dolan on Nov. 1, 2021 at 3.

<sup>953</sup> *Id.*

<sup>954</sup> Ken Bensinger, Miriam Elder & Mark Schoofs, *These Reports Allege Trump Has Deep Ties to Russia*, BuzzFeed (Jan. 10, 2017).

<sup>955</sup> AT&T Record dated 01/11/2017.

<sup>956</sup> *Danchenko* Tr. 10/13/2022 AM at 635; OSC Report of Interview of Charles Dolan on Sept. 7, 2021 at 1.

<sup>957</sup> *Danchenko* Tr. 10/13/2022 AM at 635; OSC Report of Interview of Charles Dolan on Sept. 7, 2021 at 2.

<sup>958</sup> *Danchenko* Tr. 10/13/2022 AM at 635; OSC Report of Interview of Charles Dolan on Sept. 7, 2021 at 1.

According to Dolan, the January 11, 2017 call was the last time he had contact with Danchenko.<sup>959</sup>

On January 13, 2017, Dolan emailed a U.S.-based acquaintance the following:

I've been interviewed by the Washington Post and the London Times - three times over the last two days over the MI-6 Dossier on Trump and I know the Russian agent who made the report (He used to work for me). My client in Cyprus has been accused of being the party that organized the hacking. Presently speaking with the barrister in London who is filing a brief against Former British intelligence officer Christopher Steele has been unmasked as the man behind an explosive dossier about US president-elect Donald Trump. Also, in conversation with former British Ambassador who knows Steele. Quite right- Oh what a boring life.<sup>960</sup>

At the time the email was sent, Danchenko was not publicly known to be a source for Steele. When asked by the Office why he referred to Danchenko as a "Russian agent," Dolan initially said that he was being facetious, but then also elaborated that he had suspicions about Danchenko's ties to Russian intelligence.<sup>961</sup>

e. The FBI's failure to investigate Charles Dolan's role as a possible source for the Steele Reports

Information from four Steele Reports (2016/080, 2016/94, 2016/095 and 2016/102) was included in the four FISA applications targeting Page. As discussed above, the FBI was not able to corroborate a single substantive allegation in the Steele Reports. Nevertheless, the Steele Reports would form the foundation for the narrative that a U.S. presidential campaign was actively engaged in "a well-developed conspiracy of co-operation" with a foreign adversary. Danchenko was the primary source of information for this narrative that was weaved throughout the Steele Reports. Indeed, as noted earlier,<sup>962</sup> in his own words to an acquaintance, Danchenko stated that he "collected some 80% of [the] raw intel and [performed] half the analysis for the Chris Steele Dossier."<sup>963</sup> Accordingly, Danchenko's relationship with Dolan and Dolan's proximity to key figures and events that appear in the Steele Reports should have been an ample basis to, at a minimum, interview Dolan. However, as discussed below, Dolan was never interviewed, despite the suggestion from both Steele and Galkina that Dolan could have information related to the Steele Reports and the detailed analysis undertaken by two FBI personnel assigned to the Mueller team.

i. *Danchenko's hesitancy to speak to the FBI about Charles Dolan*

Danchenko did not mention Dolan to the FBI during the January 2017 interviews, despite revealing his (Danchenko's) participation in the YPO Conference in October 2016. Further, in a

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<sup>959</sup> Danchenko Tr. 10/13/2022 AM at 636, 653.

<sup>960</sup> SCO-002217 (Email from Dolan dated 01/13/2017) (underline in original).

<sup>961</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Charles Dolan on Sept. 7, 2021 at 1-2.

<sup>962</sup> See footnote 701.

<sup>963</sup> Danchenko Government Exhibit 1502.



June 15, 2017 interview with Helson – which in part focused on Dolan – Danchenko only revealed that he was present with Dolan during the YPO Conference in October 2016.<sup>964</sup> Notably, Danchenko did not inform the FBI that he met with Dolan in Moscow during the June Planning Trip; a material omission given the fact that, according to Steele, Danchenko was collecting information for Steele during that trip.

In a June 2017 interview, Danchenko was also asked if he had spoken to Dolan regarding any allegations contained in the Steele Reports. Danchenko denied that Dolan provided any specific information related to the Steele Reports. In particular, when Helson mentioned Dolan's name during a conversation about individuals who may have contributed to the Steele Reports, the following exchange, in part, occurred:

Helson: Um, because obviously I don't think you're the only . . .

Danchenko: Mm-hmm.

Helson: Person that has been contributing. You may have said one - and this is the other thing we are trying to figure out. [ ... ]

Helson: Do you know a Chuck Dolan?

Danchenko: Do I know Chuck Dolan? Yeah.

Helson: How long have you known him?

[laughing]

[approximately 15 second pause]

Danchenko: I've known Chuck for [pause] I don't know, a couple years maybe.

Helson: Couple years?

Danchenko: But but but but but but but I've known of him for like 12 years.

Helson: Okay.

Danchenko: Uh, 11 years. Because he'd always come to Russia and Russian – Russian [UI] when he worked for Ketchum.

Helson: Okay.

Danchenko: In like 2006, 2007.

Helson: So that was how far back?

Danchenko: Yeah, when . . .

Helson: And that was with Ketchum?

Danchenko: when – you know – well . . .

Helson: Okay.

Danchenko: uh, Russia organized the G20 and he was on – he worked with Ketchum on the – on the – on Russia power.

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<sup>964</sup> Transcript of June 15, 2017 interview of Danchenko at 42-44.

Helson: That would make sense.

Danchenko: But he's a very nice guy.

Helson: Yes.

Danchenko: Yeah. Yeah he likes Russia. I don't think he is uh – would be any way be involved. But-but-uh-b-but he's uh [UI] what I would think would be easily played. Maybe. Uh, he's a bit naïve in his, um liking of Russia.

Helson: Okay, so you've had . . . was there any . . . but you had never talked to Chuck about anything that showed up in the dossier right?

Danchenko: No.

Helson: You don't think so?

Danchenko: No. We talked about, you know, related issues perhaps but no, no, no, nothing specific.<sup>965</sup>

In a later part of the conversation, Danchenko informed Helson that Dolan had conducted business with Olga Galkina and Servers.com and that Dolan maintained a professional friendship with Dmitry Peskov, the Russian PA Press Secretary.<sup>966</sup> In his FBI reporting document detailing this interview, Helson observed that Danchenko was “hesitant” about acknowledging his association with Dolan.<sup>967</sup> Indeed, when interviewed by the OIG in October 2018, Helson stated that in the course of his meetings with Danchenko, “When I brought up Charles [Dolan] it was very gray, not complete.”<sup>968</sup>

Following the June 15, 2017 interview, Helson raised Dolan's name on several other occasions. For example, in an interview on October 23, 2017, Danchenko provided the names of several individuals, including Dolan, who concerned Danchenko because of their relationship with the Russian government.<sup>969</sup> Danchenko characterized Dolan as having too many dubious connections to Russian government officials, including Dmitry Peskov and Alexey Pavlov.<sup>970</sup> Additionally, in a December 20, 2018 interview, Danchenko stated that Dolan had shared emails about Manafort's ties to Russia and Ukraine. Danchenko also stated that U.S. Person-2 was someone who may have known about his (Danchenko's) work on the Steele Reports, because Dolan would have confided in U.S. Person-2 about Danchenko.<sup>971</sup> Helson documented the content of this meeting in an FBI reporting document; however, Danchenko provided no further information or context about Dolan or U.S. Person-2.

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<sup>965</sup> *Id.* at 40-42.

<sup>966</sup> *Id.* at 43-45.

<sup>967</sup> SCO\_105284 (CHS Reporting Document dated 06/15/2017).

<sup>968</sup> OIG Report of Interview of Kevin Helson on Oct. 31, 2018 at 147-48.

<sup>969</sup> SCO\_105285 (CHS Reporting Document dated 10/23/2017).

<sup>970</sup> S-00081750-R-026 (CHS Reporting Document dated 10-23-2017) at 1.

<sup>971</sup> S-00081750-R-059 (CHS Reporting Document dated 01/04/2019) at 2.



ii. *The FBI's failure to interview Charles Dolan*

As discussed above, Dolan first came to the attention of Crossfire Hurricane investigators during Steele's October 2016 interview in Rome.<sup>972</sup> Following that meeting, the Crossfire Hurricane personnel prepared a background report on Dolan.<sup>973</sup> Steele again raised Dolan during a September 2017 interview with the FBI when he indicated that at least one allegation in his reporting was sourced to Dolan.<sup>974</sup> Notwithstanding Steele's October 2016 statements about Dolan, the FBI did not question Danchenko during the January 2017 interviews about Dolan or any of the other U.S. citizens that Steele suggested might have information about Trump and Russia.

iii. *The FBI learns of Dolan's relationship with Olga Galkina*

In the January 2017 interviews, Danchenko informed the FBI that Galkina was a source for several of the allegations contained in the Steele Reports.<sup>975</sup> As testimony in the *Danchenko* trial detailed, following this revelation, in the Spring of 2017, the FBI began to review its databases for information related to Galkina. From its review, the FBI learned, among other things, that (i) Galkina maintained a relationship with Charles Dolan, and (ii) Galkina had met with Dolan, Danchenko and others in Washington, D.C. in March 2016 to discuss a business relationship between Servers.com and kglobal.<sup>976</sup> As discussed more fully below, beginning in the fall of 2017, Mueller Analyst-1, whose assignment was to find corroborating information for the Steele reporting, drafted a lengthy memorandum outlining the FBI's holdings on Galkina as they related to the Steele Reports. Dolan featured prominently in this memorandum because of his connections to, among others, Galkina, Danchenko, and Dmitry Peskov and his work for Servers.com.

Based on the information detailed above, in the late spring and early summer 2017, the FBI began to investigate what, if any, role Dolan played vis-à-vis the Steele Reports. To that end, on June 12, 2017, Auten, who at that time was a member of the Mueller Special Counsel team, sent an email to Helson, another Mueller team member ("Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1") and others, stating, in part:

Some thoughts –

1. I'm not sure [Danchenko] has ever mentioned his connections with Dolan.
2. I'm positive Danchenko never mentioned that he'd done limiting [*sic*] consulting for Servers.com (i.e. putting Dolan in touch)

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<sup>972</sup> SCO-020139 (Email from Auten to Supervisory Special Agent-1, Moffa, Strzok & others dated 10/04/2016).

<sup>973</sup> FBI-0040963 (Intelligence Memo dated 10/06/2016).

<sup>974</sup> SCO-006313 (Interview of Christopher Steele on Sept. 18, 2017) at 3, 16-17.

<sup>975</sup> SCO-005801 (Interview of Igor Danchenko Electronic Communication dated 02/09/2017) at 13-16.

<sup>976</sup> *Danchenko* Tr. 10/14/2022 AM at 946, 948-49.

3. As Dolan is tied to Peskov and Presidential Administration press/communications, who is to say that he vs. Galkina is the “true” subsource for Peskov and PA-related reporting in [Steele].
4. Can we run Dolan through unattrib open source to see if he’s done any oppositional political research, etc?

The path of information could have been:

Kremlin → Galkina → [Danchenko] → [Steele]; or,

Kremlin → Dolan → Galkina → [Danchenko] → [Steele]; or,

Kremlin → Dolan → [Danchenko] → [Steele]<sup>977</sup>

Three days later, on June 15, 2017, Helson became the first FBI employee to ask Danchenko about his relationship with Dolan – despite the fact that the Crossfire Hurricane team was aware of Dolan’s potential connections to the Steele Reports as far back as October 2016 and their direct interactions with Danchenko since January 2017.<sup>978</sup>

*iv. Helson requests to interview Charles Dolan*

Given Danchenko’s reluctance to speak about Dolan and information learned from the Mueller Special Counsel team, Helson concluded that an interview of Dolan was a logical investigative step. However, when Helson raised this prospect with the Mueller Special Counsel team, he was explicitly told not to interview Dolan. Helson expressed confidence that Auten was the individual who told Helson to “hold off” on interviewing Dolan.<sup>979</sup> When interviewed by the Office, Auten did not have a recollection of telling Helson not to interview Dolan.<sup>980</sup>

During a July 27, 2021 interview with the Office, Helson stated he aggressively “pushed” the Dolan information to the Mueller Special Counsel team but received very little feedback.<sup>981</sup> Helson believed that Mueller Special Counsel attorney Andrew Weissman and a female attorney he was unfamiliar with were present for at least one briefing Helson provided to the Mueller team in which he shared information regarding Dolan.<sup>982</sup> Helson also stated, in sum, that Dolan should have been further investigated in connection with the Steele Reports, or at a minimum, interviewed, based on the information that was available to the FBI at that time.<sup>983</sup>

In December 2017, Helson shared his concerns about Dolan with Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 and Mueller Analyst-1, both part of the Mueller Special Counsel team. For

<sup>977</sup> FBI-AAA-02-0032414 (Email from Auten to WFO Analyst-1, Helson, Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 & Analyst-2 dated 06/12/2017).

<sup>978</sup> Transcript of June 15, 2017 interview of Danchenko at 42.

<sup>979</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Kevin Helson on July 27, 2021 at 3.

<sup>980</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Brian Auten on July 26, 2021 at 20, 22, 25.

<sup>981</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Kevin Helson on July 27, 2021 at 3.

<sup>982</sup> *Id.* at 1.

<sup>983</sup> *Id.* at 1-7.



example, on December 21, 2017, in an FBI Lync chat with Mueller Analyst-1, Helson wrote “I really don’t like that guy [Dolan]” and that he (Helson) was “fighting to get them [Mueller Team] interested in what I have here,” referring to Dolan.<sup>984</sup> In the same chat, Helson informed Mueller Analyst-1 that he would “keep talking to him [Danchenko] about CD [Charles Dolan].”<sup>985</sup> On January 9, 2018, Helson sent a Lync message to Mueller Analyst-1 stating, “What a little triangle the three of them have [Danchenko], [Galkina] and Dolan.”<sup>986</sup> Finally, on January 17, 2018, after reviewing Mueller Analyst-1’s memorandum on Galkina, Helson wrote to Mueller Analyst-1, “It really makes CD [Dolan] look like he should be investigated.”<sup>987</sup> Indeed, as Helson would later state to the OIG:

There is an individual we kind of [were] watching pop up a lot and that’s Chuck Dolan, formerly with Ketchum Group. He’s in the same circles. I’m like, are you sure that, I mean, because it would be classic potential tradecraft [to be] like, if you can get information corroborated by one, you can attribute to one, and mask exactly where you got it, is it because, and I don’t think anyone’s interviewed [him], because I, at the time I had suggested interviewing Dolan, Special’s [Mueller Special Counsel] like no, no, don’t, don’t go talk to him yet. So, and I never, when they said, stay away, I was like, okay, I don’t want to. Because I was concerned, I was like, is Dolan [the source], because, and think there’s actual, like when I talked with [Danchenko] about him, he initially was reluctant to bring Dolan up. Then he seemed fond of him in a way.<sup>988</sup>

[. . .]

So he [Dolan] was in the same, he was in the same events [YPO Conference]. And we’re, like, does he [Dolan] go to London, does he talk to, I mean, does Chris Steele got him too? I’m like, and that is a question I have flagged, it’s like, when it gets quiet and Dolan is, from what I understand, Dolan doesn’t want to be talking at this point. So I want to strike that at some point and, say, cross that off my list of, here’s what I would really like to talk about. Or at least interview him [Dolan]. That would be the only one that, I would think, would be a source that could have contributed to the dossier and have attributed it to [Galkina]. And thinks it is too, because he’s there too. And it would be, there’s more sources to it [Steele Reports] than actually there are. Chris [Steele] hasn’t come off of any of them at this point. I mean, I don’t want to, that’s just a theory that I . . .<sup>989</sup>

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<sup>984</sup> SCO\_FBIPROD\_026627 (Lync message from Helson to Mueller Analyst-1 dated 12/21/2017).

<sup>985</sup> *Id.*

<sup>986</sup> SCO\_FBIPROD\_026631 (Lync message from Helson to Mueller Analyst-1 dated 01/09/2018).

<sup>987</sup> SCO\_FBIPROD\_026632 (Lync message from Helson to Mueller Analyst-1 dated 01/17/2018).

<sup>988</sup> OIG Interview of Kevin Helson on Oct. 31, 2018 at 54-55.

<sup>989</sup> *Id.* at 56.

Nevertheless, as discussed below, a case was never opened on Dolan and Dolan was never interviewed by the FBI.

v. *Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 and Mueller Analyst-1 investigate the relationship between Dolan, Danchenko and Galkina*

Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 was assigned to the Crossfire Hurricane investigation in April 2017.<sup>990</sup> Shortly thereafter, Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 transitioned to the Mueller Special Counsel team. Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 was assigned, in part, the task of validating the Steele Reports, *i.e.*, to verify the reporting or, alternatively, to determine that the reporting was not accurate.<sup>991</sup> Beginning in July 2017, Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 worked closely with, among others, Mueller Analyst-1. As discussed above, Mueller Analyst-1, who joined the Mueller investigation in July 2017, was responsible for reviewing the FBI's databases for information related to Galkina.<sup>992</sup> During that process, Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 and Mueller Analyst-1 discovered, as described in testimony in the *Danchenko* trial, that (i) Dolan was connected to both Danchenko and Galkina, and (ii) had extensive ties to the Kremlin and Russian government officials, including Dimitry Peskov.<sup>993</sup> Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 and Mueller Analyst-1 also conducted open-source searches which corroborated certain information contained in the FBI's databases.

vi. *The FBI interviews Olga Galkina*

In August 2017, Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1, Auten and a Russian speaking agent, ("WFO Special Agent-1") traveled to Cyprus to interview Galkina.<sup>994</sup> Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 testified during the *Danchenko* trial that the purpose of the interview was to determine if Galkina provided Danchenko with information contained in the Steele Reports and, if so, her motivation for doing so.<sup>995</sup> During the Cyprus interview, which was conducted over the course of two days, Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 stated that Galkina appeared to be forthcoming on most questions posed, except when she was asked about Dolan. Galkina informed Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 that she did not want to speak about Dolan.<sup>996</sup> On the second day of the interview, Galkina stated, in sum, that she had spoken with two individuals about information that would later appear in the Steele Reports. One of the individuals Galkina passed information to was Danchenko, but Galkina initially refused to identify the other individual.<sup>997</sup> Later in the interview, Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1

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<sup>990</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 on May 1, 2020 at 1.

<sup>991</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 on May 1, 2020 at 1.

<sup>992</sup> *Danchenko* Tr. 10/14/2022 AM at 945-946.

<sup>993</sup> *Id.* at 946, 947-48.

<sup>994</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 on Aug. 31, 2021 at 1; *Danchenko* Tr. 10/14/2022 AM at 975.

<sup>995</sup> *Danchenko* Tr. 10/14/2022 AM at 975-976.

<sup>996</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 on Aug. 31, 2021 at 2; *Danchenko* Tr. 10/14/2022 AM at 976.

<sup>997</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Mueller Analyst-1 on Oct. 29, 2021 at 1.



again pressed Galkina about Dolan.<sup>998</sup> This time, Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 directly asked Galkina if Dolan had a connection to the information contained in the Steele Reports and whether Dolan was the second unidentified individual with whom she had discussed Steele Report related information.<sup>999</sup> Before answering, Galkina asked Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 to remove her (Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1's) sunglasses from her face so that Galkina could look Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 in the eyes.<sup>1000</sup> Galkina then confirmed to Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 that Dolan was the second unidentified individual with whom she had discussed Steele Report information.<sup>1001</sup> Galkina also stated that Dolan was a "big democratic supporter."<sup>1002</sup> As discussed above, in October 2016, Galkina would later inform a friend that because of her [Galkina's] "acquaintance with Chuck Dolan and several citizens from the Russian presidential administration," Galkina knew "something and can tell a little about it by voice."<sup>1003</sup>

vii. *Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 and Mueller Analyst-1 push to open a case on Charles Dolan*

Armed with the information provided by Galkina, Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 returned to the United States and began to further investigate Galkina and Dolan's involvement, if any, with the Steele Reports. As discussed above, beginning in July 2017, Mueller Analyst-1 assisted Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 in vetting the Steele Reports.<sup>1004</sup> As part of that work, Mueller Analyst-1 began researching Galkina's relationships with various individuals possibly connected to the Steele Reports, including Danchenko and Dolan.<sup>1005</sup> In connection with that research, Mueller Analyst-1 began drafting a memorandum to memorialize her findings.<sup>1006</sup>

In or about late August 2017, Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 and Mueller Analyst-1 briefed various members of the Mueller Special Counsel investigation about Dolan's relationship with Danchenko and Galkina. Those present for this briefing included Auten, Supervisory Special Agent-2 (Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1's supervisor), and Jeannie Rhee, a prosecutor on the Mueller Special Counsel team, who, at the time, was leading the Special Counsel's investigation into Russian efforts to influence the 2016 presidential election

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<sup>998</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 on Aug. 31, 2021 at 1-2.

<sup>999</sup> *Id.*; *Danchenko* Tr. 10/14/2022 AM at 977:3-13.

<sup>1000</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 on Aug. 31, 2021 at 1-2; *Danchenko* Tr. 10/14/2022 AM at 977:3-13.

<sup>1001</sup> *Danchenko* Tr. 10/14/2022 AM at 977:3-13.

<sup>1002</sup> SCO-FBIPROD\_022274 (Opening Communication dated 12/14/2017) at 4.

<sup>1003</sup> SCO\_076721 (Facebook exchange with Galkina dated 10/15/2016).

<sup>1004</sup> *Danchenko* Tr. 10/14/2022 AM at 944:11-22.

<sup>1005</sup> *Id.* at 945:12-947:16.

<sup>1006</sup> *Id.* at 954:12-956:3.

(colloquially known as “Team R”).<sup>1007</sup> Following the meeting, Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 believed that the team was supportive of continuing to investigate Charles Dolan and what connection, if any, he had to the Steele Reports.<sup>1008</sup>

On September 1, 2017, Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 drafted a case opening document for Dolan. The opening document detailed, among other things, (i) Dolan’s connections to Danchenko and Galkina, (ii) Dolan’s connections to the Democratic party, and (iii) Dolan’s connections to the Kremlin.<sup>1009</sup> The document also summarized Danchenko’s June 15, 2017 conversation with Helson about Dolan.

Nevertheless, on September 7, 2017, Auten instructed Mueller Analyst-1 to cease all research and analysis related to Dolan.<sup>1010</sup> Later that day, Supervisory Special Agent-2 informed Mueller Analyst-1 that she was being transferred from “Team R” to the Mueller team investigating Paul Manafort (colloquially known as “Team M”).<sup>1011</sup> In her interview with the Office, Mueller Analyst-1 recalled that she asked Supervisory Special Agent-2 for permission to continue researching Dolan before moving to “Team M,” but that her request was denied.<sup>1012</sup> Nevertheless, as discussed more below, following her transfer, Mueller Analyst-1 continued to refine her memorandum regarding Galkina’s connections to, among others, Danchenko and Dolan.<sup>1013</sup>

As noted above, in September 2017, Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 participated in the two-day interview of Christopher Steele in which Steele admitted that Dolan “had drinks” with Danchenko and was responsible for at least one allegation in the Steele Reports (regarding

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<sup>1007</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Mueller Analyst-1 on Aug. 16, 2021 at 2, 3; OSC Report of Interview of Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 on Aug. 31, 2021 at 4.

<sup>1008</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 on Aug. 31, 2021 at 4.

<sup>1009</sup> SCO-FBIPROD\_022274 (Opening Communication dated 12/14/2017).

<sup>1010</sup> It should be noted that this information provided by Mueller Analyst-1 is corroborated by a contemporaneous timeline she kept of the events at issue during her time with the Mueller Special Counsel team. In her interview with the Office, Mueller Analyst-1 stated that she prepared the contemporaneous timeline in the event she were later interviewed about her role on the Mueller Special Counsel investigation. *See* OSC Report of Interview of Mueller Analyst-1 on Oct. 29, 2021 at 2-3.

<sup>1011</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Mueller Analyst-1 on Oct. 29, 2021 at 2.

<sup>1012</sup> *Id.* at 2

<sup>1013</sup> In her interview with the Special Counsel, Mueller Analyst-1 stated that Auten had made edits to her memorandum, some of which removed information regarding Dolan. Mueller Analyst-1 recalled being frustrated by many of these edits and wondered if the edits were being made by individuals other than Auten and with a political motive. However, Mueller Analyst-1 was unable to provide any evidence to support this speculation. *See* OSC Report of Interview of Mueller Analyst-1 on Aug. 16, 2021 at 5. When interviewed by the Office, Auten recalled that his edits were reflective of his belief that some of the information regarding Dolan was too speculative. *See* OSC Report of Interview of Brian Auten on July 26, 2021.



Manafort's resignation as Trump campaign manager.)<sup>1014</sup> Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 stated that they did not probe Steele further about Charles Dolan because the FBI did not want to "show their hand" to Steele.<sup>1015</sup>

On September 22, 2017, Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 and Mueller Analyst-1 attended a meeting with Supervisory Special Agent-2, Auten, and attorney Rhee to discuss, among other things, the recently completed interview of Steele.<sup>1016</sup> At various times in September 2017, Mueller Analyst-1 recalled that Rhee opined, in sum, that there was no longer a need to investigate the Steele Reports, because the Reports were not within the scope of the Mueller Special Counsel mandate.<sup>1017</sup> Similarly, Auten told the Office he recalled that in September 2017 Deputy Assistant Director David Archey informed the team that they should cease work on attempting to corroborate the Steele Reports.<sup>1018</sup> This directive given by the Mueller investigation leadership is somewhat surprising given that Director Mueller's broad mandate was to investigate, among other things, Russian election interference in the 2016 presidential election – parameters that clearly would seem to include the Steele Reports. Indeed, as Mueller Analyst-1 noted in her interview with the Office, the Mueller Special Counsel team continued to investigate cases involving non-Russian persons and entities. Thus, Mueller Analyst-1 disagreed with the contention that Dolan fell outside of the Mueller mandate.<sup>1019</sup> In her interview with the Office, Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 stated that while she did not recall the "outside the mandate" justification for the denial of the Dolan case opening, it would "surprise" her if that was the reason provided by Mueller team leadership.<sup>1020</sup> This purported position also is curious given that the Steele Reports underpinned, in a significant way, the probable cause contained in the Page FISA applications.

Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 also recalled that attorney Rhee, while initially favorable to investigating Dolan, gradually soured on the idea.<sup>1021</sup> In that same vein, in a meeting on October 17, 2017, Supervisory Special Agent-2 informed Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1, Mueller Analyst-1, and Auten that (i) Dolan fell outside of the Mueller investigation's mandate, (ii) the investigators had too much work and too few resources to focus on Dolan, and (iii) WFO could task Danchenko regarding Dolan.<sup>1022</sup> In fact, Mueller Analyst-1's contemporaneous notes explicitly state that Mueller investigation leadership directed Mueller Analyst-1 and Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 to "dedicate no resources to CD

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<sup>1014</sup> SCO-006313 (Interview of Christopher Steele on Sept. 18, 2017) at 3, 16-17.

<sup>1015</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 on Aug. 31, 2021 at 2.

<sup>1016</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Mueller Analyst-1 on Oct. 29, 2021 at 3.

<sup>1017</sup> *Id.* at 3-4; Timeline prepared by Mueller Analyst-1.

<sup>1018</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Brian Auten on July 26, 2021 at 19.

<sup>1019</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Mueller Analyst-1 on Oct. 29, 2021 at 7.

<sup>1020</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 on Aug. 31, 2021 at 5.

<sup>1021</sup> *Id.* at 4.

<sup>1022</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Mueller Analyst-1 on Oct. 29, 2021 at 4; Timeline prepared by Mueller Analyst-1, entry dated Oct. 17, 2017.

[Dolan].”<sup>1023</sup> Nevertheless, Supervisory Special Agent-2 stated that tangential work on Dolan could be continued, although it was unlikely that a case opening on Dolan would be approved.<sup>1024</sup>

Ultimately, Supervisory Special Agent-2 informed Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 that her request to open a case on Dolan had been denied and that it was a “higher level decision.”<sup>1025</sup> Supervisory Special Agent-2 directed Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 to delete the case opening from Sentinel.<sup>1026</sup> Despite repeated inquiries, neither Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 nor Mueller Analyst-1 was ever provided a specific rationale for the denial of the case opening.<sup>1027</sup> Similarly, Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 never learned who ultimately denied the case opening.<sup>1028</sup> In a December 21, 2017 Lync message exchange, Mueller Analyst-1 and Helson discussed the case opening on Dolan. In one message, Mueller Analyst-1 stated, “yeah . . . it isn’t good what EM [FBI Executive Management] decides to do with it, is beyond my pay-grade, I’ve made arguments in person – and that’s all I can do . . . and serialize the relationship.”<sup>1029</sup>

During an interview with the Office, Supervisory Special Agent-2 opined in retrospect that it was an “oversight” not to open on Dolan, and that Dolan should have been, at a minimum, interviewed.<sup>1030</sup> It should also be noted that in his interviews with the Office, Auten stated that he was supportive of opening an investigation of Dolan.<sup>1031</sup> This recollection was corroborated by both Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 and Mueller Analyst-1.<sup>1032</sup>

viii. *Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 and Mueller Analyst-1 expressed concerns about the appearance of political bias in the decision not to open on Charles Dolan*

In her interview with the Office, Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 recalled that she and Mueller Analyst-1 discussed whether the decision not to open on Dolan was politically motivated, given Dolan’s extensive connections to the Democratic party.<sup>1033</sup> Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 stated that she did not believe the decision not to open on Dolan

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<sup>1023</sup> Timeline prepared by Mueller Analyst-1, entry dated Oct. 17, 2017.

<sup>1024</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Mueller Analyst-1 on Oct. 29, 2021 at 4.

<sup>1025</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 on Aug. 31, 2021 at 5.

<sup>1026</sup> *Id.* at 3.

<sup>1027</sup> *Id.* at 5.

<sup>1028</sup> *Id.*

<sup>1029</sup> SCO\_FBIPROD\_026627 (Lync message from Mueller Analyst-1 to Helson dated 12/21/2017).

<sup>1030</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Supervisory Special Agent-2 on May 5, 2021 at 7.

<sup>1031</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Brian Auten on July 26, 2021 at 19.

<sup>1032</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 on Aug. 31, 2021 at 3; OSC Report of Interview of Mueller Analyst-1 on Aug. 16, 2021 at 6.

<sup>1033</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 on Aug. 31, 2021 at 4-5.



was political, but that she did worry about the optics of the decision, given that Dolan was a prominent Democrat.<sup>1034</sup> Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 further stated that she did not witness any explicit political bias during her work with the Mueller Special Counsel team.<sup>1035</sup> Nonetheless, at the time, Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 believed that the decision not to open on Dolan would eventually be reviewed by the OIG.<sup>1036</sup>

When interviewed by the Office, Mueller Analyst-1 did speculate that the decision not to open on Dolan was politically motivated. Mueller Analyst-1 speculated that the information on Dolan ran counter to the narrative that the Mueller Special Counsel investigators were cultivating given that Dolan was a former Democratic political operative.<sup>1037</sup> However, Mueller Analyst-1 was unable to provide the Office with definitive evidence to support her belief. Like Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1, Mueller Analyst-1 believed that the decision not to investigate Dolan would eventually be reviewed by the OIG.<sup>1038</sup> In fact, Mueller Analyst-1 informed the Office that she uploaded her Galkina memorandum to three separate case files on the FBI Sentinel system to ensure that the OIG would have access to the document.<sup>1039</sup>

ix. *The FBI's failure to investigate Dolan*

In sum, save for efforts by Auten, Helson, Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1, and Mueller Analyst-1, the FBI's failure to complete logical investigative steps concerning what, if any, role Dolan played in the Steele Reports was troubling. As discussed above, the Office has determined that Dolan was a source for at least one allegation in the Steele Reports, and was one of only three U.S. persons named by Steele (in both his October 2016 and September 2017 interviews) who had more information about the reports. If the FBI had learned nothing more about Dolan, Steele's statements alone would have been an ample basis to interview Dolan. Moreover, Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1, Mueller Analyst-1, and others had uncovered significant information about Dolan – independent from what the Office subsequently unearthed – that potentially connected him to the Steele Reports; this was information that plainly warranted further investigation. In summary, the evidence possessed by the FBI and later elicited during the *Danchenko* trial showed that:

- Dolan maintained a relationship with Danchenko, Steele's primary sub-source for the Steele Reports;
- Dolan maintained relationships with various Russian government officials, including Dmitry Peskov and Alexey Pavlov, both of whom feature prominently in the Steele Reports;

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<sup>1034</sup> *Id.*; OSC Report of Interview of Mueller Analyst-1 on Aug. 16, 2021 at 7.

<sup>1035</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Mueller Supervisory Special Agent-1 on Aug. 31, 2021 at 4-5.

<sup>1036</sup> *Id.*

<sup>1037</sup> OSC Report of Interview of Mueller Analyst-1 on Aug. 16, 2021 at 7.

<sup>1038</sup> *Danchenko* Tr. 10/14/2022 AM at 956:1-957:23.

<sup>1039</sup> *Id.*

- Dolan was present in Moscow in June 2016, met with the General Manager of the Moscow Ritz Carlton, toured the premises, including the Presidential Suite, and had at least one meeting with Danchenko who also was in Moscow;
- Dolan was present in Moscow with Danchenko in October 2016 – during the time frame Danchenko was gathering information for the Steele Reports;
- Dolan maintained a relationship with Galkina, allegedly a sub-source for Danchenko, and met with Galkina in Cyprus on two occasions in the summer of 2016;
- Dolan performed work for Galkina's former employer, who would later appear in the Steele Reports;
- Galkina admitted to the FBI that she provided Dolan with information that would eventually be in the Steele Reports; and
- Dolan was a prominent and longtime Democratic political operative who vocally supported candidate Clinton;

The FBI interviewed hundreds of individuals through the course of the Crossfire Hurricane and Mueller Special Counsel investigations, and yet, they did not interview Dolan or the other two U.S. persons identified by Steele as early as October 2016. The Office interviewed Dolan on several occasions and he denied being a source of information for the Steele Reports, save for the Manafort campaign-related allegation he provided to Danchenko in August 2016 – an allegation he acknowledged to the Office that he fabricated. Although both Steele and Galkina suggested that Dolan may have information related to the Steele Reports, our investigation was not able to definitively prove that Dolan was the actual source for any additional allegations set forth in the Steele Reports. That said, in light of the foregoing, there does not appear to be an objectively sound reason for the decision that was made not to interview him.

f. Sergei Millian

A particularly disturbing example of the unsupported narratives regarding Trump and Russia – created and pressed by Fusion GPS and Steele – involved a Belarussian-American named Sergei Millian. At the time of his purported involvement in Trump-related matters, Millian was a New York-based real estate broker who from 2006-2016 served as president of the Russian-American Chamber of Commerce. In the course of his employment, Millian had occasion to be involved in some relatively minor listings of Trump Organization properties.

As discussed more fully below, Danchenko claimed to have sourced several of the most serious allegations in the Steele Reports to Millian, including allegations of an ongoing conspiracy between the Trump campaign and Russian officials. Several of these allegations were included in the Page FISA applications. In particular, and perhaps most importantly, Steele Report 2016/095 stated, in part:

Speaking in confidence to a compatriot *in late July 2016, Source E, an ethnic Russian close associate of Republican US presidential candidate Donald TRUMP*, admitted that there was a well-developed conspiracy of co-operation between them and the Russian leadership. This was managed on the TRUMP side



by the Republican candidate's campaign manager, Paul MANAFORT, who was using foreign policy advisor, Carter PAGE, and others as intermediaries. The two sides had a mutual interest in defeating Democratic presidential candidate Hillary CLINTON, whom President PUTIN apparently both hated and feared.<sup>1040</sup>

During several interviews with the FBI, Danchenko said that he believed "Source E" in Report 2016/095 referred, at least in part, to Millian. According to Steele, Danchenko was the only one communicating with Millian, and Steele stated that Danchenko had had direct contacts with Millian in New York City and Charleston, South Carolina. On the other hand, Danchenko told the FBI that, although Steele believed that he (Danchenko) had met with Millian, he never did.<sup>1041</sup> Further, Danchenko did not correct Steele in his mistaken belief that Danchenko had met directly with Millian.<sup>1042</sup>

As explained in greater detail below, the spectacular claim contained in Steele Report Number 2016/095 of a "well-developed conspiracy of co-operation" between the Trump campaign and Russian leadership is based entirely on a purported anonymous telephone call Danchenko said he received from someone he had never spoken to before. In particular, the information about the conspiracy was conveyed to him by an anonymous caller who Danchenko told Crossfire Hurricane investigators he believed might have been Millian based on Danchenko's claimed comparison of the caller's voice to a known *YouTube* video featuring Millian.<sup>1043</sup> Yet this unvetted, completely uncorroborated allegation was included in the Page FISA applications, both before and after the FBI learned its provenance from Danchenko himself.

*i. Danchenko's statements to the FBI regarding Millian*

When interviewed by the FBI in January 2017, Danchenko was twice asked to review Steele Report Number 2016/095 and explain where the information came from concerning a well-developed conspiracy between the Trump campaign and Russian leadership and the roles allegedly being played by Manafort and Page. Danchenko told the FBI that the "Source E" information sounded as though it were from a call he had received in late July 2016 from an anonymous caller who Danchenko believed was Sergei Millian. In particular, Danchenko described the following "strange" event:

Danchenko told the FBI that in June or July 2016, he communicated with Alexey Bogdanovsky, a U.S.-based Russian national employee of RIA Novosti (a Russian state-run media outlet) about reaching out to Millian, who Danchenko had never met or spoken with.<sup>1044</sup> Bogdanovsky indicated that his colleague at RIA Novosti, Dmitry Zlodorev, had a relationship

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<sup>1040</sup> SCO-105084 (Documents Known to the FBI Comprising the "Steele Dossier") at 9 (Company Intelligence Report 2016-095) (capitalization in original; emphasis added).

<sup>1041</sup> SCO\_105287 (CHS Reporting Document dated 11/14/2017).

<sup>1042</sup> *Id.*

<sup>1043</sup> *Id.*

<sup>1044</sup> SCO-005801 (Interview of Igor Danchenko Electronic Communication dated 02/09/2017 at 35-36).

with Millian and had previously interviewed Millian about Trump.<sup>1045</sup> Bogdanovsky ultimately provided Danchenko with Millian's contact information.<sup>1046</sup> Thereafter, Danchenko told the FBI that he reached out to Millian via email twice, but did not receive a response back from him.<sup>1047</sup> Danchenko did not provide the FBI with copies of these emails, despite explicit requests to provide any records of communication with Millian.<sup>1048</sup>

Danchenko next told the FBI that, in late July 2016, after receiving no email response from Millian, he (Danchenko) received a 10-15 minute phone call from an anonymous individual who he believed to be Sergei Millian.<sup>1049</sup> During this purported phone call, the caller, who did not identify himself, reportedly informed Danchenko about (i) Trump and the Kremlin, (ii) "communications" and an ongoing relationship between the parties, and (iii) Manafort and Page.<sup>1050</sup> The unidentified caller also supposedly said that while there was nothing bad about the "exchange of information" between Trump and the Kremlin, the information could be good for Russia and damaging to Trump, although deniable.<sup>1051</sup> Danchenko said that he and the person he believed to be Millian agreed to meet at a bar in New York City in late July 2016.<sup>1052</sup> Danchenko also told the FBI that he traveled to New York in late July 2016, but that Millian, or the person he believed to be Millian, never showed up for the meeting.<sup>1053</sup> As discussed in detail below, Danchenko's versions of events regarding his trip to New York conflict with the relevant record. Nevertheless, Danchenko did admit to the FBI that he had, in fact, never met with Millian in person,<sup>1054</sup> although, as noted above, Danchenko knew that Steele mistakenly thought that they had met on several occasions and Danchenko intentionally did not correct him on that point.<sup>1055</sup>

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<sup>1045</sup> *Id.* at 35-36.

<sup>1046</sup> *Id.* at 36.

<sup>1047</sup> *Id.* at 20. In the January 2017 interviews with the FBI, Danchenko first told the FBI that he received the late-July 2016 anonymous call from the individual he believed to be Millian following his initial email to Millian. Danchenko later told the FBI that he received the anonymous call after his second email to Millian. As discussed below, given the date of his second email to Millian, Danchenko's shifting version of events is inconsistent with the documentary evidence obtained during the investigation.

<sup>1048</sup> *Danchenko* Tr. 10/13/2022 AM at 700:23-701:09.

<sup>1049</sup> SCO-005801 (Interview of Igor Danchenko Electronic Communication dated 02/09/2017 at 36-37).

<sup>1050</sup> *Id.* at 20, 37.

<sup>1051</sup> *Id.* at 37.

<sup>1052</sup> *Id.*; SCO\_105287 (CHS Reporting Document dated 11/14/2017).

<sup>1053</sup> SCO-005801 (Interview of Igor Danchenko Electronic Communication dated 02/09/2017 at 36).

<sup>1054</sup> SCO\_105286 (CHS Reporting Document dated 11/13/2017).

<sup>1055</sup> SCO\_105287 (CHS Reporting Document dated 11/14/2017).



Instead, Danchenko told the FBI that the damaging allegations contained in Steele Report 2016/095 stemmed from the single telephone call from the anonymous individual he believed to be Millian.<sup>1056</sup> The Office did not find any evidence, or uncover any motive, that would explain why Millian, a vocal Trump supporter,<sup>1057</sup> would call a complete stranger and provide damaging information about Trump.

In any event, Danchenko was not able to produce phone records or other evidence to corroborate this alleged call, despite explicit requests by the FBI to do so.<sup>1058</sup> Nor does it appear from FBI records that Crossfire Hurricane personnel pulled and reviewed Danchenko's toll records in an attempt to corroborate his statements regarding an anonymous call. Danchenko surmised during one interview that the purported call may have been received on an encrypted phone "app,"<sup>1059</sup> although a review of his email messages to Millian reflect that he made no mention of having or using any phone apps. Consistent with his inability to keep his narrative straight, Danchenko also later told the FBI that he had a "couple" of calls with Millian.<sup>1060</sup>

Danchenko also told the FBI that "Source D" in Steele Report 2016/080, relating in part to the scandalous Moscow Ritz Carlton allegations against Trump, "could be" referring to Millian.<sup>1061</sup> Danchenko's efforts to partially attribute the Ritz Carlton allegations to Millian support the notion that he fabricated his interaction with Millian. Indeed, as noted above, Danchenko told the FBI that the information he obtained from Millian came from a single, 10-15-minute anonymous phone call that took place in late-July 2016 and was the only time that Danchenko allegedly communicated with Millian. Given that the Steele Report containing those sexual allegations was dated June 20, 2016 – *over a month prior* to Danchenko's alleged call with Millian, the above-described "Source D" (Millian) allegation concerning the Ritz Carlton is highly probative of the fact that there was never such a phone call between Danchenko and Millian.<sup>1062</sup> It would have been impossible for Millian to confirm the Ritz Carlton allegations (and other information) to Danchenko in June 2016 because, as Danchenko repeatedly informed the FBI, the *first* time he allegedly communicated with Millian was late July 2016.

*ii. Steele's statements to the FBI about Millian*

On September 18 and 19, 2017, FBI personnel from the Mueller Special Counsel investigation interviewed Steele. Steele stated, in part, that Danchenko had collected election-

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<sup>1056</sup> SCO-005801 (Interview of Igor Danchenko Electronic Communication dated 02/09/2017) at 37.

<sup>1057</sup> *E.g., Sergei Millian: Donald Trump will improve relations with Russia*, RIA Novosti (Apr. 13, 2016).

<sup>1058</sup> SCO\_105282 (CHS Reporting Document dated 06/01/2017).

<sup>1059</sup> Transcript of March 16, 2017 interview of Danchenko at 106-107.

<sup>1060</sup> SCO\_105286 (CHS Reporting Document dated 11/13/2017).

<sup>1061</sup> SCO\_105282 (CHS Reporting Document dated 06/01/2017).

<sup>1062</sup> SCO-105084 (Documents Known to the FBI Comprising the "Steele Dossier") at 2-4, (Company Intelligence Report 2016/080).