

From: Franklin Foer <flfoer@gmail.com>
Sent: Monday, May 16, 2016 1:55 AM
To: Jake Berkowitz <jberkowitz@fusiongps.com>
Cc: Peter Fritsch <pfritsch@fusiongps.com>
Subject: Re: Carter Page

He's also on the board of the Alfa Bank.

Sent from my iPhone

On May 14, 2016, at 10:37 PM, Jake Berkowitz <jberkowitz@fusiongps.com> wrote:

Burt is on the board of this Russia-Turkey fund:

<http://www.sec.gov/Archives/edgar/data/860489/000119312513227142/d536256ddef14a.htm>

From: Franklin Foer <flfoer@gmail.com>
Date: Saturday, May 14, 2016 at 10:17 PM
To: Jake <jberkowitz@fusiongps.com>
Cc: Peter Fritsch <pfritsch@fusiongps.com>
Subject: Re: Carter Page

I'm going to do some work on Rick Burt. I bet he does some work for the Russians. He was on the radio posing as a Donald Trump advisor today.

Sent from my iPhone

On May 14, 2016, at 9:36 PM, Jake Berkowitz <jberkowitz@fusiongps.com> wrote:

So it looks like he was barely working before Trump came along. According to his FINRA registration he was only working 10 hours a month for Global Energy Capital. And now he is working for a sketchy investment fund with an office in Trump's Wall St. building.

See here:

<http://brokercheck.finra.org/Report/Download/43141166>

This is also revealing. Here he pushes for a *multilateral* approach to rebuilding the Iraqi oil industry. He cites Russian oil companies engagement in Iraq, including Rosneft and **Gazprom**, as a good example of Russia and the US collaborating -

<http://www.globalpolicyjournal.com/blog/02/07/2014/global-framework-addressing-iraq%E2%80%99s-challenges-building-upon-multinational-energy-co>

Here he manages to cite Kanye West and Gazprom in a piece on the "world economy":

<http://www.globalpolicyjournal.com/blog/10/02/2015/new-slaves-global-edition-russia-iran-and-segregation-world-economy>

From: Jake Berkowitz <jberkowitz@fusiongps.com>
Sent: Wednesday, May 18, 2016 4:20 AM
To: Peter Fritsch <pfritsch@fusiongps.com>; Franklin Foer <flfoer@gmail.com>
Subject: Re: Carter Page

Some Merrill bond issuances during Page's tenure - interesting characters - I know his boss at Merrill did not like him very much and found him incompetent:

<!--[if !supportLists]--> <!--[endif]--> In 2003 Merrill Lynch [presumably from London] consulted BP in the famous purchase of 50% of TNK's shares for \$7bln, creating TNK-BP. The Russian counterparts who contributed TNK shares were AAR (Alfa-Access-Renova), headed by Mikhail Fridman, Leonard Blavatnik and Viktor Vekselberg.^[1]
 <!--[if !supportLists]--> <!--[endif]--> A list of the bond issues Merrill Lynch's Russia and CIS office facilitated in 2004-2006 shows that one client was **Bank Turan Alem** (BTA Bank), then headed by **Mukhtar Ablyazov**. Other clients included Alfa Bank, Bank of Moscow [later the subject of scandal], the city of Moscow, and the country of Ukraine.^[2]
 <!--[if !supportLists]--> <!--[endif]--> According to undated reports, Merrill Lynch planned Nafta-Moskva, a company belonging to Dagestan-born oligarch **Suleyman Kerimov**, with an IPO in London. Allen Vine, who at some point was President of Merrill Lynch Russia & CIS,^[3] was for awhile also serving as CEO of Nafta-Moskva.^[4]
 By the end of 2006 Allen Vine would reportedly leave Merrill and work fulltime at Kerimov's company.^[5]
 Various people have accused Kerimov of many things, even drug dealing [further detail can be provided on request].
 <!--[if !supportLists]--> <!--[endif]--> A report from 2007 says **Gazprom** turned down Merrill Lynch Securities' bid to help Gazprom buy back shares from the open market. Merrill Lynch Securities does, however "provide financial advisory services" to Gazprom, according to the report.^[6]

<!--[endif]-->

^[1] Mikhail Miroshnichenko, Sevastyan Kozitsyn, Merrill Lynch будет ближе Инвестбанк открывает представительство в Москве ,18 February 2004, http://worldcrisis.ru/crisis/86675/thread_t
^[2] Merrill Lynch Russia and CIS Credentials, 1 Feb. 2007, cbonds.com/organizations/docdownload/2595
^[3] <http://www.old.rcb.ru/Archive/articles.asp?id=4384>
^[4] <http://www.statemaster.com/encyclopedia/Suleyman-Kerimov>
^[5] Jonathan Sibun, Merrill bolsters Russia operations, 13 December 2006, <http://www.efinancialnews.com/story/2006-12-13/merrill-bolsters-russia-operations>
^[6] "Газпром" отказался от услуг MERRILL LYNCH по выкупу акций с рынка «Нефть России», 26.09.07

From: Jake <jberkowitz@fusiongps.com>
Date: Tuesday, May 17, 2016 at 6:36 PM
To: Peter Fritsch <pfritsch@fusiongps.com>, Franklin Foer <flfoer@gmail.com>
Subject: Re: Carter Page

<https://medium.com/insurge-intelligence/who-will-own-the-white-house-57c1e95c101c#a7is732mi>

This is interesting - Page's former partners have some interesting ties - James Richard of Firebird and Eric Mickle of Buried Hill

From: Peter Fritsch <pfritsch@fusiongps.com>
Date: Sunday, May 15, 2016 at 6:48 AM
To: Jake <jberkowitz@fusiongps.com>
Cc: Franklin Foer <flfoer@gmail.com>
Subject: Re: Carter Page

And we have heard that Erdogan is wanting to influence the US outcome, in some way. He probably thinks Trump will help unload on the PKK

Sent from my iPhone

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<http://www.globalpolicyjournal.com/blog/10/02/2015/new-slaves-global-edition-russia-iran-and-segregation-world-economy>

From: Jake Berkowitz <jberkowitz@fusiongps.com>
Sent: Tuesday, June 28, 2016 3:55 PM
To: Peter Fritsch <pfritsch@fusiongps.com>; Frank Foer <flfoer@gmail.com>
Subject: Re: we think

Cant wait to read – cheers!

From: Peter Fritsch <pfritsch@fusiongps.com>
Date: Tuesday, June 28, 2016 at 11:54 AM
To: Frank Foer <flfoer@gmail.com>
Cc: Jake <jberkowitz@fusiongps.com>
Subject: Re: we think

your editor should say it's great...jake and i will read more closely and make some suggestions

On Jun 28, 2016, at 11:02 AM, Franklin Foer <flfoer@gmail.com> wrote:

I'm out of town this week. I handed in a draft of the piece--here's a copy. It's not at all edited, so forgive all the rawness. I have no idea what my editor will say. But can you guys scan it for omissions and errors? And obviously keep it to yourselves. (Also promise me that you won't use it as a prod to the competition, whoever they are now.)

Thanks for all your help.

· Manchuriancandidate.foer

On Mon, Jun 27, 2016 at 9:23 AM, Peter Fritsch <pfritsch@fusiongps.com> wrote:

this dude is key:

<https://www.nestseekers.com/agent/sergei-millian>

he is clearly kgb. that minsk state linguistic university is something of a giveaway.

if you are downtown come by...

From: Glenn Simpson <gsimpson@fusiongps.com>
Sent: Sunday, July 24, 2016 4:47 PM
To: Tom Hamburger <tom.hamburger@gmail.com>
Subject: millian

milliangroup@gmail.com <milliangroup@gmail.com> on behalf of Sergei Millian
<sergio@russianamericanchamber.com>

From: Mark.Hosenball@thomsonreuters.com
Sent: Monday, July 25, 2016 8:40 PM
To: Glenn Simpson <gsimpson@fusiongps.com>
Subject: Millianaire

Pls remember to send me stuff on Sergei the Millian-aire. Also if you have stuff on the Carter Page guy, including his most recent Russian excursions, pls send. Doing two Russian hacking stories today and might be able to do another as early as tomorrow. Below is link to first of two today stories re hacking. Chrs mh

<http://news.trust.org/item/20160725160715-58r3r/>

From: Peter Fritsch <pfritsch@fusiongps.com>
Sent: Tuesday, July 26, 2016 8:48 PM
To: Jay Solomon <jay.solomon@awsj.com>
Subject: Re: Anar Mammadov

call adam schiff. or difi for that matter. i bet they are concerned about what page was doing other than giving a speech over 3 days in moscow

On Jul 26, 2016, at 1:36 PM, Solomon, Jay <jay.solomon@awsj.com> wrote:

Page is neither confirming nor denying.

On Tuesday, July 26, 2016, Solomon, Jay <jay.solomon@awsj.com> wrote:

Thanks for this. Will run down.

On Tuesday, July 26, 2016, Peter Fritsch <pfritsch@fusiongps.com> wrote:

fyi divyekin is a henchman of sergei ivanov

On Jul 26, 2016, at 10:12 AM, Peter Fritsch <pfritsch@fusiongps.com> wrote:

well this thing is only gonna get bigger. you know the russians aren't done dumping.

OTR the easy scoop waiting for confirmation: that dude carter page met with igor sechin when he went to moscow earlier this month. sechin discussed energy deals and possible lifting of sanctions on himself et al.

he also met with a senior kremlin official called divyekin, who told page they have good kompromat on hillary and offered to help. he also warned page they have good kompromat on the donald.

i know of one person who is chasing this and has asked kremlin re these meets. the response: there was no meeting between sechin and page "at the kremlin." uh, well, ok...maybe somewhere else? no comment.

needless to say, a senior trump advisor meeting with a former kgb official close to putin, who is on a treasury sanctions list, days before the republican convention and a big russian-backed wikileaks would be huge news.

On Jul 25, 2016, at 3:32 PM, Solomon, Jay <Jay.Solomon@awsj.com> wrote:

I know. And Cullison, as you predicted, is off the grid. My plate is totally clear so I'm digging around. The Arezi thing might be promising. No one reads Mother Jones.

You see this?

Did The Trump Campaign Just Get Hit With The Monica Langley Curse?

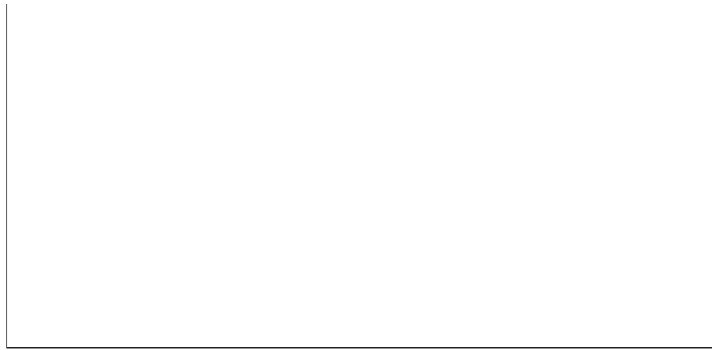
A Langley profile has often come with something reminiscent of the curse of the Sports Illustrated cover.


07/21/2016 03:09 pm 15:09:10

430

Ryan Grim

Washington bureau chief for The Huffington Post



 [View image on Twitter](#)

 [Monica Langley](#)

[@monicalangley](#)

Follow

With GOP frontrunner [@realDonaldTrump](#) on his private jet as he flies high in the

polls. wsj.com/articles/donal...
3:05 PM - 13 Sep 2015

57

70

CLEVELAND — As Eric Trump was set to begin his high-profile speech Wednesday night, he looked over and saw a familiar face. "Good luck," said Monica Langley, a Wall Street Journal reporter who covers his father, Donald Trump.

"Monica, we love you!" the younger Trump replied, in an exchange captured by several political reporters standing nearby.

Langley is a "senior special writer" at the Journal, and she clarifies in her Twitter bio that she writes "page-one profiles of CEOs, billionaires, presidential candidates and key news figures."

She's been known for her glowing coverage of Donald Trump this campaign season, which has been returned with tremendous access, private plane rides, and, at least according to Eric, some love, too. (Scroll through her Twitter feed for a flavor of its requital.) But Trump shouldn't necessarily celebrate the positive coverage, because a Langley profile has, in the past, often come with something reminiscent of the curse of the Sports Illustrated cover.

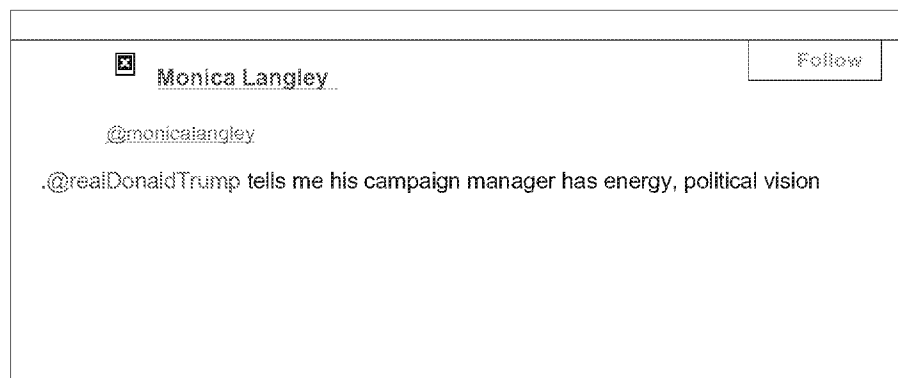
Just as terrible things have befallen figures unlucky enough to have graced the cover of SI, let's take a look at what's happened to the subjects of some of Langley's most ambitious profiles.

Her 2003 book *Tearing Down The Walls: How Sandy Weill Fought His Way to the Top of the Financial World ... And Nearly Lost It All* is a hagiography of Citigroup's Weill, and the wall-breaking in the title is a reference to his lead role in knocking down barriers that had separated different corners of the financial system. "The economic ramifications of the financial industry's reorganization are hardly touched on, and the effects of Weill's draconian cost-cutting on the rank-and-file who bore the brunt of it are treated as an untroubling prerequisite to rising productivity and share-holder value," Publisher's Weekly presciently wrote at the time. "Langley's book is informative and highly readable, but there's a much bigger story to be told."

Weill is now widely credited as bearing some of the greatest responsibility for creating the conditions that led to the financial crisis in 2008.


And then there was the major December 2014 profile "NFL's Roger Goodell Seeks to Right Past Wrongs." That one doesn't really need any commentary. Let's just keep moving.

We can probably move right past the flattering look at the role of Corey Lewandowski, too.



and "the greatest candidate ever." on [wsj.com/1TeDRLv](https://www.wsj.com/1TeDRLv)

3:14 PM - 11 Feb 2016

 Meet the man who helps Trump be Trump, another Monica Langley WSJ exclusive.

Meet the Man Who Helps Trump Be Trump

New Hampshire was a crucial win for Donald Trump after a disappointing second-place finish in Iowa, but it was a do-or-die moment for his relatively anonymous campaign manager Corey Lewandowski."

[wsj.com](https://www.wsj.com)

14

12

But let's pause on Target Chief Executive Gregg Steinhafel, who was the subject of a flattering profile on Feb. 18, 2014, about his effective handling of the company's data

breach. A month later, the Journal reported that Target would pay a \$10 million class-action settlement over the 2013 information theft, and about six weeks after that, Steinhafel was canned for his handling of the company's data breach.

Colleen Schwartz, a spokeswoman for the Journal, flatly denied the existence of a Langley curse. "Monica Langley is an award-winning reporter who frequently interviews politicians and executives as they are facing challenges that are not caused by her reporting," she said.

A quick Google search didn't turn up any Langley profiles of Elizabeth Holmes, but as activist investor Bill Ackman faced a \$2 billion loss on his hedge fund's bet in the drug-seller Valeant, he turned to Langley for a sympathetic profile.

"The Valeant bet has been stressful for Mr. Ackman, a health-and-fitness buff who plays tennis competitively, contends that 'sugar is poison' and this year attended a training camp run by former Navy SEALs. These days he is considering adding meditation and yoga to his regimen," Langley reported in November 2015.

Most of the profile was turned over to Ackman to describe how aggressively he had pushed the head of Valeant to right his ship. The story ends with Ackman saying, "The reports of my demise are greatly exaggerated."

At the time, Valeant's share price had plummeted from over \$300 to around \$115. Today it's trading for 32 bucks.

On Mon, Jul 25, 2016 at 3:27 PM, Peter Fritsch <pfritsch@fusiongps.com> wrote:

Off record: Paletta says wsj not interested in hack story or russia angle. That would pretty much make the wsj a club of one. Everyone wants shit on this

Sent from my iPhone

> On Jul 25, 2016, at 3:24 PM, Solomon, Jay <jay.solomon@awsj.com> wrote:

>

> Hey, gents: Your thesis of Trump being a Manchurian Candidate is worse than originally presented.

> Do you guys have anything more on Trump's ties to Mammadov? I know an Azeri guy who is pretty read in on this. But I wanted to know if you had more.

>

> Best, jay

--

Jay Solomon
Foreign Affairs Correspondent
The Wall Street Journal.
202 230-4307
Twitter: @WSJSolomon

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202 230-4307
Twitter: @WSJSolomon

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From: Mosk, Matthew <Matthew.Mosk@abc.com>
Sent: Wednesday, July 27, 2016 3:58 AM
To: Glenn Simpson <gsimpson@fusiongps.com>
Subject: RE: nice story

Sadly no. Apparently they are hard to come by.

Making arrangements to interview Millian on camera. We should chat.

Give a shout in the morning when you're up.

From: Glenn Simpson [mailto:gsimpson@fusiongps.com]
Sent: Tuesday, July 26, 2016 11:56 PM
To: Mosk, Matthew <Matthew.Mosk@abc.com>
Subject: Re: nice story

Depends when I get to bed tonight. Got any extra rooms?

From: Matthew Mosk <Matthew.Mosk@abc.com>
Date: Tuesday, July 26, 2016 at 11:53 PM
To: Glenn Simpson <gsimpson@fusiongps.com>
Subject: RE: nice story

Just got in.

Another story pops tomorrow morning with GMA.

Want to grab breakfast around 9?

From: Glenn Simpson [mailto:gsimpson@fusiongps.com]
Sent: Tuesday, July 26, 2016 9:18 PM
To: Mosk, Matthew <Matthew.Mosk@abc.com>
Subject: nice story

Give me a ring if you can

From: Jake Berkowitz <jberkowitz@fusiongps.com>
Sent: Thursday, July 28, 2016 7:45 PM
To: Mosk, Matthew <matthew.mosk@abc.com>; Glenn Simpson <gsimpson@fusiongps.com>
Subject: Re: kukut CV
Attach: SIARHEI M KUKUTS - Comprehensive Report - 2016-06-30.pdf

Here is the TLO

From: "Mosk, Matthew" <Matthew.Mosk@abc.com>
Date: Thursday, July 28, 2016 at 3:40 PM
To: Glenn Simpson <gsimpson@fusiongps.com>, Jake <jberkowitz@fusiongps.com>
Subject: RE: kukut CV

Found the relevant court document -- alias is listed in the order.

Are we sure this is the same guy?

From: Glenn Simpson [mailto:gsimpson@fusiongps.com]
Sent: Thursday, July 28, 2016 3:04 PM
To: Mosk, Matthew <Matthew.Mosk@abc.com>; Jake Berkowitz <jberkowitz@fusiongps.com>
Subject: Re: kukut CV

Jake pls send the million/kukut TLO & Clear to Matt

From: Matthew Mosk <Matthew.Mosk@abc.com>
Date: Thursday, July 28, 2016 at 2:55 PM
To: Glenn Simpson <gsimpson@fusiongps.com>
Subject: RE: kukut CV

Curious the basis for believing Millian is Kukut?

From: Glenn Simpson [mailto:gsimpson@fusiongps.com]
Sent: Thursday, July 28, 2016 2:15 PM
To: Mosk, Matthew <Matthew.Mosk@abc.com>
Subject: kukut CV

From: Glenn Simpson <gsimpson@fusiongps.com>
Sent: Friday, July 29, 2016 2:28 PM
To: Hamburger, Tom <tom.hamburger@washpost.com>
Subject: Re: fyi, we are getting kick back to the idea

No worries, I don't expect lots of people to believe it. It is, indeed, hard to believe.

From: Tom Hamburger <tom.hamburger@washpost.com>
Date: Friday, July 29, 2016 at 10:06 AM
To: Glenn Simpson <gsimpson@fusiongps.com>
Subject: RE: fyi, we are getting kick back to the idea

Fyi, passed on by another reporter who likely doesn't like this story. Just letting you know. . .

From: Glenn Simpson [mailto:gsimpson@fusiongps.com]
Sent: Friday, July 29, 2016 10:04 AM
To: Hamburger, Tom
Subject: Re: fyi, we are getting kick back to the idea

ok

From: Tom Hamburger <tom.hamburger@washpost.com>
Date: Friday, July 29, 2016 at 10:03 AM
To: Glenn Simpson <gsimpson@fusiongps.com>
Subject: fyi, we are getting kick back to the idea

That Page met with Sechin or Ivanov. "Its bullshit. Impossible," said one of our Moscow sources.

Tom Hamburger
National Desk
The Washington Post
1301 K Street NW
Washington, D.C. 20071
202 334 4926 (desk)
202 321 3034 (mobile)

From: Glenn Simpson <gsimpson@fusiongps.com>
Sent: Sunday, July 31, 2016 7:08 PM
To: Hamburger, Tom <tom.hamburger@washpost.com>
Cc: Jake Berkowitz <jberkowitz@fusiongps.com>
Subject: Re: carter page

Not really

Sent from my iPhone

On Jul 31, 2016, at 2:14 PM, Hamburger, Tom <tom.hamburger@washpost.com> wrote:

talked to him yesterday. any news your end?

Tom Hamburger
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email: tom.hamburger@washpost.com

From: Glenn Simpson <gsimpson@fusiongps.com>
Sent: Sunday, July 31, 2016 1:55 PM
To: Hamburger, Tom
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Subject: Re: carter page

Richard burt

Sent from my iPhone

On Jul 31, 2016, at 1:27 PM, Tom Hamburger <hamburgert@washpost.com> wrote:

you guys have any of the underlying docs for Page companies in Oklahoma and elsewhere? Jake you linked to company called Namir. Checked those registration forms but did not see Page listed. Any further thoughts on Page investments?

Tom Hamburger
Reporter
The Washington Post
1150 15th Street NW
Washington, D.C. 20005
202-334-4926 (desk)
202-321-3034 (mobile)

email: hamburgert@washpost.com

From: Jake Berkowitz <jberkowitz@fusiongps.com>
Sent: Sunday, July 31, 2016 8:24 PM
To: Hamburger, Tom <tom.hamburger@washpost.com>
Cc: Glenn Simpson <gsimpson@fusiongps.com>
Subject: Re: carter page

Looks like the deal happened in 2002 - <http://www.liquisearch.com/alfa-bank/history> - Page joined Merrill in 2000

From: Jake <jberkowitz@fusiongps.com>
Date: Sunday, July 31, 2016 at 4:17 PM
To: "Hamburger, Tom" <tom.hamburger@washpost.com>
Cc: Glenn Simpson <gsimpson@fusiongps.com>
Subject: Re: carter page

Here is Alfa and Merrill Lynch working together in the early 2000s - https://books.google.com/books?id=sy-67uDs8mwC&pg=PA96&lpq=PA96&dq=%22alfa+bank%22+merrill&source=bl&ots=85uqklTuQS&sig=9pdqnUz3B_Ul2pNYOWvSk2OyL94&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiU0li1wZ7OAhUQzGMKHTXsCGIQ6AElogEwEg#v=onep22alfa%20bank%22%20merrill&f=false - signed a deal with Gazprom

From: Jake <jberkowitz@fusiongps.com>
Date: Sunday, July 31, 2016 at 2:43 PM
To: "Hamburger, Tom" <tom.hamburger@washpost.com>
Cc: Glenn Simpson <gsimpson@fusiongps.com>
Subject: Re: carter page

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Sent: Sunday, July 31, 2016 9:10 PM
To: Hamburger, Tom <tom.hamburger@washpost.com>
Cc: Glenn Simpson <gsimpson@fusiongps.com>
Subject: Re: carter page

Walid Phares in on the payroll – I don't see any payments going to CPage

From: Jake <jberkowitz@fusiongps.com>
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Cc: Glenn Simpson <gsimpson@fusiongps.com>
Subject: Re: carter page

Here is a Merrill Banker that went to Alfa during this time period - <http://alfabank.com/media/news/2003/05/13/>

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Washington, DC 20071
202 334 4926 (desk)
202 321 3034 (mobile)

email: tom.hamburger@washpost.com

From: Glenn Simpson <gsimpson@fusiongps.com>
Sent: Sunday, July 31, 2016 1:55 PM
To: Hamburger, Tom

Cc: Jake Berkowitz
Subject: Re: carter page

Richard burt

Sent from my iPhone

On Jul 31, 2016, at 1:27 PM, Tom Hamburger <hamburgert@washpost.com> wrote:

you guys have any of the underlying docs for Page companies in Oklahoma and elsewhere? Jake you linked to company called Namir. Checked those registration forms but did not see Page listed. Any further thoughts on Page investments?

Tom Hamburger
Reporter
The Washington Post
1150 15th Street NW
Washington, D.C. 20005
202-334-4926 (desk)
202-321-3034 (mobile)

email: hamburgert@washpost.com

<

>

From: Peter Fritsch <pfritsch@fusiongps.com>
Sent: Thursday, September 8, 2016 6:54 PM
To: Steven Mufson <Steven.Mufson@washpost.com>
Subject: attached
Attach: 160819 - Yatsenko - updated.pdf

a <<...>> doc one of our associates wrote. i believe tom h has a copy...we believe but can't prove that CP and this guy et al. have some profit sharing arrangement out there somewhere
— my guess would be cyprus or BVI or cayman

SERGEI YATSENKO**Summary**

Sergei Yatsenko is a long-time business associate of Carter Page. His educational background provides a strong indication that he is a Russian intelligence asset, while his patrons at Gazprom included a former employee of the Committee for Foreign Relations of the Mayor of St. Petersburg, which Vladimir Putin headed from 1991-1996, as well as the son of Putin's successor as Federal Security Service (FSB) and current head of the powerful National Security Council, Nikolai Patrushev.

Since leaving Gazprom in 2010, sources indicated that Yatsenko has lived in London, but has been very active as Page's partner in Global Energy Capital (GEC). Sources report that, despite Page's suggestions that sanctions have ruined his business, that GEC recently advised a Chinese-backed company in a Russian deal completed in August 2016 and has pursued deals with Rosneft, a company subject to US and EU sanctions.

Yatsenko remains a shadowy figure with a limited public profile. We have not found any company directorships in the UK and it is still unclear how he is operating GEC today. We continue to research these questions, as we believe they may be crucial for understanding how Carter Page may be financing his activities and dealing with the Russian authorities.

Personal background

Sergei Viktorovich Yatsenko was born on 9 May 1960. His birthplace may be Sevastopol, Crimea, as that is where his first Soviet internal passport was issued in 1980. However, it appears he took Russian nationality sometime after 1992. According to various databases, he lived in St. Petersburg before 2002 and lived in Moscow until leaving permanently in 2010 to the UK.

Education and early career

Yatsenko has a relatively limited public profile in Russia. However, it is possible to piece together his biography, primarily from disclosure reports issued by Gazprom and subsidiary companies¹.

According to these reports, he has an educational background in geography, languages and economics:

- In 1984, he graduated from Singapore University with a degree in Chinese language
- In 1985, he graduated from Leningrad State University with a degree in Geography

¹ Russian disclosures generally list year of birth and previous workplaces (sometimes limited to the past five years) for directors and certain other company officers.

- In 1995, he graduated from the Inter-disciplinary Institute for Improving Qualifications under the St. Petersburg University of Economics and Finance, with a degree in finance and credit²

A RUSSIAN source commented that if Yatsenko studied Chinese at Singapore University in the mid-1980s, he was undoubtedly in contact with the KGB. He noted that at that time, only the KGB could grant permission for this sort of study overseas and they would only do so if individual was believed to be “always ready for cooperation” with the security services. Various sources note his fluent English and Chinese.

The source paraphrased the axiom about working with the KGB/FSB: “Once someone has agreed to work with the KGB, he remains in the field of view of the security agencies for the rest of his life, regardless of where he lives or what he does for a living.”

The source added that, beginning in the early 2000s, when Yatsenko joined Gazprom, the gas giant suddenly started recruited a large number of employees “with a history of cooperation with the KGB-FSB”. He added, that there is virtually never any documentary proof of this sort of work with the intelligence agencies, outside of the files of the agencies themselves.

Several business sources in St. Petersburg reported that during the 1990s, Yatsenko worked in the banking sector. He is credited with helping Petrovsky Bank attract financing from the World Bank and European Bank for Reconstruction and Development as part of the Financial Institutions Development Project. The bank used the funds to automate its banking operations.

It appears that French systems integration group Bull S.A. supplied some of the equipment and software to the bank and recruited Yatsenko. From 1999 to 2002, according to disclosures, Yatsenko worked as a group manager, project manager and commercial representative³.

A former Gazprom manager said that Yatsenko’s job was to help Russian companies attract foreign funding for various types of automation. These companies would then purchase or lease equipment from the French supplier. A current Gazprom manager recalled that Yatsenko also worked very closely with state-owned companies. He worked on a major project to build a data network for the Russian tax authorities. He also managed the client relationship with Gazprom, focusing on systems integration

Career at Gazprom

In June 2002, Yatsenko joined Gazprom as the first deputy head of the economic (later finance and economic) department. According to the Gazprom source, Yatsenko’s

² http://st.finam.ru/ipo/3373_prospekt_cennih_bumag_01.pdf; <http://expert.ru/2010/03/22/gazprom/>
³ 2005 Annual report of Gazavtomatika:
<http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:F4ShKPyFDF4J:uchebana5.ru/cont/2373971-pall.html+&cd=2&hl=ru&ct=clnk&gl=ru&client=safari>

department head and direct manager was Andrei Kruglov⁴. Kruglov (see more below) had joined at around the same time, reportedly as part of a wholesale “renewal” of the staff in the finance department.

Sources agree that, despite his cumbersome official title, Yatsenko’s appointment as the deputy head of the group’s finance block was a giant leap forward in his career. According to the Gazprom source: “This appointment... could not have happened without the intercession of third parties.” The source speculated that his new boss, Kruglov, was behind the appointment.

Kruglov is a key figure in Gazprom’s recent history. From 1995 to 2001, he worked in the Department for Foreign Economic Cooperation of the Committee for Foreign Relations of the Mayor of St. Petersburg. Vladimir Putin headed this body from 1991 to 1996, and many of his subordinates have gone on to key positions in the government and in state companies (including current Gazprom chairman Alexei Miller).

It appears Yatsenko, as part of his work with Petrovsky Bank and then Bull S.A. worked closely with the committee from the mid-1990s to 2002

The Gazprom source reported that he developed a strong relationship with Kruglov during this time. He added that Yatsenko and Kruglov had occasionally mentioned that their professional relationship went back to the 1990s, well before their time together at Gazprom.

Sources were not aware of a direct relationship between Kruglov and Putin during their overlapping period on the committee. Kruglov had a relatively junior position as an analyst in 1995. The former Gazprom manager said that he thought an ongoing relationship was unlikely, but he added that Putin was famous on the committee for knowing the name of almost every employee.

It appears the more substantive relationship ensuring Kruglov’s high-level appointment as Gazprom was his relationship with future Gazprom chairman Alexei Miller, who was his direct boss on the committee from 1995 to 1996⁵. The former Gazprom manager commented: “If Vladimir Putin might only have known the surname of Kruglov, Alexei Miller had been his direct boss, and this means that he was in constant contact with him.”

Meanwhile, in December 2003, Kruglov became the head of the newly combined corporate finance and economic department, with Yatsenko as his deputy. For the giant gas company, the new department had enormous power both over the formulation of Gazprom’s budget, oversight of budget spending and external financing.⁶

⁴ <http://www.gazprom.ru/about/management/board/kruglov/>

⁵ <http://www.gazprom.ru/about/management/board/miller/>

⁶ www.oilcapital.ru/industry/85458.html

In 2004, Kruglov was appointed deputy CEO of Gazprom, while retaining his position as head of the finance and economic department. He remains deputy CEO, having given up the role of effective CFO in July 2015⁷.

Work with Merrill Lynch

One of Yatsenko's key duties was to oversee the corporate finance block and therefore he worked closely with external financial advisors. Initially, Dresdner Bank was Gazprom's chief advisor. However, as reported by newspaper Vedomosti, Merrill Lynch took over this role in 2004⁸. The US bank advised Gazprom on shareholder and investor relations, as well as overseeing its external financing, including the issuance of foreign currency bonds.

A source, who worked in a senior role in a large Russian financial firm that also advised Gazprom, said that Yatsenko oversaw key areas such as corporate finance, as well as information technology. The source outlined several high-profile deals under Yatsenko's supervision:

- Between 2002 and 2004 led the retracting of petrochemicals group SIBUR, which Gazprom acquired in 2002
- In 2004, he led talks with Deutsche Bank for a 7-year, US\$200 million credit
- Between 2005 and 2006, he oversaw work with external advisors to complete the takeover of Roman Abramovich's acquisition of Sibneft (later renamed Gazprom Neft)
- In 2006, he took part in talks with Shell, Mitsui and Mitsubishi for Gazprom's entry into the Sakhalin Energy (Sakhalin 2) project as leading shareholder

The same source said the overall pick up in Gazprom's corporate finance activity could be attributed in part to Yatsenko's efforts, as well as the strengthening Russian economy in the early to mid 2000s. This naturally led to an increase in Gazprom's reliance on external financial advisors, in particular Merrill Lynch. The former Gazprom source noted that Allen Vine, Carter Page's boss at Merrill Lynch (and now a close advisor to oligarch Suleiman Kerimov), had been instrumental in building the relationship with Gazprom.

Yatsenko also had oversight of several major Gazprom subsidiaries as a director, including: Gazprom Cosmic Systems (2007-2009)⁹, Gazpromavtomatika (2008-2009)¹⁰, OGK-6 (2009-2010)¹¹ and Gazprombank (2008-2009)¹².

Departure from Gazprom

⁷ <http://www.gazprom.ru/about/management/board/kruglov/>

⁸ <https://www.vedomosti.ru/newspaper/articles/2004/04/30/merril-lynch-pomozhet-gazpromu;>
<http://ria.ru/economy/20040430/581330.html>

⁹ http://www.gazprom-spacesystems.ru/upload/investor/issuer/report_i_2009.pdf

¹⁰ <https://www.e-disclosure.ru/portal/event.aspx?EventId=KQy9Xaj5dEKGR0UGXdWRRQ-B-B>

¹¹ <http://www.ogk6.ru/shareholders/disclosinginfo/reports/index.html>

¹² http://st.finam.ru/ipo/3373_prospekt_cennih_bumag_01.pdf

In March 2010, Yatsenko left Gazprom. In its press release, as reported by Russian media, the gas giant stated: "His departure was in connection with a move to different work outside the Gazprom group and not caused by any sort of conflict."¹³

The Gazprom source stated that Yatsenko himself made the decision to leave the group and that he was not aware of any contributing political circumstances within Gazprom. As far as the source know, Yatsenko remains in close contact with Kruglov, and the latter remains his main contact at Gazprom. The source added that in recent years, Kruglov's influence at the gas giant has grown significantly. He is part of Alexei Milller's inner circle and the source said that many view Kruglov as one of Miller's potential successors.

According to Gazprom's reporting of insider share purchases, between May 8, 2009 and May 7, 2010 (the dates between the two annual general meetings), Yatsenko spent US\$200,000 acquiring Gazprom shares¹⁴. Different sources agree that Yatsenko likely retains a substantial personal investment in Gazprom shares, both directly and through investment in funds holding Gazprom shares. His exact stake is not known.

Activities after Gazprom

Almost immediately after Yatsenko left Gazprom, he began working closely with Carter Page, who had been one of the managers in Merrill Lynch's Moscow office from 2004 to 2007. The Gazprom source reported that the two had been in almost constant contact during these years, given Merrill Lynch's role as chief financial advisor.

After Page quit Merrill Lynch and founded Global Energy Capital (GEC) in 2008, he kept in contact with Yatsenko. The source did not know if Gazprom engaged directly with GEC between 2008 and 2010. But the source knew that, in 2010, Page asked Yatsenko to manage GEC's activities in the former Soviet Union. When asked how Page has paid Yatsenko, the Gazprom source did not know. But the source underlined his belief that Yatsenko and Page are equal partners. The source added that it would be absolutely incorrect to call Page Yatsenko's employer.

In a recent Bloomberg profile of Page, Yatsenko was paraphrased as saying that he worked with Page on helping a Russian investor explore an oil investment in Iraqi Kurdistan, and advising a Chinese investor looking to buy Russian oil assets in Eastern Siberia. Yatsenko also referenced developing natural gas transportation, potentially with Gazprom, although this was shelved due to sanctions¹⁵.

The Gazprom source said that Yatsenko's role in GEC was primarily but not exclusively linked to Gazprom. In the case of Kurdistan, GEC's customers were Gazprom Neft and its subsidiary Gazprom Neft Middle East B.V., which in 2012 signed two production-sharing agreements (PSAs) with the Regional Government of Kurdistan covering the Garmian and Shakal blocks

¹³ expert.ru/2010/03/22/gazprom/

¹⁴ www.interfax.ru/business/149848

¹⁵ <http://www.bloomberg.com/politics/articles/2016-03-30/trump-russia-adviser-carter-page-interview>

in the south of Kurdistan¹⁶. The Gazprom source reports that the two blocks are currently undergoing geological exploration

The Gazprom source was under the strong impression that: "Carter Page has some kind of serious contacts in Iraq, including on the level of the Kurdistan authorities, which enjoy significant autonomy from the Iraqi government." The source speculated that Page might have developed these contacts in the early 2000s, before coming to Russia. However, we have seen no evidence of any such links.

The above comments also raise the possibility of an additional partner with strong connections in Iraqi Kurdistan, since Page has no obvious period in his biography where he would have spent extensive time in Kurdistan. It is possible that D.C. lobbying firm BGR, which was Kurds' main lobbyist in time, may have facilitated these ties, and we are researching this lead.

Meanwhile, Yatsenko made use of his high-level Gazprom ties on behalf of GEC, and the source believes he persuaded Gazprom Neft to invest in Kurdistan. As a result, GEC began to represent the interests of Gazprom Neft Middle East B.V. in Iraq and played an allegedly crucial role in signing the Kurdistan PSAs. In addition, GEC brokered a relationship between Gazprom Neft and Canadian company Western Zagros Resources, another participant in the PSA in the Garmain block.

The Gazprom source said he believes that GEC and Yatsenko continue to work in the region, and are cooperating with Russian oil company Lukoil, which works in the West Kurna 2 field and intends to expand its business there. We are awaiting feedback from an Iraqi source close to Lukoil for more information about any recent advisory work, as Lukoil is also subject to international sanctions.

The financial firm source was also aware of GEC's work with Chinese companies, which he attributed in part to Yatsenko's language skills and cultural knowledge. In this case, GEC sought to broker the entry of Australian-registered, Skyland Petroleum Group (SPG) in to the Eastern Siberian field of Taas-Yuryakh. The license for the field belonged to Taas-Yuryakh Oil and Gas Production, 80% of which belongs to Rosneft and 20% (since 2015) to BP. The deal became more complex, with the entry of a state-owned company in consortium with SPG¹⁷. To date the deal has not taken place. The source stated his belief that SPG was a front for senior managers at a state-run oil company.

A senior manager at a Russian state oil company confirmed that GEC and Yatsenko participated in the talks between the Russian oil giant and SPG, and that GEC had introduced SPG to Rosneft. The source believed that Yatsenko did not have independent senior contacts at Rosneft, but was able to reach the right people through Gazprom Neft. Specifically, Andrei Patrushev¹⁸, a deputy general director at Gazprom Neft acted as an intermediary.

¹⁶ <http://www.gazprom-neft.ru/press-center/news/407592/>

¹⁷ <http://sputniknews.com/business/20160324/1036909298/skylamd-russia-oil-share.html>

¹⁸ <http://www.gazprom-neft.ru/company/management/management-board/#patrushev>

Importantly, Patrushev is the youngest son of former FSB director (1999-2006) and current head of the Russian National Security Council, Nikolai Patrushev¹⁹.

The same source said that Patrushev's influence ensured Yatsenko could bring international partners to the attention of Sechin, vastly improving its chances of reaching the negotiating table. In this case, SPG could not reach an agreement with Rosneft. The source did not take part in the talks, but said the Chinese party was too aggressive, even by Sechin's standards, and would not back down from its pricing and demands. The source also suggested that SPG's role as a front for Chinese state oil company managers led to discomfort at Rosneft.

Nonetheless, SPG moved on and on August 2, 2016, acquired an unnamed oil deposit in Yakutia²⁰. Various media accounts indicate the deposit belongs the Mirinsky Licensed Area controlled by Summa Group.²¹ The state oil-company source said he believed GEC and Yatsenko led the talks with Summa Group.

The Gazprom source underlined that Sergei Yatsenko has lived in London since leaving Gazprom in 2010 and has taken his whole family with him. The source said that none of Yatsenko's adult children still live in Russia. For instance, his oldest daughter works for UBS Wealth Management in Europe²².

Summing up, the former Gazprom source noted: "Today, Yatsenko does not have any top ranked patron in the Russian political elite. However, he has deep connections in Gazprom reaching to the highest level of management. If he needed to, he could use these to gain access to Vladimir Putin's very innermost circle."

McLarty-Burt Connection

As some of the biggest beneficiaries of the US invasion of Iraq, the Kurds have deep ties to the Republican foreign policy establishment and its lobbying wing. Among the firms that have high-level ties to the Kurdistan leadership are lobbyist Richard Burt of McLarty Associates and Ed Rogers of Barbour Griffith & Rogers, the latter of whom was shown to have personal investments in Kurdistan in his divorce litigation. Burt and Rogers have also long served as the primary emissaries in Washington for Russia's Alfa Group.

There are overlapping ties between Alfa, Burt, Gazprom, and Global Energy Capital. In early July, Page traveled to Moscow at the invitation of the New Economic School, which is funded by Alfa and its founder Pyotr Aven, who also sits on the school's board of trustees. The invitation appears to have been concocted to give Page a public explanation for his trip to

¹⁹ The younger Patrushev had previously been an advisor to Rosneft boss Igor Sechin (2006-2009). In addition, Patrushev had worked as the head of business development for Rosneft subsidiary RN Servis LLC (2009-2011) and deputy general director of Zarubezhneft (2011-2013).

²⁰ <http://www.asx.com.au/asxpdf/20160802/pdf/4390wp8gzs40m3.pdf>

²¹ <https://www.vedomosti.ru/business/articles/2016/08/03/651508-skyland-petroleum-pokupaet-neftegazovii-aktiv-yakutii>

²² <https://ch.linkedin.com/in/anastasia-yatsenko-678a4132>

Moscow, which sources say included secret meetings with top Kremlin officials where the American presidential campaign and US sanctions against Russia were both discussed.

In addition to his work for Alfa, Burt in February registered to lobby for New European Pipeline AG, a Gazprom-led consortium that is seeking to build a new pipeline from Russia to Germany through the Baltic Sea. The route of the so-called Nord Stream II project circumnavigates the territory of Ukraine, degrading its importance in the Russia-Europe energy trade and thus weakening its geopolitical standing.

Burt's high-level connections in Kurdistan are indicated by a recent lobby filing. In May of this year, Burt registered to lobby for Jordan's Capital Bank to develop solution to issues surrounding access to bank deposits in Kurdistan region, according to the filing..

Burt previously represented the Kurdish Democratic Party while working for BGR. In July of 2004, the KDP retained BGR "to ensure that Iraqi Kurdistan maintains its autonomy from Baghdad in the new Iraqi government" and to obtain governing authority over the oil-rich Kirkuk region.

Russian Shareholdings

Yatsenko remains a shareholder of two active companies in Russia and Russian-occupied Crimea, Telstar LLC (33.3%) and META-POLIS Ltd (70%).

Telestar

Telestar²³, despite its name, is a property management company in Moscow. It was founded in 2004 and its registered general director is Vladimir Yurievich Alekseyev. Its company records appear to have been last updated in 2009, so it is unclear if it is still a going concern.

Yatsenko's fellow shareholders, Alekseyev and Vera Viktorovna Kustova, do not appear to have any relation to the oil or gas industry. Property sources were not aware of the company, but speculate it could be a special purpose company for the management of a single property.

META-POLIS

META-POLIS²⁴ was registered in 1994 in Sevastopol, Crimea. Its general director is Inna Gennadiyevna Ilicheva. The company operates pharmacies in its home city. It appears Yatsenko has retained a stake in this company over the years, despite not having any other obvious ongoing links to the city where he was born.

²³ Tax number: 7710566996

²⁴ Tax number: 9204547221

Yatsenko's partners in the company are Ilicheva (15%) and Vladimir Nikolayevich Sizov (15%). Sizov's shareholding was first registered in January 2015. A check of public records indicates both Ilicheva and Sizov live in Sevastopol.

Notably, the company was mentioned in a 2015 news report listing pharmacies violating Russian pharmacy regulations, specifically not carrying drugs included on the federal essential medicines list²⁵. Local sources had never heard of the chain or its shareholders. It is possible the investment could be a mechanism for providing money to relatives still living in Crimea.

Housing investments

The Russian Unified State Register of Companies also shows that Yatsenko is a shareholder in Severyanin Homeowners Association²⁶, created in 2006. The association is a cooperative structure managing a suburban cottage development in the New Moscow area of the city (a developer's moniker for the city's Troitsky District). According to the Gazprom source, the cottage town was built specifically for high-ranking Gazprom employees, who were provided with discounted land and housing. In 2006, this was especially valuable, as Moscow's pre-crash property bubble was approaching its zenith.

Notably, one of the 27 owners of the association is Mikhail Yevgenievich Putin, the second cousin of the president. As reported in the Russian media, he had worked for a time in Gazprom's medical department²⁷, and this appears to have made him eligible for discounted luxury housing. In 2007, Putin joined insurance group Sogaz, which is controlled by Bank Rossiya, the shareholders of which are long-time Putin associates and he is currently a deputy CEO.

²⁵ <http://crimea.ria.ru/society/20150312/90645.html>

²⁶ Tax number: 5074033232

²⁷ <https://meduza.io/feature/2015/11/11/rodstvenniki-putina>

From: Jake Berkowitz <jberkowitz@fusiongps.com>
Sent: Monday, September 19, 2016 3:53 AM
To: Matthew Mosk <mamosk@gmail.com>
Cc: Glenn Simpson <gsimpson@fusiongps.com>
Subject: Re: have you seen

Did you reach out to Richard Bowers? See here:

<https://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:8FwclA11-8z4f:rssianamericanchamber.com/ftp/Newsletter%25204%2520April%25202009.pdf&od=7&hl=en&ct=ch&sgl=us>

On 9/18/16, 10:22 PM, "Matthew Mosk" <mamosk@gmail.com> wrote:

It looks like Millian is one of the 98 people Cohen follows, no?

Sent from my iPhone

> On Sep 18, 2016, at 7:20 PM, Jake Berkowitz <jberkowitz@fusiongps.com> wrote:

>

> Hey Matt,

>

> This looks like a direct Twitter message from Trump lawyer Michael Cohen and Millian.

>

> See the message here – I'm trying to determine if Cohen follows Millian on twitter

> <https://twitter.com/MichaelCohen212/status/766472175687725060>

>

> Remember that Cohen met with Millian in NY - <https://riaa.com/interview/20160413/1409790646.html>

>

>

>

> On 9/18/16, 12:09 PM, "Glenn Simpson" <gsimpson@fusiongps.com> wrote:

>

> Please give me a ring when you have a minute Matt.

>

> On 9/17/16, 8:34 PM, "Matthew Mosk" <mamosk@gmail.com> wrote:

>

> Just want to make sure we are justified saying he has ties to or is in favor with Putin, if that's the case.

>

> Sent from my iPhone

>

>> On Sep 17, 2016, at 7:48 PM, Glenn Simpson <gsimpson@fusiongps.com> wrote:

>>

>> How important is this

>> We can get more

>>

>> Sent from my iPhone

>>

>>> On Sep 17, 2016, at 3:18 PM, Jake Berkowitz <jberkowitz@fusiongps.com> wrote:

>>>

>>> The agalarovs received contracts to build World Cup stadiums - that means they are close to gov., as that's a sweetheart deal.

>>>

>>> The fact that the presidential administrator Kozhin was at miss universe also suggests major access

>>>

>>>> On Sep 17, 2016, at 1:46 PM, Glenn Simpson <gsimpson@fusiongps.com> wrote:

>>>>

>>>> Ues and yes

>>>>

>>>> Sent from my iPhone

>>>>

>>>>> On Sep 17, 2016, at 1:44 PM, Matthew Mosk <mamosk@gmail.com> wrote:

>>>>>

>>>>> anything that ties Agalarov to Putin? Is it correct to say he is close or in favor with Putin?

>

>

>

>

From: Jake Berkowitz <jberkowitz@fusiongps.com>
Sent: Monday, September 19, 2016 3:21 PM
To: Glenn Simpson <gsimpson@fusiongps.com>; Matthew Mosk <mamosk@gmail.com>
Subject: Atlanta-Russia

So check this out – Millian has done a pretty good job and Atlanta has strangely embraced its relationship with Russia. Georgia is the fifth largest state exporter to Russia, which grew 20 percent from 2010-13 - <http://www.globalatlanta.com/moscow-based-attorney-cites-strong-state-georgia-russia-ties-miller-martin-seminar/>

The above linked law seminar in Atlanta just hosted a Russian lawyer who reiterated that “trump had never met putin” and that Clinton has been bad for US-Russia relations. Millians fingerprints are all over it. The law firm that hosted, Miller and Martin, have a relationship with a Russian law firm and are very involved with the Russian American Chamber of Commerce. They hosted one of the chamber’s first major events:
<http://russianamericanchamber.com/Ftp/August%2022%20MOU%20Ceremony.jpg>

The firm is also a leader on all things Olympics, including as advisor on Sochi - <https://www.millermartin.com/attorneys/charles-h-battle-jr>

From: Peter Fritsch <pfritsch@fusiongps.com>
Sent: Tuesday, September 27, 2016 4:53 PM
To: Lichtblau, Eric <eriel@nytimes.com>
Cc: Glenn Simpson <gsimpson@fusiongps.com>
Subject: Re: follow up

See below from ip-tracker.org from three weeks ago. Millian's Russianamericanchamber.com was using an IP address registered in Moscow and Alfa was its internet service provider.



What's interesting is that they recently changed it back to a US ISP (this appears to have happened on sept. 7 — see below)


<http://viewdns.info/iphistory/?domain=russianamericanchamber.com>

http://whoisrequest.com/history/?dom_ip=russianamericanchamber.com

Current info:

<http://www.ip-tracker.org/locator/ip-lookup.php?ip=russianamericanchamber.com>

IP Locator & IP Lookup Basic Tracking Info	
Domain:	Russianamericanchamber.com (Whois Lookup) Domain Country Domain Is IP?
IP Address:	93.171.202.166 (IP Blacklist Check)
Reverse DNS:	166.202.171.93.in-addr.arpa
Hostname:	liastudio.ru
Nameservers:	ns2.ipower.com => 65.254.254.144 ns1.ipower.com => 66.96.142.109
IP Lookup Location For IP Address: Russianamericanchamber.com	
Continent:	Europe (EU)
Country:	Russian Federation  (RU)
Capital:	Moscow
State:	Unknown
City Location:	Unknown
ISP:	 ALFA TELECOM S.F.O.
Organization:	Miragroup Ltd.
AS Number:	AS262254 DANCOM LTD
Time Zone:	Europe/Moscow
Local Time:	18:03:52
Timezone	7200
GMT offset:	
Sunrise / Sunset:	04:09 / 18:56
Extra IP Lookup Finder Info for IP Address: Russianamericanchamber.com	
Continent	48.69083 / 9.1405
Lat/Lon:	
Country	60 / 47
Lat/Lon:	
City Lat/Lon:	(55.7386) / (37.6068)
IP Language:	Russian
IP Address	
Speed:	Unknown Internet Speed
IP Currency:	Ruble (RUB)
IDD Code:	+7



Research Tools
[Whois](#) [Reverse IP](#) [Reverse NS](#) [Domain History](#)

WhoisRequest
[Pricing](#) [Login](#) [API](#) [Contact Us](#)

Nameservers history for russianamericanchamber.com

Requests left: 4

2006

Jun 1

Changes on that date

- Domain created or Nameservers Added
- ns1.ipowerweb.net
- ns1.ipowerdns.com

Active Name Servers on that date
ns1.ipowerweb.net
ns1.ipowerdns.com

2007

Jun 1

Changes on that date

- ns1.ipowerweb.net
- ns1.ipowerdns.com
- ns2.russianamericanchamber.com
- ns1.russianamericanchamber.com

Active Name Servers on that date
ns2.russianamericanchamber.com
ns1.russianamericanchamber.com

2014

Dec 19

Changes on that date

- ns2.russianamericanchamber.com
- ns1.russianamericanchamber.com
- ns2.ipower.com
- ns1.ipower.com

Active Name Servers on that date
ns2.ipower.com
ns1.ipower.com

2016

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On Sep 27, 2016, at 12:26 PM, Lichtblau, Eric <ericl@nytimes.com> wrote:

Did you say that Millian had an alfa email address, or was that someone else?

Eric Lichtblau
New York Times
Washington Bureau
Reporter

(202) 862-0306 (o)
(202) 468-9254 (c)

On Sat, Sep 24, 2016 at 8:59 AM, Peter Fritsch <pfritsch@fusiongps.com> wrote:

gents, good to see you yesterday. sounded like you might be interested in some of the attached russia-related material. these are internal, open source research drafts. as agreed, pls treat this as background/not for attribution. as you'll see, it's all easily replicated anyway. can also send you a shnaider/toronto memo once i dig it out. I'm skipping over felix sater and bayrock. believe your guys have done that up... leave it to you to distribute internally, or not, as you see fit. don't believe sunny isles/hollywood or panama or toronto have been touched by brands xy or z. amazingly, don't think anyone has done up the trump tower poker ring story either. pretty vivid color there.

saludos, p.



From: Peter Fritsch <pfritsch@fusiongps.com>
Sent: Wednesday, October 5, 2016 5:32 PM
To: Michael Isikoff <misikoff@yahoo-inc.com>
Subject: alfa
Attach: Alfa Group Overview 9.1.16.docx

<<...>>

off the record — all open source tho

Russia's Alfa Group

Overview

Alfa Group is a \$20-billion Russian conglomerate involved in banking and energy that maintains extremely close ties to the Kremlin, and President **Vladimir Putin**. Alfa operates in the US with more success and sophistication than any other Russian business group. The Alfa Group shareholders also control an international energy and telecommunications empire through Luxembourg-registered **LetterOne Holdings**.

Mikhail Fridman, a Ukrainian by birth, founded the group as a commodities trader in 1989. He soon recruited former government minister **Pyotr Aven** to develop Alfa Bank. With Russian partners, Alfa Group established control over Siberian oil company TNK, which they merged with BP's Russian assets. Alfa's shareholders gained more than US\$9 billion when the company was sold at the top of the market in 2013. Much of these funds were re-invested internationally through LetterOne.

Fridman and Aven are legendary for their aggressive tactics, which include espionage and harassment of adversaries. Alfa Group is perhaps most notorious for an alleged campaign of intimidation, harassment and espionage against BP in an effort to pressure the British oil giant to sell its Russian oil interests. The "orchestrated campaign of harassment," which allegedly included Alfa-instigated police raids and spying, famously resulted in the 2008 departure of **BP executive Robert Dudley**, an American citizen, from Moscow.¹ Dudley is today BP's CEO.

According to a US court ruling in 2005, the two men "have been dogged by allegations of corruption and illegal conduct. Russian newspapers have published repeated claims that Aven and Fridman have rigged the auction of state assets through government connections, threatened the lives of government officials, ordered the assassination of a mobster, and engaged in narcotics trafficking and money laundering."² Despite the allegations, the men have avoided visa bans and other sanctions imposed on oligarchs with similarly colorful pasts, such as **Oleg Deripaska**.

As Minister of Foreign Economic Relations, Aven worked with Russian President Vladimir Putin in the government of St. Petersburg in the early 1990s and is credibly accused of involvement in some of Putin's earliest corruption schemes. Not least, Aven ignored corruption accusations leveled against Putin for false registration of licenses in his role as the head of the city's Committee for Foreign Economic Liaison³. Critics allege this is suggestive of collusion between Aven and Putin, and point to Alfa's subsequent charmed fortunes in Moscow -- including successful campaigns against two of Putin's closest Kremlin allies with no retaliation whatsoever.

¹ <https://www.theguardian.com/business/2008/jul/25/bp.oil>

² https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/USCOURTS-dcd-1_00-cv-02208/pdf/USCOURTS-dcd-1_00-cv-02208-0.pdf

³ "Putin's Kleptocracy: Who Owns Russia," Karen Dawisha, accessed electronically.

Alfa enjoys high-level contacts in Washington, keeps influential figures on retainer, funds American political campaigns through its US network, and has sponsored numerous individuals who now serve in government and the media. Alfa is a particularly skilled practitioner of deep lobbying through numerous influential US think tanks and several “fellowship” programs that build loyalty among policymakers.

Aven sits on the board of directors of **Moscow’s New Economic School**, Russia’s only privately-funded university, which Alfa funds generously. **Carter Page**, a foreign policy adviser to Republican presidential nominee **Donald Trump**, addressed the school’s graduating ceremony on July 8, 2016 – a trip criticized by Senate minority leader Harry Reid, among others. His speech was supportive of Putin and harshly critical of the U.S. and President Barack Obama. Obama addressed the school’s graduating class in 2009.

US Influence

Alfa’s leading American political adviser is former diplomat **Richard Burt**, who has confirmed that he contributed material to an April 27 foreign-policy speech by Donald Trump but denies acting as a Trump campaign advisor.⁴ Burt, a former U.S. ambassador to Germany, works for **McLarty Associates**.

Alfa’s other major advisor in Washington for many years was the Republican lobbyist **Ed Rogers** of BGR. Lobbying records show that Alfa quietly terminated BGR in the spring of 2015 as Trump was launching his presidential campaign. Rogers is a frequent critic of Trump.

White House records show that Fridman and Aven made multiple visits to the White House complex in 2009-2012, meeting privately with top US national security and foreign policy officials. The meetings, which were arranged by Rogers and Burt, ended as relations between the Obama administration and the Putin regime soured. Sources have indicated that Fridman and Aven were tasked by the Kremlin with negotiating Russia’s accession to the WTO with the White House – a strong indication of Putin’s trust in the executives as government proxies.

In an effort to avoid economic sanctions and a poor domestic investment climate, Fridman and Aven in 2014-15 moved tens of billions of dollars of capital to Europe into a fund called **LetterOne Holdings SA**, based in Luxembourg. The fund nonetheless became entangled in controversy in 2015 over its acquisition of oil blocks in the North Sea -- which the UK threatened to force the group to divest. It is believed among Russia watchers that Fridman and Aven are almost as eager as the Kremlin to get US and EU sanctions on Russia lifted.

Alfa has long sought to buy more major assets in the US, and is believed to have made a sustained but ultimately unsuccessful attempt to buy a US financial institution during the early years of the Obama administration. It is likely the bid was blocked by US regulatory

⁴ <http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-election-trump-adviser-idUSKCN0YU2I9>

concerns. In June of 2016, LetterOne announced it would invest \$2-3 billion in the US health care industry.⁵

Alfa Group Background

Fridman founded commodity trader Alfa Eko – the core of the future Alfa Group – in 1989 with two university friends, **German Khan** and **Alexey Kuzmichev**. In 1991, they launched Alfa Capital and Alfa Bank. Former government minister Peter Aven joined the group in 1993. The identity of the group's beneficial shareholders in the early years remains a mystery.⁶

Aven brought crucial and lasting government ties to the group, as did the recruitment of **Leonid Vid**, the former head of Gosplan, the Soviet planning agency, and he helmed Alfa Bank during its critical early years of growth. Another key hire was **Vladislav Surkov**, a former military intelligence officer who later served President Putin as his chief spin-doctor in a series of senior positions (today he is an advisor)⁷. Fridman himself became a key political figure during the 1996 re-election campaign of President **Boris Yeltsin**, when he was one of architects of the media blitz that helped defeat the surging communists.

In the late 1990s, Alfa Group recruited a number of Western-trained executives, many with Russian backgrounds. These included such figures as bankers **Alex Knaster** and **Mikhail Alexandrov**, the latter a former Credit Suisse banker who had advised the Russian government on privatization. Alfa Bank in particular became known for hiring top Western talent. These moves were spun as signs of an overall 'Western' approach to business.

At the same time, Alfa Group employed a range of tactics that earned it a reputation as one of Russia's most successful 'raiders'. In a common tactic, Alfa would acquire a minority shareholding in companies it knew or suspected to be acquisition targets by foreign or domestic groups, and carried out more or less classic greenmail.

It also made frequent use of Russia's flawed bankruptcy laws, acquiring debt in an enterprise or one of its subsidiaries then using local courts to obtain default and bankruptcy judgments. Most famously, these tactics were used at oil-production subsidiary **Chernogorneft** to gain a blocking stake in oil company **Sidanco** in the late 1990s⁸.

Alfa Group also faced much graver allegations regarding its conduct in this era. **The Center for Public Integrity (CPI)** published an article in 2000 repeating claims made in 1999 in Russian newspapers, as well as allegations made by a senior Russian parliamentarian, and backed by additional sources. The CPI article claimed Fridman and Aven were involved in drug trafficking, money laundering and association with organized crime. Fridman and Aven filed a defamation suit in 2005, which nearly bankrupted the group but was eventually tossed

⁵ <http://www.letterone.com/our-businesses/l1-health>

⁶ <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/b47de3d4-c325-11e4-ac3d-00144feab7de.html#axzz4IwVVcBT6>

⁷ <https://lenta.ru/lib/14159273/full.htm>

⁸ <http://www.nytimes.com/1999/08/13/business/russia-with-bankruptcy-high-cost-for-bp-amoco-s-investment-oil-concern.html?pagewanted=all>

out on the grounds they were public figures⁹. Separately, Alfa was also condemned by the United Nations for violating sanctions in the Iraq oil-for-food program¹⁰.

Entering the Putin era, Alfa Group was firmly established as one of the country's most powerful business groups and would only grow more powerful under the new president. Spin-doctor Surkov became the president's new deputy chief of staff, launching the regime's youth group and other ideological projects¹¹. And Aven, who has had a relationship with Putin going back to at least 1992, solidified his position as one of his closest advisors. In addition, Fridman became a member of the Public Chamber, a high profile if cosmetic project close to the president's heart.

During the 2000s, Alfa Group would demonstrate the strength of its political ties by taking on close associates of Vladimir Putin and consistently winning. The first example was the defeat of long-time Putin associate and then telecommunications minister, **Leonid Reiman**, in a fight for control over Megafon, one of Russia's top cellular carriers¹². Notably, Alfa launched this fight and prevailed in the aftermath of the collapse of Yukos and exiling of its shareholders.

Alfa Group achieved its greatest success in a battle with **Igor Sechin**, the head of state oil giant Rosneft and a member of Putin's circle. This fight emerged from Alfa's war with joint venture partner BP, first in 2008 and later in 2011, for strategic control over their TNK-BP joint venture. Alfa's strong arm tactics, including the bugging of the office of Robert Dudley, then head of the Russian venture and now BP CEO, did not bring any recriminations from the Kremlin¹³.

In 2011, Alfa initiated fresh hostilities to force BP to meet its demands and push Rosneft to buy it out on the most favorable terms possible. The group had installed US-trained oil executive **Stan Polovets** as the head of the Alfa-BP joint venture and he led a brutal PR campaign against BP¹⁴. Simultaneously, Alfa sponsored third party lawsuits in obscure Siberian courts seeking billions of dollars in damages to tie up BP and Rosneft for months to improve their negotiating position¹⁵.

Alfa Group used these trademark tactics in a series of other conflicts with foreign business partners, including Norway's Telenor and Turkey's Cukurova. They also took on powerful Russian business figures, including billionaire oligarch **Alisher Usmanov** over Megafon and billionaire oligarch **Yevgeny Yevtushenkov's** MTS over a Kyrgyz operator, Bitel. These

⁹ https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/USCOURTS-dcd-1_00-cv-02208/pdf/USCOURTS-dcd-1_00-cv-02208-0.pdf

¹⁰ http://www.foxnews.com/projects/pdf/final_off_report.pdf

¹¹ <http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2014/11/hidden-author-putinism-russia-vladislav-surkov/382489/>

¹² <http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB112856247619561303>

¹³ <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/newsbysector/energy/8286767/TNK-BP-Bob-Dudley-and-the-billionaire-Russian-partners.html>

¹⁴ <http://www.reuters.com/article/bp-rosneft-aar-idUSLDE70R0WT20110128>

¹⁵ http://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/12/business/global/bp-wins-legal-victory-for-its-russian-joint-venture.html?_r=0

moves indicate Alfa has serious clout: Both Usmanov and Yevtushenkov are classified as suspected organized crime figures by Western law enforcement agencies.

In almost every dispute, the Alfa group has prevailed and the Russian authorities have remained silent. The recruitment of prominent Western figures, such as Vodafone founder **Sir Julian Horn-Smith** and former UK foreign secretary **Lord Douglas Hurd** for Dutch telecommunications holding Altimio in 2006, have provided the crucial appearance of respectability for Western audiences and regulators¹⁶.

The well-timed sale of TNK-BP to Rosneft in 2013 netted Alfa Group more than US\$9 billion. It appears the shareholders invested much of these funds into LetterOne, reportedly owned by Fridman and Khan¹⁷, where former **BP boss Lord Browne** was made executive chairman of energy projects¹⁸. Even ahead of sanctions in 2014, the group put out a clear message that it was focusing on investments abroad¹⁹.

In fact, the group was acting in line with a new policy of the Putin regime to encourage Kremlin-friendly Russian conglomerates invest abroad in a variety of sectors, including energy and telecommunications. This strengthens Russia's ability to exert soft power influence in Europe and the Middle East, the two key regions to date for Alfa Group internationally. Fridman claims to spend most of his time abroad, but this claim may be more to ease concerns of European regulators (such as the UK's effort to force Fridman to sell North Sea oil fields in 2015)²⁰.

Today, Alfa Group and LetterOne appear to have deliberately distanced themselves from each other in terms of branding and promotion, despite their underlying common shareholding structures.

As the face of Alfa Bank, Peter Aven remains the group's key interface with the Kremlin. It appears his importance has only grown. Alfa Group, and specifically Alfa Bank, have a long-standing presence in the US and the UK. Aven has the ability to be a back channel to government actors as he and Fridman were representing the Kremlin in WTO accession negotiations in 2010-2012. And Alfa has long invested in lobbying in the US, an investment that is paying dividends during the current US elections.

Alfa Group continues to consist of several shareholders, but Fridman and Aven are the key players in both business and political terms. They are among the richest men in Russia. Fridman was ranked the second richest man in Russia in 2016, with a fortune of US\$13.3

¹⁶ <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/512fda9c-46b2-11db-ac52-0000779e2340.html#axzz4IwVVcBT6>

¹⁷ <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2015-10-14/eon-to-sell-norwegian-oil-and-gas-assets-to-dea-for-1-6-billion>

¹⁸ <http://www.institutionalinvestor.com/article/3450336/banking-and-capital-markets-emerging-markets/alfas-mikhail-fridman-skirts-russian-sanctions-to-invest-abroad.html#.V8c5WmVlt3I>

¹⁹ <http://www.institutionalinvestor.com/article/3450336/banking-and-capital-markets-emerging-markets/alfas-mikhail-fridman-skirts-russian-sanctions-to-invest-abroad.html#.V8c5WmVlt3I>

²⁰ <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/e258a2b0-e76c-11e4-a01c-00144feab7de.html#axzz4IwVVcBT6>

billion, narrowly behind gas tycoon **Leonid Mikhelson**²¹. Aven is ranked 19th in Russia with a fortune of US\$5.1 billion²².

Fridman and Aven are among the last surviving oligarchs who emerged in the 1990s, alongside such Kremlin allies as Oleg Deripaska, Vladimir Potanin and Mikhail Prokhorov. While the latter three oligarch have at times in recent years been forced by the Kremlin to publicly play the role of vassal, the Alfa tycoons are far more powerful, and are among the rare businessmen who do not require an intermediary to deal with President Putin.

Having exited the Russian oil sector, they also do not have any common interests or conflicts with the so-called Petersburg clan around the president, consisting of such KGB-linked figures as the **Kovalchuk brothers and Gennady Timchenko**. Similarly, they do not have dealings with rougher types such as **Suleiman Kerimov or Ziviyadun Magomedov**, who have prospered from links to the prime minister and members of his cabinet. This lack of domestic conflicts, enormous financial resources and powerful Kremlin support put them in a unique position.

Mikhail Fridman Background

Mikhail Fridman was born on April 21, 1964 in Lviv, Ukraine. He attended the Moscow Institute of Steel and Alloys, where he met two of his future business partners, Gref and Kuzmichev. In the late 1980s, according to various accounts, Fridman launched cooperative businesses to deliver packages and wash windows²³. In later interviews, Fridman would emphasize that he was an outsider in Moscow, in particular because he was Jewish²⁴.

The rapid growth of Alfa Group in the early 1990s was made possible by Fridman's ability to recruit politically connected figures, such as Aven, and later recruit Western-trained managers. By the mid-1990s, however, Fridman was not in a position to compete with many of the leading oligarchs of the time, who parlayed political connections and capital to engineer the infamous 'loans for shares' deals that essentially privatized giant industrial and natural resources assets for a few pennies on the dollar.

The fact that Fridman missed this opportunity meant Alfa would have to fight incumbent owners, such as Vladimir Potanin, for energy and natural resource assets. It appears this strategy, born of necessity, would become Fridman's trademark in all of his dealings.

Fridman emerged politically in 1995, when he joined other major oligarchs in a project to ensure the re-election of President Boris Yeltsin. The president was in ill health and losing badly in polls to a resurgent Communist Party. His role in this successful effort also earned him a seat on the board of Russia's largest television network, ORT (now called Channel

²¹ <http://www.forbes.com/profile/mikhail-fridman/>

²² <http://www.forbes.com/profile/pyotr-aven/>

²³ <http://www.ft.com/cms/s/0/b47de3d4-c325-11e4-ac3d-00144feab7de.html#axzz4IwVVcBT6>

²⁴ See 'Sale of the Century' (2000) by former Financial Times Moscow Correspondent Chrystia Freeland

One), alongside Vladislav Surkov. Notably, the state-owned station was under the *de facto* control of tycoon Boris Berezovsky at the time.

After Putin came to power, Fridman was positioned in the Russian media as a liberal figure. It is claimed that Fridman's picture was even carried by anti-regime protestors in 2007, underlining his ambiguous public position. Yet it was precisely at this time that Fridman was spearheading some of Alfa Group's harshest shareholder disputes and taking advantage of political cover from the Kremlin.

In terms of outright criminality, as outlined above, the Center for Public Integrity article accused Fridman of participating in crimes ranging from trafficking in narcotics to association with organized crime. Russian investigative journalist Oleg Lurie had also published these claims, although he was forced to retract them.

Civil Liberties Fund, a group linked to Berezovsky, accused Fridman of masterminding the brutal murder of Ukrainian journalist Grigory Gongadze²⁵. A Moscow newspaper was successfully sued for libel in 2004, when it linked Fridman to the murder of Paul Klebnikov, a US citizen writing for the Russian edition of Forbes²⁶. Both crimes remain unsolved.

It is likely impossible to ever uncover the truth regarding the early activities of Fridman and Alfa Eko and most observers credit him with appearing to have relatively clean hands in terms of physical violence. However, it is clear that Fridman has been the mastermind of Alfa Group's combative style of doing business. He has also been willing to pay top dollar to recruit respected businesspeople and politicians to the boards of his companies to buy respectability and leverage Western institutions for his own ends.

It has been important for Alfa Group for Fridman to appear to be the one in charge and mastermind of its projects. However, most political observers view Aven as the one with the critical political relationship with President Putin going back to the early 1990s. As Aven leads Alfa Bank, the "clean" asset in the group, he has not been publicly involved in Alfa's contentious deals. In this view, it is important Fridman appear to be the colorful figure and dealmaker.

Peter Aven Background

Peter (Pyotr) Aven was born on March 16, 1955 in Moscow to a relatively prominent family. His father, Oleg Aven, was a leading Russian mathematician who died in 1992. His father was a department head at the Institute of Problems of Management of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. His paternal grandfather, Ivan Aven, served in the famous Latvian Rifle Division, which played a crucial role in the 1917 revolution.

Aven completed his studies at the Moscow School of Physics and Mathematics 2, one of the most prestigious schools in the USSR. He trained as an academic Economist and gained a

²⁵ <http://www.rferl.org/content/article/1070338.html>

²⁶ <http://spitfirelist.com/news/alfa-bank-wins-libel-case-over-klebnikov-murder-claims/>

PhD in Econometrics from Moscow State University. His faculty adviser was Stanislav Shatalin, who later became an economic advisor to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and Russian President, Boris Yeltsin.

As a young economist in this era, Aven quickly developed ties with emerging reform figures. He was reportedly close to Yegor Gaidar, a former university classmate and Russia's first post-Soviet prime minister. In turn, Gaidar introduced Aven to Anatoly Chubais, the head of an informal 'club' of economists based in Leningrad in 1985 that included such figures as Alfred Kokh (future head of the State Property Committee) and Alexei Kudrin (finance minister and presidential advisor)

In 1989, Aven was appointed Economic advisor in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR. From 1991 to 1992, he was the Minister for Foreign Economic Liaison of the last Soviet and Russian government. In this role, he appointed Vladimir Putin, at that time head of the Committee of Foreign Economic Relations of St Petersburg, the ministry's "representative in St Petersburg". This allowed Putin the autonomy to register independently new joint ventures to conduct foreign trade – in essence delegating the ministry's functions to Putin on an exceptional basis. As Karen Dawisha has chronicled, Aven intervened more than once to support Putin when he came into conflict with other government bodies²⁷.

During his short tenure in government, Aven's deputy was Mikhail Fradkov. In 2004, Fradkov replaced Mikhail Kasyanov as Russian prime minister, a position he held until September 2007. Fradkov is currently head of the powerful Foreign Intelligence Service (SVR) and is today believed to be a key Alfa Group ally in senior Russian government circles.

After leaving government in 1992, Aven briefly went to work for early post-Soviet oligarch Boris Berezovsky, who was his former university supervisor and later became president of the automobile dealership network LogoVAZ. LogoVAZ was the main dealer for AvtoVAZ, the Tolyatti-based producer of Lada automobiles and the country's largest automobile manufacturer. Berezovsky later went into exile in Britain and his actions at LogoVAZ were central to Russia's extradition request to the UK in 2003²⁸.

Aven joined Alfa Group in 1993 and became president of Alfa Bank in 1994. He brought no capital, but had powerful political connections and working knowledge of how financial markets functioned. Notably, with the help of his political contacts, Alfa Eko became a major exporter of oil and Petroleum products by 1993 and made use of sophisticated transfer pricing arrangements.

Since the beginning of his tenure, Aven's role as president of Alfa Bank has always been strategic, and he has delegated day-to-day operations to a series of CEOs. He also brought in Andrei Gafin, an old friend with no banking experience, to do PR for the bank. Notably, Aven was given credit for seeing Alfa Bank through the financial crisis, having anticipated the currency crash if not the sovereign default.

²⁷ "Putin's Kleptocracy: Who Owns Russia," Karen Dawisha, accessed electronically

²⁸ <http://www.nytimes.com/2003/03/26/world/britain-arrests-russian-expatriate-billionaire-and-a-colleague.html>

In the 2000s, Aven has positioned himself as the president of Alfa Bank and the chairman of various, uncontroversial media and retail ventures. He has sought to play down his close relationship with the Kremlin. He received an award in 2015 for “Services to the Fatherland” along with four other business figures²⁹.

Notably, Financial Times journalist Andrew Jack noted in his book *Inside Putin’s Russia* that during an interview in which Aven was downplaying any government connections, Aven received a call about a senior resignation in the government that was not made public until three days later.

It is clear that Aven remains the key political figure in Alfa Group, with multiple current links to the government and security services, as outlined above. He has also driven the development of international links through the expansion of Alfa Bank in the US and Europe. The bank has carried out careful outreach, running an international Alfa Fellows program and maintaining a high profile. Although not itself a target, the bank has suffered from sanctions however, and has a particular interest in lifting sanctions³⁰.

Aven has spent years cultivating relationships in Washington, both as an envoy of Vladimir Putin on trade matters and a representative of the interests of Alfa Group. He is well prepared to support and promote a political agenda in the US if it suits Russia and Alfa.

Richard Burt

Burt plays a big role in Alfa’s “deep lobbying” program of spreading donations to influential groups in the US. A former top BGR executive, he is now a managing director of McLarty Associates and a member of Alfa’s International Advisory Council. He is also the owner of a small consultancy, **IEP Advisors**, with historical links to Alfa. Burt, a former US Ambassador to Germany, also works with **Deutsche Bank**, the only major bank still willing to lend substantial sums to the Trump Organization despite Trump’s multiple bankruptcies.

²⁹ http://www.gazeta.ru/business/news/2015/05/29/n_7241257.shtml

³⁰ <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2014-08-22/sanctions-free-no-shield-for-alfa-in-wary-market-russia-credit>

RICHARD BURT



AT A GLANCE

- Managing Director, Europe & Eurasia Practice
- Former US Ambassador to Germany
- Former Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs
- Chief Negotiator in the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks with the Soviet Union
- Former partner with McKinsey & Company

Richard Burt, Managing Director, has led the firm's work in Europe and Eurasia since 2007.

From 1992 to 1995, Ambassador Burt was a partner with McKinsey & Company, the global management consulting firm. Ambassador Burt came to McKinsey after successfully concluding a nuclear arms treaty as the US Chief Negotiator in the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks with the former Soviet Union.

Prior to this, Ambassador Burt was US Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Germany from 1985 to 1989. Before Ambassador Burt served in Germany, he worked at the State Department as Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian affairs from 1983 to 1985. From 1981 to 1983, Ambassador Burt was the Director of Politico-military Affairs in the Department of State.

From 1977 to 1980, Ambassador Burt worked in Washington as the National Security Correspondent for *Foreign Affairs*. From 1973 to 1977, he worked for the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) in London, first as a Research Associate and then as Assistant Director.

Ambassador Burt serves on the board of Deutsche Bank's closed-end fund group and is also a trustee of the UBS family of mutual funds (New York board). In addition, he is an Advisor to EAGS North America's board and a member of the Alfa Bank's Senior Advisory Board in Moscow.

Ambassador Burt also serves as a Senior Advisor to the Center for Strategic and International Studies and is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. He is a board member of the Center for the National Interest and a member of the executive board of the Atlantic Council. Ambassador Burt serves as Chairman of Global Zero USA, an organization focused on developing a viable plan for eliminating nuclear weapons worldwide.

Ambassador Burt earned his bachelor's degree in government from Cornell University and his master's degree in international relations from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University. Upon receiving his MA,

Burt has acknowledged that he played a significant role in writing Trump's first major foreign policy speech. "I was asked to provide a draft for that speech. And parts of that -- of my draft -- survived into the final," he told NPR.³¹

In the April 27 "America First" speech, Trump laid out an isolationist foreign policy. He criticized NATO and promised he would pursue better relations with Russia-- skipping over its invasions of its neighbors and human rights abuses.³²

Burt has extensive ties to both Alfa and the Kremlin-backed aluminum oligarch Oleg Deripaska. Like Paul Manafort and Carter Page, Burt was a foreign policy advisor to Sen. John McCain for his 2008 presidential campaign. As has been widely reported, Manafort has had extensive business dealings with Deripaska and stands accused of absconding with at least \$19 million of Deripaska's money. The true amount is believed to be much higher.

Burt's ties to Alfa stretch back to the early years of the George W. Bush presidency when he was working for Barbour Griffith & Rogers. BGR first landed Alfa as a client in December of 2002 for "monitoring economic development and policy issues." In its lobbying reports for 2011, BGR reported receiving \$570,000 in fees from Alfa. While that is a generous sum,

³¹ <http://www.npr.org/2016/05/14/478040422/trump-s-america-first-foreign-policy-as-a-strategy-to-pursue-national-interests->

³² <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/28/us/politics/transcript-trump-foreign-policy.html>

it likely understates by a large margin the fees BGR took in. BGR claimed in its filings that it lobbied for Alfa regarding “US-Russian and WTO negotiations,” an elastic term.

When the lobbying firm BGR decided to form a private intelligence consultancy in 2003 called **Diligence LLC**, it installed Burt as the president. One of the firm’s first assignments was working for Alfa, which at the time was pursuing a libel suit against an NGO called the **Center for Public Integrity**.

A former journalist working for CPI, **Knut Royce**, published an article linking Alfa to criminal activity. The article and subsequent court case involved a KGB report on Alfa provided to CPI by Rick Palmer, a former CIA official, alleging narcotics trafficking and other criminal activity.

Diligence also investigated a reporter from *The Wall Street Journal* who had contacted the CPI regarding the Alfa libel case. Private investigators for Diligence conducted a trash-stealing operation against the personal residence of the journalist. The operation was eventually exposed by an insider at Diligence. The affair caused high-level consternation in Washington due to a bizarre snafu: Unknown to the Diligence investigators, the reporter had vacated his home and rented it to a top White House official. That led to a confidential national security investigation of possible espionage by Alfa.

The lawsuit was dismissed, no charges were brought, and the controversy eventually blew over. In 2007, Burt sold his personal stake in Diligence and left BGR for McLarty Associates.

Burt continued to cultivate influence in Washington for Alfa, working closely with the **Wilson Center**, which bestowed awards on Fridman and Aven and feted them at annual dinners. Burt also helped run the Alfa Fellowship Program, which sponsored internships in US agencies including the State Department.³³

Aven and Fridman in May 2008 also obtained a private meeting with US Treasury Sec. Henry Paulson at the Treasury headquarters building next to the White House. After Obama took office, a series of additional meetings took place. The meetings were arranged by Alfa’s two top lobbyists, former diplomat Richard Burt and former White House official Ed Rogers. While they now run separate firms, Burt and Rogers have long collaborated closely to advance Alfa’s interests in Washington, including aggressive intelligence gathering operations against journalists and others who threaten Alfa’s interests.

The first meeting took place on May 13, 2010. Fridman and Aven visited a top White House official named David Lipton. They were accompanied by a former diplomat named Stephen Rademaker, now a lobbyist working for Ed Rogers. On May 12, 2011, Fridman, Aven, and Richard Burt were admitted to the Old Executive Office Building a second time. They were signed in by a White House special assistant named Groslyn Foster Burton. But it is likely they visited a more senior official whose name was kept off the records, probably David

³³ <http://www.culturalvistas.org/alfa-fellowship/russia-alfa-fellowship-program-celebrates-10th-anniversary>

Lipton again, given that Ms. Burton is his assistant. Lipton is a longtime associate of Leonard Blavatnik (See below). He recently took a new position at the International Monetary Fund.

The 2011 Meeting Record

NAMEFIRST	NAMELAST	TOA	TOD	visitee1	visitee2
Richard	Burt	5/12/2011 15:44	5/12/2011 16:55	Groslyn	Burton
Mikhail	Fridman	5/12/2011 15:45	5/12/2011 16:55	Groslyn	Burton
Peter	Olegovich	5/12/2011 15:47	5/12/2011 16:55	Groslyn	Burton

It is notable that the three high-level visits all occurred in May, suggesting the possibility that Fridman and Aven visit Washington annually in May for a charitable event. One charitable event held annually in May is the annual fundraising dinner for the Kennan Institute at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. Access Industries and Alfa lawyers Akin Gump are both supporters of the Wilson Center, while Blavatnik is vice chairman of the Kennan Institute.

The final Fridman visit to the White House took place around the same time in 2012 (May 8), suggesting it was also in conjunction with the Wilson Center annual event. Attendees were Mikhail Fridman, Petr Aven, Richard Burt, and John W. Roberts. They met with **Alice Wells**, Special Assistant to the President for Russia and Central Asia and former executive assistant to Sec. of State Hillary Clinton.

NAMELAST	NAMEFIRST	NAMEMID	UIN	APPT_START_DATE	APPT_END_DATE
Aven	Petr	O	U05460	5/17/12 15:00	5/17/12 23:59
Burt	Richard	R	U05460	5/17/12 15:00	5/17/12 23:59
Fridman	Mikhail	M	U05460	5/17/12 15:00	5/17/12 23:59
Roberts	John	W	U05460	5/17/12 15:00	5/17/12 23:59

The White House-Treasury meetings in 2008 are somewhat remarkable: US agencies possess substantial information alleging criminal activity by Aven and Fridman, including organized crime and narcotics trafficking. Alfa was also the subject of a lengthy money-laundering and stock manipulation investigation by the Manhattan District Attorney that was ultimately shelved. While the allegations against Alfa and its founders are considered to be unsubstantiated, the mere existence of such derogatory allegations – some of which have even been aired publicly – is often enough to preclude entry into the executive complex.

But unlike many of their Russian peers, Aven and Fridman are not officially listed in US law enforcement files as organized crime figures. This has given them largely unfettered access to the United States, and they make frequent visits to Washington to appear at policy forums and other events. It is believed that these trips sometimes include small dinners with top Washington officials or other similar types of “off the record” encounters.

Akin Gump

The Alfa libel case against CPI nearly bankrupted the CPI. Ultimately, it was dismissed by a federal judge in 2005. The law firm for Alfa in the libel case was Akin Gump, where top lawyers **James Langdon** and **Mark MacDougall** represent the group. Langdon is an influential Republican with intelligence connections while MacDougall is a Democrat with Justice Department connections and a fierce litigation style.

Akin Gump lobbied for Alfa/Vimpelcom/Altimo during its lengthy battle with Telenor, and also advised Altimo on various legal matters.

Akin Gump handed Alfa its biggest political victory in Washington in connection with Tyumen Oil loan guarantees from the Export-Import Bank. BP Amoco mounted a sustained campaign to delay or block those loan guarantees, but TNK prevailed thanks to deft lobbying by Langdon, a former Navy intelligence officer and member of President George W. Bush's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board, a high-level external advisory group to the White House. During the controversy, information was provided to US officials alleging illegal oil dealings between Alfa and Saddam Hussein. The information was later substantiated by the United Nations. Blavatnik played a major role in this battle, which was chronicled in an unusually detailed Washington Post article.³⁴

Blavatnik's Ties to Democrats

While Rogers is a well-known Republican, the group has very powerful Democratic ties through Blavatnik, who is particularly close to Secretary of State Hillary Clinton through extensive donations to her campaigns and causes. The Blavatnik family have also contributed heavily to the campaigns of Vice President Joe Biden.

Records show the Blavatnik family have given more than \$300,000 in contributions since 1996. Employees of Renova and Access have given another \$700,000. Emily Blatanik gave \$35,800 to the Obama campaign in August of 2011.

Blavatnik also enjoys influence through longstanding ties to a group of Harvard economists including former Treasury Sec. Larry Summers (who chaired the Obama White House economic council until 2010), Jeffrey Sachs, David Lipton, and Andrei Shleifer. Sachs, Shleifer, Lipton and Sachs were the subject of a criminal fraud investigation involving Harvard's dealings in Russia during the privatization era. This matter was detailed in a major 2006 investigative report in a business magazine.³⁵

Access is represented in Washington by the lobbying firm Brownstein Hyatt, which reported receiving \$330,000 to lobby on tax issues and various other matters. Brownstein Hyatt is a top Democratic lobbying firm.

³⁴ <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/WPcap/1999-10/27/085r-102799-idx.html>

³⁵ http://janinewedel.info/harvardinvestigative_InstInvestorMag.pdf

Alfa's Soft Lobbying

Donations by Alfa/Access to influential US think tanks include large sums to the Rand Institute, which is affiliated with the Pentagon, the Center for Strategic & International Studies, the Wilson Center, the Council on Foreign Relations, and the Atlantic Council.

Alfa also maintains a well-funded fellowship program whose recipients often land important jobs in the US. Alumni include:

- Marcy Fowler, now at the IAEA.
- James Lindley, US Dept. of Commerce
- Rachel Mikeska, Department of State (currently in Kuwait).
- Francoise Schorosch, Council of the Americas
- Scott Schrum, National Nuclear Security Administration
- Nadezhda Mouzykina, National Democratic Institute
- Raisa Sheynberg, Treasury Department
- Ilona Tservil, Justice Department
- David Wright, Treasury Department
- Michael Kreidler, State Department

Alfa also maintains the Altimo Foundation, which maintains primarily a UK focus but employs the influential US lobbying firm APCO.

-0-

From: Mark.Hosenball@thomsonreuters.com
Sent: Wednesday, October 5, 2016 5:36 PM
To: Peter Fritsch <pfritsch@fusiongps.com>
Subject: RE: alfa

yep got it. but is that from you all or from the outside computer experts ?

-----Original Message-----

From: Peter Fritsch [mailto:pfritsch@fusiongps.com]
Sent: Wednesday, October 05, 2016 1:33 PM
To: Hosenball, Mark J. (Reuters News)
Subject: Re: alfa

that memo is OTR --- tho all open source

> On Oct 5, 2016, at 1:31 PM, Peter Fritsch <pfritsch@fusiongps.com> wrote:
>
> <Alfa Group Overview 9.1.16.docx>

From: Peter Fritsch <pfritsch@fusiongps.com>
Sent: Wednesday, October 5, 2016 5:37 PM
To: Mark Hosenball <mark.hosenball@thomsonreuters.com>
Subject: Re: alfa

the DNS stuff? not us at all.

outside computer experts

we did up an alfa memo unrelated to all this

> On Oct 5, 2016, at 1:35 PM, Mark.Hosenball@thomsonreuters.com wrote:

>

> yep got it. but is that from you all or from the outside computer experts ?

>

> -----Original Message-----

> From: Peter Fritsch [mailto:pfritsch@fusiongps.com]

> Sent: Wednesday, October 05, 2016 1:33 PM

> To: Hosenball, Mark J. (Reuters News)

> Subject: Re: alfa

>

> that memo is OTR — tho all open source

>

>> On Oct 5, 2016, at 1:31 PM, Peter Fritsch <pfritsch@fusiongps.com> wrote:

>>

>> <Alfa Group Overview 9.1.16.docx>

>

From: Peter Fritsch <pfritsch@fusiongps.com>
Sent: Wednesday, October 5, 2016 5:44 PM
To: Eric Lichtblau <ericl@nytimes.com>
Subject: alfa and trump
Attach: gdd.zip; ATT00001.htm

fyi found this published on web... and downloaded it. super interesting in context of our discussions

<http://www.mediafire.com/file/qc68pt5k6wn9f64/gdd.zip>

From: Peter Fritsch <pfritsch@fusiongps.com>
Sent: Wednesday, October 5, 2016 6:32 PM
To: Lichtblau, Eric <ericl@nytimes.com>
Subject: Re: alfa and trump

no idea. our tech maven says it was first posted via reddit. i see it has a tutanota contact — so someone anonymous and encrypted. so it's either someone real who has real info or one of the donald's 400 pounders. the de vos stuff looks rank to me... weird

On Oct 5, 2016, at 2:23 PM, Lichtblau, Eric <ericl@nytimes.com> wrote:

thanks. where did this come from?

Eric Lichtblau
New York Times
Washington Bureau
Reporter

(202) 862-0306 (o)
(202) 468-9254 (c)

On Wed, Oct 5, 2016 at 1:44 PM, Peter Fritsch <pfritsch@fusiongps.com> wrote:

fyi found this published on web... and downloaded it. super interesting in context of our discussions

<http://www.mediafire.com/file/qc58pt5k6wn9f64/gdd.zip>

From: Peter Fritsch <pfritsch@fusiongps.com>
Sent: Wednesday, October 5, 2016 8:32 PM
To: Mark.Hosenball@thomsonreuters.com
Cc: Glenn Simpson <gsimpson@fusiongps.com>
Subject: Re: alfa

Though first step is to send that explanation to the source who posted this stuff. I understand the trump explanations can be refuted

Sent from my iPhone

On Oct 5, 2016, at 4:28 PM, Peter Fritsch <pfritsch@fusiongps.com> wrote:

Not easily, alas

Sent from my iPhone

On Oct 5, 2016, at 3:58 PM, "Mark.Hosenball@thomsonreuters.com" <Mark.Hosenball@thomsonreuters.com> wrote:

so the trumpies just sent me the explanation below; how do I get behind it?

//The email server, set up for marketing purposes and operated by a third-party, has not been used since 2010. The current traffic on the server from Alphabank's IP address is regular DNS server traffic - not email traffic. To be clear, The Trump Organization is not sending or receiving any communications from this email server. The Trump Organization has no communication or relationship with this entity or any Russian entity.

Best,
Hope//

From: Peter Fritsch [mailto:pfritsch@fusiongps.com]
Sent: Wednesday, October 05, 2016 3:27 PM
To: Hosenball, Mark J. (Reuters News)
Cc: Glenn Simpson
Subject: Re: alfa

All same stuff

Sent from my iPhone

On Oct 5, 2016, at 2:27 PM, "Mark.Hosenball@thomsonreuters.com" <Mark.Hosenball@thomsonreuters.com> wrote:

tuta sent me this guidance:

<http://gdd.i2p> - you cannot reach that site unless you have installed very complicated software to access - not just the usual "dark web" of tor - no, this is a far more secure dark web called i2p.

4chan and political people have shut down posts.

You can only reach the site on i2p, which is like Tor.

You install i2p reading this:

<https://geti2p.net/ar/about/intro>

You can watch video <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5J3nh1DoRMw>

If you have Tor there are also onion sites and different data.

Since I am technically hopeless I have asked our techie persons to try to get into this. But here is the raw info in case you get there first. Chrs mh

From: Peter Fritsch [mailto:pfritsch@fusiongps.com]
Sent: Wednesday, October 05, 2016 1:43 PM
To: Hosenball, Mark J. (Reuters News)
Subject: Re: alfa

no

On Oct 5, 2016, at 1:41 PM, Mark.Hosenball@thomsonreuters.com wrote:

yes I have emailed tuta and they have responded but haven't sent me any new links yet. but I am pressing. but have you downloaded more data from them ?

From: Peter Fritsch [mailto:pfritsch@fusiongps.com]
Sent: Wednesday, October 05, 2016 1:41 PM
To: Hosenball, Mark J. (Reuters News)
Subject: Re: alfa

alfa was something we did unrelated to this. i sent you what we have BUT it gives you a tutanota address to leave questions.

1. Leave questions at: tea.leaves@tuta.io

On Oct 5, 2016, at 1:38 PM, Mark.Hosenball@thomsonreuters.com wrote:

is the alfa attachment you just sent me experts or yours ? also is there additional data posted by the experts ? all I have found is the summary I sent you and a chart...

-----Original Message-----

From: Peter Fritsch [mailto:pfritsch@fusiongps.com]
Sent: Wednesday, October 05, 2016 1:37 PM
To: Hosenball, Mark J. (Reuters News)
Subject: Re: alfa

the DNS stuff? not us at all.

outside computer experts

we did up an alfa memo unrelated to all this

On Oct 5, 2016, at 1:35 PM, Mark.Hosenball@thomsonreuters.com wrote:

yep got it. but is that from you all or from the outside computer experts ?

-----Original Message-----

From: Peter Fritsch [mailto:pfritsch@fusiongps.com]
Sent: Wednesday, October 05, 2016 1:33 PM
To: Hosenball, Mark J. (Reuters News)
Subject: Re: alfa

that memo is OTR — tho all open source

On Oct 5, 2016, at 1:31 PM, Peter Fritsch <pfritsch@fusiongps.com> wrote:

<Alfa Group Overview 9.1.16.docx>

From: Peter Fritsch <pfritsch@fusiongps.com>
Sent: Tuesday, October 18, 2016 4:02 PM
To: Mark Hosenball <Mark.Hosenball@thomsonreuters.com>
Subject: Re: i heard

it's everyone's problem. call david dagon at georgia tech

> On Oct 18, 2016, at 11:12 AM, Mark.Hosenball@thomsonreuters.com wrote:

>

> Yes I know but the problem is that the nature of the data is way above my level of competence....

>

> -----Original Message-----

> From: Peter Fritsch [mailto:pfritsch@fusiongps.com]

> Sent: Tuesday, October 18, 2016 11:10 AM

> To: Hosenball, Mark J. (Reuters News)

> Subject: Re: i heard

>

> Ugh.

>

> Sent from my iPhone

>

>> On Oct 18, 2016, at 11:04 AM, "Mark.Hosenball@thomsonreuters.com" <Mark.Hosenball@thomsonreuters.com> wrote:

>>

>> the problem with the Alfa bank story at this point is that my cyber expert colleagues cannot satisfy themselves about the authenticity of some of the key data, which they say from what they can tell is NOT public data. We are in contact with your experts via different channels but my colleague Joe Menn in Silicon Valley still hasn't got the confidence he says he needs to understand where all the data originated. If you can help more with this pls do....

>>

>> -----Original Message-----

>> From: Peter Fritsch [mailto:pfritsch@fusiongps.com]

>> Sent: Tuesday, October 18, 2016 11:01 AM

>> To: Hosenball, Mark J. (Reuters News)

>> Subject: Re: i heard

>>

>> when is he coming?

>>

>> meantime, do the fucking alfa bank secret comms story. it is hugely important. forget the wikileaks sideshow

>>

>>> On Oct 18, 2016, at 10:59 AM, Mark.Hosenball@thomsonreuters.com wrote:

>>>

>>> we all get together when he arrives.

>>>

>>> anything new Russkie/Donald wise ?

>>>

>>> -----Original Message-----

>>> From: Peter Fritsch [mailto:pfritsch@fusiongps.com]

>>> Sent: Tuesday, October 18, 2016 10:59 AM

>>> To: Hosenball, Mark J. (Reuters News)

>>> Subject: Re: i heard

>>>

>>> awesome. he's a great dude. known him for 25 years

>>>

>>>

>>>> On Oct 18, 2016, at 10:57 AM, Mark.Hosenball@thomsonreuters.com wrote:

>>>>

>>>> oh definitely. he's our new bureau chief. haven't worked with him that much but when I have he seemed like a great guy....

>>>>

>>>> -----Original Message-----

>>>> From: Peter Fritsch [mailto:pfritsch@fusiongps.com]

>>>> Sent: Tuesday, October 18, 2016 10:56 AM

>>>> To: Hosenball, Mark J. (Reuters News)

>>>> Subject: i heard

>>>>

>>>> a good pal of mine is moving to reuters in DC: kieran murray. you heard that?

>>>>

>>>>

From: Michael Isikoff <misikoff@yahoo-inc.com>
Sent: Monday, October 31, 2016 12:39 PM
To: Peter Fritsch <pfritsch@fusiongps.com>
Subject: Re: Server

Will call in half an hour or so

Sent from Yahoo Mail for iPhone

On Monday, October 31, 2016, 7:30 AM, Peter Fritsch <pfritsch@fusiongps.com> wrote:

Big story on the trump Alfa server moving early pm. OTR. USG absolutely investigating. Campaign will light it up I imagine

Sent from my iPhone

From: Peter Fritsch <pfritsch@fusiongps.com>
Sent: Monday, October 31, 2016 3:27 PM
To: Mark Hosenball <Mark.Hosenball@thomsonreuters.com>
Subject: Re: Server

yeah

> On Oct 31, 2016, at 11:24 AM, Mark.Hosenball@thomsonreuters.com wrote:

>

> pls advise/send as soon as this surfaces. tks

>

> -----Original Message-----

> From: Peter Fritsch [mailto:pfritsch@fusiongps.com]

> Sent: Monday, October 31, 2016 7:30 AM

> To: Hosenball, Mark J. (Reuters News)

> Subject: Server

>

> Big story on the trump Alfa server moving early pm. OTR. USG absolutely investigating. Campaign will light it up I imagine

>

> Sent from my iPhone

From: Peter Fritsch <pfritsch@fusiongps.com>
Sent: Monday, October 31, 2016 9:20 PM
To: Mark Hosenball <Mark.Hosenball@thomsonreuters.com>
Subject: Re: Server

any second now

> On Oct 31, 2016, at 5:09 PM, Mark.Hosenball@thomsonreuters.com wrote:

>

> ??

>

> -----Original Message-----

> From: Peter Fritsch [mailto:pfritsch@fusiongps.com]

> Sent: Monday, October 31, 2016 7:30 AM

> To: Hosenball, Mark J. (Reuters News)

> Subject: Server

>

> Big story on the trump Alfa server moving early pm. OTR. USG absolutely investigating. Campaign will light it up I imagine

>

> Sent from my iPhone

From: Peter Fritsch <pfritsch@fusiongps.com>
Sent: Thursday, November 3, 2016 3:51 PM
To: Lichtblau, Eric <ericl@nytimes.com>
Cc: Glenn Simpson <gsimpson@fusiongps.com>
Subject: Re: follow up

On Sep 27, 2016, at 12:26 PM, Lichtblau, Eric <ericl@nytimes.com> wrote:

Did you say that Millian had an alfa email address, or was that someone else?

Eric Lichtblau
New York Times
Washington Bureau
Reporter

(202) 862-0306 (o)
(202) 468-9254 (c)

On Sat, Sep 24, 2016 at 8:59 AM, Peter Fritsch <pfritsch@fusiongps.com> wrote:

gents, good to see you yesterday. sounded like you might be interested in some of the attached russia-related material. these are internal, open source research drafts. as agreed, pls treat this as background/not for attribution. as you'll see, it's all easily replicated anyway. can also send you a shnaider/toronto memo once i dig it out. i'm skipping over felix sater and bayrock. believe your guys have done that up...leave it to you to distribute internally, or not, as you see fit. don't believe sunny isles/hollywood or panama or toronto have been touched by brands xy or z. amazingly, don't think anyone has done up the trump tower poker ring story either. pretty vivid color there.

saludos, p.