

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FOI/PA

DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

Civil Action No.: 19-cv-1278 / 19-cv-1626

FOIA: 1492006-0; 1432673-0; 1432673-1; 1433273-0

PDF Title:19-cv-1278 Release 20

Total Withheld Pages = 448

Bates Page Reference	Reason for Withholding (i.e., exemptions with coded rationale, duplicate, sealed by order of court, etc.)
FBI(19cv1278) 7703	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 7704	Duplicate
FBI(19cv1278) 7705	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 7706	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 7707	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 7708	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 7709	b5 per DOJ/OIP
FBI(19cv1278) 7710	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 7711	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 7712	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 7713	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 7714	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7C
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Bates Page Reference	Reason for Withholding (i.e., exemptions with coded rationale, duplicate, sealed by order of court, etc.)
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Bates Page Reference	Reason for Withholding (i.e., exemptions with coded rationale, duplicate, sealed by order of court, etc.)
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FBI(19cv1278) 7921	b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 7925	b3; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 7926	b3; b6; b7C
FBI(19cv1278) 7927	b3
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FBI(19cv1278) 7930	b3

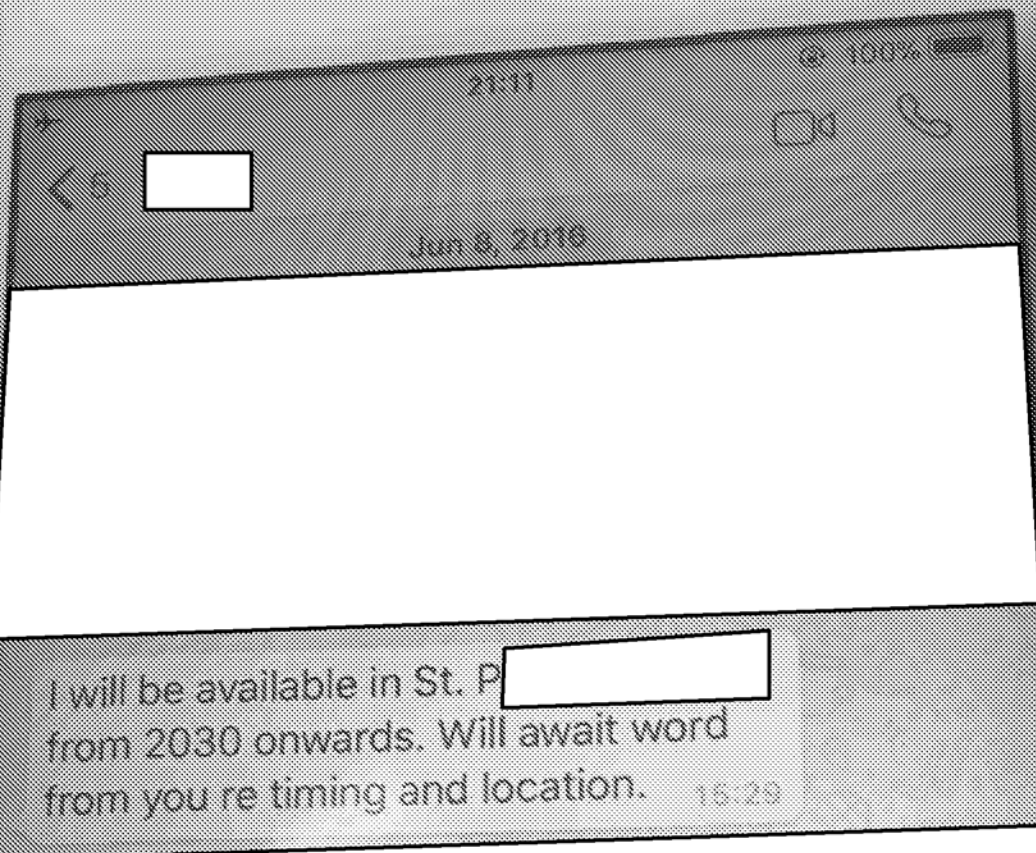
Bates Page Reference	Reason for Withholding (i.e., exemptions with coded rationale, duplicate, sealed by order of court, etc.)
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FBI(19cv1278) 7977	b6; b7C

Bates Page Reference	Reason for Withholding (i.e., exemptions with coded rationale, duplicate, sealed by order of court, etc.)
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FBI(19cv1278) 8023	b6; b7C

Bates Page Reference	Reason for Withholding (i.e., exemptions with coded rationale, duplicate, sealed by order of court, etc.)
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b6
b7C

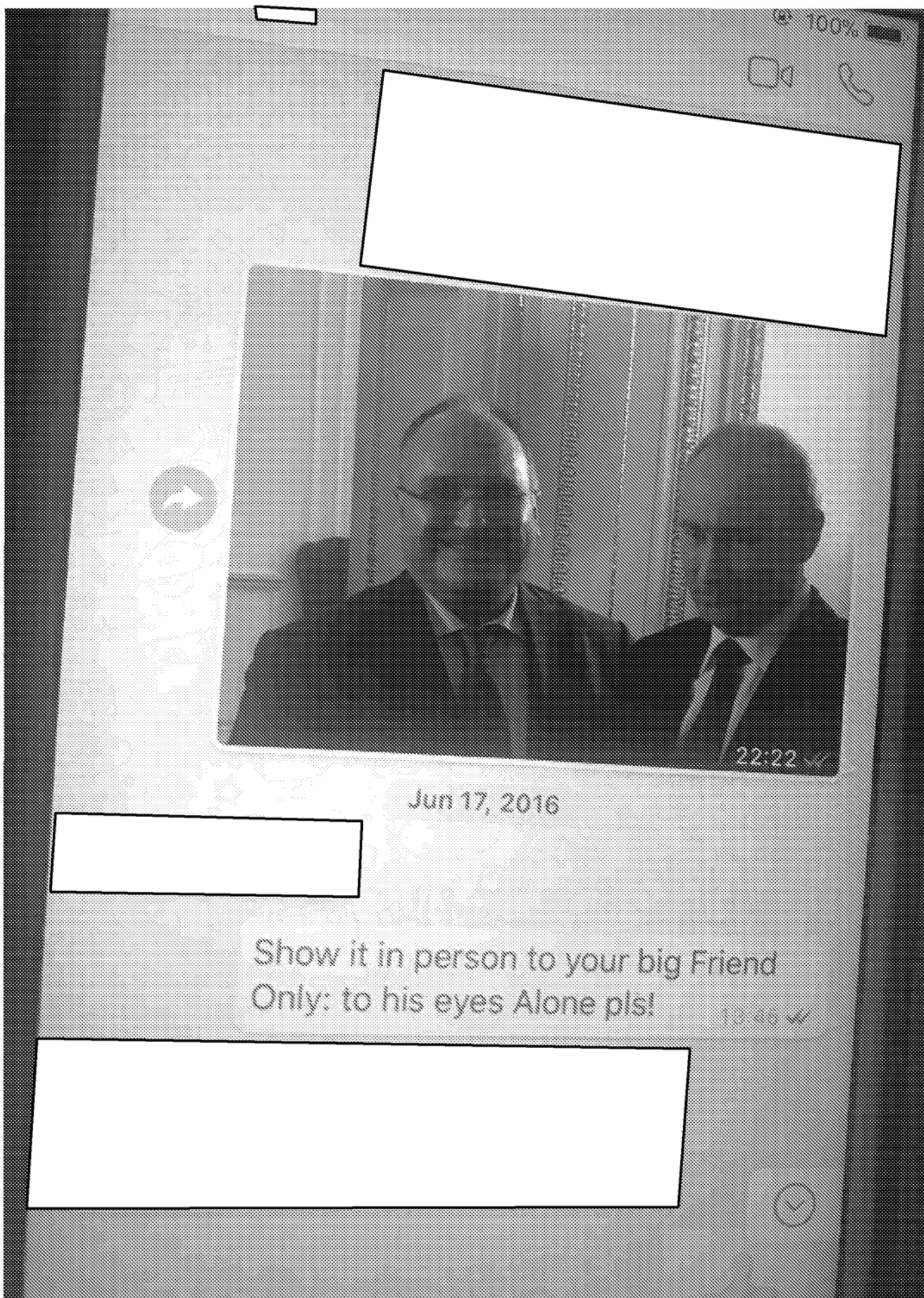
b6
b7C

b6
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b6
b7c

Jun 15, 2015

b6
b7c



[REDACTED]

Jun 28, 2016

[REDACTED]

When I spoke with him at 6:00, he said he would be free to speak with you until 6:30. I am coordinating with his chief of staff now who says he will be free again at 8:30.

19:03

[REDACTED]

The chief of staff said to call then, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] I will stay coordinated with the chief of staff.

19:26

b6
b7C

Jul 2, 2016

b6
b7C

b6
b7c

Jul 16, 2016

b6
b7c

Will deliver stuff shortly to our Friend

11:31 ✓

[REDACTED]

I have not revealed anything about who I
am bringing, or the purpose/topic of
discussion. So zero exposure for you so
far.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

No, I told him absolutely nothing. I simply told him: how easily/quickly can you get me a meeting [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] I have something important to bring to the table. Emphasizing discretion and no others should be involved etc.

03:49

It could also be the Girl ? 09/51-4

b6
b7C

Jul 23, 2016

b6
b7C

Jul 26, 2016

b6
b7c

I spoke to our Friend this afternoon RD

18:09 ✓

b6
b7c

[REDACTED]

He must understand that he has to remain very discreet ! I left with him I thought on good terms! But I haven't seeing him in years now!

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

[REDACTED]

Jul 30, 2013

[REDACTED]

He must understand that he has to remain very discreet ! I left with him I thought on good terms! But I haven't seeing him in years now!

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

Yes they are not encouraged me but will
also report back immediately upon
return : [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] 18:30 ✓

Confirmed with the son Eric 16:58

b6
b7c

[REDACTED]

Ok! Anyway very positive meeting and I
am following up with both HH and HRH
which happen to be here with me in
[REDACTED]

b6
b7c

b6
b7c

Well can he possibly come on Friday or
over the weekend?
If not when is it possible?

I guess we should consider him
unavailable for a few days. Another idea
- you have his business card if you want
to try calling him. But I don't want to call
directly since our other friend has
already sent a note and tried to make it
happen.

10:09

b6
b7C

[REDACTED]

Late this afternoon and held a terrific
meeting with some key people within the
family and inner circle

[REDACTED]

b6
b7C

Very well: They asked me for your bio

22:24 ✓

Do you have something in particular or I
can send them this?

22:26 ✓

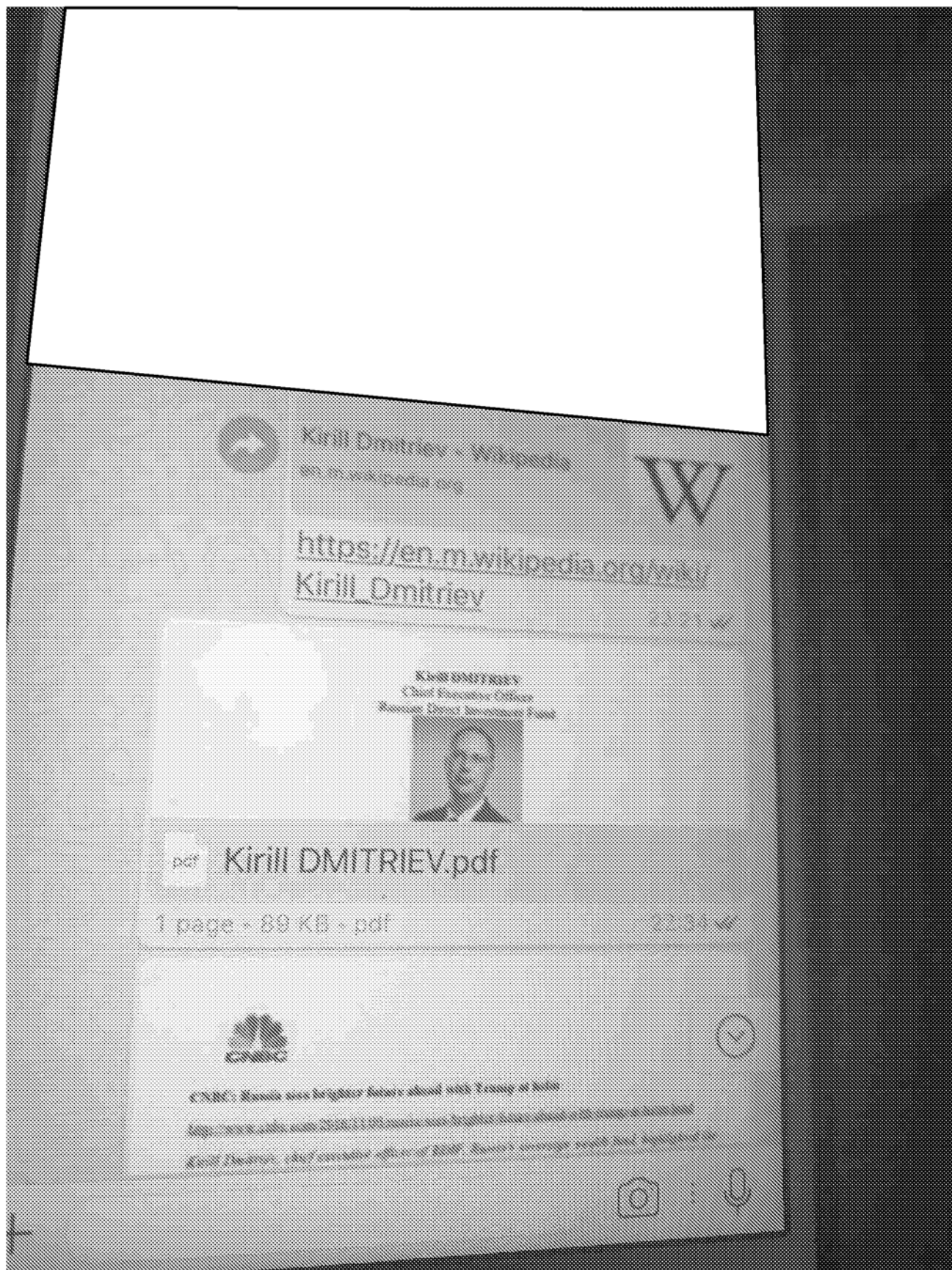
Kirill Dmitriev - Wikipedia

wikipedia.org



We can talk in person when you get here: not good to talk by phone especially when safe line isn't working! This guy is designated by Steve to meet you! I know him and he is very very well connected and trusted by the New Team His sister is now a Minister of education Main contributor to the Team

08/12/14



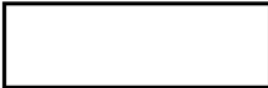


U.S. Department of Justice

The Special Counsel's Office

Washington, D.C. 20530

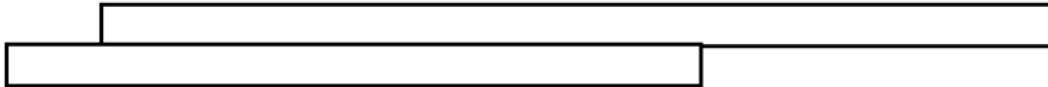
January 19, 2018



b6
b7C

Re: George Nader *

Dear Counsel:



b6 per DOJ/OIP
b7C per DOJ/OIP

With respect to the meeting between the government, Client and yourself on January 19, 2018, (hereinafter "the meeting"), the government will be represented by individuals from the U.S. Department of Justice, Special Counsel's Office and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The terms of this letter do not bind any office or component of the U.S. Department of Justice other than those identified in the preceding sentence. The following terms and conditions apply to the meeting:

b6 per DOJ/OIP
b7C per DOJ/OIP

(1) THIS IS NOT A COOPERATION AGREEMENT.

[Redacted] the government does not agree to make any motion on Client's behalf or to enter into a cooperation agreement, plea agreement, immunity agreement or non-prosecution agreement with Client. The government makes no representation about the likelihood that any such agreement will be reached in connection with this meeting.

(2) Should Client be prosecuted, no statements made by Client during the meeting will be used against Client in the government's case-in-chief at trial or for purposes of sentencing, except as provided below.

(3) The government may use any statement made or information provided by Client, or on Client's behalf, in a prosecution for false statements, perjury, or obstruction of justice, premised on statements or actions during the meeting. The government may also use any such statement or information at sentencing in support of an argument that Client failed to provide truthful or complete information during the meeting, and, accordingly: (a) that under the United States Sentencing Guidelines, Client is not entitled to a downward adjustment for acceptance of

responsibility pursuant to Section 3E1.1, or should receive an upward adjustment for obstruction of justice pursuant to Section 3C1.1; and (b) that Client's conduct at the meeting is a relevant factor under 18 U.S.C. § 3553(a).

(4) The government may make derivative use of any statements made or other information provided by Client during the meeting. Therefore, the government may pursue any investigative leads obtained directly or indirectly from such statements and information and may use the evidence or information subsequently obtained therefrom against Client in any manner and in any proceeding.

(5) In any proceeding, including sentencing, the government may use Client's statements and any information provided by Client during or in connection with the meeting to cross-examine Client, to rebut any evidence or arguments offered on Client's behalf, or to address any issues or questions raised by a court on its own initiative.

(6) Neither this agreement nor the meeting constitutes a plea discussion or an attempt to initiate plea discussions. In the event this agreement or the meeting is later construed to constitute a plea discussion or an attempt to initiate plea discussions, Client knowingly and voluntarily waives any right Client might have under Fed. R. Evid. 410, Fed. R. Crim. P. 11(f), or otherwise, to prohibit the use against Client of statements made or information provided during the meeting.

(7) The government reserves the right to argue that neither this agreement nor the meeting constitutes the timely provision of complete information to the government concerning Client's involvement in an offense, within the meaning of Section 3E1.1(b) of the Sentencing Guidelines.

(8) If and when required to do so by a court, the government may disclose to the Probation Office or the court any statements and information provided by Client during the meeting.

(9) The government may disclose the fact of the meeting or the information provided by Client during the meeting to the extent the government determines in its sole discretion that disclosure would be in furtherance of its discharge of its duties and responsibilities or is otherwise required by law. Such disclosure includes disclosure to a local, state, federal, or foreign government office or agency, including but not limited to another prosecutor's office, if the recipient of the information agrees to abide by the relevant terms of this agreement.

(10) The terms and conditions set forth in this agreement extend, if applicable, to the continuation of the meeting on the dates that appear below.

(11) It is understood that this agreement is limited to the statements made by Client at the meeting and does not apply to any oral, written or recorded statements made by Client at any other time.

(12) This document embodies the entirety of the agreement between the government and Client to provide information and evidence. No other promises, agreements or understandings

exist between Client and the government regarding Client's provision of information or evidence to the government.

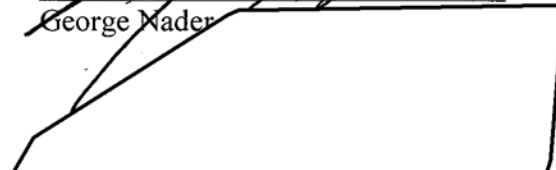
(13) Client and Client's attorney acknowledge that they have read, fully discussed and understand every paragraph and clause in this document and the consequences thereof.

Dated: Washington DC

At: January 19, 2018

ROBERT S. MUELLER, III
Special Counsel

By: Z. Ahmad
Zainab Ahmad
Senior Assistant Special Counsel
The Special Counsel's Office

George Nader

Attorney for Client ~~GA~~

b6
b7C

Dates of Continuation

1/22/18
1/23/18

Initials of cou _____ Client and government attorney

GA ZA
ZA GA

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**Date of entry 05/01/2017

(U) As indicated in the FD-302 for the 03/30/2017 interview of Carter W. Page, PAGE provided a thumbdrive to the FBI. This document serves to include the provided documents in the casefile as a 1A or 1C packages.

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~Investigation on 03/30/2017 at New York, New York, United States (In Person)File # [REDACTED] Date drafted 04/26/2017by [REDACTED]b3
b6
b7C
b7E

GLOBAL ENERGY CAPITAL LLC

March 23, 2017

BY ELECTRONIC MAIL AND REGISTERED MAIL

The Honorable Devin Nunes and Adam Schiff
U.S. House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence
Capitol Visitor Center HVC-304
US Capitol Building
Washington, DC 20515-6415

Subject: Leakers, liars and reported illegitimate surveillance in response to false evidence

Dear Congressman Nunes and Congressman Schiff:

I greatly appreciated the important hearings you began on Monday and was further encouraged by the request from Chairman Nunes that anyone who has information about relevant topics come forward and speak to the House Intelligence Committee.¹ I would eagerly welcome the chance to speak with the Committee to help finally set the record straight following the false evidence, illegal activities as well as other lies distributed by certain politically-motivated suspects in coordination with the Obama Administration, which defamed me and other Americans.

In Monday's opening statement, Ranking Member Schiff said:

"According to Christopher Steele, a British — a former British intelligence officer, who is reportedly held in high regard by U.S. intelligence, Russian sources tell him that Page has also had a secret meeting with Igor Sechin, CEO of the Russian gas giant, Rosneft. Sechin is reported to be a former KGB agent and close friend of Putin's.... Is it a coincidence that the Russian gas company, Rosneft, sold a 19 percent share after former British intelligence officer Steele was told by Russian sources that Carter Page was offered fees on a deal of just that size?"²

Amongst many other complete lies, this excerpt from the highly inaccurate dossier concocted by the political consultant Mr. Steele remained one of the primary false allegations against me throughout much of last year. Yet a month after the election, Switzerland-based Glencore plc

¹ House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence Chairman Devin Nunes, "Chairman Nunes comments on surveillance of Trump associates," House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence website, March 22, 2017.

[<http://intelligence.house.gov/news/documentsingle.aspx?DocumentID=774>]

² Rowan Scarborough, "Desperate Dems cling to discredited spy dossier to link Trump to Russians," *The Washington Times*, March 21, 2017.

[<http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2017/mar/21/discredited-dossier-detailing-trump-russian-collus/>]

was revealed as the actual buyer of that stake in December 2016. With respect to potential coincidences as Representative Schiff alluded to, please note that I have never met with any member of that company's executive management. But there is someone who coincidentally has had an exceptionally close relationship with Glencore via its founder. For further background, I would refer you to the 2001 proceedings before the House of Representatives Committee on Government Reform regarding "The Controversial Pardon of International Fugitive Marc Rich". As then-Representative Bernie Sanders said during those hearings:

"I think it is important that we have this hearing, that we learn about what Mr. Clinton did and his terrible lapse in judgment, but if we are going to talk about money in politics, let's talk about money in politics, the influence that money had on Mr. Clinton..."³

Congressman Schiff has recently warned of the potential for any, "deeply disturbing pattern of distraction, distortion and downright fabrication" in the ongoing investigations in the 2016 election.⁴ You will find that an objective comparison of the false allegations against me regarding my supposed role in the Rosneft transaction and the actual acquirer's long history of relations with other individuals may stand as the quintessential example of the exact kind of disturbing pattern that you caution against.

Congressman Schiff also cited my prior reference to the hypocritical focus on democratization and efforts to fight corruption. Yet this earlier influence of money in politics and the terrible lapse in judgment may represent a perfect case in point, while my First Amendment rights were more recently attacked. For your information, I was never paid by the Trump campaign and never made any financial contributions to that movement with the negligible exception of purchasing a few Make America Great Again hats and a "Veterans for Trump" button. Furthermore, I have never received any transactions fees, financial compensation, equity stake or related offers from Rosneft – in 2016 or at any point in my life.

Although much consideration on Monday was given to various leakers, the negative impact of complete liars may have proven to be equally damaging to our democracy last year. By all indications, the primary justification for the alleged totalitarian, police state-style surveillance campaign against me was based primarily on outrageous false evidence of the type we repeatedly heard in this week's hearing. In stark contrast to the fake "intelligence" report that someone apparently provided to HPSCI members as cited by Congressman Schiff, the factual information I can provide you will belatedly prove far more accurate and relevant to your investigations.

Director Comey stated in his testimony on Monday that, "If all they've done is lie to a reporter, that's not against the law." Certainly this principle applies for whatever political actors gave the dossier to many naively acquiescent reporters. However, providing false evidence to federal authorities and thereby instigating unjustified federal investigations against private citizens is

3

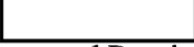
https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/12/2001_The_Controversial_Pardon_of_International_Fugitive_Marc_Rich.pdf

⁴ Darlene Superville, "Trump enlists Congress, ex-intel chief denies wiretapping," PBS Newshour, March 5, 2017. [<http://www.pbs.org/newshour/rundown/trump-enlists-congress-ex-intel-chief-denies-wiretapping/>]

another matter altogether. I hope your committee looks into this potential illegal collusion which apparently occurred between certain political actors and the Obama Administration.



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 After the harsh retribution I have withstood for my peaceful personal stance toward Russia, I frankly find it shocking that a few fake news stories and a fabricated political consultant report could have recently risen to become a primary focus of Congress's consideration today.⁵ Given the basic principles of serious, data-driven analysis that I watched Congressman Aspin maintain in his painstaking work with the HASC, I hope that the facts I can provide to your Committee will help it rise up to these same higher investigative standards once again.

Extensive recent reporting by the *New York Times*⁶ and other news organizations has been built on a foundation of many falsehoods with potential support from members of the Obama Administration. But these reports have never considered the illegal activities that have severely damaged our democracy and my reputation, despite my informing these media organizations of the continued offenses during the prior Administration. I hope that your Committee can help restore justice this year.

I greatly appreciate the offer of Congressman Nunes for all citizens with information about relevant topics to speak to the House Intelligence Committee. I would look forward to engaging with you, in the interest of finally ending this ruse. Thank you in advance for your consideration.

Kind regards,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Carter".

Carter Page, Ph.D.

⁵ For example, see the letter from then-Senator Harry Reid to Director Comey on August 27, 2016: "...there have been a series of disturbing reports..."

<https://assets.documentcloud.org/documents/3035844/Reid-Letter-to-Comey.pdf>

⁶ Michael S. Schmidt, Mark Mazzetti and Matt Apuzzo, "Trump Campaign Aides Had Repeated Contacts With Russian Intelligence," *New York Times*, February 14, 2017. [<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/14/us/politics/russia-intelligence-communications-trump.html>]



Topics for discussion
Terrorist campaigns and media considerations

March 30, 2017

A "dark cloud": Spiking the football on March 20, 2017

Building upon frequently recited past lies, Mook sent a call to their followers



"Hillary Clinton's former campaign manager said Monday that President Trump's campaign aides should be **'prosecuted for treason'** if an FBI investigation proves they coordinated with Russia in the presidential campaign.

Source: Amie Parnes, "Mook: Trump aides 'should be prosecuted for treason' if they conspired with Russia, *The Hill*, March 20, 2017.
<http://thehill.com/homenews/administration/324772-mook-trump-aides-should-be-prosecuted-for-treason-if-they-conspired>

"Robby Mook said he's 'glad' FBI Director James Comey is testifying before the House Intelligence Committee, where Comey on Monday morning disclosed that his agency is investigating possible collusion between Trump's campaign and Moscow during the election.



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FBI (19cv1278)-8032

USA PATRIOT Act

Definition of domestic terrorism



- Acts of domestic terrorism are those which: "(A) involve acts dangerous to human life that are a violation of the criminal laws of the United States or of any State; (B) appear to be intended – (i) to intimidate or coerce a civilian population; (ii) to influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion; or (iii) to affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination, or kidnapping; and (C) occur primarily within the territorial jurisdiction of the United States."

Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Domestic_terrorism_in_the_United_States

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Former U.S. Ambassador to Russia Michael McFaul

Pinned tweet



"We need a bipartisan, independent, 9/11-like commission to investigate foreign meddling in our elections."

Source: <https://twitter.com/McFaul/status/830156591173230592>

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Lessons from the original 9/11 Commission

The risk of distraction from real threats



- "The commission's final report was lengthy and based on extensive interviews and testimony. Its primary conclusion was that the failures of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) permitted the terrorist attacks to occur and that if these agencies acted more wisely and more aggressively, the attacks could potentially have been prevented."

Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/9/11_Commission

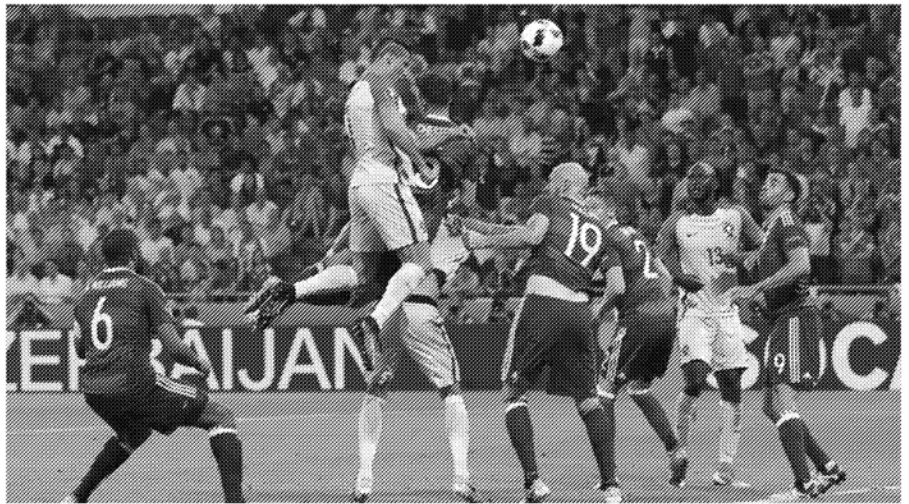
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FBI (19cv1278)-8036

Morgan Stanley watch party: UEFA Euro 2016, July 6, 2016

Portugal beats Wales, 2-0

- Semi-finals telecast of Stade de Lyon, France
- Ronaldo scores one goal, one assist.



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What could he possibly have meant?

Mingling chit-chat at a reception

- "ACOSTA: Three months later, Trump's national security adviser say they met with the Russian ambassador in Cleveland, during the Republican convention. Former campaign adviser [REDACTED] [REDACTED] tells CNN he and another foreign policy adviser, Carter Page, discussed U.S.- Russian relations with the ambassador."



b6
b7C

b6
b7C

March 20 testimony: "...researcher is either knowingly or unwittingly passing information to a foreign adversary..."

Definition of Unwitting

Adjective, un-wit-ting, ən-'wi-tɪŋ

- (of a person) not aware of the full facts.

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b7c

Important Disclaimers & Contact

This confidential presentation (the "Presentation") is being furnished as background for our discussions.

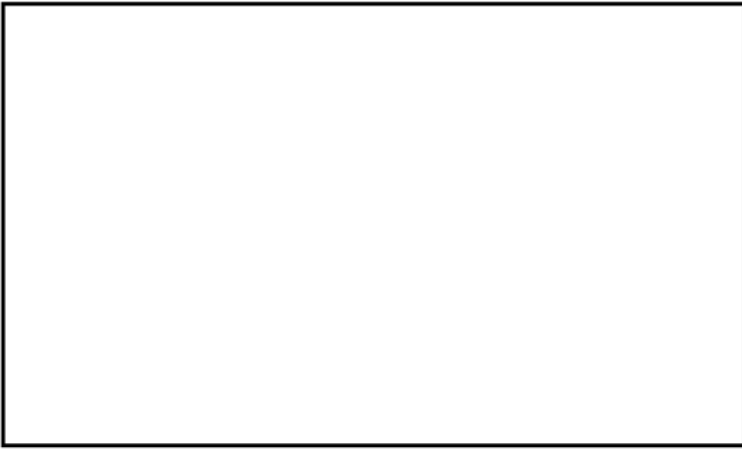
No representation or warranty is given as to the completeness or accuracy of any information contained within this Presentation. Everything included herein is based on the best of my recollection regarding the events of last year, as well as publicly available information available in the mainstream media (the "MSM"). Given how false the vast majority of information presented by the MSM has been on these topics thus far including the Trump–Russia dossier (the "Dodgy Dossier"), opinions expressed herein are subject to change without notice.

Carter Page, Ph.D.
Global Energy Capital LLC
590 Madison Avenue, 21st floor
New York, New York 10022



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U.S. Department of Justice

The Special Counsel's Office

Washington, D.C. 20530

December 1, 2017

William Schwartz
Cooley LLP
1114 Avenue of the Americas, 46th Floor
New York, NY 10036-7798

Re: **Alex van der Zwaan**

Dear Counsel:

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

b6 per DOJ/OIP
b7C per DOJ/OIP

With respect to the meeting between the government, Client and yourself on December 1, 2017 (hereinafter "the meeting"), the government will be represented by individuals from the U.S. Department of Justice, Office of the Special Counsel and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The terms of this letter do not bind any office or component of the U.S. Department of Justice other than those identified in the preceding sentence. The following terms and conditions apply to the meeting:

b6 per DOJ/OIP
b7C per DOJ/OIP

(1) THIS IS NOT A COOPERATION AGREEMENT. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] the government does not agree to make any motion on Client's behalf or to enter into a cooperation agreement, plea agreement, immunity agreement or non-prosecution agreement with Client. The government makes no representation about the likelihood that any such agreement will be reached in connection with this meeting.

(2) Should Client be prosecuted, no statements made by Client during the meeting will be used against Client in the government's case-in-chief at trial or for purposes of sentencing, except as provided below.

(3) The government may use any statement made or information provided by Client, or on Client's behalf, in a prosecution for false statements, perjury, or obstruction of justice, premised on statements or actions during the meeting. The government may also use any such statement or information at sentencing in support of an argument that Client failed to provide truthful or complete information during the meeting, and, accordingly: (a) that under the United States Sentencing Guidelines, Client is not entitled to a downward adjustment for acceptance of responsibility pursuant to Section 3E1.1, or should receive an upward adjustment for obstruction

of justice pursuant to Section 3C1.1; and (b) that Client's conduct at the meeting is a relevant factor under 18 U.S.C. § 3553(a).

(4) The government may make derivative use of any statements made or other information provided by Client during the meeting. Therefore, the government may pursue any investigative leads obtained directly or indirectly from such statements and information and may use the evidence or information subsequently obtained therefrom against Client in any manner and in any proceeding.

(5) In any proceeding, including sentencing, the government may use Client's statements and any information provided by Client during or in connection with the meeting to cross-examine Client, to rebut any evidence or arguments offered on Client's behalf, or to address any issues or questions raised by a court on its own initiative.

(6) Neither this agreement nor the meeting constitutes a plea discussion or an attempt to initiate plea discussions. In the event this agreement or the meeting is later construed to constitute a plea discussion or an attempt to initiate plea discussions, Client knowingly and voluntarily waives any right Client might have under Fed. R. Evid. 410, Fed. R. Crim. P. 11(f), or otherwise, to prohibit the use against Client of statements made or information provided during the meeting.

(7) The government reserves the right to argue that neither this agreement nor the meeting constitutes the timely provision of complete information to the government concerning Client's involvement in an offense, within the meaning of Section 3E1.1(b) of the Sentencing Guidelines.

(8) If and when required to do so by a court, the government may disclose to the Probation Office or the court any statements and information provided by Client during the meeting.

(9) The government may disclose the fact of the meeting or the information provided by Client during the meeting to the extent the government determines in its sole discretion that disclosure would be in furtherance of its discharge of its duties and responsibilities or is otherwise required by law. Such disclosure includes disclosure to a local, state, federal, or foreign government office or agency, including but not limited to another prosecutor's office, if the recipient of the information agrees to abide by the relevant terms of this agreement.

(10) The terms and conditions set forth in this agreement extend, if applicable, to the continuation of the meeting on the dates that appear below.

(11) It is understood that this agreement is limited to the statements made by Client at the meeting and does not apply to any oral, written or recorded statements made by Client at any other time.

(12) This document embodies the entirety of the agreement between the government and Client to provide information and evidence. No other promises, agreements or understandings

exist between Client and the government regarding Client's provision of information or evidence to the government.

(13) Client and Client's attorney acknowledge that they have read, fully discussed and understand every paragraph and clause in this document and the consequences thereof.

Dated: 12/1/17

At: Washington, DC

ROBERT S. MUELLER, III
Special Counsel

By: 
Andrew Weissmann
Attorney
Office of the Special Counsel


Alex van der Zwaan


William Schwartz
Attorney for Client

Dates of Continuation

Initials of counsel, Client and government attorney
