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                   SENATE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE
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                           U.S. SENATE
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                        WASHINGTON, D.C.
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                  INTERVIEW OF: GLENN SIMPSON
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                    TUESDAY, AUGUST 22, 2017
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                        WASHINGTON, D.C.
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           The interview in this matter was held at the
18
    Hart Senate Office Building, commencing at 9:34 a.m.
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Washington, DC

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    APPEARANCES:
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    SENATE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE:
 3
    Patrick Davis, Deputy Chief Investigative Counsel,
 4
        Chairman Grassley
 5
     Jason Foster, Chief Investigative Counsel,
        Chairman Grassley
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     Samantha Brennan, Investigative Counsel,
        Chairman Grassley
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    Daniel Parker, Investigative Assistant,
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        Chairman Grassley
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     Joshua Flynn-Brown, Investigative Counsel,
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        Chairman Grassley
    Scott Graber, Legislative Assistant/Counsel,
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        Senator Graham
    Heather Sawyer, Chief Oversight Counsel,
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        Senator Feinstein
     Jennifer Duck, Staff Director,
17
        Senator Feinstein
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    Molly Claflin, Counsel,
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        Senator Feinstein
    Lara Quint, Chief Counsel,
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       Senator Whitehouse
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Washington, DC
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     APPEARANCES: (Cont'd)
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     FOR THE WITNESS:
     Joshua Levy, Cunningham Levy Muse
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     Robert Muse, Cunningham Levy Muse
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     Rachel Clattenburg, Cunningham Levy Muse
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Glenn Simpson August 22, 2017
Washington, DC

- 1 MR. DAVIS: Good morning. This is the
- 2 transcribed interview of Glenn Simpson. Chairman
- 3 Grassley and Ranking Member Feinstein requested
- 4 this interview as part of the Senate Judiciary
- 5 Committee's investigation of Fusion GPS's
- 6 activities related to the dossier compiled by
- 7 Christopher Steele, the Prevezon case, and the
- 8 Magnitsky Act.
- 9 Would the witness please state your name for
- 10 the record.
- 11 MR. SIMPSON: Glenn Simpson.
- 12 MR. DAVIS: On behalf of the Chairman I want
- 13 to thank Mr. Simpson for appearing here today. My
- 14 name is Patrick Davis. I'm the Deputy Chief
- 15 Investigative Counsel with the committee's majority
- 16 staff.
- 17 I'll ask everyone else from the committee who
- 18 is here to introduce themselves as well.
- 19 MR. FOSTER: Jason Foster, I'm the Chief
- 20 Investigative Counsel for Chairman Grassley.
- 21 MS. BRENNAN: Samantha Brennan, Investigative
- 22 Counsel, Chairman Grassley.
- MR. GRABER: Scott Graber, Senator Graham.
- MR. PARKER: Daniel Parker, Investigative
- 25 Assistant for Senator Grassley.

Washington, DC

- 1 MR. BROWN: Joshua Flynn-Brown, Investigative
- 2 Counsel for Senator Grassley.
- 3 MS. DUCK: Jennifer Duck, Staff Director for
- 4 Senator Feinstein.
- 5 MS. QUINT: Lara Quint, Chief Counsel,
- 6 Senator Whitehouse.
- 7 MS. SAWYER: Heather Sawyer, Chief Oversight
- 8 Counsel, Senator Feinstein.
- 9 MS. CLAFLIN: Molly Claflin, Counsel, Senator
- 10 Feinstein.
- 11 MR. DAVIS: The Federal Rules of Civil
- 12 Procedure do not apply to any of the committee's
- investigative activities, including transcribed
- 14 interviews. There are some guidelines we follow,
- 15 and I'll go over those now.
- Our questioning will proceed in rounds. The
- 17 majority staff will ask questions first for one
- 18 hour, then the minority staff will have an
- 19 opportunity to ask questions for an equal amount of
- 20 time. We will go back and forth until there are no
- 21 more questions and the interview is over.
- 22 We typically take a short break at the end of
- 23 each hour, but should you need a break at any other
- 24 time, please just let us know. And we can discuss
- 25 taking a break for lunch whenever you're ready to

Washington, DC

- 1 do so.
- 2 We have an official reporter taking down
- 3 everything we say to make a written record. So we
- 4 ask that you give verbal responses to all
- 5 questions. Do you understand?
- 6 MR. SIMPSON: Yes.
- 7 MR. DAVIS: So that the court reporter can
- 8 take down a clear record, we'll do our best to
- 9 limit the number of people directing questions at
- 10 you during any given hour to those whose turn it
- 11 is. It's also important that we don't talk over
- one another or interrupt each other to the extent
- 13 we can help it. That goes for everybody present at
- 14 today's interview.
- We encourage witnesses who appear before the
- 16 committee to freely consult with counsel if they
- 17 should choose. You are appearing here today with
- 18 counsel. Counsel, could you please state your name
- 19 for the record.
- 20 MR. LEVY: Josh levy.
- MR. MUSE: I'm Bob Muse and I represent Glenn
- 22 Simpson.
- MS. CLATTENBURG: I'm Rachel Clattenburg.
- MR. DAVIS: We want you to answer our
- 25 questions in the most complete and truthful manner

Washington, DC

- 1 possible. So we will take our time. If you have
- 2 any questions or if you don't understand any of our
- 3 questions, please let us know. If you honestly
- 4 don't know the answer to a question or don't
- 5 remember, it's best not to guess. Just give us
- 6 your best recollection.
- 7 It's okay to tell us if you learned
- 8 information from somewhere else if you indicate how
- 9 you came to know the information. If there are
- 10 things that you don't know or can't remember, we
- 11 ask that you inform us to the best of your
- 12 knowledge who might be able to provide a more
- 13 complete answer to the question.
- 14 This interview is unclassified. So if any
- 15 question calls for information that you know to be
- 16 classified, please state that for the record as
- 17 well as the reason for the classification. Then
- once you've clarified that to the extent possible,
- 19 please respond with as much unclassified
- 20 information as you can. If we need to have a
- 21 classified session later, that can be arranged.
- It is this committee's practice to honor
- 23 valid common law privilege claims as an
- 24 accommodation to a witness or party when those
- 25 claims are made in good faith and accompanied by

Glenn Simpson August 22, 2017
Washington, DC

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- 1 sufficient explanation so that the committee can
- 2 evaluate the claim. When deciding whether to honor
- 3 a privilege the committee weighs its need for the
- 4 information against any legitimate basis for
- 5 withholding it. The committee typically does not
- 6 honor contractual confidentiality agreements.
- 7 The committee and Mr. Simpson have agreed
- 8 that this interview is occurring without prejudice
- 9 to any future discussions with the committee and we
- 10 reserve the right to request Mr. Simpson's
- 11 participation in future interviews or to compel his
- 12 testimony. The committee and Mr. Simpson have also
- 13 agreed that participation in this interview does
- 14 not constitute a waiver of his ability to assert
- any privileges in response to future appearances
- 16 before this committee.
- 17 Mr. Simpson, you should understand that
- 18 although the interview is not under oath, by law
- 19 you are required to answer questions from Congress
- 20 truthfully. Do you understand that?
- MR. SIMPSON: Yes.
- 22 MR. DAVIS: Specifically 18 U.S.C. Section
- 23 1001 makes it a crime to make any materially false,
- 24 fictitious, or fraudulent statement or
- 25 representation in the course of a congressional

Washington, DC

- 1 investigation. That statute applies to your
- 2 statements in this interview. Do you understand
- 3 that?
- 4 MR. SIMPSON: Yes, I do.
- 5 MR. DAVIS: Witnesses who knowingly provide
- 6 false statements could be subject to criminal
- 7 prosecution and imprisonment for up to five years.
- 8 Do you understand this?
- 9 MR. SIMPSON: Yes, I do.
- 10 MR. DAVIS: Is there any reason you're unable
- 11 to provide truthful answers to today's questions?
- 12 MR. SIMPSON: No.
- MR. DAVIS: Finally, we ask that you not
- 14 speak about what we discuss in this interview with
- anyone else outside of who's here in the room today
- in order to preserve the integrity of our
- 17 investigation. We also ask that you not remove any
- 18 exhibits or other committee documents from the
- 19 interview.
- 20 Once again, the Chairman and Ranking Member
- 21 withdrew their subpoena of you due to your
- 22 willingness to provide information in this
- 23 voluntary interview and document production.
- 24 However, the extent to which the committee deems
- 25 further compulsory process necessary will likely

Washington, DC

- 1 depend on your level of cooperation and candor.
- 2 Is there anything else that my colleagues
- 3 from the minority would like to add?
- 4 MS. SAWYER: Thank you. We appreciate it.
- 5 And we appreciate you being here as part of the
- 6 investigation into the Russian interference into
- 7 the 2016 election.
- 8 I did want to, with agreement of my
- 9 colleagues, just enter into the record the letter
- 10 agreement regarding the interview that was sent to
- 11 your counsel on August 3, 2017. I think my
- 12 colleague has gone over a number of the parameters
- 13 that we agreed to, but I think it would be helpful
- 14 to have this in the record. So we'll go ahead and
- 15 mark it as Interview Exhibit No. 1 just for
- 16 identification purposes.
- 17 (Interview Exhibit 1 was
- marked for identification.)
- MS. SAWYER: With that, again, thank you for
- 20 being here.
- 21 MR. DAVIS: The time is now 9:40 and we will
- 22 get started with the first hour of questions.
- 23 EXAMINATION
- 24 BY MR. DAVIS:
- Q. Mr. Simpson, what is your professional

Washington, DC

- 1 background?
- 2 A. I have a degree in journalism from George
- 3 Washington University and I've spent most of my
- 4 working adult life as a journalist, much of it as
- 5 an investigative reporter for the Wall Street
- 6 Journal. Prior to that I worked as an
- 7 investigative reporter at Roll Call Newspaper
- 8 writing about political corruption, financial
- 9 crime, terrorism, tax evasion, stock fraud,
- 10 financial scandals, congressional investigations,
- 11 government prosecutions, money laundering,
- 12 organized crime.
- 13 Q. And when did you leave the Wall Street
- 14 Journal?
- 15 A. In 2009.
- Q. And did you found SNS Global after leaving
- 17 the Wall Street Journal?
- 18 A. That's right.
- 19 Q. And how many employees and associates did
- 20 SNS Global have?
- 21 A. There were two partners and in the first
- 22 part of the time I think we had one employee. No,
- 23 I'm sorry. We had two employees.
- Q. And who were they?
- 25 A. We had a research assistant named Margot

Washington, DC

- 1 Williams, M-A-R-G-O-T Williams, and another
- 2 administrative assistant whose name I don't recall
- 3 right now.
- 4 Q. And who was the other partner?
- 5 A. Susan Schmidt was my other partner, former
- 6 colleague from the Wall Street Journal, and prior
- 7 to that was an investigative reporter at the
- 8 Washington Post.
- 9 Q. And what was the nature of SNS Global's
- 10 business?
- 11 A. Research, business intelligence.
- 12 Q. And what types of clients did SNS Global
- 13 have?
- A. It's a while ago, so it's not fresh in my
- 15 mind. Other consulting firms, lawyers. I don't
- 16 specifically remember a lot of them.
- 17 Q. And is SNS Global still in business?
- 18 A. No.
- 19 Q. When did it cease operations?
- 20 A. I believe at the end of 2010.
- 21 Q. And why did it -- why did SNS Global cease
- 22 operations?
- 23 A. Basically my partner and I had different
- 24 ambitions for what we wanted to do. I wanted to
- 25 have a brick and mortar office with more resources

Washington, DC

- 1 and staff. Basically I concluded that the work
- 2 that we were doing required more infrastructure and
- 3 resources. Basically in modern research you need
- 4 to have access to a lot of different databases and
- 5 there's a lot of aspects of the work that are
- 6 administrative in nature that require things that I
- 7 wasn't able to do. I prefer to spend my time doing
- 8 the research. So I wanted to have more of an
- 9 infrastructure where I could focus on that.
- 10 Q. What is Bean, LLC?
- 11 A. That's the LLC that is my current
- 12 company.
- 13 Q. And what is your role in Bean, LLC?
- 14 A. I'm the majority owner. I guess, you
- 15 know, we don't have official titles, but I'm
- 16 generally referred to as the CEO.
- Q. Bean, LLC registered Fusion GPS as a trade
- 18 name in the District of Columbia; is that correct?
- 19 A. Yes, it's a DBA.
- 20 Q. Why did you choose to use a trade name for
- 21 Bean, LLC rather than directly name the company
- 22 Fusion GPS?
- 23 A. Because at the time that I was deciding
- 24 what I wanted to do I was recruiting a new partner
- 25 and I just needed to set up a holding company while

Washington, DC

- 1 I organized my new business. So I just picked a
- 2 name. You know, a bean is a seed, a new thing. So
- 3 I picked that name to begin the process of
- 4 organizing a new business and didn't want to select
- 5 an actual DBA, you know, a brand name until I
- 6 consulted with my new partner. We wanted to
- 7 mutually -- I actually had two partners in the
- 8 beginning, so there were three of us, and I wanted
- 9 to make it a group decision.
- 10 Q. Is Bean, LLC currently registered in D.C.
- 11 to conduct business under the trade name Fusion
- 12 GPS?
- 13 A. To my knowledge it is. It should be.
- Q. Have any other LLC's or business entities
- 15 conducted business as Fusion GPS?
- 16 A. I don't think so.
- Q. Have any other LLC's or business entities
- 18 received payments for work conducted by Fusion GPS,
- 19 its employees, or its associates?
- 20 MR. LEVY: Are you asking to include
- 21 subcontractors or are you --
- MR. DAVIS: Sure.
- MR. LEVY: Does Fusion GPS have
- 24 subcontractors?
- MR. DAVIS: Right. I think that would be

Washington, DC

- 1 part of it, but the other part is: are there other
- 2 LLC's associated with Bean direct- -- with Bean or
- 3 Fusion directly, not just subcontractors?
- 4 BY THE WITNESS:
- 5 A. Yes. I mean, the one I think that has
- 6 come up in some of the correspondence or somewhere,
- 7 I can't remember where, is another one called
- 8 Kernel, K-E-R-N-E-L, and that was an LLC that was
- 9 set up for a book project that never -- we never
- 10 finished -- we never did the book. So it's
- 11 inactive with the current time. Then there's
- 12 another one that one of my partners manages that's
- 13 for different types of work, technology, policy,
- 14 and that type of thing.
- 15 O. What's the name of that one?
- A. I think it's Caudex, C-A-U-D-E-X.
- 17 Q. And are any other LLC's or types of
- 18 business entities otherwise associated with Fusion
- 19 GPS?
- 20 A. Those are the only ones I can think of.
- 21 Q. And have you been a registered agent,
- owner, or beneficial owner of any other LLC's or
- 23 business entities?
- A. I own an LLC in Maryland that holds some
- 25 property that I own.

Washington, DC

- 1 Q. And what's the name of that LLC?
- A. As we sit here, I wasn't prepared for this
- 3 question, I don't remember the name of it. It was
- 4 registered fairly recently. Obviously we can get
- 5 that to you.
- Q. So is it correct that Fusion has at times
- 7 worked with different LLC's based on by project?
- 8 A. For most of the history of the company
- 9 Bean, LLC was the primary entity through which we
- 10 did business. I'm not sure I totally understand
- 11 your question. There's this other LLC I mentioned
- 12 that's fairly recent and there may be other
- 13 entities, but nothing that I, myself set up, at
- 14 least not that I can think of.
- 15 Q. Anything that your partners would have set
- 16 up?
- 17 A. Not that I can think of.
- Q. Does Fusion GPS, Bean, LLC, Kernel, LLC,
- 19 or any of these other related business entities
- 20 have any bank accounts outside of the United
- 21 States?
- 22 A. No.
- Q. Domestically does Bean, LLC have an
- 24 account at ?
- 25 A. Yes.

Washington, DC

- 1 MR. LEVY: I don't know that we need to get
- 2 into bank accounts.
- 3 MR. DAVIS: Are you offering a basis for that
- 4 objection?
- 5 MR. LEVY: It's outside the scope of the
- 6 interview.
- 7 MR. DAVIS: Part of the questions we've asked
- 8 are actions Fusion has taken -- interactions Fusion
- 9 has had and we're trying to define the scope of
- 10 what Fusion is as a predicate to understanding
- 11 those answers.
- MR. LEVY: Yeah, and he's answering those
- 13 questions.
- MR. FOSTER: He answered yes to the question.
- 15 BY MR. DAVIS:
- Q. Where is Fusion GPS's physical office, if
- 17 any?
- 18 A. DuPont Circle.
- 19 Q. Is it, if I recall correctly, 1700
- 20 Connecticut Avenue, Northwest?
- 21 A. That's the address, yes.
- 22 Q. Is it Suite 400?
- 23 A. It is.
- Q. How many employees and associates does
- 25 Fusion GPS currently have?

Washington, DC

Page 19 A. Roughly a dozen. Q. Who are they? 3 A. Do you want their names? Q. Yes, their names. 5 is a partner in the is a partner in the 6 business; , is a partner in 7 business; the business. 10 Another one of our managers is 12 , and he is a We have several analysts whose 14 names are 15 whose previous position I don't recall; 16 whose former position I don't recall; who previously was with I think 18 | who's our administrative 19 There may be one or two others whose names 20 I don't recall. 21 Q. Is anyone who was an employee or associate of Fusion GPS in 2015 or 2016 no longer with the company? And if so, who? 24 25 A. Not that I can think of.

Washington, DC

- Q. In general, what is Fusion GPS's business?
- 2 A. We primarily are a research, strategy,
- 3 consulting firm.
- 4 Q. And what types of clients has Fusion GPS
- 5 had?
- 6 A. It runs the gamut from corporations to law
- 7 firms, various investment funds, people involved in
- 8 litigation.
- 9 Q. And roughly how many active clients --
- 10 MR. LEVY: Did you finish? I don't know if
- 11 he finished.
- 12 MR. DAVIS: I'm sorry.
- 13 BY THE WITNESS:
- 14 A. It's hard to categorize them all. Those
- 15 are some of the main types of clients we have.
- Q. And roughly how many active clients did
- 17 Fusion GPS have in 2016?
- 18 A. That's difficult for me to answer. You
- 19 know, over ten I would say, but it's hard for me --
- 20 beyond that I would be guessing.
- 21 Q. Does part of Fusion GPS's business involve
- 22 attempting to have media outlets publish articles
- 23 that further the interests of your clients?
- A. Yeah, you could -- I mean, generally
- 25 speaking, we are -- generally we tend to respond to

Washington, DC

- 1 inquiries more than try to push things, but, you
- 2 know, we work with the press frequently.
- 3 Q. And has Fusion GPS ever provided
- 4 information to journalists in order to encourage
- 5 them to publish articles or air stories that
- 6 further your client's interests?
- 7 A. Yes.
- 8 Q. And has Fusion GPS provided information to
- 9 journalists or editors in order to discourage them
- 10 from publishing or airing stories that are contrary
- 11 to your client's interests?
- 12 A. Well, what we -- we're a research company.
- 13 So generally what we do is provide people with
- 14 factual information. Our specialty is public
- 15 record information. So if we get an inquiry about
- 16 a story and some of the information that a
- 17 reporter's presuming is incorrect and we give them
- 18 correct information, that may cause them to not
- 19 write the story.
- Q. Has Fusion GPS ever had arrangements with
- 21 clients in which the amount of Fusion's
- 22 compensation was dependent on getting articles
- 23 published or stories aired?
- A. Not that I can recall.
- Q. Has Fusion GPS ever had arrangements with

Washington, DC

- 1 clients in which the amount of Fusion's
- 2 compensation was dependent upon preventing articles
- 3 from being published or stories from being aired?
- A. No, I don't think so, not to my
- 5 recollection.
- Q. To the best of your knowledge, has anyone
- 7 associated with Fusion GPS ever told clients or
- 8 prospective clients that the company could find and
- 9 distribute information or take other actions in
- 10 order to encourage government agencies to initiate
- 11 an investigation?
- 12 A. Could you restate that?
- Q. To the best of your knowledge, has anyone
- 14 associated with Fusion GPS ever told clients or
- 15 prospective clients that the company could find and
- 16 distribute information or take other actions in
- 17 order to encourage government agencies to initiate
- 18 an investigation?
- MR. LEVY: Within the scope of this
- 20 interview?
- 21 MR. DAVIS: In general. I'm not asking about
- 22 any particular case.
- MR. LEVY: Hold on. Let's -- let me just
- 24 talk to my client about that and get back to you on
- 25 that. I just want to understand the facts so we

Washington, DC

- 1 can evaluate whether it's appropriate to discuss
- 2 that here if such a predicate for the answer
- 3 exists.
- 4 MR. FOSTER: Do you want to take a break?
- 5 MR. LEVY: Sure.
- 6 MR. FOSTER: Let's go off the record. It's
- 7 9:55.
- 8 (A short break was had.)
- 9 MR. DAVIS: We'll go back on the record.
- 10 It's 10:02.
- 11 BY MR. DAVIS:
- 12 Q. After conferring with your counsel, are
- 13 you able to answer the question?
- 14 A. Yes. Could you just state it one more
- 15 time.
- Q. Sure. To the best of your knowledge, has
- 17 anyone associated with Fusion GPS ever told clients
- 18 or prospective clients that the company could find
- 19 and distribute information or take other actions in
- 20 order to encourage government agencies to initiate
- 21 an investigation?
- 22 A. The word "associated" is really vague.
- 23 I'm not sure I know what you mean by that. I can
- 24 speak to my own practices and the practices of the
- 25 people who work at my company.

Washington, DC

- Generally speaking, when we do a research
- 2 project for a new client and they ask us -- you
- 3 know, they explain, you know, what situation
- 4 they're involved in, if it's a lawsuit, for
- 5 example, or some other dispute, a lot of what we do
- 6 is related to disputes, they say -- you know, we
- 7 say we will conduct an open-ended inquiry that's
- 8 not goal directed and the results of the research
- 9 will guide whatever decision you want to make about
- 10 how to use it.
- 11 So the range of possibilities with, you know,
- 12 research are you could file a lawsuit, you could
- 13 put it in a court filing, you could take it to a
- 14 government agency, you could give it to Congress,
- 15 you could give it to the press, but you don't
- 16 really prejudge, you know, how you're going to use
- information until you know what you've got.
- 18 So we generally don't let our clients dictate
- 19 sort of the -- you know, the end result of things
- 20 because we don't think that's an intelligent way of
- 21 trying to do research and, you know, a lot of what
- 22 we do is decision support. Your clients are
- 23 frequently trying to make a decision about how they
- 24 want to proceed, whether they want to -- you know,
- if someone thinks they've been defrauded, you can

Washington, DC

- 1 file a lawsuit, you can go to the police. You
- 2 would decide that based on what you find out about
- 3 the, you know, evidence of a fraud. So that's
- 4 generally the way we do it.
- 5 Q. To the best of your knowledge, has Fusion
- 6 GPS ever had an arrangement with a client in which
- 7 the company was specifically tasked with getting
- 8 government agencies to initiate an investigation?
- 9 A. I would -- to the best of my recollection,
- 10 we don't have any agreements like that we would put
- into writing generally for the reasons I stated in
- 12 answer to the previous question. In the course of,
- 13 you know, dealing with a client we might talk about
- 14 whether, you know, something was worthy of a
- 15 government investigation and talk about how that
- 16 could be done. There's any number of scenarios
- 17 there that might come under discussion, but, as I
- 18 say, that's generally not how we frame a project.
- 19 Q. Has Fusion GPS ever had arrangements with
- 20 clients in which the amount of Fusion's
- 21 compensation was dependent on government agencies
- 22 initiating an investigation?
- A. We've been in business since 2010, so
- 24 seven years is a fairly long time, but as I say,
- 25 not to my recollection. I just can't be

Washington, DC

- 1 categorical because we've done a lot of work over
- 2 the last seven years.
- 3 Q. So I'm going to move on now to some
- 4 questions about Prevezon Holdings and the Magnitsky
- 5 Act. I want to sort of generally make it clear
- 6 when I refer to you or to Fusion, I mean not just
- 7 you personally, but all employees and associates of
- 8 Fusion GPS and its component LLC's and legal
- 9 entities as well as any contractors or
- 10 subcontractors. If it's not clear to you who I'm
- 11 referring to in the question, please just ask and
- 12 I'll clarify.
- 13 Similarly, I'm going to refer to Prevezon and
- 14 Magnitsky, M-A-G-N-I-T-S-K-Y. When I refer to
- 15 those together, I mean all matters related to the
- 16 Justice Department's lawsuit against Prevezon
- 17 Holdings Limited, as well as all matters related to
- 18 efforts with the media, government officials, and
- 19 campaigns to overturn the Magnitsky Act, prevent
- 20 the passage of the global Magnitsky Act, remove the
- 21 word Magnitsky from either law, the Russian ban on
- 22 U.S. adoptions of Russian children, research on Mr.
- 23 Magnitsky himself or Mr. Browder, Hermitage Capital
- 24 Management and its affiliated companies. So I'm
- 25 generally putting those under that umbrella. If

Washington, DC

- 1 you need me to clarify for any specific question,
- 2 just ask.
- 3 MR. LEVY: You obviously said a lot there.
- 4 MR. DAVIS: I did.
- 5 MR. LEVY: And so on a question-by-question
- 6 basis out of fairness to the witness, I just want
- 7 to make sure that he has the ability to ask
- 8 clarification, of course, as questions arise.
- 9 MR. DAVIS: Right. That's what I would be
- 10 asking you to do.
- 11 MR. LEVY: Even now, quite frankly, I'm not
- 12 sure I can recall everything that you baked into
- 13 the term that you're going to use.
- MR. DAVIS: Feel free to raise questions
- 15 about any particular question we ask.
- MR. LEVY: Okay.
- 17 BY MR. DAVIS:
- Q. Mr. Simpson, what was Fusion GPS's role in
- 19 the Justice Departments's litigation against
- 20 Prevezon Holdings?
- 21 A. We were retained by Baker Hostetler in the
- 22 spring of 2014 to do litigation support, and under
- 23 the heading of litigation support was things
- 24 related to discovery, locating witnesses, answer
- 25 questions from the press, gathering documents,

Washington, DC

- 1 pretty much, you know, a conventional understanding
- 2 of litigation support.
- 3 Q. And to whom did Fusion GPS report in the
- 4 course of this work?
- 5 A. Baker Hostetler. The partner in charge
- 6 was Mark Cymrot, C-Y-M-R-O-T, who's a partner in
- 7 the Washington office and former Justice Department
- 8 prosecutor.
- 9 Q. Did Mr. Cymrot provide instructions to
- 10 Fusion GPS during the course of the work?
- 11 A. Mr. Cymrot regularly instructed us in how
- 12 we were to go about doing discovery and various
- 13 other tasks, yes.
- Q. And for a portion of that case at least
- 15 Mr. Cymrot was the attorney of record for Prevezon
- 16 Holdings; is that correct?
- 17 A. For the entirety of the time that I worked
- 18 on the case he was -- I believe he was the attorney
- 19 of record.
- 20 Q. And did you understand the instructions
- 21 you received from him to be originating from his
- 22 client, from Prevezon Holdings?
- 23 A. The ultimate direction, of course, would
- 24 have been from the ultimate client, but the client
- 25 was outside the United States for most of its time.

Washington, DC

- 1 So, you know, a lot of instruction came from him
- 2 and he was the person who formulated the legal
- 3 strategy, undertook all of the legal efforts to
- 4 work the case.
- 5 Q. And when did Fusion GPS cease working on
- 6 the Prevezon Holdings case?
- 7 A. I can't say exactly. It was mid to late
- 8 2016.
- 9 Q. Which of Fusion's associates and employees
- 10 have worked on the Prevezon or Magnitsky issues?
- 11 A. For the most part it was myself and one of
- 12 my analysts, There may have -- from
- 13 time to time issues may have come up about trying
- 14 to find records or other issues where I conferred
- 15 with or enlisted someone else in the office, but I
- 16 don't specifically recall.
- 17 MR. FOSTER: To follow up on the previous
- 18 answer, you said mid to late 2016 is when the
- 19 investigation ended, generally speaking. Do you
- 20 have any records that could refresh your
- 21 recollection about the exact date at a later time?
- 22 MR. SIMPSON: I'm sure we do, yes. I am --
- 23 we have a division of labor and I don't do a lot of
- 24 things like invoicing. So this is not going to be
- 25 my strong suit.

Washington, DC

- 1 MR. FOSTER: But you could figure it out
- 2 later for us?
- 3 MR. SIMPSON: We maintain books and records.
- 4 MR. FOSTER: Could you maybe just describe
- 5 quickly what kind of record would constitute the
- 6 end of the engagement?
- 7 MR. SIMPSON: That's a good question. You
- 8 know, in some cases there's no specific termination
- 9 letter. So I don't know whether there's a
- 10 termination agreement or termination letter in this
- 11 case. I mean, generally speaking, you know, when
- 12 we stop billing the case is over.
- 13 (Exhibit 2 was marked for
- identification.)
- 15 BY MR. DAVIS:
- 16 Q. I'd like to introduce an exhibit. It's
- one of two privilege logs that your attorneys
- 18 provided us. This will be Exhibit 2.
- 19 Mr. Simpson, on the third page of this
- 20 document, the last two entries appear to be e-mails
- 21 sent on October 27, 2016 from Peter Fritsch to Mark
- 22 Cymrot CC'g you. To the best of your recollection,
- 23 was Fusion GPS still working for Mr. Cymrot on --
- 24 still working for Baker Hostetler on the Prevezon
- 25 case as of the date of this e-mail?

Washington, DC

- 1 A. I don't know.
- 2 Q. The privilege asserted was attorney work
- 3 product. Do you know what the basis of that was?
- 4 A. Well, it was a legal --
- 5 MR. LEVY: This is a judgment that his
- 6 lawyers made and any knowledge he would have about
- 7 whether it was attorney work product or not likely
- 8 would come from communications with counsel, which
- 9 obviously are privileged.
- 10 BY MR. DAVIS:
- 11 Q. Did Fusion ever work with subcontractors
- on its Prevezon or Magnitsky efforts?
- 13 A. Yes.
- Q. Who were they?
- MR. LEVY: Just to clarify that, your
- 16 question was -- can you repeat the question,
- 17 please?
- 18 MR. DAVIS: Sure. Did Fusion ever work with
- 19 subcontractors on its Prevezon or Magnitsky
- 20 efforts?
- MR. LEVY: What do you mean by "Magnitsky
- 22 efforts"?
- MR. DAVIS: I mean all matters related to the
- 24 efforts with the media, government officials, and
- 25 campaigns -- or campaigns to overturn the Magnitsky

Washington, DC

- 1 Act, prevent the passage of the global Magnitsky
- 2 Act, remove the word Magnitsky from the law -- from
- 3 either law, as well as the Russian ban on U.S.
- 4 adoptions of Russian children.
- 5 MR. LEVY: And you were also asking about
- 6 subcontractors for Prevezon as well?
- 7 MR. DAVIS: I'm asking whether Fusion ever
- 8 worked with subcontractors on those issues.
- 9 BY THE WITNESS:
- 10 A. Well, I object to the question the way the
- 11 question is framed. You've sort of built into the
- 12 question the sort of inference that we were doing
- 13 something other than working on a legal case, and
- 14 there's extensive public record, documentation in
- 15 Pacer of the work that we did and it was a legal
- 16 case. So I don't -- it's going to be difficult
- 17 because it's really hard for me to answer questions
- 18 where you lump in all these things that other
- 19 people were doing and impute them to me.
- Q. Let's break them down by category.
- 21 A. Let's do that.
- Q. Did Fusion ever work with
- 23 subcontractors -- did Fusion ever hire
- 24 subcontractors as part of its legal work on the
- 25 Prevezon case?

Washington, DC

- 1 A. Yes.
- 2 Q. And whom did you hire?
- 3 A. I think the primary, possibly only one was
- 4 a guy named Edward Baumgartner. There may have
- 5 been others. I just don't recall.
- 6 Q. And what type of work did Mr. Baumgartner
- 7 undertake for Fusion?
- 8 A. Discovery mostly, helping locate
- 9 witnesses. He speaks Russian. So he would work
- 10 with the lawyers on gathering Russian language
- 11 documents, gathering Russian language media
- 12 reports, talking to witnesses who speak Russian,
- 13 that sort of thing. He may have dealt with the
- 14 press. I just don't remember.
- MR. FOSTER: What is his professional
- 16 background?
- 17 MR. SIMPSON: He has a degree in Russian.
- 18 MR. FOSTER: So his primary role was as a
- 19 Russian speaker? Is he a private investigator?
- 20 What does he do?
- 21 MR. SIMPSON: He runs a consulting firm like
- 22 me and deals with issues more in Ukraine than
- 23 Russia, but in both. Yeah, he was doing Russian
- 24 language things. The case revolved around,
- 25 centered on events in Russia. So a lot of what we

Washington, DC

- 1 needed to find out were things that were in Russia
- 2 or there were documents in the Russian language. I
- 3 don't speak Russian, I've never been to Russia. So
- 4 it would be ordinary course of business for me to
- 5 identify a specialist who could supply me with that
- 6 kind of specialized expertise.
- 7 BY MR. DAVIS:
- Q. And how did you come to hire him for this
- 9 engagement?
- 10 A. I met him on a previous engagement and I
- 11 was impressed by his knowledge of the region and
- 12 his general abilities.
- MR. FOSTER: What was the previous
- 14 engagement?
- MR. LEVY: We're not going to get into prior
- 16 engagements. It's outside the scope.
- MR. FOSTER: Generally speaking, what was it?
- 18 MR. SIMPSON: It was something involving
- 19 Russia.
- 20 MR. FOSTER: A little more specifically
- 21 speaking.
- MR. SIMPSON: It's my understanding that I
- 23 was not required to talk about my other cases at
- 24 this interview.
- MR. DAVIS: Again, it's a voluntary interview

Washington, DC

- 1 and you are not under compulsion to answer any
- 2 questions, but, again, the extent to which you
- 3 cooperate will help the committee members evaluate
- 4 whether further compulsory process is necessary.
- 5 MR. LEVY: He's been answering questions and
- 6 we're here all day for you.
- 7 MR. SIMPSON: I'm here to cooperate.
- 8 BY MR. DAVIS:
- 9 Q. Did anyone from Fusion ever work with
- 10 other subcontractors hired by Baker Hostetler for
- 11 the Prevezon case?
- 12 A. That would have been ordinary. I don't
- 13 specifically remember doing that, but it wouldn't
- 14 have been out of the ordinary. It's not
- 15 particularly noteworthy. I've worked with Baker
- 16 Hostetler since 2009 on a number of legal cases.
- 17 This is the only one that involved Russia. And in
- 18 the course of any legal case, you know, various
- 19 people are retained by a law firm to perform
- 20 various services. So you would meet other
- 21 subcontractors in the course of doing legal work.
- 22 That's common.
- 23 Q. What types of services would they tend to
- 24 be providing?
- 25 A. Translators would be common, in this case

Washington, DC

- 1 particularly. Forensic people, accountants, PR
- 2 people, all those services are facets of modern
- 3 litigation.
- 4 Q. And to the best of your knowledge, did
- 5 Fusion ever work with any other contractors hired
- 6 by Prevezon Holdings?
- 7 A. I'm sorry. Could you repeat that?
- 8 Q. Sure. I asked if Fusion had hired any
- 9 subcontractors that you worked with on the Prevezon
- 10 matter, whether Baker hired anyone that you worked
- 11 with. Now I'm wondering did you work with anyone
- 12 hired directly through Prevezon on this as opposed
- 13 to Baker Hostetler?
- A. It's difficult to give a yes or no answer
- 15 to that. I would have to say I think so, but when
- 16 you're a subcontractor to a law firm, you know,
- 17 you're sort of in a lane and, you know, my lane was
- 18 research, discovery, William Browder's business
- 19 practices, his activities in Russia, his history of
- 20 avoiding taxes.
- 21 So people -- other people, you know, in a big
- 22 case come and go and it's not really my position to
- 23 ask, you know, who hired them and why. Generally
- 24 if I'm introduced to somebody they'll explain, you
- 25 know, why there were other lawyers who worked for

Washington, DC

- 1 Prevezon who were part of the case. Other people
- 2 were brought in -- you know, were brought in either
- 3 by Prevezon or by the lawyers and I didn't always
- 4 try to pin that down.
- 5 Q. In general would the decision whether you
- 6 would share Fusion's information with them be
- 7 dependent then upon the attorneys introducing you
- 8 to them?
- 9 A. It would be dependent on the direction of
- 10 the attorneys. I basically -- you know, in all
- 11 these cases for reasons of privilege and simply
- 12 just professionalism you work at the direction of
- 13 the lawyers and you do what they instruct you to
- 14 do.
- Q. Did anyone from Fusion ever help arrange
- 16 for other entities to be hired by Prevezon or Baker
- 17 Hostetler for the Prevezon case?
- 18 A. I don't think you could say we arranged
- 19 for others to be hired. If you're asking me if we
- 20 made referrals, we would refer -- you know, we made
- 21 quite extensive -- fairly extensive efforts to get
- 22 a PR firm hired for the trial that we were
- 23 expecting and we made a number of referrals in that
- 24 case, in that matter.
- Q. What was the name of that PR firm?

Washington, DC

- 1 A. There were several. We actually, you
- 2 know, had a series of screening sessions. I think
- 3 Weber Shandwick was the one we ended up with.
- 4 Q. You mentioned that Fusion was conducting
- 5 litigation support in regard to the Prevezon case.
- 6 Could you expand a little more about what type of
- 7 litigation support activities you undertook?
- 8 MR. LEVY: Beyond what he's already told you?
- 9 MR. DAVIS: With a little more detail.
- 10 BY THE WITNESS:
- 11 A. Yes. In the original period of the case
- 12 the question -- the client's explanation for or
- 13 response to the government's allegations was that
- 14 they originated with an organized crime figure in
- 15 Russia who had been extorting them and who they had
- 16 reported to the police and who had been jailed and
- 17 convicted for blackmailing them, and they claimed
- 18 that that was where these allegations originated,
- 19 which, you know, seemed remarkable because it was
- 20 in a Justice Department complaint.
- 21 So the first thing, you know, in any case
- 22 really is to sort of try and figure out whether
- 23 your own client's story can be supported or whether
- 24 it's not true, and the lawyers -- you know, we work
- 25 with a lot of prominent law firms and in many cases

Washington, DC

- 1 the first thing the lawyers need to know is whether
- 2 their client's story is real, whether it can be
- 3 supported, you know, because in any new case you
- 4 don't know whether your own client is telling you
- 5 the truth.
- 6 So originally one of the first things we were
- 7 hired to do was to check out whether this was, in
- 8 fact, the case. So they claimed that the
- 9 allegations originated with a mobster named Demetri
- 10 Baranovsky, B-A-R-A-N-O-V-S-K-Y, who was, in fact,
- jailed for running a shake-down operation in which
- 12 he posed as an anticorruption campaigner for the
- 13 purpose of extorting money from people by
- 14 threatening to accuse them of some kind of corrupt
- 15 activities. As you know, Russia is rife with
- 16 corruption and there's a lot of anger over
- 17 corruption.
- We were able to ascertain that Mr. Baranovsky
- 19 was, in fact, associated with Russia's biggest
- 20 organized crime family, the Solntsevo Brotherhood,
- 21 S-O-L-N-T-S-E-V-O brotherhood, which is the major
- 22 dominant mafia clan in Moscow. So as far as it
- 23 went, the client seemed to be telling the truth.
- 24 You know, there was extensive record of these
- 25 events and we found some indications from western

Washington, DC

- 1 law enforcement that western law enforcement did
- 2 consider Baranovsky to be a lieutenant in this
- 3 organized crime family. So we did that for a
- 4 while. Edward Baumgartner helped a lot with that
- 5 because of his Russian language skills and his
- 6 ability to interface with the court system in
- 7 Russia.
- 8 And, you know, around the -- similarly, there
- 9 was a deposition of a customs agent by one of the
- 10 lawyers who -- you know, in this initial effort to
- 11 trace the origin of these allegations, where they
- 12 came from, how they could have ended up with the
- 13 Justice Department, the first thing we did was
- 14 interview the client, got their story, and
- 15 interviewed the agent who worked on the case for
- 16 the DOJ and that agent said he got all his
- 17 information from William Browder.
- So at that point I was asked to help see if
- 19 we could get an interview with William Browder.
- 20 They wrote a letter to Browder and asked him to
- 21 answer questions and he refused. Then the lawyers
- 22 wanted to know, you know, whether he could be
- 23 subpoenaed. So a lot of what I did in 2014 was
- 24 help them figure out whether he could be subpoenaed
- in the United States to give a deposition, and the

Washington, DC

- 1 first thing that we did was we researched the
- 2 ownership and registration of his hedge fund, which
- 3 was registered in Delaware and filed documents with
- 4 the Securities and Exchange Commission.
- 5 So we subpoenaed his hedge fund. A lot of
- 6 the early work I did was just documenting that his
- 7 hedge fund had presence in the United States. So
- 8 we subpoenaed his hedge fund. He then changed the
- 9 hedge fund registration, took his name off, said it
- 10 was on there by accident, it was a mistake, and
- 11 said that he had no presence in the United States
- 12 and that, you know -- as you may know, he
- 13 surrendered his citizenship in 1998 and moved
- 14 outside the United States. That was around the
- 15 time he started making all the money in Russia. So
- 16 he's never had to pay U.S. taxes on his profits
- 17 from his time in Russia, which became important in
- 18 the case later.
- 19 In any case, he said he never came to the
- 20 United States, didn't own any property here, didn't
- 21 do any business here, and therefore he was not
- 22 required to participate in the U.S. court system
- 23 even though he admitted that he brought the case to
- 24 the U.S. Justice Department. So we found this to
- 25 be a frustrating and somewhat curious situation.

Washington, DC

- 1 He was willing to, you know, hand stuff off to the
- 2 DOJ anonymously in the beginning and cause them to
- 3 launch a court case against somebody, but he wasn't
- 4 interesting in speaking under oath about, you know,
- 5 why he did that, his own activities in Russia.
- 6 So looking at the public record we determined
- 7 that he did come to the United States frequently,
- 8 and I discovered through public records that he
- 9 seemed to own a house in Aspen, Colorado, a very
- 10 expensive mansion, over \$10 million, which he had
- 11 registered in the name of a shell company in a
- 12 clear attempt to disquise the ownership of the
- 13 property. We were able to ascertain that he does
- 14 use that property because he registered cars to
- 15 that property with the Colorado DMV in the name of
- 16 William Browder.
- 17 So we began looking for public information
- 18 about when he might be in Aspen, Colorado, and I
- 19 found a listing on the Aspen Institute Website
- 20 about an appearance he was going to make there in
- 21 the summer of 2014. So we -- I served him a
- 22 subpoena in the parking lot of the Aspen Institute
- 23 in the summer of 2014 using two people -- two
- 24 subcontractors. Actually, those other
- 25 subcontractors were -- their names escape me, but I

Washington, DC

- 1 forgot about those. We can get you that. This is
- 2 all in the Pacer court record, the public court
- 3 record.
- In any event, the three of us served -- there
- 5 was another subcontractor working for the law firm
- 6 whose name I also forget. I did not retain him,
- 7 but I was asked to work with him on this. He is a
- 8 private investigator and we can get you his name.
- 9 In any event, we served him the subpoena and he ran
- 10 away. He dropped it on the ground and he ran away.
- 11 He jumped in his car and went back to his mansion.
- 12 At that point he tried to suppress -- tried
- 13 to quash the subpoena on the grounds it hadn't been
- 14 properly served. We didn't get a video, but there
- 15 are sworn affidavits from my servers in the court
- 16 record about the service. But he objected to it on
- 17 a number of grounds. A, he continued to insist he
- 18 had nothing to do with the United States and didn't
- 19 come here very often even, though we caught him
- 20 here, clearly has cars in Colorado. He also said
- 21 that you can't serve a subpoena for a case in
- 22 New York in the state of Colorado, it's outside the
- 23 primary jurisdiction. He also began to raise
- 24 questions about whether Baker Hostetler had a
- 25 conflict of interest because of some previous work

Washington, DC

- 1 he did with one of the Baker lawyers.
- 2 This led to a long, drawn-out discovery
- 3 battle that I was in the center of because I served
- 4 the subpoenas and I helped find the information for
- 5 the first set of subpoenas that lasted, you know,
- 6 through 2014. This was, you know, a lot of what I
- 7 did. This was -- the main focus was on trying to
- 8 get William Browder to testify under oath about his
- 9 role in this case and his activities in Russia.
- 10 All of this -- his determined effort to avoid
- 11 testifying under oath, including running away from
- 12 subpoenas and changing -- frequently changing
- 13 lawyers and making lurid allegations against us,
- 14 including that, you know, he thought we were KGB
- assassins in the parking lot of Aspen, Colorado
- 16 when we served the subpoena, all raised questions
- in my mind about why he was so determined to not
- 18 have to answer questions under oath about things
- 19 that happened in Russia.
- 20 I'll add that, you know, I've done a lot of
- 21 Russia reporting over the years. I originally met
- 22 William Browder back when I was a journalist at the
- 23 Wall Street Journal when I was doing stories about
- 24 corruption in Russia. I think the first time I met
- 25 him he lectured me about -- I was working on a

Washington, DC

- 1 story about Vladimir Putin corruption and he
- 2 lectured me about how have Vladimir Putin was not
- 3 corrupt and how he was the best thing that ever
- 4 happened to Russia. There are numerous documents
- 5 that he published himself, interviews he gave
- 6 singing the praises of Vladimir Putin. At that
- 7 time I was already investigating corruption in
- 8 Putin's Russia.
- 9 So this made me more curious about the
- 10 history of his activities in Russia and what that
- 11 might tell me about corruption in Russia, and as
- 12 part of the case we became curious about whether
- 13 there was something that he was hiding about his
- 14 activities in Russia. So through this period while
- 15 we were attempting to get him under oath we were
- 16 also investigating his business practices in Russia
- 17 and that research -- and I should add when I say
- 18 "we," I mean the lawyers were doing a lot of this
- 19 work and it wasn't -- I can't take responsibility
- 20 or pride of place on having done all this work. We
- 21 were doing it all together. It was a -- you know,
- there were a number of lawyers involved, other
- 23 people.
- In the course of doing this research into
- 25 what he might not want to be asked about from his

Washington, DC

- 1 history in Russia we began to learn about the
- 2 history of his tax avoidance in Russia and we began
- 3 to deconstruct the way that his hedge fund
- 4 structured its investments in Russia and, you know,
- 5 we gradually accumulated through public records,
- 6 not all from Russia, that he set up dozens of shell
- 7 companies in Cyprus and other tax havens around the
- 8 world to funnel money into Russia and to hold
- 9 Russian securities.
- 10 He also set up shell companies inside of
- 11 Russia in order to avoid paying taxes in Russia and
- 12 he set up shell companies in a remote republic
- 13 called Kalmykia, K-A-L-M-Y-K-I-A, which is next to
- 14 Mongolia. It's the only Buddhist republic in
- 15 Russia and there's nothing much there, but if you
- 16 put your companies there you can lower your taxes.
- 17 They were putting their companies in Kalmykia that
- 18 were holding investments from western investors and
- 19 they were staffing these companies -- they were
- 20 using Afghan war veterans because there's a tax
- 21 preference for Afghan war veterans, and what we
- 22 learned is that they got in trouble for this
- 23 eventually because one of Putin's primary rules for
- 24 business was you can do a lot of things, but you've
- 25 got to pay your taxes.

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1 In fact, William Browder famously said in

- 2 2005 at Davos everybody knows under Putin you have
- 3 to pay your taxes, which is ironic because at the
- 4 time he was being investigated for not paying
- 5 taxes. Ultimately they were caught, some of these
- 6 companies were prosecuted, and he was forced to
- 7 make an enormous tax payment to the government of
- 8 Russia in 2006.
- 9 I will add that Sergei Magnitsky was working
- 10 for him at this time and all of this happened prior
- 11 to the events that you are interested in involving
- 12 the Russian treasury fraud and his jailing. This
- 13 precedes all that.
- But returning to the detailed discussion of
- my work, we investigated William Browder's business
- 16 practices in Russia, we began to understand maybe
- 17 what it was he didn't want to talk about, and as we
- 18 looked at that we then began to look at his
- 19 decision to surrender his American citizenship in
- 20 1998. At that point somewhere in there the Panama
- 21 papers came out and we discovered that he had
- 22 incorporated shell companies offshore in the mid
- 23 1990s, in 1995 I believe it was in the British
- 24 Virgin Islands, and that at some point his hedge
- 25 fund's shares had been transferred to this offshore

Washington, DC

- 1 company.
- 2 This offshore company was managed -- several
- 3 of his offshore companies were managed by the
- 4 Panamanian law firm called Mossack Fonseca,
- 5 M-O-S-S-A-C-K, Fonseca, F-O-N-S-E-C-A, which is
- 6 known now for setting up offshore companies for
- 7 drug kingpins, narcos, kleptos, you name it. They
- 8 were servicing every bad guy around. And I'm
- 9 familiar with them from other money laundering and
- 10 corruption and tax evasion investigations that I've
- 11 done.
- 12 I'll note parenthetically that William
- 13 Browder talks a lot about the Panama papers and the
- 14 Russians who are in the Panama papers without ever
- 15 mentioning that he's in the Panama papers. This
- 16 is, again, a public fact that you can check
- 17 on-line.
- 18 So that's an overview of the sort of work I
- 19 was doing on this case. In the course of that I
- 20 also began reaching back, I read his book Red
- 21 Notice to understand his story and the story of his
- 22 activities in Russia. I'll add also that I was
- 23 extremely sympathetic for what happened to Sergei
- 24 Magnitsky and I told him that myself and I tried to
- 25 help him. It was only later from this other case

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washington, DC

- 1 that I began to be curious and skeptical about
- 2 William Browder's activities and history in Russia.
- 3 MR. FOSTER: Can I ask you a follow-up
- 4 question. I appreciate the narrative answer, but
- 5 at the very beginning of the narrative you talked
- 6 about beginning this journey by interviewing --
- 7 conducting an interview of the case agent who said
- 8 he'd gotten all of his information -- the case
- 9 agent or the attorney, the primary person at the
- 10 DOJ, you said they got all their information from
- 11 Bill Browder. Can you tell us who that was and who
- 12 conducted the interview?
- MR. LEVY: Mr. Simpson should definitely
- 14 answer that question. I just want to make sure for
- 15 the record that he hadn't finished his answer. He
- 16 can talk more extensively about the litigation
- 17 support that he provided for Baker --
- MR. FOSTER: We're happy to get into that if
- 19 he wants to do that. We're just coming up at the
- 20 end of our hour.
- MR. LEVY: No problem.
- MR. FOSTER: and I wanted to get that
- 23 follow-up in before --
- 24 MR. LEVY: No problem. No problem at all.
- 25 BY THE WITNESS:

Washington, DC

- 1 A. I'll just finish with one last thing and
- 2 I'm happy to answer that question.
- 3 So in the course of this, you know -- I mean,
- 4 one of my interests or even obsessions over the
- 5 last decade has been corruption in Russia and
- 6 Russian kleptocracy and the police state that was
- 7 there. I was stationed in Europe from 2005 to 2007
- 8 or '8. So I was there when Putin was consolidating
- 9 power and all this wave of power was coming. So
- 10 it's been a subject that I've read very widely on
- and I'm very interested in the history of Putin's
- 12 rise.
- You know, in the course of all this I'll tell
- 14 you I became personally interested in where Bill
- 15 Browder came from, how he made so much money under
- 16 Vladimir Putin without getting involved in anything
- 17 illicit. So I read his book and I began doing
- 18 other research and I found filings at the SEC
- 19 linking him quite directly and his company, Salomon
- 20 Brothers at the time, to a company in Russia called
- 21 Peter Star, and I had, as it happens, vetted Peter
- 22 Star and I knew that Peter Star was, you know, at
- 23 the center of a corruption case that I covered as a
- 24 reporter at the Wall Street Journal. When I went
- 25 back into the history of Peter Star I realized that

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- 1 Bill Browder did business with the mayor's office
- 2 in Saint Petersburg when Vladimir Putin was the
- 3 deputy mayor and was responsible for dealing with
- 4 western businessmen and corporations.
- 5 I then went and looked in Red Notice, this
- 6 was a large deal, it was the biggest deal ever for
- 7 Salomon at that time, they sold \$98 million worth
- 8 of stock on NASDAQ. There's no mention of William
- 9 Browder's deal with Peter Star in Red Notice. I
- 10 can't tell you why, but I can tell you that Peter
- 11 Star later became the subject of a massive
- 12 corruption investigation, Pan-European, that I
- 13 exposed a lot of and that led to the resignation of
- 14 Putin's telecoms minister. So I assume he might
- 15 not have -- this is kind of a pattern with Browder,
- 16 which is he tends to omit things that aren't
- 17 helpful to him, and I think we've seen a good bit
- 18 of that lately in his allegations against me, which
- 19 I'm sure you're going to ask me about.
- 20 So your question about the ICE agent, he was
- 21 deposed by John Moscow of the New York office of
- 22 Baker Hostetler. John is an old associate of mine
- 23 from my days as a journalist. John's an expert on
- 24 tax evasion and money laundering. He was the head
- of the rackets bureau for the district attorney's

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Page 52 office in New York.

- MR. FOSTER: You're talking about a formal 2
- 3 deposition in the litigation?
- MR. SIMPSON: Yeah. 4
- MR. FOSTER: I just wanted to clarify that. 5
- MR. SIMPSON: Again, it's in the court 6
- 7 record. One of the frustrating things about this
- whole issue for me is everything I'm talking about 8
- or most of it is in the court record. You know, I 9
- don't take a lot of credit for my work. 10
- won't see my name scattered through the court 11
- 12 record, but a lot of this is what I did.
- MR. DAVIS: I think that's concludes our 13
- 14 first hour. Let's take a short break before we
- begin a new one. 15
- 16 MR. FOSTER: Let's go off the record.
- 17 MR. DAVIS: We'll go off the record at
- 10:45. 18
- 19 (A short break was had.)
- 20 MS. SAWYER: It's about 10:55.
- 21 EXAMINATION
- 22 BY MS. SAWYER:
- 23 Q. Mr. Simpson, again, I'm Heather Sawyer, I
- work as counsel for Senator Feinstein, and I have 24
- 25 with me two of my colleagues. I will primarily be

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- 1 asking the questions. They may have some
- 2 follow-up.
- 3 We want to make sure we're clear. So
- 4 certainly if I ask you a question, anything that's
- 5 unclear, let me know and I will clarify it. Again,
- 6 we appreciate you being here today to answer our
- 7 questions.
- 8 You had talked with my colleagues a bit about
- 9 the work that Fusion GPS does in general and I
- 10 wanted to ask you some follow-up on that. What
- 11 would you describe as kind of the key expertise of
- 12 your firm, Fusion GPS?
- 13 A. Public information is our specialty. We
- 14 generally are all ex-journalists and specific type
- 15 of journalists, investigative reporters, and, you
- 16 know, being a journalist is all about finding
- 17 public information. At least, you know, the kind
- 18 of journalism I practiced was based on documents.
- 19 I'm a document hound and so are my colleagues.
- 20 So essentially we gather up large quantities
- 21 of public information and we process that. We've
- 22 sort of more recently branched into data science
- 23 and, you know, digital data, obtaining databases
- 24 through FOIA. We do a lot of Freedom of
- 25 Information Act work. We work with court records

Washington, DC

- 1 a lot, corporate records a lot. Some of my
- 2 employees do a lot of financial crime and money
- 3 laundering and fraud investigations, tax evasion,
- 4 that sort of thing. Those are my specialties.
- 5 I was also a political reporter and covered
- 6 campaigns and elections. I know a lot about how
- 7 campaigns work and how, you know, Washington works
- 8 generally. So we do things like policy disputes,
- 9 one industry versus another, one company versus
- 10 another. We don't do a lot of campaign consulting,
- 11 but every four years for the last couple of cycles
- 12 we've done some presidential work.
- Generally speaking, the way our business is
- 14 structured most campaigns don't have the budget for
- 15 the kind of services that we provide. So we only
- 16 would do things where people have the resources to
- 17 pay for a serious piece of research. So we do
- 18 things like a California initiative or
- 19 presidential.
- Q. And how would you describe like how would
- 21 you pitch and why would a client need your
- 22 services?
- 23 A. Generally speaking, people tend to get
- 24 referred to us when they have a sort of undefined
- 25 need, like they feel like they don't know what

Washington, DC

- 1 happened or they don't know what happened, they
- 2 don't know what's going on. So I think that's what
- 3 I referred to earlier as the decision support part
- 4 of our work.
- 5 You know, a client will come to us and
- 6 they'll say I'm being sued and they're accusing me
- 7 of X and, you know, not only did I not do it, but I
- 8 don't even understand why they're suing me. I
- 9 mean, that's a kind of typical thing. Also another
- 10 example would be I think I've been defrauded, but I
- 11 can't figure out how or why. Or I keep -- you
- 12 know, I run the best company in my industry and,
- 13 you know, we make the best widgets and we keep
- 14 losing out on the Pentagon contract to this other
- 15 guy and we think something fishy's going on and we
- 16 want you to help us figure it out.
- Q. So in some ways it's fact gathering and
- 18 due diligence for clients?
- 19 A. Well, it is certainly fact gathering and I
- 20 certainly am around the due diligence industry and
- 21 I am essentially part of it, but we don't really do
- 22 a lot of classic due diligence, which has become a
- 23 commoditized product in the business intelligence
- 24 field that is conducted, you know, at a fairly sort
- of low level. it's become sort of a mass product

Washington, DC

- 1 like a McDonald's cheeseburger.
- Q. I think when you were speaking with my
- 3 colleagues you described your work as open ended
- 4 and not results directed. Can you explain a little
- 5 more what you mean by that?
- 6 A. Sure. Another thing we say about our work
- 7 is it's custom information, it's a customized
- 8 product. You tell us what your problem is and we
- 9 customize a research solution. In general when
- 10 people come to us and they tell us what their
- 11 challenge is, we stipulate that they retain us for
- 12 30 days, they agree to pay our fee, they don't tell
- 13 us what to do, they don't tell us, you know, what
- 14 result to get. I like to call it a holistic
- 15 methodology.
- The reason we do it that way, you know, A, we
- 17 are professionals and we feel like it's not helpful
- 18 to have someone dictating how you do things, but,
- 19 B, if you predetermine the result that you're
- 20 looking for you tend to miss things. So it's
- 21 better -- you know, it's pure versus applied
- 22 science, right? You're looking to understand how
- 23 things work before you understand what you might
- 24 need to address a particular problem.
- What happens after you've done open-ended

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- 1 research is then, of course, you try to apply it to
- 2 the specific issues at hand. So if you're not able
- 3 to get a government contract and you think the
- 4 other guy is up to something and we find out, you
- 5 know, indeed he's been making, you know, payments
- 6 to somebody, you know, then we would, you know,
- 7 advise them on how to address that.
- 8 Q. So the way it's structured you are
- 9 certainly free to follow the facts wherever they
- 10 may lead you in the course of research?
- 11 A. That's right. You know, it's a little
- 12 different in litigation where you're working for an
- 13 attorney and he's got specific things he needs,
- 14 like serving a witness or something like that, but
- 15 on the research side of it it's -- I have the
- 16 professional -- basically I reserve for myself the
- 17 professional freedom to find out the answers.
- Q. A January 11, 2017 New York Times article
- 19 described your firm, Fusion GPS, as a firm that
- 20 "Most often works for business clients, but in
- 21 presidential elections the firm is sometimes hired
- 22 by candidates, party organizations, or donors to do
- 23 political oppo work, short for opposition research
- 24 on the side."
- Is that an accurate description of the firm?

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- 1 A. In a shorthand way, yeah. I mean, it's
- 2 consistent with the description I think I gave you.
- 3 We don't do a lot of campaign work, but, you know,
- 4 every few years we do. And most of our clients are
- 5 not trying to win an election. They're trying to
- 6 win a lawsuit or, you know, find out who ripped
- 7 them off.
- 8 Q. With regard to the political or campaign
- 9 work that you do, the same principles you've talked
- 10 about in terms of how the relationship is
- 11 structured, how the research is done, do those same
- 12 principles apply to that political or campaign
- 13 research as well?
- 14 A. Yes. There's a limited number of examples
- 15 because we don't do a lot of it, but, again, my
- 16 specialty is really sort of financial
- 17 investigations and business practices. In the
- 18 last -- you know, in a current example we have a
- 19 businessman who had a far-flung business empire all
- 20 around the world. So, you know, that was a natural
- 21 subject for me. So we do, we investigate
- 22 multinational enterprises on a frequent basis.
- Q. Just to be clear, when you say "in the
- 24 current example," what are you referring to?
- A. 2016 presidential election.

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- 1 Q. And then, by extension, when you're
- 2 talking about an international businessman, I
- 3 presume you're talking about then candidate now
- 4 President Trump?
- 5 A. Yes.
- Q. I do want to ask you more about that, but
- 7 before we get to that, in general, when you do the
- 8 political or campaign work you're equally free to
- 9 follow the facts wherever they lead you and the
- 10 firm Fusion GPS?
- 11 A. Yes, that's right.
- 12 Q. Now, certainly it sounds like you handle
- 13 business for multiple clients, not just one client
- 14 at one time. How do you handle the fact that you
- 15 have work for more than one client in terms of
- 16 protecting confidentiality in general and
- 17 ensuring -- well, first of all, I presume that you
- 18 take steps so that work for one client is not
- 19 shared with another client?
- MR. LEVY: What's the question?
- MS. SAWYER: Do you take steps to ensure that
- 22 work that you're doing for one client is not shared
- 23 with another client?
- 24 BY THE WITNESS:
- 25 A. Yes. My partners and I don't talk

Washington, DC

- 1 about -- it's like a lawyer wouldn't talk about one
- 2 client to another client. You know, there's some
- 3 exceptions when things become public. If we're
- 4 working on a public matter and someone else asks us
- 5 about it, I mean, obviously if it's public it's not
- 6 -- it doesn't need to be protected. But we have
- 7 systems to segregate our cases and clients and, you
- 8 know, we deal with them individually and we operate
- 9 in that sense, you know, like a lawyer would.
- 10 As the business has grown, you know, we've
- 11 taken on more and more matters. So I don't -- you
- 12 know, I generally do about a half a dozen cases at
- 13 a time on all range of subjects in all parts of the
- 14 world, and the same is true of my partners and we
- 15 divide them up. So sometimes we work together, but
- 16 frequently each of them will be doing three, four,
- 17 five cases at a time.
- Q. With regard to subcontractors who work
- 19 with the firm, do you have a policy that is shared
- 20 with them about how they are to treat the
- 21 information that they're doing on behalf of one of
- 22 your clients vis-a-vis some of your other clients?
- A. Well, our subcontractors are governed by
- 24 NDA's to start with. In most cases that I can
- 25 think of we don't have one subcontractor working on

Washington, DC

- 1 more than one matter, but to the extent that would
- 2 happen, we don't really -- when you're dealing with
- 3 subcontractors you're giving them generally very
- 4 specific assignments, find out what you can about
- 5 this company or this businessman or this court
- 6 case, whatever, and a lot of that you never get
- 7 into who the client is. It's irrelevant.
- 8 I'd say more often than not the
- 9 subcontractors don't know who the client is. We
- 10 would not volunteer that information to them unless
- 11 they were what we would call a super sub, which is
- 12 someone who, you know, has worked with us for a
- 13 long time and has enough trust and confidence to be
- 14 involved. Again, it would also be on a kind of
- 15 need-to-know basis. There's no need for a
- 16 subcontractor to know who a client is unless it's
- 17 for, you know, KYC, know your customer kind of due
- 18 diligence purposes. Sometimes we identify clients
- 19 to prevent conflicts. So unless there's a reason
- 20 like that or because they need to meet with the
- 21 client, you know, we generally wouldn't tell them
- 22 who the client is.
- Q. So you had mentioned a few minutes ago
- that you had done some political or campaign
- 25 research in the course of the 2016 presidential

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- 1 election and you clarified that that was work
- 2 related to then Candidate and now President Trump.
- 3 What can you tell us about that work? Can you just
- 4 describe it first generally and then I'll ask you
- 5 some follow-up.
- 6 A. It was, broadly speaking, a kind of
- 7 holistic examination of Donald Trump's business
- 8 record and his associations, his bankruptcies, his
- 9 suppliers, you know, offshore or third-world
- 10 suppliers of products that he was selling. You
- 11 know, it evolved somewhat quickly into issues of
- 12 his relationships to organized crime figures but,
- 13 you know, really the gamut of Donald Trump.
- 14 What we generally do at the beginning of a
- 15 case if it's possible is to order all the books
- 16 about the subject from Amazon so we're not
- 17 reinventing the wheel and we know what's been
- 18 written and said before. So this was typical. We
- 19 ordered every Donald Trump book and, to my
- 20 surprise, that's a lot of books. I was never very
- 21 interested in Donald Trump. He was not a serious
- 22 political figure that I'd ever had any exposure to.
- 23 He's a New York figure really.
- So anyway, we read everything we could read
- 25 about Donald Trump. Those books cover his

Washington, DC

- 1 divorces, his casinos, his early years dealings
- 2 with labor unions and mafia figures. I'm trying to
- 3 think what else. His taxes certainly have always
- 4 been a big issue. Again, it was sort of an
- 5 unlimited look at his -- you know, his business and
- 6 finances and that sort of thing.
- 7 Q. And when did this work begin?
- 8 A. It was either September or October of
- 9 2015. I recall being in London on other business
- 10 and hearing somebody wanted for us to take a look
- 11 at it.
- 12 Q. And what can you tell us about who engaged
- 13 you initially to do that work?
- MR. LEVY: The answer to that question might
- 15 implicate privilege.
- 16 BY MS. SAWYER:
- 17 Q. So it has been publicly reported that the
- initial engagement of September to October 2015 was
- 19 by someone with ties -- with Republican ties. Can
- 20 you confirm whether that is accurate or not?
- MR. LEVY: We're not going to talk about the
- 22 identity of clients.
- 23 BY MS. SAWYER:
- Q. So with regard to this engagement in
- 25 September -- that began initially in September or

Washington, DC

- 1 October 2015, what were you asked specifically to
- 2 do by the client?
- 3 A. I don't have specific recollection of
- 4 there being a specific tasking. I believe it was
- 5 why don't you take a look at Donald Trump, it looks
- 6 like he may, you know, be more successful than
- 7 people think, something -- there was some level of
- 8 insight that he had a better shot than people were
- 9 giving him at the time, but it was on open-ended
- 10 request like most of the things that we get.
- 11 Q. And, again, on that one was the work
- 12 directed at all by the client? Did they ask you to
- 13 look at any particular aspects of Candidate Trump's
- 14 background?
- 15 A. I don't -- I know there was --
- MR. LEVY: We're not going to get into client
- 17 communications. It's privileged.
- 18 BY MS. SAWYER:
- 19 Q. Were you in any way limited in the
- 20 research that you did or the facts that you wanted
- 21 to pursue?
- 22 A. Can I talk generally about my practices
- 23 and the history?
- 24 O. Sure.
- 25 A. I mean, in general it's very rare for

Washington, DC

- 1 someone to tell me look here, don't look there.
- 2 For the most part we are looking at -- you know,
- 3 we're trying to understand something big. So it's
- 4 really counterproductive for somebody to tell you
- 5 look here, don't look there, I'm interested in X
- 6 but not Y. So we generally sort of push back when
- 7 that happens, but I have to say we sort of set the
- 8 rules at the beginning and people, you know,
- 9 accepted those terms. So generally that's what we
- 10 explain to people in the beginning of our
- 11 engagements, you know, let us do our jobs and
- 12 that's the way it works best.
- Q. And did that -- can you tell us whether
- 14 that general practice and rule applied to the
- 15 engagement that you took on in September or October
- 16 2015 with regard to Candidate Trump?
- 17 MR. LEVY: You can answer that without
- 18 getting into client communications.
- 19 BY THE WITNESS:
- 20 A. I mean, we were -- it was regular order.
- 21 As, you know, various people will tell you, I'm --
- 22 you know, it would be like herding a cat, right?
- 23 We're going to do what we do. So it was regular
- 24 order.
- Q. And then when you spoke with my colleagues

Washington, DC

- 1 earlier you had indicated that sometimes when facts
- 2 are gathered you present options to a client and
- 3 you articulated kind of four options, a potential
- 4 lawsuit, take it to a government agency, give it to
- 5 Congress, give it to the press. Did you -- were
- 6 those the general options on the table with regard
- 7 to this engagement as well?
- 8 MR. LEVY: If you can discuss it without
- 9 talking about client communications. If you can't,
- 10 you can't.
- 11 BY THE WITNESS:
- 12 A. I'm just trying to -- because it evolved
- 13 it's a little bit hard to -- I mean, in the
- 14 beginning of this case like pretty much every case
- 15 there was no -- there was no range of options --
- 16 there weren't -- it was a request to see what we
- 17 could find out about Donald Trump and the, you
- 18 know, goal or sort of reason, there wasn't really
- 19 one. It was tell me what we need to know about
- 20 this guy. So later on, you know, we started
- 21 getting press inquiries and at that point, you
- 22 know, the sort of press element enters the
- 23 equation, but I can't really get into what they
- told me or didn't tell me to do.
- Q. And are you free today to talk to us about

Washington, DC

- 1 any of the actual findings from that research and
- 2 that engagement?
- 3 A. Yes.
- 4 Q. Okay. So with regard to that initial
- 5 engagement because you had talked a bit about some
- 6 of the research you had done -- I think you said it
- 7 was holistic, financials, potential ties to
- 8 organized crime. With regard to this initial
- 9 engagement that started in October, September, can
- 10 you just explain for us what your findings were.
- 11 A. I guess I'll just give you the caveat
- 12 that, you know, it's a group effort. So I can tell
- 13 you, you know, as the person that was, you know,
- 14 running the project, you know, I had my fingers in
- 15 various things, but there were also the things that
- 16 I was directly focused on.
- 17 In the early -- the very first weekend that I
- 18 started boning up on Donald Trump, you know, I
- 19 found various references to him having connections
- 20 to Italian organized crime and later to a Russian
- 21 organized crime figure named Felix Sater,
- 22 S-A-T-E-R. It wasn't hard to find, it wasn't any
- 23 great achievement, it was in the New York Times,
- 24 but as someone who has done a lot of Russian
- 25 organized crime investigations as a journalist

Washington, DC

- 1 originally that caught my attention and became
- 2 something that, you know, I focused on while other
- 3 people looked at other things.
- 4 So from the very beginning of this organized
- 5 crime was -- Russian organized crime was a focus of
- 6 interest. I guess I should just repeat, you know,
- 7 this is a subject that I covered extensively at the
- 8 Wall Street Journal. I wrote a series of front-
- 9 page articles about various corrupt politicians
- 10 from Russia, oligarchs, and one of the things that
- 11 I wrote about was the connections between western
- 12 politicians and Russian business figures. So, you
- 13 know, I was sort of an amateur student of the
- 14 subject and I had written about some of these same
- 15 Russian crime figures, you know, years earlier in
- 16 the U.S. and various frauds and things they were
- 17 involved in.
- 18 As it happens, Felix Sater was, you know,
- 19 connected to the same Russian crime family that was
- 20 at issue in the Prevezon case, which is the
- 21 dominant Russian crime family in Russia and has a
- 22 robust U.S. presence and is involved in a lot of
- 23 crime and criminal activity in the United States
- 24 and for many years was the -- the leader of this
- 25 family was on the FBI most wanted list and lives

Washington, DC

- 1 openly in Moscow as a fugitive from U.S. law for a
- 2 very elaborate stock fraud.
- 3 Q. Who is that individual and family?
- 4 A. The first name is Semyon, S-E-M-Y-O-N, the
- 5 last name is Mogilevich, M-O-G-I-L-E-V-I-C-H.
- 6 Mogilevich is sometimes referred to as the brainy
- 7 Don because he runs very sophisticated schemes
- 8 including, according to the FBI, involving natural
- 9 gas pipelines in Europe, and he's wanted in
- 10 connection with an elaborate stock fraud called YBM
- 11 Magnex that was took place in the Philadelphia
- 12 area.
- 13 You know, Russian organized crime is very
- 14 different from Italian organized crime. It's much
- 15 more sort of a hybrid kind of thing where they're
- 16 involved in politics and banking and there's even a
- 17 lot of connections between the mafia and the KGB or
- 18 the FSB and cyber crime, things that the Italians
- 19 sort of never figured out. Stock fraud in
- 20 particular was the big thing in the U.S. In any
- 21 event, all of that entered into my thinking when I
- 22 saw that Donald Trump was in business with Felix
- 23 Sater in the Trump Soho project and a number of
- 24 other controversial condo projects.
- Q. And what, if anything, did you conclude

Washington, DC

- 1 about the connection between and in the business
- 2 dealings that then Candidate Trump had had with
- 3 Mr. Sater?
- 4 A. Well, somewhat analogous to the Browder
- 5 situation I found it notable this was something he
- 6 didn't want to talk about and testified under oath
- 7 he wouldn't know Felix if he ran into him in the
- 8 street. That was not true. He knew him well and,
- 9 in fact, continued to associate with him long after
- 10 he learned of Felix's organized crime ties. So,
- 11 you know, that tells you something about somebody.
- 12 So I concluded that he was okay with that and that
- 13 was a troubling thing. I also, you know, began
- 14 to -- I keep saying I, but we as a company began to
- 15 look at where his money came from and, you know,
- 16 that raised a lot of questions. We saw indications
- 17 that some of the money came from Kazakhstan, among
- 18 other places, and that some of it you just couldn't
- 19 account for.
- 20 You know, we also conducted a much broader
- 21 sort of look at his entire career and his overseas
- 22 investments in places like Europe and Latin
- 23 America. You know, it wasn't really a Russia
- 24 focused investigation for the first half of it.
- 25 That was just one component of a broader look at

Washington, DC

- 1 his business career, his finances. We spent a lot
- 2 of time trying to figure out whether he's really as
- 3 rich as he says he is because that was the subject
- 4 of a libel case that he filed against a journalist
- 5 named Tim O'Brien for which there was quite a lot
- 6 of discovery and litigation filings detailing
- 7 O'Brien's allegation that he was worth, you know,
- 8 maybe a fifth to a third of what he claims and
- 9 Trump's angry retort that he was worth far more
- 10 than that.
- 11 So we did things like we looked at the golf
- 12 courses and whether they actually ever made any
- 13 money and how much debt they had. We looked at the
- 14 bankruptcies, how could somebody go through so many
- 15 bankruptcies, you know, and still have a billion
- 16 dollars in personal assets. So those are the kinds
- 17 of things. We looked at a lot of things like his
- 18 tax bills. Tax bills are useful because you can
- 19 figure out how much money someone is making or how
- 20 much they're worth or how much their properties are
- 21 worth based on how much they have to pay in taxes.
- 22 One of the things we found out was that, you
- 23 know, when it comes to paying taxes, Donald Trump
- 24 claims to not have much stuff. At least the Trump
- 25 organization. So they would make filings with

Washington, DC

- 1 various state and local authorities saying that
- 2 their buildings weren't worth much.
- 3 Q. And this information that you gathered,
- 4 was it shared with the client that you had for that
- 5 September, October engagement?
- A. I can't answer that.
- 7 MS. QUINT: When you said you looked at the
- 8 golf courses and bankruptcies, just to clarify,
- 9 everything you're talking about was for that 2015
- 10 engagement? When you say it wasn't Russia focused
- 11 at first, I'm unclear of the time.
- MS. SAWYER: Yeah. Can you tell us when that
- 13 engagement ended?
- MR. LEVY: Which question is pending? Can
- 15 you repeat the question?
- MS. QUINT: I think they're related. I lost
- 17 track when you said you looked at golf courses,
- 18 bankruptcies, tax bills and it was not initially
- 19 Russia centric. I'm wondering the time frame to
- 20 make sure we're all on the same page.
- 21 MR. SIMPSON: It's difficult to specifically
- 22 recall when we did exactly what. For example, the
- 23 specific issue of the golf courses I think did come
- 24 up later, much later, but these things run in
- 25 stages. For instance, in the early stage of an

Washington, DC

- 1 investigation, you know, particularly of Donald
- 2 Trump you want to get every lawsuit the guy's ever
- 3 been in. So, you know, we collected lawsuits from
- 4 around the country and the world. And I do
- 5 remember one of the earlier things we did was we
- 6 collected a lot of documents from Scotland because
- 7 he'd been in a big controversy there about land
- 8 use. There had been another one in Ireland. There
- 9 was a lot of Freedom of Information Act requests
- 10 and that sort of thing.
- 11 So in the early phases of something you're
- 12 collecting lots of paper on every subject
- 13 imaginable. So in the course of reading that
- 14 litigation we would follow up on things that were
- 15 interesting, such as a libel case against a
- journalist that he settled, which, in other words,
- 17 he didn't prevail in his attempts to prove that he
- 18 was a billionaire.
- 19 BY MS. SAWYER:
- Q. So one way to help clarify this is just
- 21 to -- you know, we had been talking about an
- 22 engagement that began in September or October of
- 23 2015. Can you tell us when that particular
- 24 engagement ended?
- 25 A. I can only estimate it.

Washington, DC

- 1 Q. And in general when do you think that
- 2 ended?
- 3 A. Spring of 2016.
- 4 MR. LEVY: Don't guess.
- 5 MR. SIMPSON: I'm sorry.
- 6 BY MS. SAWYER:
- 7 Q. Okay. But that engagement did come to an
- 8 end and it came to an end before November 8th, the
- 9 election, November 8, 2016?
- 10 A. It did end before the election, yes.
- 11 Q. And then did you continue doing opposition
- 12 work on Candidate Trump -- then Candidate Trump,
- 13 now President Trump for a different client?
- 14 A. Yes.
- Q. And can you tell us generally when that
- 16 engagement began?
- 17 A. It was in the first half of 2016.
- 18 Q. And what, if anything, can you tell us
- 19 about that client?
- A. Nothing.
- MR. LEVY: Not nothing as a factual matter,
- 22 but he's going to decline to answer that question.
- MS. SAWYER: And the basis again for
- 24 declining that question?
- MR. LEVY: Privilege.

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- 1 MS. SAWYER: Okay.
- 2 MR. LEVY: And other obligations of
- 3 confidentiality.
- 4 MS. SAWYER: Just to be clear for the record,
- 5 specifically what privilege?
- 6 MR. LEVY: The privileges that we previously
- 7 asserted with the committee. They're in our
- 8 April 7 and June 23 letters.
- 9 MS. SAWYER: Okay.
- 10 BY MS. SAWYER:
- 11 Q. With regard to the engagements, both of
- 12 these engagements to do opposition research on
- 13 Candidate Trump, were you paid directly by each of
- 14 the clients or was there an intermediary paying
- 15 you?
- 16 A. I think I'd like to confer with my lawyer
- 17 about this.
- 18 MR. LEVY: Sure.
- 19 (Whereupon a discussion was had
- 20 sotto voce.)
- 21 MR. SIMPSON: I'm going to decline to answer
- 22 that question.
- MS. SAWYER: And, again, the grounds for
- 24 declining?
- MR. LEVY: It's a voluntary interview and it

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- 1 would implicate privileges and obligations that
- 2 we've set forth with the committee potentially.
- 3 MS. SAWYER: Sure.
- 4 BY MS. SAWYER:
- 5 Q. At a news briefing on August 1, 2017 White
- 6 House Press Secretary Sarah Huckabee Sanders
- 7 described Fusion GPS as a democratic linked firm.
- 8 Is that an accurate description?
- 9 A. I would not agree with that description.
- 10 I was a journalist for most of my adult life and a
- 11 professional at not taking sides, and I'm happy and
- 12 proud to say I have lots of Republican clients and
- 13 friends and I have lots of Democratic clients and
- 14 friends. I've lived in this city for 30 years or
- 15 so and I know a lot of people on both sides and we
- 16 have a long proud history of not being partisan.
- 17 And the same is true for my colleagues. We
- 18 intentionally don't hire people who have strong
- 19 partisan affiliations. We prefer journalists who
- 20 don't see things through ideological prisms and
- 21 ideological prisms are not helpful for doing
- 22 research.
- 23 Q. So it has been widely reported that you
- 24 engaged Christopher Steele to do part of the
- 25 research, the opposition research on Candidate

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- 1 Trump. Is that accurate?
- 2 A. Yes.
- 3 Q. And he was working in that capacity as a
- 4 subcontractor for you? And when I say "you" here I
- 5 mean Fusion GPS.
- 6 A. Yes.
- 7 Q. And when did you engage Mr. Steele to
- 8 conduct opposition research on Candidate Trump?
- 9 A. I don't specifically recall, but it would
- 10 have been in the -- it would have been May or June
- 11 of 2016.
- 12 Q. And why did you engage Mr. Steele in May
- 13 or June of 2016?
- 14 A. That calls for a somewhat long answer. We
- 15 had done an enormous amount of work on Donald Trump
- 16 generally at this point in the project and we began
- 17 to drill down on specific areas. He was not the
- 18 only subcontractor that we engaged. Other parts of
- 19 the world required other people. For example, we
- 20 were interested in the fact that the Trump family
- 21 was selling merchandise under the Trump brand in
- the United States that was made in sweat shops in
- 23 Asia and South America -- or Latin America. So we
- 24 needed someone else for that. So there were other
- 25 things. We were not totally focused on Russia at

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- 1 that time, but we were at a point where we were --
- 2 you know, we'd done a lot of reading and research
- 3 and we were drilling down on specific areas.
- 4 Scotland was another one.
- 5 So that's the answer. What happens when you
- 6 get to this point in an investigation when you've
- 7 gathered all of the public record information and
- 8 you've begun to exhaust your open source, you know,
- 9 resources is that you tend to find specialists who
- 10 can take you further into a subject and I had known
- 11 Chris since I left the Wall Street Journal. He was
- 12 the lead Russianist at MI6 prior to leaving the
- 13 government and an extremely well-regarded
- 14 investigator, researcher, and, as I say, we're
- 15 friends and share interest in Russian kleptocracy
- 16 and organized crime issues. I would say that's
- 17 broadly why I asked him to see what he could find
- 18 out about Donald Trump's business activities in
- 19 Russia.
- 20 Q. So in May or June 2016 you hired
- 21 Christopher Steele to, as you've just indicated,
- 22 find out what he could about Donald Trump's
- 23 business activities in Russia. Did something in
- 24 particular trigger that assignment?
- A. No, I don't think I could point to

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- 1 something in particular as a trigger. I mean, the
- 2 basis for the request was he had made a number of
- 3 trips to Russia and talked about doing a number of
- 4 business deals but never did one, and that struck
- 5 me as a little bit odd and calling for an
- 6 explanation.
- 7 You know, in the background of all
- 8 international business is questions about
- 9 corruption. The Trump organization had branched
- 10 out all over the world in like the four to eight
- 11 years prior to 2016. So in any kind of
- 12 investigation you would naturally want to know
- 13 whether there was some issue with improper business
- 14 relationships.
- 15 I'll just stress that we weren't looking
- 16 for -- at least it wasn't at the forefront of my
- 17 mind there was going to be anything involving the
- 18 Russian government per se, at least not that I
- 19 recall.
- 20 Q. So at the time you first hired him had it
- 21 been publicly reported that there had been a cyber
- 22 intrusion into the Democratic National Convention
- 23 computer system?
- A. I don't specifically remember. What I
- 25 know was that there was chatter around Washington

Washington, DC

- 1 about hacking of the Democrats and Democratic think
- 2 tanks and other things like that and there was a
- 3 site that had sprung up called D.C. Leaks that
- 4 seemed to suggest that somebody was up to
- 5 something. I don't think at the time at least that
- 6 we were particularly focused on -- well, I don't
- 7 specifically remember.
- 8 Q. So you hired Mr. Steele. Had you worked
- 9 with him before?
- 10 A. Yes.
- 11 Q. And can you generally describe what he had
- done in the capacity of working with you and your
- 13 firm, what kind of projects?
- 14 A. Generally speaking, like me, Chris tends
- 15 to work for lawyers who are attempting to assist
- 16 clients in litigation or an asset recovery-type
- 17 situation. And so, you know, the former Soviet
- 18 Union throws off an enormous number of disputes
- 19 about who owns what because of the history of state
- 20 ownership of everything and the transfers of
- 21 property into private hands following the collapse
- 22 of the Soviet Union was a murky process. So
- 23 particularly in Europe there's a lot of disputes
- 24 over who really owns what.
- 25 And so we would collaborate on those kinds of

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- 1 investigations. Sometimes a controversy would
- 2 spill over into the United States and, you know, I
- 3 would be asked to see if I could find a company
- 4 here or there or run director searches on
- 5 individuals who might be associated with people we
- 6 were interested in, that sort of thing. It's
- 7 interesting work, but it's kind of plain vanilla
- 8 business intelligence, litigation support stuff.
- 9 Q. And roughly how many years -- over how
- 10 many years, like when do you first recall working
- 11 with him?
- 12 A. I believe we met in 2009. We've worked
- 13 together since 2009.
- Q. And how did you find the quality of his
- 15 work over that period of time?
- 16 A. Quality is a really important issue in the
- 17 business intelligence industry. There's a lot of
- 18 poor quality work and a lot of people make a lot of
- 19 promises about what they can do and who they know
- 20 and what they can find out and then there's just a
- 21 lot of people who operate in sort of improper
- 22 questionable ways. Chris was, you know, a person
- 23 who delivered quality work in very appropriate
- 24 ways.
- So -- I mean, I hope you won't be insulted,

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- 1 but he's basically a Boy Scout. You know, he
- 2 worked for the government for a very long time. He
- 3 lives a very modest, quiet life, and, you know,
- 4 this is his specialty. We got along very well
- 5 because my speciality is public information. So he
- 6 was comfortable working with me and I was
- 7 comfortable working with him and, you know, we've
- 8 both been around a lot of criminal investigations
- 9 and national security stuff.
- 10 When I was at the Journal I spent many years
- 11 investigating the financing of Al-Qaeda. So I did
- 12 get introduced to sort of national security law and
- 13 national security operations and wrote a lot about
- 14 that and was dragged into court over that a few
- 15 times for things I wrote about people suspected of
- 16 funding terrorism. So we had a lot of common
- 17 interests and background.
- 18 Q. And specific to the engagement with regard
- 19 to the research on Candidate Trump, why did you
- 20 specifically ask Mr. Steele to do that work?
- 21 A. The way our firm runs we pursue things,
- 22 you know, somewhat out of curiosity. So we didn't
- 23 know -- it was opaque what Donald Trump had been
- 24 doing on these business trips to Russia. We didn't
- 25 know what he was doing there. So I gave Chris --

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- 1 we gave Chris a sort of assignment that would be
- 2 typical for us which was pretty open ended. We
- 3 said see if you can find out what Donald Trump's
- 4 been doing on these trips to Russia. Since Chris
- 5 and I worked together over the years there's a lot
- 6 that didn't need to be said. That would include
- 7 who is he doing business with, which hotels does he
- 8 like to stay at, you know, did anyone ever offer
- 9 him anything, you know, the standard sort of things
- 10 you would look at. I don't think I gave him any
- 11 specific instructions beyond the general find out
- 12 what he was up to.
- 13 Q. And was anyone else -- did you engage
- 14 anyone else to do that particular research?
- 15 A. In Russia?
- 16 O. Yes.
- 17 A. So we had other people like Ed Baumgartner
- 18 who, you know, by this time -- I guess Prevezon was
- 19 still winding down, but who would do Russian
- 20 language research which didn't involve going to
- 21 Russia. It just involves reading Russian newspaper
- 22 accounts and that sort of thing.
- Q. So was Mr. Baumgartner also working on
- 24 opposition research for Candidate Trump?
- 25 A. At some point, I think probably after the

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- 1 end of the Prevezon case we asked him to help with
- 2 I think -- my specific recollection is he worked on
- 3 specific issues involving Paul Manafort and
- 4 Ukraine.
- 5 Q. With regard to the presidential election
- 6 of 2016?
- 7 A. Yes.
- 8 Q. We had talked about work for multiple
- 9 clients. What steps were taken, if any, to make
- 10 sure that the work that Mr. Baumgartner was doing
- 11 for Prevezon was not shared across to the clients
- 12 you were working for with regard to the
- 13 presidential election?
- 14 A. He didn't deal with them. He didn't deal
- 15 with the clients. There wouldn't have been any
- 16 reason to -- he operates under the same rules that
- 17 I do.
- Q. And with regard to Mr. Steele, did he ever
- 19 do any work for Fusion GPS on the Prevezon
- 20 litigation matter?
- 21 A. No.
- Q. It's my understanding that Mr. Steele
- 23 works with a company called Orbis & Associates.
- 24 Did anyone else at Orbis, to the best of your
- 25 knowledge, work with Mr. Steele on the engagement

Washington, DC

- 1 that you had with him related to Candidate Trump?
- 2 A. I mean, I don't know their names.
- 3 Q. So do you know whether anyone else worked
- 4 with him?
- 5 A. Yes. I mean, do you mean as
- 6 subcontractors or within his company?
- 7 Q. First within his company.
- 8 MR. LEVY: If you know.
- 9 BY THE WITNESS:
- 10 A. I mean, I just don't remember their names.
- 11 I remember meeting somebody in London who I think
- 12 worked on it, but I just don't remember.
- 13 Q. Somebody else associated with Orbis?
- 14 A. Yes.
- 15 Q. With regard to the assignment that you
- 16 gave to Mr. Steele to do Russia-related research
- 17 for Candidate Trump, is that an accurate way to
- 18 describe it? I said Russia-related research with
- 19 regard to Candidate Trump. Would that be a fair
- 20 way to describe the assignment?
- 21 A. Yes.
- 22 Q. Did you have any input into the actual
- 23 work that he did? Did you give him directions as
- 24 to what to research specifically?
- 25 A. I don't recall giving him specific

Washington, DC

- 1 instructions. We spoke on the phone about various
- 2 areas of interest. For example, when Paul Manafort
- 3 was elevated to running the campaign, we talked
- 4 about Paul Manafort and his long history of
- 5 dealings with Russian oligarchs. So it's more of a
- 6 collaboration than, you know, sort of manager-
- 7 employee kind of relationship. You know, we would
- 8 talk about things that were interesting to us and
- 9 that seemed to be -- you know, needed to be
- 10 (indecipherable).
- 11 Q. So is it fair to describe it as you would
- 12 collaboratively discuss potential topics to
- 13 explore?
- 14 A. Yes, I think that's fair.
- 15 Q. And did you conduct any of the actual
- 16 research yourself?
- 17 A. Well, I think it's important to understand
- 18 we were doing in my company, you know, all kinds of
- 19 research, including lots of Russia research, and
- 20 part of what you do when you get information from
- 21 someone outside the company who's specifically
- 22 looking at a discrete set of questions or issues is
- 23 you add it to the stuff you've already gathered.
- 24 So we did all kinds of stuff on public information
- 25 about Donald Trump's business trips to Russia and

Washington, DC

- 1 business dealings with Russians. I mean, Chris's
- 2 role was specifically to do the thing that we
- 3 couldn't do, which was to arrange to talk to
- 4 people. Generally speaking, we don't do a lot of
- 5 interviewing. Our research is very document
- 6 focused.
- 7 Q. So to the extent you can describe, when
- 8 you say he was doing something you could not do and
- 9 that was he was arranging to talk to people, can
- 10 you describe who it was he was reaching out to,
- 11 what you knew about that?
- 12 A. I don't think for security reasons, among
- 13 other things, it's an area I'm not going to be able
- 14 to go into in terms of sources and things like
- 15 that. I think speaking broadly, you know, there's
- 16 a large diaspora of Russians around the world and
- 17 people in Moscow that, you know, are talking to
- 18 each other all the time. The thing that people
- 19 forget about what was going on in June of 2016 was
- that no one was really focused on sort of this
- 21 question of whether Donald Trump had a relationship
- 22 with the Kremlin.
- So, you know, when Chris started asking
- 24 around in Moscow about this the information was
- 25 sitting there. It wasn't a giant secret. People

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- 1 were talking about it freely. It was only, you
- 2 know, later that it became a subject of great
- 3 controversy and people clammed up, and at that time
- 4 the whole issue of the hacking was also, you know,
- 5 not really focused on Russia. So these things
- 6 eventually converged into, you know, a major issue,
- 7 but at the time it wasn't one.
- 8 Q. I have five or so more minutes and I know
- 9 that I have a lot more questions just about some of
- 10 that work, but I do want to just pin down a couple
- 11 things about the engagement in particular before we
- 12 end this hour.
- 13 So with regard to selecting Mr. Steele
- 14 specifically to do the Russia -- to do work on
- 15 Candidate Trump's ties to Russia, do you believe
- 16 based on his experience and background that
- 17 Mr. Steele would have been aware of the potential
- in his discussions with these people that he could
- 19 be fed this information?
- 20 A. When Chris -- I don't believe it, I know
- 21 it. When Chris briefs in a sort of more formal
- 22 setting, which I've seen, you know, when he
- 23 introduces himself -- you know, he was the lead
- 24 Russianist for MI6. So the first sort of beginning
- of that is he says, you know, I've worked on this

Washington, DC

- 1 issue all my life and when you're trained in
- 2 Russian intelligence matters the fundamental
- 3 problem of your profession is disinformation. It's
- 4 the number one issue.
- 5 In any collection of field -- you know,
- 6 information from the field you should assume that
- 7 there will be possibly some disinformation and
- 8 that, you know, as a professional who has dedicated
- 9 my life to this, you know, I am trained to spot
- 10 possible or likely disinformation. So it's front
- 11 and center when you gather information in Russia.
- 12 Q. And when you hired him to do the work, did
- 13 the client -- were you still working for -- at any
- 14 time did you work for two clients on this
- opposition research? Did they overlap, the two
- 16 clients?
- 17 A. I just don't know. I can just tell you
- 18 that it was -- I mean, things follow the political
- 19 cycle. So there was a point at which the
- 20 Republican primaries were fundamentally over and
- 21 the Democrats hadn't really begun yet. So there
- 22 was some transition period. That's all I can say.
- I don't keep the books at my place. So I would
- 24 feel -- I'm afraid to give you a wrong answer that.
- 25 I just don't know.

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Page 90 Q. Did either client know that you had hired 2 Mr. Steele specifically? 3 A. I don't think I can answer that. Q. And on what basis can you not answer that? 4 MR. LEVY: The answer to that question 5 would -- could require the disclosure of client 6 7 communications which might implicate privileges and obligations that we've previously set forth to the 8 committee. 9 BY MS. SAWYER: 10 11 Q. Okay. Maybe you can answer this question, 12 then. Did either client ever direct Mr. Steele themselves, directly engage and have conversations 13 14 with Mr. Steele? 15 A. I don't think I can answer that. 16 MR. LEVY: Do you want to take a break? 17 MR. SIMPSON: Sure. MR. LEVY: Let's take a break and confer. 18 MR. SIMPSON: That's fine. 19 20 MS. SAWYER: Sure. We'll go off the record 21 for a few minutes. 22 MR. FOSTER: It's 11:51. 23 (A short break was had.) MR. FOSTER: It's 11:53. 24 25 MS. SAWYER: I think the question pending was

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1 just whether or not the clients specifically spoke

- 2 with or directed Mr. Steele's work?
- 3 MR. LEVY: So he can't talk about client
- 4 communications, directions to the client --
- 5 directions to Mr. Steele as those communications
- 6 might implicate privilege or obligations, but if
- 7 you want to ask him whether the clients directed
- 8 Mr. Steele to go to the FBI, that's a question he
- 9 can answer. That's in the scope of the interview
- 10 today.
- 11 BY MS. SAWYER:
- 12 Q. All right. So we'll get to that. We'll
- 13 talk about that a little bit later. Let me just
- 14 follow up on a couple other things that came up and
- 15 then we'll conclude for our hour and turn it back
- 16 to our colleagues.
- 17 So one of the things that came up in the
- 18 course of our conversation and when I had asked you
- 19 specifically about work being done for one client
- 20 and rules and procedures in place to ensure that
- 21 that work is not shared with another, can you just
- 22 specifically describe those rules. I think at one
- 23 point you indicated that you and Mr. Baumgartner
- had operated under the same rules?
- 25 A. Right. We're both professionals and we

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- 1 both deal with multiple clients. So we don't talk
- 2 about a case with one client with another client.
- I think since you raised this I should be
- 4 clear, Mr. Baumgartner did not know about
- 5 Mr. Steele, the work I was doing with Mr. Steele
- 6 or, you know, the memos he was writing.
- 7 MR. FOSTER: Can you speak up a little bit.
- 8 BY THE WITNESS:
- 9 A. Mr. Baumgartner did not know about the
- 10 work that we were doing with Mr. Steele. One of
- 11 the ways that we avoid bleeding between one case
- 12 and another is compartmentalization. We don't tell
- 13 people -- we don't tell one subcontractor what
- 14 we're doing with another subcontractor. We don't
- 15 even tell them, you know, that they exist.
- Q. What about Mr. Steele, what rules was he
- 17 operating under when he was doing the work on
- 18 Candidate Trump?
- 19 A. Every subcontractor signs an NDA at the
- 20 beginning of the discussion before even there's an
- 21 engagement. So he was operating under an NDA.
- Q. And in general what does that NDA provide?
- 23 And by NDA I assume you mean nondisclosure
- 24 agreement?
- A. Right. Again, the paperwork side of the

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1 business is not my strong suit, but it's a general

- 2 strict prohibition on sharing information about the
- 3 nature of the work you're doing, your findings with
- 4 anyone outside of, you know -- we're the client in
- 5 this case. So they're not allowed to share
- 6 information with anyone outside the case.
- 7 Q. And you had talked a bit about prior work
- 8 and Mr. Steele's performance in prior work and
- 9 being satisfied by that work. Did you do anything
- 10 to kind of test and make sure that information he
- 11 was giving you was accurate?
- 12 A. So in the sort of -- I know I'm repeating
- 13 myself, but generally we do public records work.
- 14 So we deal in documents and things that are very
- 15 hard and that are useful in court or, you know,
- 16 other kinds of proceedings.
- 17 Chris deals in a very different kind of
- 18 information, which is human intelligence, human
- 19 information. So by its very nature the question of
- 20 whether something is accurate isn't really asked.
- 21 The question that is asked generally is whether
- 22 it's credible. Human intelligence isn't good for,
- 23 you know, filing lawsuits. It's good for making
- 24 decisions and trying to understand what's going on
- 25 and that's a really valuable thing, but it's not

Washington, DC

- 1 the same thing.
- 2 So when you evaluate human intelligence,
- 3 human reporting, field reporting, source reporting,
- 4 you know, it's sort of like when you're a
- 5 journalist and you're trying to figure out who's
- 6 telling the truth, right. You don't really decide
- 7 who's telling the truth. You decide whether the
- 8 person is credible, right, whether they know what
- 9 they're talking about, whether there's other
- 10 reasons to believe what they're saying, whether
- 11 anything they've said factually matches up with
- 12 something in the public record.
- So, you know, we would evaluate his memos
- 14 based on whether he told us something we didn't
- 15 know from somewhere else that we were then able to
- 16 run down. So, you know, for example, he, you know,
- 17 wrote a memo about a Trump campaign advisor named
- 18 Carter Page and his mysterious trip to Moscow.
- 19 Q. I'm just going to stop you for a moment
- 20 because I hadn't yet gotten to the specific stuff
- 21 of the Trump assignment. I was just trying to get
- 22 a sense of the specific ways in which you assessed
- 23 his performance in determining to hire him.
- A. That's how we did it. We would assess it
- 25 based on the content and the credibility of -- we'd

Washington, DC

- 1 try to determine the credibility of what we were
- 2 reading.
- 3 MR. MUSE: His reference was to give you an
- 4 example. I think that's where he was going.
- 5 MR. SIMPSON: Yeah.
- 6 MS. SAWYER: I understand and I appreciate
- 7 that and we'll get to that. I just didn't want
- 8 to -- in light of the time I didn't want to get you
- 9 started down that road. If I could just have a
- 10 second because I want to make sure we finish our
- 11 questions on this topic and we'll resume our next
- 12 hour with some of the others.
- 13 MR. SIMPSON: Okay.
- MS. SAWYER: So we'll go off the record.
- 15 It's high noon, 12:00. So let's go off the record.
- 16 (A short break was had.)
- 17 MR. DAVIS: We're back on the record. It's
- 18 12:06 p.m.
- 19 EXAMINATION
- 20 BY MR. DAVIS:
- Q. All right. Mr. Simpson, I'm going to
- 22 return to the topic of Prevezon. Let me know if
- 23 I'm accurately summarizing the scope of work you're
- 24 describing. I think you've described three main
- 25 areas so far. First is that you were investigating

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- 1 Prevezon's side of the story to see if it was
- 2 credible; the second is you were investigating Bill
- 3 Browder's ties to the U.S. and related subpoena
- 4 issues; and the third is that you were
- 5 investigating Bill Browder's Russian businesses.
- 6 Is that correct?
- 7 MR. LEVY: I think he said a lot more than
- 8 that, but go ahead.
- 9 MR. DAVIS: I listed the main topics. That's
- 10 where we left off.
- 11 MR. LEVY: I don't think that's the main
- 12 topics either, but go ahead.
- 13 BY THE WITNESS:
- A. Is that a yes-or-no question? I think
- 15 those are three things I covered, but I covered a
- 16 lot of stuff.
- 17 Q. With the information that you gathered in
- 18 those and related efforts, what did you do with the
- 19 information once you obtained it?
- 20 A. Well, the first thing you do is you give
- 21 it to the lawyers and, you know, when appropriate
- 22 you give it to reporters, you know, put it in court
- 23 filings.
- Q. So is it correct, then, people associated
- 25 with Fusion did communicate with journalists about

Washington, DC

- 1 the Prevezon case and the information you found out
- 2 about Mr. Browder?
- 3 A. Yes.
- 4 Q. And did Fusion engage in these
- 5 communications with the media on its own accord or
- 6 were you directed or authorized to do so?
- 7 A. In litigation support, you know, basically
- 8 the cases that we work on frequently get some media
- 9 attention. So it's always part of a litigation
- 10 engagement that if you're the guy that does the
- 11 research, you're going to end up talking to
- 12 reporters because they're going to ask questions
- 13 about, you know, information from the case.
- MR. LEVY: Just make sure you answer his
- 15 question. Was it done?
- 16 BY THE WITNESS:
- 17 A. That's part of what the lawyers hire you
- 18 to do and that's what they instruct you to do. The
- 19 way it generally happens is the lawyer gets a call
- 20 from a reporter who wants to write a story about
- 21 the case and he answers the questions or gives them
- 22 a quote and then he instructs me to give him
- 23 background information.
- Q. So then was it typically done on a
- 25 case-by-case basis or did you have blanket

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- 1 authorization regardless of specific interactions
- 2 with the attorneys?
- 3 A. These things evolved over time. So in the
- 4 beginning of the case when you're new to a subject
- 5 you're generally fielding -- you generally get
- 6 requests from the lawyers to answer a specific
- 7 question that a reporter has. So the reporter will
- 8 call and they'll want to know whatever, where the
- 9 house was in Colorado, and he'll say somewhere in
- 10 Aspen, ask Glenn. Then he'll send him to me or
- 11 he'll send me to them. Later on when you get where
- 12 you've gathered a mass of information that covers a
- 13 whole wide range of topics and, you know, if
- 14 there's more coverage, you know, they will direct
- 15 you to answer questions for the reporters covering
- 16 the case. They won't tell you on an individual
- 17 basis talk to so-and-so. It's a little of both.
- 18 Q. Was Fusion then paid for these
- 19 communications with the media?
- 20 A. We were compensated for our litigation
- 21 support and as part of that we were directed to
- 22 talk to the media. So in the fundamental sense
- 23 yes, we were. Specifically paid for individual
- 24 conversations, I don't think so.
- MR. FOSTER: Do you bill hourly?

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- 1 MR. SIMPSON: It depends on the case.
- 2 MR. FOSTER: On this case?
- 3 MR. SIMPSON: I think we did on this case.
- 4 MR. FOSTER: So did you bill for
- 5 conversations with the press on this case?
- 6 MR. SIMPSON: I'm sorry to say I don't know.
- 7 I probably did not. Generally speaking, what I
- 8 would bill for would be to attend events where
- 9 there would be press. So if I was at a court
- 10 hearing -- most of the press was around court
- 11 hearings. So I would go to a court hearing with
- 12 the lawyers and there would be reporters there. So
- 13 part of what I was billing for was answering their
- 14 questions.
- 15 BY MR. DAVIS:
- Q. And with which news organizations did
- 17 Fusion communicate in relation to the Prevezon
- 18 case?
- 19 A. I will try to remember them. It was the
- 20 major news organizations that were covering the
- 21 litigation. Usually it was their courthouse or
- 22 legal reporters. So it was Bloomberg, New York
- 23 Times, Wall Street Journal, probably Reuters, Legal
- 24 360. I'm sure there were a handful of others.
- Q. Was the Financial Times possibly one of

Washington, DC

- 1 them?
- 2 A. Yes.
- 3 Q. Politico?
- 4 A. They approached us with -- they had been
- 5 getting information from Bill Browder. He had
- 6 alleged to them that we were part of a big campaign
- 7 on Capitol Hill and that we were engaged in
- 8 lobbying and that it was all designed to affect
- 9 legislation or smear him or Sergei Magnitsky. So
- 10 eventually we did end up dealing with that, but I
- don't remember whether we dealt with them prior to
- 12 that. I don't think they covered the case prior to
- 13 that.
- 0. What about NBC?
- 15 A. We would have -- I'm sorry. Yes.
- Q. And the New Republic?
- 17 A. I think so.
- 18 Q. And do you recall what information you
- 19 provided to each or is that too into the weeds?
- 20 A. I don't know if it's in the weeds, but
- 21 generally speaking, the work -- we provided
- 22 information about the work that I had done about
- 23 William Browder's credibility. The whole case
- 24 ended up -- when I said when he declined to appear
- voluntarily as I am here and explain things, you

Washington, DC

- 1 know, it ended up being an issue of why he didn't
- 2 want to talk. So a lot of it was about his
- 3 credibility, about his account of his activities in
- 4 Russia, about his history of tax avoidance, all
- 5 these things.
- 6 Q. Did Fusion provide the media information
- 7 alleging that Browder had illicitly engineered the
- 8 purchase of 133 million shares of Gazprom?
- 9 A. I don't know for sure, but we certainly
- 10 did research on that issue.
- 11 Q. And you described investigating these
- 12 series of issues. How did you acquire the
- information in the course of this investigate?
- 14 A. We used the methods that I've described
- 15 here today. We pulled court records, we pulled
- 16 corporate records, we, you know, pulled real estate
- 17 records, SEC securities filings, that sort of
- 18 thing.
- 19 Q. And was any of the information you
- 20 provided to the media information that wasn't the
- 21 result of your own research but that had been
- 22 passed along to you by Baker Hostetler or Prevezon?
- 23 A. I think the answer to that is yes, but I'm
- 24 struggling to think of a specific example. As I
- 25 was saying earlier, the lawyers did a lot of the

Washington, DC

- 1 research too. So there was obviously a sharing of
- 2 research where, you know, we were feeding research
- 3 to them and they were housing a central repository
- 4 of research and then the research would become
- 5 memoranda and given in court filings. In a lot of
- 6 these cases we were giving people court filings.
- 7 So the information was mixed together from various
- 8 sources.
- 9 Q. Did Fusion independently verify the
- 10 information provided by Baker Hostetler or Prevezon
- or in this circumstance was it assumed to be
- 12 reliable given your work with them?
- 13 A. We certainly did not independently verify
- 14 everything that the lawyers generated in the case.
- 15 That would have been an enormous task and it would
- 16 have made no sense.
- I just want to stress that I've worked with
- 18 Baker Hostetler for -- you know, since 2009, so I
- 19 guess going on over eight years, and they're very
- 20 good lawyers and very conservative. So if they
- 21 provided me with information that they had
- 22 gathered, I would have been confident -- I was
- 23 confident in the quality of their work.
- 24 O. And did Prevezon or Baker Hostetler ever
- 25 direct Fusion to relay to the media information

Washington, DC

- 1 that they had provided to Fusion?
- 2 A. I'm sorry. Can you say that again.
- 3 Q. Did Baker Hostetler or Prevezon direct
- 4 Fusion to relay to the media information that they
- 5 had provided to you?
- 6 A. I don't specifically recall an example of
- 7 that, but I think as a general sort of operating
- 8 principle we were working at their direction and
- 9 they were providing us with, you know, case
- 10 information. So I think so, but I just don't have
- 11 an idea.
- 12 Q. And did anyone at Fusion or perhaps
- 13 Mr. Baumgartner review Russian documents related to
- 14 the Prevezon matter?
- 15 A. Yes.
- 16 Q. Do any --
- 17 A. Most of them were Russian court
- 18 documents.
- 19 Q. Do any Fusion employees or associates
- 20 speak Russian?
- 21 A. No. I'll qualify that. Depends on how
- 22 you define associate. Edward isn't an employee of
- 23 the company, but he speaks Russian. He's a
- 24 subcontractor.
- Q. Aside from Mr. Baumgartner, do you have

Washington, DC

- 1 any other support from Russian-speaking individuals
- 2 in reviewing the Russian documents?
- 3 A. Not in my company, at least not that I can
- 4 recall. There was other Russian speakers I think
- 5 that were engaged by Baker Hostetler in various
- 6 situations, like translators, Russian bilingual
- 7 lawyers, that sort of thing.
- Q. Do you remember the names of any of those
- 9 people?
- 10 A. Anatoli, whose last name I can't really
- 11 pronounce, was a New York-based English-Russian
- 12 court translator. He was mostly a courtroom
- 13 translator. So I don't know whether he -- I really
- 14 don't know the extent of their other involvement
- 15 with other people in these things.
- MR. FOSTER: Can I just back up before we get
- 17 too far afield of this. I want to follow up on an
- 18 answer that you gave earlier. You described your
- 19 interactions with the press as primarily being
- 20 directed to answer questions, in other words, the
- 21 contact as being initiated by the press. That's my
- 22 understanding of how you described it.
- MR. LEVY: I don't think that's a complete
- 24 summary of what he said.
- 25 MR. FOSTER: Feel free to correct me if I'm

Washington, DC

- 1 wrong. My question is were there instances where
- 2 you were initiating contact with the press or
- 3 pitching stories to the press?
- 4 MR. SIMPSON: Sure. I mean, the range of
- 5 things that you would do, you know, again, it would
- 6 evolve. In the beginning you were going to a lot
- 7 of hearings and a lot of legal reporters are
- 8 showing up and you're mostly answering their
- 9 questions. Depending on the setting, you know, you
- 10 might get a question for the lawyers like is anyone
- 11 from Reuters going to be there and you would reach
- 12 out to Reuters and say are you guys sending someone
- 13 to this hearing. So there was definitely some
- 14 reach out like that. Then we would also talk to
- 15 reporters, you know, generally covering issues of
- 16 corruption or law or Russia or whatever and say,
- 17 you know, we're involved in a really weird court
- 18 case, you might be interested in this.
- MR. FOSTER: So is it fair to say that part
- 20 of your job, then, was to locate reporters who
- 21 would write about these matters from a point of
- view that was advantageous to your client?
- MR. SIMPSON: Yes, but I think we should note
- 24 here that William Browder is an especially
- 25 aggressive media self-promoter and promoter of his

Glenn Simpson August 22, 2017
Washington, DC

- 1 story. So for much of this case it was reactive
- 2 and we were constantly besieged with reporters
- 3 pursuing negative stories about Prevezon, the
- 4 events of the Prevezon case that had been given to
- 5 them by William Browder. So, you know, unhappily,
- 6 I would say, you know, a lot of what we were doing
- 7 was simply responding to his wild allegations,
- 8 unsupported wild allegations.
- 9 There were certainly moments, particularly
- 10 concerning his unwillingness to appear for a
- 11 deposition, where we said to some reporters, hey,
- 12 guy, you know, he's just dodged his third subpoena,
- 13 you might want to write about this, it's pretty
- 14 funny. In fact, you know, the third one he ran
- 15 down a street in Manhattan in the middle of a
- 16 blizzard to get away from our process servers, but
- 17 that one we actually had them film it.
- 18 So, you know, did we want to get that
- 19 covered, did we think it was important that people
- 20 know that this guy was unwilling to appear in court
- 21 in public under oath to talk about the story that
- 22 he'd been selling for years about his activities in
- 23 Russia? Yeah, we wanted people to know that.
- 24 BY MR. DAVIS:
- Q. Other than the media and Baker Hostetler,

Washington, DC

- 1 did Fusion provide any information regarding the
- 2 Prevezon matter to any other third parties?
- 3 A. I don't have a specific recollection of
- 4 doing so. If there's a specific incident that
- 5 you'd like to ask about I'd be happy to try and
- 6 answer that. I don't remember.
- 7 Q. We'll get into that a little bit more.
- 8 Also to go back to the translator you
- 9 mentioned, you said Anatoli and that you didn't
- 10 know how to pronounce --
- 11 A. Samochornov I think is his --
- 12 Q. Okay.
- A. I'm massacring it. Again, it's something
- 14 that's in the public record.
- Q. Do you know Rinat Akhmetshin?
- 16 A. Yes, I do.
- 17 MR. MUSE: Spell it.
- 18 MR. DAVIS: Sure. R-I-N-A-T,
- 19 A-K-H-M-E-T-S-H-I-N.
- 20 BY MR. DAVIS:
- Q. When did you first meet Mr. Akhmetshin?
- 22 A. When I was a reporter at the Wall Street
- 23 Journal.
- Q. And as far as you know, what is his
- 25 business?

Washington, DC

- 1 A. Some kind of PR consulting lobbyist. I
- 2 think he's a registered lobbyist.
- 3 Q. Have you ever worked with Mr. Akhmetshin?
- A. I've been -- in the Prevezon case I
- 5 interacted with him. I think -- again, this has
- 6 unhelpfully been distorted by William Browder into
- 7 some sort of economic relationship or conspiracy or
- 8 something. I don't have any economic relations
- 9 with him. You know, I've bumped into him over the
- 10 years around town. So, you know, the only thing
- 11 that I specifically recall having done with him was
- 12 interacting for a brief period on the Prevezon
- 13 case.
- Q. You don't recall working with him for any
- 15 other clients or cases?
- 16 A. Let's be clear, I'm sure we did not do
- 17 business together, but I do work on areas of the
- 18 world where he's from, Central Asia, former Soviet
- 19 Union, and he is, as I'm sure you've seen, a guy
- 20 around town who knows lots of people who cover this
- 21 stuff. I met him in connection with some stories I
- 22 was doing on Kazakhstan at the Wall Street Journal.
- 23 That's the kind of context I've bumped into him
- 24 over the years. He's told me various things and I
- 25 think I even met one of his clients at one point,

Washington, DC

- but it wasn't a business thing. I don't think I
- 2 was doing any work. I was just networking.
- Q. You said he told you various things. Do
- 4 you mean he would pass along information to you?
- 5 A. The information that I remember was about
- 6 his Kyrgyzstan stuff. There was a congressional
- 7 investigation into Kyrgyzstan that he claimed
- 8 credit for having started and he told me about it
- 9 for some reason, but it wasn't because we were
- 10 doing business together. It was coffee or
- 11 something.
- 12 Q. You said he claimed credit for having
- 13 started the congressional investigation?
- 14 A. That's my recollection, but this was some
- 15 years ago.
- Q. And you said you met one of his clients.
- 17 Do you remember which client?
- 18 A. A former Kazakh politician whose name
- 19 escapes me.
- 20 Q. Do you remember when you met that client?
- 21 A. Years ago in London.
- Q. Has Mr. Akhmetshin ever been paid by
- 23 Fusion GPS?
- A. Not to my knowledge.
- Q. Has he ever provided information to Fusion

Washington, DC

- 1 GPS for use in your work?
- 2 A. I don't have a specific recollection of
- 3 him having done so. I would hesitate to say so
- 4 categorically because I've been running this
- 5 business now for a number of years and I would have
- 6 interacted with him at various times and ways that
- 7 I probably don't remember, but not that I
- 8 specifically recall.
- 9 Q. Has Mr. Akhmetshin ever paid Fusion GPS
- 10 for work?
- 11 A. Not to my knowledge.
- 12 Q. You mentioned interacting with him in the
- 13 Prevezon matter. What did you understand his role
- 14 to be in the Prevezon work?
- 15 A. I did not have a clear understanding of
- 16 his role initially. He started attending meetings
- sometime in 2016, just a handful of things, and
- 18 it's -- you know what? I don't recall anyone ever
- 19 saying to me you're not doing X, Y, or Z. They may
- 20 have. I just don't recall. The lane that I was in
- 21 was the court case and this fight over whether
- 22 Browder would have to testify, which morphed then
- 23 into this fight over whether -- you know, his
- 24 allegations that John Moscow had a conflict of
- 25 interest. So I was very focused on that. These

Washington, DC

- 1 other issues came up two plus years into the case
- 2 and he was clearly dealing with them, but I don't
- 3 recall anyone sort of giving me a specific
- 4 explanation, you know, of what he was doing.
- 5 MR. FOSTER: What other issues?
- 6 MR. SIMPSON: The issues of the -- what do
- 7 you call it, HRAGI, the foundation and the
- 8 congressional stuff.
- 9 BY MR. DAVIS:
- 10 Q. You mentioned he started showing up at
- 11 meetings in 2016. Who else attended these
- 12 meetings?
- 13 A. I don't specifically remember. I mean, Ed
- 14 Lieberman I think was at a meeting. Again, I don't
- 15 think it was -- it wasn't a lot of meetings, just
- one or two, but it was at Baker Hostetler.
- 17 MR. FOSTER: Can you explain briefly who Ed
- 18 Lieberman is.
- 19 MR. SIMPSON: Ed Lieberman is a lawyer in
- 20 Washington who has a specialty in international tax
- 21 who worked for Baker Hostetler on some of the
- 22 analysis of the alleged tax evasion by Hermitage
- 23 Capital and William Browder. And then subsequently
- 24 also he knows Rinat from I guess, I don't know,
- 25 college or something and subsequently the two of

Washington, DC

- 1 them were working on the -- I don't know what to
- 2 call it, the congressional stuff.
- 3 MR. FOSTER: Lobbying Congress?
- 4 MR. SIMPSON: I believe they registered to
- 5 lobby Congress.
- 6 BY MR. DAVIS:
- 7 Q. Did Fusion provide any of its research to
- 8 Mr. Akhmetshin whether directly or through an
- 9 intermediary such as Baker Hostetler?
- 10 A. Yes. We were directed to do so by Baker
- 11 Hostetler.
- 12 Q. And do you know or have reason to believe
- 13 whether Mr. Akhmetshin used that information when
- 14 he spoke with people on the Hill?
- 15 A. I have reason to believe that. I don't
- 16 have specific knowledge of his discussions with
- 17 people on the Hill. I don't remember. He may have
- 18 told me what he did. As I say, it was not the
- 19 focus of my work.
- 20 Q. Has Mr. Akhmetshin ever said anything to
- 21 you indicating or implying that he had worked with
- the Russian government?
- A. Well, I knew he had been a soldier, I knew
- 24 he had been in the Soviet military, and I also knew
- 25 that he went to Moscow a fair bit because he said

Washington, DC

- 1 on several occasions I'm in Moscow or I'm going to
- 2 Moscow. He may have -- I don't recall whether he
- 3 mentioned having worked with the Russian
- 4 government.
- 5 Q. Has he ever said anything to you
- 6 indicating or implying that he had worked for
- 7 Russian intelligence more specifically?
- 8 A. Well, as I said, I'm sure that he had
- 9 mentioned to me maybe back in, you know, the time
- 10 when I was at the Wall Street Journal that he was
- in the Soviet military and he had some kind of
- 12 low-level intelligence position, but I don't
- 13 remember anything beyond that. He certainly didn't
- 14 say anything in recent years about having any
- 15 current connections with Russian intelligence.
- Q. Has he ever said anything to you
- 17 indicating or implying that he has contacts or
- 18 connections with Russian government officials?
- 19 A. Not that I specifically recall.
- 20 Q. Do you have reason to believe that he has
- 21 ties to the Russian government?
- 22 A. I have reason to wonder whether he has
- 23 ties to the Russian government, but, you know, in
- 24 the course of my work for Baker Hostetler the
- 25 question of whether he had some connection to the

Washington, DC

- 1 Russian government wasn't germane really. It just
- 2 didn't come up. Obviously with the news of this
- 3 meeting at Trump Tower and the allegations in the
- 4 media that there's some relationship there I share
- 5 everyone's interest in the answer to that
- 6 question.
- 7 Q. Do you know Natalia Veselnitskaya?
- 8 A. Yes.
- 9 Q. When did you first interact with
- 10 Ms. Veselnitskaya?
- 11 A. I believe it was sometime in 2014.
- 12 Q. Has Fusion ever worked with
- 13 Ms. Veselnitskaya?
- A. Didn't I just answer that? Yes. I mean,
- 15 she was the lawyer, the Russian lawyer who retained
- 16 Baker Hostetler who retained us. So when you say
- 17 "worked with," I don't know that as a technical
- 18 meaning, but we interacted with her as part of the
- 19 Prevezon litigation.
- Q. Has Fusion ever been paid by her?
- 21 A. Well, she arranged -- as the lawyer for
- 22 Prevezon she would have arranged for Prevezon to
- 23 pay Baker Hostetler which paid us. So if that's
- 24 what your question is, then the answer is yes, but
- I mean, I don't think the money came from her. It

Washington, DC

- 1 came from Prevezon.
- Q. Were there any direct payments that didn't
- 3 go through Baker Hostetler?
- 4 A. No.
- 5 Q. So what did you understand her role to be
- 6 in the litigation? You said she was the attorney
- 7 for Prevezon. Was she managing the case for
- 8 Prevezon?
- 9 A. I was not introduced to her originally.
- 10 The original way that she was -- it came up in my
- 11 conversations with Mark Cymrot and other Baker
- 12 lawyers was as the person who had hired them who
- 13 had the information about the extortion case
- 14 against Demetri Baranovsky. It was represented to
- 15 me by Mark Cymrot that she handled that matter and
- 16 was familiar with the prosecution of Demetri
- 17 Baranovsky and very well versed in the events of
- 18 the extortion. So, you know, that's how I learned
- 19 of her and I think that's probably -- our first
- 20 interactions were probably about that subject.
- Q. Did she provide Fusion with the
- 22 information about that extortion case?
- 23 A. Well, I certainly discussed it with her at
- 24 some point, but it was all in Russian. You know,
- 25 the bulk of the Russian-English translating just

Washington, DC

- 1 for, you know, chain of evidence reasons went from
- 2 her to Baker Hostetler. They would have materials
- 3 analyzed and translated and then they would -- I
- 4 don't read a word of Russian. So I would get the
- 5 certified translations of stuff from Baker.
- 6 Q. And beyond your interactions with her
- 7 about the extortion issue, what type of interaction
- 8 did you have with her in the course of the Prevezon
- 9 work?
- 10 A. In the early period it was I believe
- 11 largely about this extortion case. Later on when
- 12 we would appear in court it would -- you know, she
- 13 would come to some of the Court hearings and the
- 14 issue of Browder's efforts to avoid having to
- 15 testify were front and center, sort of the main
- 16 issue for quite a while. So I don't remember
- 17 specific conversations with her about that, but
- 18 that's what we would have discussed.
- 19 Q. Have you met in person with her on other
- 20 occasions besides court hearings?
- 21 A. I attended a couple client dinners and I
- 22 think that's about it.
- Q. Do you recall when and where those would
- 24 have been?
- 25 A. I recall some of the when and the where.

Washington, DC

- 1 There were a couple of dinners in New York and a
- 2 couple of dinners in D.C. I don't remember when
- 3 they started. I think probably 2015. And there
- 4 was some in 2016 in both cities.
- 5 Q. Were any in June 2016?
- A. Yes. Two.
- 7 Q. Were those in New York or in D.C.?
- 8 A. I believe that one was in New York and one
- 9 was in D.C.
- 10 Q. Do you recall the specific date of either?
- 11 A. I didn't until we tried to piece these
- 12 things together, but June 8th I think was the
- 13 dinner in New York and I think the 10th was the
- 14 dinner in D.C., something like that.
- 15 Q. And what were the purposes of these
- 16 dinners?
- 17 A. Well, the first one was just an obligatory
- 18 client dinner which, you know, when you work on a
- 19 legal case you get invited to dinner with the
- 20 clients. The one in D.C. was more of a social
- 21 thing. It wasn't -- she was at it, but it wasn't
- 22 really about the case. It was just a bunch of Mark
- 23 Cymrot's friends. You know, the editor of the
- 24 Washington Post book section was there and his wife
- 25 who's a well-known author were also there. I can't

Washington, DC

- 1 remember who else was there. But anyway, she sat
- 2 at the other end of the table from me and, you
- 3 know, as I said, she doesn't really speak English
- 4 and I don't speak Russian. So not a lot of
- 5 chit-chat.
- 6 Q. Was it your understanding that the
- 7 research you provided to Baker Hostetler would then
- 8 be passed on to Ms. Veselnitskaya?
- 9 A. To the extent that it was useful and
- 10 interesting to her I'm sure they did, yes.
- 11 Q. Has she ever said anything to you,
- 12 presumably via a translator, indicating or implying
- 13 she had worked with the Russian government?
- 14 A. No, but Mark Cymrot told me when he told
- 15 me of her existence that she was a former
- 16 prosecutor.
- Q. And has she ever said anything to you more
- 18 specifically indicating or implying that she had
- 19 worked for Russian intelligence?
- 20 A. No.
- 21 Q. Do you have any reasons to believe that
- 22 Ms. Veselnitskaya has ties to the Russian
- 23 government?
- A. I know what I've read in the newspaper.
- Q. Beyond that?

Washington, DC

- 1 A. Beyond that my impression of her was of
- 2 someone who, you know, was a very smart and
- 3 ambitious lawyer, but not like a big political
- 4 player in the Kremlin. Of course given to wonder
- 5 given all the recent events and disclosures that I
- 6 was unaware of whether my assessment of her was
- 7 right or wrong. As we sit here today, the jury's
- 8 kind of out. I honestly can tell you all I knew is
- 9 she didn't seem to be a heavy hitter in the Kremlin
- 10 world.
- 11 Q. This might be a little repetitive, but
- 12 when did you first meet Ed Lieberman?
- 13 A. I don't remember specifically, but it was
- 14 years ago.
- 15 Q. I believe you described his business.
- 16 Have you ever worked with Mr. Lieberman?
- 17 A. I don't think so.
- 18 Q. Or Fusion more broadly?
- 19 A. Not that I can recall.
- Q. Have you ever paid him or been paid by
- 21 him?
- 22 A. No.
- Q. And what exactly did you understand his
- 24 role to be in the Prevezon issue?
- 25 A. Well, the initial issue that we worked on

Washington, DC

- 1 together was the issues about alleged tax evasion
- 2 by Hermitage Capital in Russia and William
- 3 Browder's decision to surrender his citizenship
- 4 shortly before the tax rules on surrendering your
- 5 citizenship changed, which tended to make us
- 6 suspect that it was motivated by tax
- 7 considerations. At that time we didn't know about
- 8 the offshore companies in BVI.
- 9 Q. And what type of interactions did you have
- 10 with Mr. Lieberman in the course of the Prevezon
- 11 work?
- 12 A. Collegial, I guess professional I would
- 13 say. Ed's, you know, got a background in tax. So
- 14 we talked about tax stuff. Later on, much later on
- 15 after a couple years had gone by, you know, he and
- 16 Rinat embarked on this other project, but I don't
- 17 have a specific recollection of whether I dealt
- 18 with him directly on any of that.
- 19 Q. Did Fusion provide its research to
- 20 Mr. Lieberman either directly or through an
- 21 intermediary such as Baker Hostetler?
- 22 A. Not that I recall, but if the lawyers
- 23 asked me to send them something, I would send them
- 24 something.
- Q. Do you have any reason to believe that

Washington, DC

- 1 Mr. Lieberman has ties to the Russian government?
- 2 A. No.
- 3 Q. Do you know Mr. Robert Arakelian,
- 4 A-R-A-K-E-L-I-A-N?
- 5 A. There was a guy at a lunch or dinner or
- 6 something named Robert and he was introduced to me
- 7 as Robert. Again, when you're going to like these
- 8 client meals or things like that, you know, we
- 9 didn't get into a lot of details of who he was. I
- 10 just remember he was introduced as a friend Denis
- 11 Katsyv, K-A-T-S-Y-V. That's my recollection. It
- 12 may be that he's a friend of Rinat's. I don't
- 13 really know.
- Q. As far as you know, what is Mr. -- what is
- 15 Robert's business?
- 16 A. I don't know.
- 17 Q. So presumably, then, has Fusion ever
- 18 worked with him?
- 19 A. Not to my knowledge.
- 20 Q. What did you understand Mr. Arakelian's
- 21 role to be in the Prevezon work?
- 22 A. I didn't know he had a role. If someone
- 23 told me I've forgotten, but, again, I was pretty
- 24 narrowly focused on a few things and he wasn't
- 25 involved in those things.

Washington, DC

- 1 Q. Were you aware that he was a registered
- 2 lobbyist for HRAGI?
- 3 A. No.
- 4 Q. Other than meeting him at that dinner, did
- 5 you have any other interactions with him in the
- 6 course of the Prevezon work?
- 7 A. Not that I can recall.
- 8 Q. Did Fusion provide any research to him
- 9 directly or through an intermediary such as Baker
- 10 Hostetler?
- 11 A. I don't know. I mean, if Baker Hostetler
- 12 gave him information from my research or my
- 13 company's research, they didn't tell me.
- Q. Do you have any reason to believe he has
- 15 ties to the Russian government?
- 16 A. No.
- 17 Q. But you said he is friends with the
- 18 Katsyvs?
- 19 A. I shouldn't speculate. I recall he was
- 20 introduced to me as a friend of someone and I don't
- 21 remember whether it was Rinat or Denis Katsyv, but
- 22 it was one or the other.
- Q. Do you know Howard Schweitzer?
- A. I don't, not that I can recall.
- Q. So you've never done any business with

Washington, DC

- 1 him; is that correct?
- 2 A. I don't think so.
- 3 Q. Do you know if he had any role in the
- 4 Prevezon work?
- 5 A. I've read that his firm was involved in
- 6 the lobbying, but it's just something I read. I
- 7 don't believe I had any personal interactions.
- Q. Do you know who Denis Katsyv is?
- 9 A. He's the owner of Prevezon.
- 10 Q. Did you have any interactions with him?
- 11 A. Again, I sat in a few meetings, a couple
- of client meals, but it was limited by his limited
- 13 English and my limited Russian.
- 14 Q. In your interactions with
- 15 Ms. Veselnitskaya did she claim to be acting as the
- 16 attorney for Prevezon Holdings and the Katsyv
- 17 family or just for Prevezon Holdings?
- 18 A. She was introduced to me as the lawyer for
- 19 Prevezon. I never --
- 20 MR. LEVY: When you say "the Katsyv family,"
- 21 Denis Katsyv is the only person named in the
- 22 lawsuit. I'm just wondering what you mean by that.
- 23 MR. DAVIS: Denis or Pyotr.
- 24 MR. SIMPSON: As I said, she was introduced
- 25 to me as the lawyer for Prevezon. So -- and I

Washington, DC

- 1 think the lawyer for Denis. So beyond that I
- 2 don't know.
- 3 BY MR. DAVIS:
- 4 Q. Do you know who Pyotr Katsyv is?
- 5 A. I do now. I mean, I knew a little bit
- 6 about him at the time, but now that it's become an
- 7 issue, at least in the mind of William Browder,
- 8 obviously I know who he is.
- 9 Q. Did you have any interactions with him?
- 10 A. No.
- 11 Q. Do you know Chris Cooper?
- 12 A. Yes.
- Q. How long have you known Mr. Cooper?
- 14 A. Probably ten years, maybe longer.
- Q. As far as you know, what is his
- 16 business?
- 17 A. Public relations.
- 18 Q. Is he associated with the Potomac Square
- 19 Group?
- 20 A. I believe he is the Potomac Square Group.
- Q. Has Fusion ever worked with Mr. Cooper or
- the Potomac Square Group?
- 23 A. Yes.
- Q. Have you paid him or been paid by him?
- 25 A. I believe we've paid him. I don't know if

Washington, DC

- 1 he's paid us.
- Q. What did you understand his role to be in
- 3 the Prevezon work?
- 4 A. He worked on his movie doing --
- 5 essentially as I understand it and recall it, he
- 6 was asked to help find a place where they could
- 7 show this movie. William Browder likes to use the
- 8 press, but he doesn't like anyone talking freely
- 9 about him or raising questions about the story of
- 10 his activities in Russia. So when this movie came
- 11 together they were going to screen it in Europe and
- 12 he hired the meanest libel firm in London which has
- 13 previously sued me on behalf of Saudi billionaires
- 14 and -- unsuccessfully I might add, and he
- 15 threatened to file libel cases against the people
- 16 who were daring to offer to host a showing of this
- 17 film.
- So, as you know, they don't have the First
- 19 Amendment in Europe. So he was able to
- 20 successfully suppress the showings of this film
- 21 which questioned his credibility and whether -- the
- 22 truth of his story and his activities in Russia.
- 23 So Chris came up with the idea of showing it at the
- 24 Newseum which is dedicated to the First Amendment
- 25 and where they don't have much time for libel

Washington, DC

- 1 lawyers and people trying to suppress free speech
- Q. And was the showing arranged for Prevezon,
- 3 for HRAGI? Who was arranging this?
- 4 A. I don't know.
- 5 Q. Did Fusion have any role in that showing?
- 6 A. We supplied some names of people. They
- 7 wanted to round up people who would be interested
- 8 in coming, journalists, friends, people interested
- 9 in Russia, and we supplied names for them.
- 10 Q. Did Fusion contact any journalists to
- inform them about the film or the showing or to
- 12 encourage them to write about it?
- 13 A. I believe that I mentioned it to some
- 14 journalists in terms of showing up. I don't
- 15 believe I -- I just don't remember whether I tried
- 16 to get anyone to write anything about it, but if I
- 17 did I would have had good reason to because it was
- 18 all about William Browder's credibility which was
- 19 the subject that we were hotly litigating in
- 20 New York and I had been on this -- you know, we had
- 21 been on this, you know, multi-year effort to get
- 22 him to answer questions about his activities in
- 23 Russia. So it was the central issue in the
- 24 Prevezon case.
- Q. So you mentioned Mr. Cooper was involved

Washington, DC

- 1 in establishing this screening. Do you know how he
- 2 came to be hired by Prevezon or HRAGI or whoever?
- 3 A. I know a little. As I was saying earlier,
- 4 I've known Chris from Wall Street Journal days and
- 5 I refer business to him. I know this doesn't fit
- 6 with the Browder theory of the case, but I don't do
- 7 a lot of public relations work and I refer, you
- 8 know, public relations jobs to other people,
- 9 friends.
- 10 So when the trial was approaching in the
- 11 Prevezon case I kept telling the lawyers you guys
- 12 have to hire a PR guy, I'm not going to do this,
- 13 it's just too much work. So we were trying to find
- 14 PR people and he was one of the people that I
- 15 recommended as a trial PR guy. From there I don't
- 16 have a clear sense of how he ended up working on
- 17 the movie, but it wouldn't be surprising if they
- 18 had his name from the previous referral.
- 19 Q. Do you know who came up with the idea of
- 20 creating HRAGI?
- 21 A. I would be quessing. I just don't
- 22 remember. Someone may have told me. I don't
- 23 remember.
- 24 O. What kind of interaction did Fusion have
- 25 directly or indirectly with HRAGI?

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- 1 A. I remember hearing about it. I remember
- 2 Rinat talking about it and maybe others. We were
- 3 very peripheral to this stuff and I don't remember
- 4 if I had any specific interactions with it. I
- 5 don't know if they had an office, I don't know if
- 6 they had a bank account. I just don't know. I do
- 7 know they registered to lobby.
- Q. Do you know Lanny Wiles, L-A-N-N-Y,
- 9 W-I-L-E-S?
- 10 A. I know him a little bit. I met him
- 11 originally when I was a journalist. He was
- 12 introduced to me as a well-connected Republican
- 13 consultant type and I bumped into him once or twice
- 14 over the years.
- 15 O. Has Fusion ever worked with him?
- 16 A. I don't think so, no.
- 17 Q. What did you understand his role to be in
- 18 the Prevezon-HRAGI work?
- 19 A. Again, my understanding of people's
- 20 roles on -- he was involved in the lobbying. He's
- 21 a lobbyist. He was involved in the lobbying.
- 22 Beyond that I really couldn't say.
- 23 Q. Did you have any involvement with him in
- 24 the course of your work on the Prevezon?
- 25 A. I think we had lunch once.

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- 1 Q. Do you have any reason to believe that
- 2 Mr. Wiles has ties to the Russian government?
- 3 A. No.
- 4 Q. So as you mentioned, in 2016 people
- 5 associated with HRAGI met and attempted to meet
- 6 with people in a number of congressional offices.
- 7 Were you aware of any of these meetings?
- 8 A. The meeting that I was aware of that I
- 9 remember hearing about was a meeting that actually
- 10 didn't happen which was some meeting that Mark
- 11 Cymrot was supposed to have. It's possible that he
- 12 was going to meet some Congressman. It's possible
- 13 that I was told about other meetings by some of
- 14 these people that we're discussing, but I don't
- 15 specifically remember hearing about other meetings.
- 16 I was generally aware that there was stuff going on
- 17 on the Hill.
- 18 Q. If I could refer back to Exhibit 2, the
- 19 partial privilege log. The first page of that
- 20 document lists a 5/13/16 e-mail from Rinat
- 21 Akhmetshin to Mark Cymrot with the subject/
- 22 description "Appointment with Cong. Hill." Do you
- 23 believe that to be a reference Congressman French
- 24 Hill?
- 25 A. I don't know. I believe it was a

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- 1 Congressman named Hill. I don't know if it was a
- 2 Congressman named French Hill.
- 3 Q. And do you recall any other mentions of
- 4 meetings with any particular congressional offices
- 5 or committees?
- 6 A. I'm sure -- I'm sorry. I believe I recall
- 7 Rinat telling me that he was talking to Paul
- 8 Behrends, B-E-H-R-E-N-D-S. It was either Rinat or
- 9 Mark Cymrot or maybe both about some of these
- 10 issues, but, again, I don't have a great
- 11 recollection for the specifics.
- 12 Q. Did Fusion have any role in these
- 13 meetings?
- 14 A. I mean, I think we were asked for
- information, and to the extent that the lawyers
- 16 wanted me to give somebody information I would hand
- 17 it over to them. It's their information.
- 18 Q. To the best of your knowledge, was that
- 19 information referenced in the meetings with
- 20 congressional staff members?
- A. I don't know.
- Q. You mentioned you had dinner with
- 23 Ms. Veselnitskaya on June 8th and 10th of 2016.
- 24 Were you generally aware of her trip to the United
- 25 States in June?

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- 1 A. I was. She had trouble getting a visa and
- 2 the lawyers -- there was some drama over whether
- 3 she could get a visa. This would have been a
- 4 recurring issue in the case. You know, our lawyers
- 5 believed that the Justice Department was
- 6 interfering with her visas because they wanted to
- 7 inhibit her from collaborating with us on the case,
- 8 but I don't have any independent knowledge of her
- 9 visa issues. I just remember that was an issue.
- 10 I remember that at the last minute she got a
- 11 visa to come to this Appellate Court hearing on
- 12 June 9th in New York, and that was the way that she
- 13 persuaded them to give her a visa was that she
- 14 needed to attend a hearing which was on an appeal
- of a District Court ruling related to the
- 16 disqualification motion that had been filed by
- 17 William Browder against Baker Hostetler after he
- 18 was ordered to give testimony.
- 19 So that's the history of that court hearing,
- 20 which was after the Court said he couldn't get out
- 21 of the subpoena and he had to give testimony, he
- then triggered a new delay in his testimony by
- 23 filing a disqualification motion.
- Q. And that hearing was on June 8th; is that
- 25 correct?

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- 1 A. I believe it was June 9th.
- Q. Did you have any other information about
- 3 Ms. Veselnitskaya's itinerary or intended
- 4 activities on this trip?
- 5 A. No. I mean, I can tell you what I knew.
- 6 I knew she was coming in I guess on the 8th. I
- 7 don't have a clear recollection of the dinner, but
- 8 I know -- I believe we had a dinner. The problem
- 9 is I had more than one. So I don't have a clear
- 10 recollection of it.
- 11 Anyway, I saw her the next day in court at
- 12 this hearing and I'm sure we exchanged greetings,
- 13 but, as I say, she speaks Russian and I speak
- 14 English. I think she was with Anatoli and she left
- 15 afterwards. I know she didn't tell me any other
- 16 plans she had.
- Q. So you had dinner the 8th, saw her in
- 18 court on the 9th; is that correct?
- 19 A. Yes.
- Q. And dinner again on the 10th?
- 21 A. In D.C.
- Q. Did you see her any other time?
- 23 A. Not that I recall.
- Q. Did Fusion play any role assisting
- 25 Ms. Veselnitskaya during that trip?

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- 1 A. Not that I recall.
- 2 Q. It has widely been reported
- 3 Ms. Veselnitskaya and Mr. Akhmetshin and others met
- 4 with Donald Trump, Junior, Paul Manafort, and Jared
- 5 Kushner on June 9th, 2016. Were you aware of this
- 6 meeting beforehand?
- 7 A. No.
- Q. It didn't come up at the dinner the night
- 9 before?
- 10 A. No.
- 11 Q. When did you first become aware of the
- 12 meeting?
- 13 A. Around the time it broke in the New York
- 14 Times. I was stunned.
- 15 Q. Is it correct that that means it wasn't
- 16 discussed at the dinner on the 10th?
- 17 A. No, but, again, you know, the dinner on
- 18 the 10th was I was at one end of the table talking
- 19 to a woman about her biography on Simon Bolivar and
- 20 she was at the other end with Rinat and she doesn't
- 21 really speak much English. So, you know,
- 22 fortunately I was not going to do a lot of
- 23 entertaining.
- Q. I should clarify, discussed with you.
- 25 A. Yeah. So if she discussed with somebody

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- 1 else, I wouldn't --
- Q. Right.
- 3 Do you have any knowledge of the purpose of
- 4 the meeting other than what you read in the media?
- 5 A. No. No. Well, I mean, I read she wanted
- 6 to give them some information and I wondered
- 7 whether it was information from the Prevezon case
- 8 and I've seen speculation to that effect, but I
- 9 don't have any knowledge.
- 10 Q. If we had the specifics of the
- information, would you be able to clarify whether
- 12 it had come from Fusion?
- 13 A. I think so. If it's, you know, stuff I
- 14 worked on I obviously will recognize it, yes.
- Q. As far as you know, how was this meeting
- 16 arranged or do you have any information beyond
- 17 what's in the public --
- 18 A. I don't.
- 19 Q. Other than recent media reports, do you
- 20 have any reason to believe that the meeting was an
- 21 attempt by the Russian government to make contact
- 22 with the Trump campaign?
- 23 A. I mean, that's kind of an analytical
- 24 question. I don't have any factual reason to
- 25 believe that. I don't have possession of any

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- 1 information about this that would allow me to say
- 2 one way or the other. You know, as a sort of
- 3 question of counterintelligence and just general
- 4 investigation of Russian methods and that sort of
- 5 thing, I think that's a reasonable interpretation.
- Q. Have you had any communications about the
- 7 meeting at any time with Rinat Akhmetshin?
- 8 A. No. No.
- 9 Q. Have you had any communications about the
- 10 meeting, again, at any time with Ms. Veselnitskaya?
- 11 A. No.
- 12 Q. Have you had any communications about the
- 13 meeting with anyone you worked with on the Prevezon
- 14 matter?
- 15 A. Probably. I think we all exchanged mutual
- 16 expressions of surprise. I think I talked to Paul
- 17 Levine, a lawyer at Baker Hostetler. I'm sure I
- 18 discussed it with Ed Baumgartner, Mark Cymrot. You
- 19 know, if anyone knew about it they certainly didn't
- 20 confess it to me.
- Q. Do you know -- I'm going to butcher this
- 22 name -- Irakle Kaveladze?
- 23 A. I know who he is.
- Q. I'll spell it. I-R-A-K-L-E, last name
- K-A-V-E-L-A-D-Z-E.

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- 1 A. No, I don't know.
- Q. Has Fusion ever worked with him?
- 3 A. No, not to my knowledge.
- Q. To the best of your knowledge, did he have
- 5 any role in the Prevezon or Magnitsky work?
- A. My knowledge is primarily of the Prevezon
- 7 case and, to my knowledge, he was not involved in
- 8 the Prevezon case in any way.
- 9 Q. Do you have any reason to believe beyond
- 10 public reporting that he has ties to the Russian
- 11 government?
- 12 A. I've been told by a source that --
- 13 actually, I was told by a source that there was
- 14 some reason to believe he had ties to the Russian
- 15 government, and he directed me to a newspaper
- 16 article which said that he had connections to a quy
- on the West Coast named Boris Goldstein who has
- 18 been linked historically to Soviet Russian
- 19 intelligence. Beyond that I don't have any -- I
- 20 don't have any information.
- Q. And who was the source that told you that?
- A. I'm not going to talk about my source.
- 23 Q. I think you've already addressed this a
- 24 little bit, but do you know Anatoli Samochornov?
- 25 A-N-A-T-O-L-I, S-A-M-O-C-H-O-R-N-O-V.

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Page 137 A. I met him in connection with this case. 2 We've never had any kind of social or other 3 relations beyond chatting in courthouses and that sort of thing, sitting in restaurants waiting for a 4 hearing to start. 5 6 Q. Has Fusion ever worked with him other than 7 on the Prevezon case? A. No. 8 Q. And to the best of your knowledge, what 9 was his role in the Prevezon case? 10 A. As I understood it, he was recruited off 11 12 the rack basically as a certified -- a translator who had courtroom experience in New York who was 13 qualified to do sort of technical-legal type 14 translation work. He, to my knowledge, didn't have 15 a pre-existing relationship with Ms. Veselnitskaya 16 or Prevezon. That's my understanding to this day. 17 MR. DAVIS: I think that's the end of our 18 hour. It is 1:04. Let's go off the record. 19 20 (Whereupon, at 1:05 p.m., the 21 interview was recessed, to 22 reconvene at 1:45 p.m., this 23 same day.) 24 AFTERNOON SESSION

MS. SAWYER: We'll go back on the record.

25

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- 1 It's 1:55.
- 2 EXAMINATION
- 3 BY MS. SAWYER:
- Q. I'm going to return you back to discussing
- 5 the work at Fusion that Christopher Steele had done
- 6 during the Presidential election of 2016. It has
- 7 been widely reported and Mr. Steele has
- 8 acknowledged that he created 16 memos before the
- 9 election between the time period of June of 2016
- 10 and October of 2016. Is that accurate?
- 11 A. To the best of my knowledge, that's
- 12 accurate.
- 13 Q. And then he also has acknowledged --
- 14 Mr. Steele also has acknowledged and it's been
- 15 reported that there was one additional memo that
- 16 came after the election in December of 2016. Is
- 17 that also accurate?
- 18 A. I think what he has said is that -- yeah,
- 19 that's basically accurate. What he said was that
- 20 the series of memos that were published by
- 21 BuzzFeed, that's the package that you're talking
- 22 about.
- 23 (Exhibit 3 was marked for
- identification.)
- 25 BY MS. SAWYER:

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... 8-- , -

- 1 Q. And so I'm going to show you what we will
- 2 just mark as Exhibit 3 for identification purposes.
- 3 So Exhibit 3 that I've just given you is a document
- 4 that was produced to the committee by your lawyers,
- 5 and they had explained to us that this was a
- 6 document originally posted by BuzzFeed in January
- 7 of 2017 and it has Bates numbers down in the
- 8 right-hand corner. The first one is
- 9 CLMS-JC-00041391 and then the last one is number
- 10 41425. If you could just take a look at that. Is
- 11 that what we were just discussing as the series of
- memos posted by BuzzFeed and created by Mr. Steele?
- 13 A. Yes, it is.
- Q. Can you explain for us just what -- does
- 15 this represent the 16 memos that would have
- 16 occurred between June and October of 2016 that
- 17 Mr. Steele created?
- 18 A. These are the memos that he created under
- 19 the engagement and then this extra one that is
- 20 appended. I never actually numbered -- totaled
- 21 them up, but these are the ones I'm familiar
- 22 with.
- 23 Q. And does this represent the entire
- 24 universe of memos that Mr. Steele created as part
- of this particular engagement for you?

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- 1 A. To the best of the my knowledge as part of
- 2 this engagement, this is it.
- 3 Q. And can you just explain to us so that we
- 4 understand the document, it has a heading "Company
- 5 Intelligence Report." I'm just looking at the
- 6 first page. That one says "Company Intelligence
- 7 Report 2016/080." What would that have signified?
- 8 A. Company Intelligence Report is just a way
- 9 of saying it's not a government document. In the
- 10 event that, you know, someone stole it or it leaked
- or there was some sort of breach, you know, they're
- 12 not going to have their own name on it, but they
- 13 want to make sure that no one mistakes it for a
- 14 government document. That's my understanding.
- 15 080 is their internal numbering system for,
- 16 you know, their production of memoranda, and the
- 17 reason it jumps from 80 to 86 is -- I never
- 18 actually asked him, but there aren't five memos in
- 19 between this. So the interpretation is that it's
- 20 an internal numbering system for maybe Russia stuff
- 21 or maybe it's just -- I'm sorry. I don't know what
- 22 the internal numbering system is, but there isn't
- 23 five memos in this project between these two.
- Q. So the company referenced in Company
- 25 Intelligence Report, your understanding is that

Washington, DC

- 1 would be Orbis, not Fusion GPS?
- A. I can't answer that. I think it's, as I
- 3 said, meant to denote that it's not a government
- 4 report.
- 5 Q. Were they producing -- as you noted, the
- 6 next apparent report 086 would be five, presumably,
- 7 reports later. Were those other five reports
- 8 reports that were being generated for Fusion GPS
- 9 or --
- 10 A. No.
- 11 MR. LEVY: I don't think he said that. Go
- 12 ahead.
- 13 BY THE WITNESS:
- 14 A. I mean, there aren't five reports that he
- 15 did for us between these two. This is the first
- 16 and second.
- Q. So, again, when we look at that first one
- that we discussed briefly, 2016/080, it appears to
- 19 be a three-page memorandum and it's dated 20 June
- 20 2016 and that shows up on the last page. Would you
- 21 have received it around that time that it's dated,
- 22 June 20, 2016?
- A. Within a couple days, yeah. Yes.
- Q. And not every single discrete memo has a
- 25 date, but a number of them do. To the extent they

Washington, DC

- 1 had dates, would you have been receiving them
- 2 around the time they were dated?
- 3 A. Yeah. I believe so, yes. There might be
- 4 some lag, transition lag.
- 5 Q. And what was -- what use did you make of
- 6 these memos?
- 7 A. These memos -- I mean, I guess I'd like to
- 8 back up a little bit and explain, you know, what
- 9 led to the memos, which was -- as I said, I mean,
- 10 you know, we started looking at -- first we started
- 11 looking at Trump's business affairs generally with
- 12 some of the emphasis on associations with organized
- 13 crime and in particular Russian organized crime.
- 14 As the project progressed towards the end of 2015
- 15 and into 2016 we became interested in his overseas
- 16 business dealings particularly because they were so
- 17 opaque and seemed to involve, you know, to say the
- 18 least, colorful characters.
- 19 So as we got into 2016 we were looking
- 20 broadly at -- one of the things we were looking at,
- 21 broadly speaking, was Donald Trump's international
- 22 business dealings and, you know, through the spring
- 23 of 2016, as I mentioned, we were -- you know, we
- 24 looked in various places, Latin America. He has
- 25 worked on projects all over the world, but in

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1 particular, you know, several in the former Soviet

- 2 Union, Georgia, Azerbaijan, both former Soviet
- 3 republics. So over the course of the spring I'd
- 4 say -- and Russia -- we gradually began to exhaust
- 5 the public record, the open source about these
- 6 topics in various places. As you, you know, sort
- 7 of run short on public record or open source
- 8 information, you know, you need to get -- if you
- 9 still want to go deeper you need to get human
- 10 source.
- 11 So the purpose of this was to see if we could
- 12 learn more, generally speaking, about his business
- 13 dealings in Russia. What came back was something,
- 14 you know, very different and obviously more
- 15 alarming, which had to do with -- you know, which
- outlined a political conspiracy and a much broader
- 17 set of issues than the ones that we basically went
- 18 looking for. You know, initially we didn't know
- 19 what do with this.
- The main thing we did with it, the use we
- 21 made of it was as intelligence, which is to
- 22 understand what's happening. So when this arrived
- 23 the first indicators were starting to float around
- 24 that there was something bigger going on, the
- 25 government of Russia or someone was doing some

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- 1 hacking. I don't really remember the precise
- 2 details. I just remember there were rumblings at
- 3 that time about whether there had been lot of
- 4 hacking and there was going to be -- political
- 5 digital espionage was going to be a component of
- 6 the campaign.
- 7 So when this arrived it was also right around
- 8 the time I think -- Trump had said weird things
- 9 about the Russians and Putin and things that are
- 10 very atypical for a Republican and that people
- 11 found to be odd. So when this arrived, you know,
- 12 we made no immediate use of it at all in terms of,
- 13 you know, giving it to anybody. It was essentially
- 14 used to inform our other researcher, but because it
- 15 was -- and because it was human source intelligence
- 16 and some of it was of a personal nature, it was not
- 17 particularly useful for the kind of things that
- 18 are, you know, useful in politics, which are things
- 19 that you can prove, things that you can say, things
- 20 that people will believe.
- 21 So we used it as intelligence to try and
- 22 understand what was going on and, you know,
- 23 obviously, as we talked about earlier, we tried to
- 24 analyze this to see if it was credible. You know,
- 25 I did -- you know, in the initial round of this

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- 1 that was the big question, was this credible.
- Q. Okay. So let me stop you there for a
- 3 second before we get too far because you've
- 4 referred a number of times to "this" and you have a
- 5 35-page document in front of you. So I want to
- 6 clarify when you said "this," in the context of
- 7 answering that I assumed you were talking about the
- 8 first --
- 9 A. The first memo.
- 10 Q. That's the report 2016/080?
- 11 A. Correct.
- 12 O. And that's the one that has the date of 20
- 13 June 2016?
- 14 A. Correct. To be totally clear, you know,
- 15 what people call the dossier is not really a
- 16 dossier. It's a collection of field memoranda, of
- 17 field interviews, a collection that accumulates
- 18 over a period of months. You know, they came in
- 19 intermittently, there was no schedule. You know,
- 20 he'd reach a point in the reporting where he had
- 21 enough to send a new memo; so he'd send one. So
- 22 you won't find any real rhythm or chronological
- 23 sort of system to the way they came in.
- 24 MR. MUSE: Just for clarification of "this,"
- 25 there are bates numbers I think that could be

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- 1 identified here.
- MS. SAWYER: Right. So that first document,
- 3 the one that we've just been talking about, has
- 4 Bates Nos. 49391 to 41393. Do we need to go off
- 5 the record for a moment? Let's go off the record
- 6 for a moment.
- 7 (A short break was had.)
- 8 BY MS. SAWYER:
- 9 Q. With regard to this document, you
- 10 characterized this document as representing field
- 11 interviews, I think you talked about it as human
- 12 source information. So was Mr. Steele's kind of
- 13 role with regard to the project primarily
- 14 conducting these types of interviews, gathering
- 15 this type of what I think you referred to as human
- 16 intelligence for Fusion?
- 17 A. Yes. I mean, in other cases we did other
- 18 things.
- MR. LEVY: Don't get into other cases.
- 20 BY THE WITNESS:
- 21 A. I can't remember specifically what I had
- 22 in mind to get from him. This form of reporting
- 23 was, in fact, the form that the rest of the project
- 24 took, which was, you know -- I've done other kinds
- of research in Russia, but something this sensitive

Washington, DC

- 1 I don't think I've ever been involved in. So in an
- 2 ordinary case you would try to gather public
- 3 records and you would conduct yourself in a much
- 4 more open fashion.
- 5 You know, Russia is a dangerous place, it's a
- 6 kleptocracy and a police state, but it's also a
- 7 giant bureaucracy and in some ways it's a much more
- 8 open society, much more open than the Soviet Union
- 9 ever was. You can pull records for companies and
- 10 that sort of thing.
- Anyway, so this was unusual in what we were
- doing here and it's not what I had in mind when I
- 13 asked him to begin collecting information on this.
- 14 My expectation was of something a lot less
- 15 interesting than this, more along the lines of a
- 16 typical corruption investigation.
- 17 Q. You had indicated that when you received
- 18 it you found it unusual, it was sensitive
- 19 information. Did you take steps to verify any of
- 20 the information?
- 21 A. We assessed it for credibility, whether it
- 22 was credible. The question of the credibility of
- 23 the information is obviously a big question here,
- 24 can this be believed. There's other secondary
- 25 questions that would follow on from that, can it

Washington, DC

- 1 somehow be used, does it have any use and that sort
- 2 of thing, but the threshold question is is it
- 3 credible information.
- 4 You know, there were two background factors
- 5 to that. One was who is it coming from. It's
- 6 coming from Chris Steele who's a guy that I've
- 7 worked with for, you know, about eight or nine
- 8 years and Chris, as I say, has a Sterling
- 9 reputation as a person who doesn't exaggerate,
- 10 doesn't make things up, doesn't sell baloney. In
- 11 my business, I mean, there are a lot of people who
- 12 make stuff up and sell baloney. So the one thing
- 13 that you get good at if you do this for a while is
- 14 finding reliable sources, finding reliable people
- 15 who have a record of giving it to you straight and
- 16 not making stuff up and not making mistakes. So
- 17 from that perspective, you know, this was alarming
- 18 because Chris is a credible person, he's well
- 19 respected in his field, and, as I say, everyone I
- 20 know who's ever dealt with him thinks he's quite
- 21 good. That would include people from the U.S.
- 22 government.
- 23 So the issue is where is it coming from and
- then the other issue is does it make sense or are
- 25 there events in there that can be externally, you

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1 know, reviewed or backed up. On the question of

- 2 whether it makes sense -- well, let me stay on the
- 3 question of some of the events that are described.
- 4 We were aware of some of these trips and we were
- 5 obviously aware of the hostility toward Hillary
- 6 Clinton and, you know, there was a lot of general
- 7 knowledge that we had that fit with this just in
- 8 terms of dates and places and roles of people in
- 9 the Kremlin. So on a surface level, you know, it
- 10 was credible too, but the thing that, you know,
- 11 most concerned me at this point was my own
- 12 familiarity with foreign meddling in American
- 13 elections, which is a subject that I've dealt with
- 14 for a long time.
- 15 In the 1990s I was working at the Wall Street
- 16 Journal and I wrote some of the very first stories
- 17 about the Chinese government's interference in the
- 18 1996 presidential election which triggered a
- 19 massive national security investigation, numerous
- 20 prosecutions, lots of business for Bob Muse, and a
- 21 lot of congressional hearings, congressional
- 22 inquiries. And in that episode it was eventually
- 23 dug out by congressional investigations that the
- 24 fundraisers, the Asian fundraisers were Chinese
- 25 intelligence assets. So there's ample recent

Washington, DC

- 1 historical precedent for a foreign government to
- 2 interfere in American elections in a really big way
- 3 and for it to be an intelligence operation. So I
- 4 knew all of that while reading this and digesting
- 5 it for the first time.
- I also knew because I've done a lot of
- 7 reporting on Russia about the Kremlin's interest in
- 8 American politics, European politics, disrupting
- 9 the politics of other countries, and, in fact, one
- 10 of the last things I did when I was a reporter at
- 11 the Wall Street Journal was report on several
- 12 stories of government investigations, FBI
- 13 investigations into American politicians who had
- 14 been corrupted allegedly by the Russians.
- 15 Sort of my departure point from journalism
- 16 was a series of stories and conferences I attended
- 17 where a lot of American and European intelligence
- 18 officials were expressing great alarm at the
- 19 resurfacing of Russian intelligence operations in
- 20 western capitals and the new twist on it which
- 21 seemed to be that these guys seemed to be getting
- 22 involved in politics in ways that they hadn't
- 23 previously. So I knew all that when I read this.
- Q. Okay. So if I can stop you there. It
- 25 sounds like the components -- you can tell me if

Washington, DC

- 1 there were more -- that you considered in assessing
- 2 the credibility of this was Mr. Steele, his
- 3 background, his reputation, overall the fact that
- 4 you had information and knowledge of Russia
- 5 meddling in other countries' elections, and then
- 6 the broader work of Russia to disrupt political
- 7 systems of other countries?
- 8 A. I covered that. I also would add that the
- 9 China case was for me in my journalistic career a
- 10 formative event that took -- you know, consumed
- 11 years of my reporting and was about, you know, a
- 12 Chinese intelligence operation to swing the '96
- 13 election to the Democrats.
- The only other thing I'd add to all that is,
- 15 again, in the mid 2000s one of the stories I
- 16 wrote -- actually, I wrote a couple different
- 17 stories about a Russian oligarch having a meeting
- 18 with Senator John McCain shortly before the 2008
- 19 presidential election and another story or set of
- 20 stories about Paul Manafort and his involvement
- 21 with some Russian and Ukrainian oligarchs who were
- 22 considered to be suspicious or corrupt.
- 23 So I also knew -- or I formed an opinion or
- 24 impression that the Russians were interested in
- 25 making friends with the Republicans and that Paul

Washington, DC

- 1 Manafort, you know, there was this previous episode
- 2 involving Paul Manafort, John McCain. So all of
- 3 that was in my head when this came in which, as I
- 4 say, tended to support the credibility -- the
- 5 possibility that this information was credible.
- 6 Q. You mentioned a Russian oligarch who had
- 7 met with Senator McCain. Who specifically was
- 8 that?
- 9 A. Oleg Deripaska, O-L-E-G,
- 10 D-E-R-I-P-A-S-K-A. He's not able to travel to the
- 11 United States because he's banned for suspicion of
- 12 ties to organized crime. He's extremely close to
- 13 the Kremlin, or at least he was, and is -- I broke
- 14 the story of him being banned from the United
- 15 States which caused him a lot of embarrassment and
- 16 trouble with his business and led to him hiring a
- 17 lobbyist and trying to get involved with getting a
- 18 visa to the U.S.
- 19 Q. And you had also mentioned your background
- 20 knowledge of Paul Manafort and his involvement with
- 21 Russian oligarchs. Can you identify who those
- individuals were and the basis of that knowledge?
- 23 A. The issue I specifically wrote about I
- 24 believe was his work for the Party of Regions and
- 25 Victor Yanukovych, Y-A-N-U-K-O-V-Y-C-H, I think,

Washington, DC

- 1 and that's the Pro-Russia party or was the
- 2 Pro-Russia party in Ukraine, and all that work sort
- 3 of grew out of work I had done about the Kremlin
- 4 working with the Russian mafia to siphon money off
- 5 the gas trade between Russia and Ukraine.
- Q. Was that work you had done while still a
- 7 reporter with the Wall Street Journal?
- 8 A. Yes.
- 9 Q. So any conclusions you had reached from
- 10 that, would that be material that we would be able
- 11 to obtain and may already have in your public
- 12 reporting?
- MR. LEVY: We'd have to talk to the Wall
- 14 Street Journal about that probably.
- 15 BY THE WITNESS:
- 16 A. My articles about this are available on
- 17 the Internet.
- MR. LEVY: Some of them we've produced to you
- 19 already because it was responsive to your request.
- MS. SAWYER: Understood.
- 21 BY MS. SAWYER:
- Q. And there's potentially additional work
- 23 product related to the work that you had done on
- 24 Mr. Manafort?
- 25 A. For the Wall Street Journal or later?

Washington, DC

- 1 Q. Let's start with the Wall Street
- 2 Journal?
- 3 A. I collected lots of information on
- 4 Mr. Manafort during my years at the Journal.
- 5 Q. And then we'll get into the work on
- 6 Mr. Manafort more recently.
- 7 So this particular memo that we've been
- 8 talking about, this first one doesn't specifically
- 9 mention, as far as I can see, any efforts to
- 10 interfere by Russia. It does talk about
- 11 potential -- as it's called in here, a dossier of
- 12 compromising material on Hillary Clinton. Did you
- 13 take any steps to verify whether that dossier of
- 14 compromising material existed on Hillary Clinton?
- 15 A. I will answer that, but can I just back
- 16 you up a little bit. I think your observation it
- 17 doesn't mention anything about interfering I
- 18 wouldn't agree with.
- 19 Q. Okay.
- 20 A. I mean, one of the key lines here in the
- 21 second paragraph says "However, he and his inner
- 22 circle have accepted a regular flow of intelligence
- 23 from the Kremlin, including on his democratic and
- 24 other political rivals."
- So the issue with the Trump Tower meeting, as

Washington, DC

- 1 I understand it, is that the Trump people were
- 2 eager to accept intelligence from a foreign
- 3 government about their political rivals and that
- 4 is, you know, I would say, a form of interference.
- 5 If you're getting help from a foreign government
- 6 and your help is intelligence, then the foreign
- 7 government's interfering. I mean, you know, I
- 8 think that also -- of course, in retrospect we now
- 9 know this was pretty right on target in terms on
- 10 what it says. So anyway --
- 11 Q. In reference to you think that particular
- 12 sentence?
- 13 A. I mean, it clearly refers to, you know,
- 14 them being interested in and willing to -- it
- 15 depicts them as accepting information. What we
- 16 have seen to date with the disclosures this year is
- 17 they were at a minimum super interested in getting
- 18 information.
- 19 Q. And when you're referencing the
- 20 "disclosures this year," could you just be specific
- 21 about that.
- A. The Trump Tower meeting.
- Q. So with reference to the June 9th Trump
- 24 Tower meeting?
- A. Yes. Yes.

Washington, DC

- Q. Okay.
- 2 A. I will go back to your question, but,
- 3 again, it says "Source B asserted the Trump
- 4 operating was both supported and directed by Putin
- 5 aimed to sew discord within the U.S., " and, you
- 6 know, basically -- you know, there's a number of
- 7 different ways that it seems they're trying to
- 8 intervene in our politics in this memo.
- 9 What was your question?
- 10 Q. I appreciate that clarification. You were
- 11 actually clarifying a statement I made, which I
- 12 appreciate.
- So you had testified a little earlier that at
- 14 the point in time in which you received this first
- 15 memo you used it a little more as background to
- 16 inform your thinking on it, but you didn't take
- 17 discrete steps. Had you -- were you involved in
- 18 editing this memo in any way?
- 19 A. No.
- Q. Did you give Mr. Steele any specific
- 21 direction on, you know, next steps based on this
- 22 memo?
- A. Not that I can recall, no.
- Q. So at this point in time was he still
- 25 operating with the understanding that he was just

Washington, DC

- 1 to engage in an open-ended research project?
- 2 A. Actually it wasn't really an open-ended
- 3 research project -- well, it was open-ended in
- 4 scope, it wasn't open-ended in time. It was take a
- 5 few weeks, see if there's anything there that's
- 6 interesting, notable, important, and if we think
- 7 there's reason to go on we'll make that decision at
- 8 that time. So it was a short-term engagement in
- 9 the beginning.
- 10 Q. And to the best you can explain to us, did
- 11 the client that you were working for know that he
- 12 was engaged in this particular research or what his
- 13 findings were at that point in time?
- MR. LEVY: The answer to that question might
- 15 implicate privilege or obligations.
- 16 BY MS. SAWYER:
- Q. Did you interfere in any way with
- 18 Mr. Steele's research, tell him not to pursue any
- 19 particular avenues?
- 20 A. No.
- 21 Q. To the best of your knowledge, did anyone
- 22 else give him that direction, either directly or
- 23 through you, and tell him not to --
- 24 A. No.
- Q. If I could just finish.

Washington, DC

- 1 A. I'm sorry.
- Q. -- and tell him not to pursue any
- 3 particular avenues of research?
- 4 A. No.
- 5 Q. Do you know -- if we could just move on to
- 6 kind of the next memo, which begins with Bates
- 7 No. 41394 and it ends with 41396. It appears to
- 8 be -- it's three pages and it has a date of 26 July
- 9 2015 and it has "Company Intelligence Report
- 10 2016/086." To the best of your recollection, was
- 11 this the second memo you had received from
- 12 Mr. Steele?
- 13 A. To the best of my recollection, this is
- 14 the second memo.
- Q. And how did you kind of use this
- 16 information?
- 17 A. Well, I think the context of external
- 18 events is important here. I believe -- it's my
- 19 recollection that what prompted this memo was, in
- 20 fact, the beginning of public reporting on the
- 21 hack. I think -- what is the date again? Yeah,
- 22 it's 26 July. So by this time Debbie Wasserman
- 23 Schultz has been the subject of a very aggressive
- 24 hacking campaign, weaponized hack, the likes of
- 25 which, you know, have never really been seen.

Washington, DC

- 1 We've seen hacking in politics before, but this
- 2 kind of, you know, mass theft of e-mail and then to
- 3 dump it all into, you know, the public sphere was
- 4 extraordinary and it was criminal.
- 5 So the question by now of whether this was
- 6 Russia and whether this might have something to do
- 7 with the other information that we'd received was,
- 8 you know, the immediate question, and I think this
- 9 is also -- by the time this memo was written Chris
- 10 had already met with the FBI about the first memo.
- 11 So he's -- if I can interpret a little bit here.
- 12 In his mind this is already a criminal matter,
- 13 there's already a potential national security
- 14 matter here.
- 15 I mean, this is basically about a month later
- 16 and there's a lot of events that occurred in
- 17 between. You know, after the first memo, you know,
- 18 Chris said he was very concerned about whether this
- 19 represented a national security threat and said he
- 20 wanted to -- he said he thought we were obligated
- 21 to tell someone in government, in our government
- 22 about this information. He thought from his
- 23 perspective there was an issue -- a security issue
- 24 about whether a presidential candidate was being
- 25 blackmailed. From my perspective there was a law

Washington, DC

- 1 enforcement issue about whether there was an
- 2 illegal conspiracy to violate the campaign laws,
- 3 and then somewhere in this time the whole issue of
- 4 hacking has also surfaced.
- 5 So he proposed to -- he said we should tell
- 6 the FBI, it's a national security issue. I didn't
- 7 originally agree or disagree, I just put it off and
- 8 said I needed to think about it. Then he raised it
- 9 again with me. I don't remember the exact sequence
- 10 of these events, but my recollection is that I
- 11 questioned how we would do that because I don't
- 12 know anyone there that I could report something
- 13 like this to and be believed and I didn't really
- 14 think it was necessarily appropriate for me to do
- 15 that. In any event, he said don't worry about
- 16 that, I know the perfect person, I have a contact
- 17 there, they'll listen to me, they know who I am,
- 18 I'll take care of it. I said okay. You know, I
- 19 agreed, it's potentially a crime in progress. So,
- 20 you know, if we can do that in the most appropriate
- 21 way, I said it was okay for him to do that.
- 22 Q. Okay. So let me just stop you there and
- 23 let's just make sure we get the sequencing
- 24 accurate.
- 25 A. Sure.

Washington, DC

- 1 Q. So after Mr. Steele had found out the
- 2 information that he put in the very first of these
- 3 memos, the one dated June 20, 2016, he approached
- 4 you about taking this information to specifically
- 5 the FBI, the Federal Bureau of Investigation?
- A. That's my recollection.
- 7 Q. So to the best of your recollection, that
- 8 request or idea came directly from Mr. Steele, not
- 9 anyone else?
- 10 A. That's right.
- 11 Q. And who was involved in discussions about
- 12 whether it was appropriate to take either the memo
- or the information in the memo to the FBI?
- 14 A. It was Chris and me. I mean, that's the
- only ones I remember, the two of us. The only ones
- 16 I know of.
- 17 Q. You said you had asked for some time to
- 18 think it over. What in particular did he
- 19 articulate to you was of significant national
- 20 security concern to indicate that it should be
- 21 taken to the FBI?
- 22 A. His concern, which is something that
- 23 counterintelligence people deal with a lot, is
- 24 whether or not there was blackmail going on,
- 25 whether a political candidate was being blackmailed

Washington, DC

- 1 or had been compromised. And the whole problem of
- 2 compromise of western businessmen and politicians
- 3 by the Russians is an essential part of -- it's
- 4 like disinformation, it's something they worry
- 5 about a lot and deal with a lot and are trained to
- 6 respond to. So, you know, a trained intelligence
- 7 officer can spot disinformation that you or I might
- 8 not recognize, certainly that was Chris's skill,
- 9 and he honed in on this issue of blackmail as being
- 10 a significant national security issue.
- 11 Chris is the professional and I'm not. So I
- 12 didn't agree with that -- it wasn't that I
- 13 disagreed with it. It was that I didn't feel
- 14 qualified to be the arbitrar of whether this is a
- 15 national security expert. He's the pro and I'm the
- 16 ex-journalist.
- 17 Q. In that regard when you say he's a
- 18 professional and you're not, I take that to mean
- 19 that he was the intelligence expert?
- 20 A. He was -- yes, he was the national
- 21 security guy. I know a lot about politics, I know
- 22 a good bit about financial crime, but, you know, my
- 23 specialty was journalism and his was security.
- Q. And with specific regard to the issue of
- 25 blackmail, what was the -- what were the facts that

Washington, DC

- 1 he had gathered that made him concerned about the
- 2 possibility of blackmail and who did he think was
- 3 going to be blackmailed?
- A. Well, the facts are -- beyond what's here
- 5 I don't have any additional facts. The alleged
- 6 incident that's described here is the one that he
- 7 was referring to. As I say, I don't have really
- 8 any additional information beyond this except
- 9 that -- I mean, it's probably in here somewhere
- 10 actually, but it's well known in intelligence
- 11 circles that the Russians have cameras in all the
- 12 luxury hotel rooms and there are memoirs written
- 13 about this by former Russian intelligence agents I
- 14 could quote you. So the problem of kompromat and
- 15 kompromating is just endemic to east-west
- 16 intelligence work. So that's what I'm referring
- 17 to. That's what he's referring to.
- 18 Q. Got it. So that would be in the summary
- 19 the kind of third dash point down where it
- 20 mentions --
- 21 A. Yes, that's right.
- 22 Q. -- that FSB -- what is your understanding
- 23 of who or what FSB is?
- A. It's a successor to the KGB. I mean,
- 25 nominally it's the domestic intelligence agency on

Washington, DC

- 1 the domestic side of what was the KGB. In practice
- 2 it's sort of the preeminent intelligence organ of
- 3 the Russian state, government.
- 4 Q. And do you recall when you -- when you and
- 5 Mr. Steele decided kind of that he could or should
- 6 take this to the FBI, approximately the time frame
- 7 of that?
- 8 A. I believe it was sometime around the turn
- 9 of the month. It would have been in late June or
- 10 at latest early July. That's my recollection.
- 11 Q. And Mr. Steele was the one who was then
- 12 responsible for doing the initial outreach to them
- 13 and making that contact?
- A. Yes. Well, I mean, let's be clear, this
- 15 was not considered by me to be part of the work
- 16 that we were doing. This was -- to me this was
- 17 like, you know, you're driving to work and you see
- 18 something happen and you call 911, right. It
- 19 wasn't part of the -- it wasn't like we were trying
- 20 to figure out who should do it. He said he was
- 21 professionally obligated to do it. Like if you're
- 22 a lawyer and, you know, you find out about a crime,
- 23 in a lot of countries you must report that. So it
- 24 was like that. So I just said if that's your
- 25 obligation, then you should fulfill your

Washington, DC

- 1 obligation.
- Q. And were you a part of those conversations
- 3 with -- that Mr. Steele had with whoever his
- 4 contact was at the FBI?
- 5 A. No.
- 6 Q. Do you have any knowledge of when that
- 7 first conversation actually then took place?
- 8 A. Over the last several months that this has
- 9 become a public controversy I've learned the
- 10 general date and I believe it was if first week of
- 11 July, but I don't believe he told me -- if he told
- 12 me the time, I don't remember when he told me.
- 13 Q. And that information about that time, that
- 14 first week of July, where does that come from?
- 15 A. It comes from news accounts of these
- 16 events and conversations between Chris and I and
- 17 some of my -- presumably my business partners too.
- 18 Generally speaking, we have, as you know, not been
- 19 eager to discuss any of this in public and there's
- 20 been a lot of speculation and guessing and stories,
- 21 many of which are wrong. So when an incorrect
- 22 story comes out we would, you know, talk about it.
- 23 So, you know, in the course of those kinds of
- 24 things I generally obtained a sense of when things
- 25 occurred that I might otherwise not be able to

Washington, DC

- 1 provide you.
- Q. And do you know who it is that Mr. Steele
- 3 contacted and talked with at the FBI?
- 4 A. I did not know at the time. I believe I
- 5 know now, but I don't have authoritative
- 6 information on that. I didn't -- yeah. I didn't
- 7 know who it was in July.
- 8 Q. And do you now know who that was?
- 9 A. I think I know, but Chris never told me.
- 10 I figured it out eventually based on other sources
- 11 and other information, but that was not until
- 12 December or November.
- Q. December of -- November or December 2016?
- 14 A. November, December 2016. It was after the
- 15 election.
- Q. And what is your understanding from what
- 17 you've been able to put together of who that would
- 18 have been?
- 19 A. My understanding of?
- Q. Of who Mr. Steele would have talked to at
- 21 the FBI.
- 22 A. I believe it was a
- , an official named
- 24
- Q. And we had talked about that discussion

Washington, DC

- 1 that you had with Mr. Steele about potentially
- 2 going to the FBI. You had indicated that it was
- 3 just the two of you having those conversations and
- 4 coming to that decision. Once the decision was
- 5 made, did you share that decision with anyone, that
- 6 he was going to go to the FBI with this
- 7 information?
- A. I think we're not able to answer that.
- 9 MR. LEVY: He's going to decline to answer
- 10 that question.
- 11 BY MS. SAWYER:
- 12 Q. Did you seek anyone else's approval for
- 13 him to go to the FBI?
- 14 A. No.
- Q. Did anyone ever encourage you to ask him
- on to go to the FBI?
- 17 A. No.
- 18 Q. Did anyone discourage you from having him
- 19 go to the FBI?
- 20 A. No.
- Q. Do you know whether Mr. Steele when he had
- 22 that first meeting, which you said occurred in the
- 23 first week of July, do you know whether Mr. Steele
- 24 actually gave the FBI this document that we've been
- 25 talking about, the intelligence report 2016/080?

Washington, DC

- 1 A. I don't know.
- 2 Q. With regard to providing -- what was the
- 3 goal -- as you understood it, what was the purpose
- 4 of the kind of goal in taking this to the FBI from
- 5 Mr. Steele's perspective?
- 6 MR. LEVY: Beyond what he's said already?
- 7 MS. SAWYER: Yes.
- 8 BY THE WITNESS:
- 9 A. I mean, for him it was professional
- 10 obligations. I mean, for both of us it was
- 11 citizenship. You know, people report crimes all
- 12 the time.
- Q. So beyond reporting -- certainly if I'm
- 14 mischaracterizing please let me know, but beyond
- 15 reporting what he believed was an issue of national
- 16 security and a potential crime, I think you had
- 17 said kind of a potential crime in progress, do you
- 18 know whether he requested that the FBI open an
- 19 investigation?
- 20 A. I don't know that. I mean, all he told me
- 21 in the immediate aftermath was that he filled him
- 22 in. I can talk generally about the FBI and what
- 23 happens when you give them information because I
- 24 know that from years of experience, but generally,
- you know, you don't ask them to do it. There's no

Washington, DC

- 1 ask.
- Q. But you don't know what concrete steps
- 3 they may have taken once they got the information
- 4 from him?
- 5 A. I do not. Of course we know now that
- 6 shortly thereafter they got a vice award on one of
- 7 the people who's dealt with in here. He's not
- 8 dealt with in this memo, but he's dealt with in the
- 9 later memos. I don't know there's any connection
- 10 between these events. I do know in Director
- 11 Comey's testimony he said -- I'm sorry. Maybe I'm
- 12 skipping ahead. As far as I know, they didn't -- I
- 13 don't know what they did.
- Q. So then with regard to Mr. Steele's
- ongoing work, I presume that his work then
- 16 continued after you got this first memo because we
- 17 have additional memos between June?
- 18 A. Yes.
- 19 Q. Was there a discussion about whether and
- 20 when he would take information to the FBI?
- 21 A. Not that I recall. After the initial memo
- 22 he told me that he had briefed him. I don't
- 23 remember anything specific about the issue arising
- 24 again other than to say generally that as the
- 25 summer progressed the situation with the hacking of

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- 1 the Democrats and the efforts by the Russians to
- 2 influence the election and the possibility that the
- 3 Trump organization was, in fact, doing things to
- 4 curry favor with the Russians became more and more
- 5 serious as external developments occurred.
- 6 So, for instance, they changed the Republican
- 7 platform, which is addressed in here. Carter Page
- 8 shows up in Moscow and gives a speech. He's a
- 9 campaign advisor and he gives a speech about
- 10 dropping sanctions. Trump continues to say
- 11 mysterious things about what a great guy Putin is.
- 12 So I vaguely recall that these external events
- 13 prompted us to say I wonder what the FBI did,
- 14 whoops, haven't heard from them. So that was
- 15 basically the state of things through September
- Q. So do you know whether or not Mr. Steele
- 17 did have any subsequent conversations with the FBI
- 18 after that initial conversation in the first week
- 19 of July 2016?
- 20 A. Yes, I do. He did.
- 21 Q. So can you explain the next incident where
- 22 you know that Mr. Steele met with the FBI?
- 23 A. Yes. I quess what I'd like to explain is
- 24 what I knew at the time and what I know now. It
- 25 was September and obviously the controversy was

Washington, DC

- 1 really front and center now in the election. I
- 2 can't remember whether the intelligence community
- 3 had come out with their statement, but, you know,
- 4 there was a lot of concern in Washington and in the
- 5 U.S. about whether there was a Kremlin operation to
- 6 interfere with our election and there was a lot of
- 7 debate throughout this period about whether they
- 8 were trying to help Trump or just trying to cause
- 9 trouble. But there wasn't much debate that they
- 10 were up to something.
- 11 So, you know, I'm dealing with Chris on the
- 12 underlying reporting and by this time my concern,
- 13 you know, was -- I was very concerned because Chris
- 14 had delivered a lot of information and by this time
- 15 we had, you know, stood up a good bit of it.
- 16 Various things he had written about in his memos
- 17 corresponded quite closely with other events and I
- 18 began, you know, to view his reporting in this case
- 19 as, you know, really serious and really credible.
- So anyway, we were working on all of that and
- 21 then he said, hey, I heard back from the FBI and
- 22 they want me to come talk to them and they said
- 23 they want everything I have, to which I said okay.
- 24 He said he had to go to Rome, I said okay. He went
- 25 to Rome. Then afterwards he came back and said,

Washington, DC

- 1 you know, I gave them a full briefing.
- 2 I'll add because I didn't consider this to
- 3 be -- you know, there was no objective here
- 4 politically because you can't -- in an ordinary
- 5 election I know from my decades of dealing with
- 6 U.S. elections that you can't expect the government
- 7 or the FBI to be of any use in a campaign because
- 8 the DOJ has rules against law enforcement getting
- 9 involved in investigations in the middle of a
- 10 campaign and this was obviously -- you know, this
- 11 obviously became a huge issue.
- 12 Anyway, because it wasn't really part of the
- 13 project in my mind I didn't really ask a lot of
- 14 questions about these meetings. I didn't ask who
- 15 he met with, I didn't ask, you know, much of
- 16 anything, but he did tell me that he gave --
- Q. Before we get to that, which I do want to
- 18 hear, I just want to get a sense of the chronology.
- 19 A. Sure.
- 20 Q. So when did that -- you had said the FBI
- 21 then came back and contacted Mr. Steele?
- 22 A. That's my understanding.
- Q. When did that, to the best of your
- 24 knowledge, take place?
- A. Mid to late September.

Washington, DC

- 1 Q. So in that intervening time period
- 2 Mr. Steele continues his research, he also
- 3 continues to provide you with memos?
- 4 A. Yes.
- 5 Q. And at no point in that time between
- 6 July -- the first week of July when he first met
- 7 with the FBI and then mid to late September did you
- 8 suggest to him that he should go back to the FBI?
- 9 A. Not that I recall. What I would -- what I
- 10 believe I may have said was have you heard anything
- 11 from the FBI because by then it was obvious there
- 12 was a crime in progress. So I just was curious
- 13 whether he'd heard back.
- Q. And when you say it was obvious that there
- 15 was a crime in progress, what specifically are you
- 16 referencing?
- 17 A. Espionage. They were hacking into the
- 18 computers of Democrats and think tanks. That's a
- 19 computer crime.
- 20 Q. So the thing that was apparent was Russia
- 21 or somebody had engaged in cyber intrusion and
- 22 computer crimes?
- 23 A. Yes.
- Q. So do you know whether or not Mr. Steele
- 25 was directed -- you said you did not direct him or

Washington, DC

- 1 ask him to go back to the FBI -- whether anyone
- 2 else either directly or indirectly asked him to go
- 3 to the FBI after his July 5th --
- A. To my knowledge, no one else told him to
- 5 report this. He may have conferred with his
- 6 business associates, but I don't know.
- 7 Q. And you said that meeting with the FBI,
- 8 you said Mr. Steele said he had to go to Rome for
- 9 this meeting. Do you otherwise know who he met
- 10 with?
- 11 A. This gets into the chronology of what I
- 12 learned when. At some point I learned that he was
- 13 meeting with the lead FBI guy from Rome. I don't
- 14 remember when he told me that.
- Q. And did you have a name associated with
- 16 who that was?
- 17 A. Not at that time.
- 18 Q. You said that he told you of the meeting
- 19 with the FBI in Rome in mid or late September, that
- 20 he "gave them a full briefing"?
- 21 A. A debrief I think is what he probably
- 22 said, they had debriefed him. I don't remember him
- 23 articulating the specifics of that. You know, my
- 24 understanding was that they would have gotten into
- 25 who his sources were, how he knew certain things,

Washington, DC

- 1 and, you know, other details based on their own
- 2 intelligence. Essentially what he told me was they
- 3 had other intelligence about this matter from an
- 4 internal Trump campaign source and that -- that
- 5 they -- my understanding was that they believed
- 6 Chris at this point -- that they believed Chris's
- 7 information might be credible because they had
- 8 other intelligence that indicated the same thing
- 9 and one of those pieces of intelligence was a human
- 10 source from inside the Trump organization.
- 11 Q. And did you have any understanding then or
- 12 now as to who that human intelligence source from
- inside the Trump campaign might have been?
- MR. LEVY: He's going to decline to answer
- 15 that question.
- MS. SAWYER: On what basis?
- 17 MR. SIMPSON: Security.
- 18 MR. LEVY: Security.
- 19 BY THE WITNESS:
- 20 A. We had been really careful -- I was really
- 21 careful throughout this process to not ask a lot of
- 22 specific sourcing questions. There are some things
- 23 I know that I just don't feel comfortable sharing
- 24 because obviously it's been in the news a lot
- 25 lately that people who get in the way of the

Washington, DC

- 1 Russians tend to get hurt.
- 2 MR. LEVY: And I would just add that there
- 3 are privileges and obligations that might be
- 4 implicated in the disclosure of any source related
- 5 to this matter.
- 6 BY MS. SAWYER:
- 7 Q. Was this individual also a person who had
- 8 been a source for Mr. Steele, without identifying
- 9 who that was?
- 10 A. No.
- 11 Q. So this was someone independent of
- 12 Mr. Steele's sources who potentially had
- information also on the same topics?
- 14 A. Yes. I mean, I don't think this
- implicates any of the issues to say I think it was
- 16 a voluntary source, someone who was concerned about
- 17 the same concerns we had.
- MR. DAVIS: I'm having a hard time hearing
- 19 you. Please speak up.
- 20 BY THE WITNESS:
- 21 A. It was someone like us who decided to pick
- 22 up the phone and report something.
- Q. And your understanding of this, does that
- 24 come from Mr. Steele or from a different source?
- 25 A. That comes from Chris, yes.

Washington, DC

- 1 Q. And when did he share that information
- 2 with you?
- 3 A. I don't remember exactly.
- 4 Q. Do you think it was around the same time
- 5 that he had met with the FBI, so mid to late
- 6 September of 2016?
- 7 A. I think more likely early October.
- Q. Do you know whether when Mr. Steele met
- 9 with the FBI he provided them with the memos that
- 10 he would have had at that point in time, which
- would have been mid to late September of 2016?
- 12 A. I don't know that. He didn't tell me
- 13 that. He did say they asked him for -- they wanted
- 14 to know everything he had, but whether that would
- include getting paper I don't know.
- Q. And did he indicate that he had cooperated
- 17 fully and given them whatever information he had
- 18 available?
- 19 A. Yes. In the course of these, you know,
- 20 discussions, you know, he indicated to me this was
- 21 someone he had worked with previously who knew him
- 22 and that they had a -- they worked together.
- Q. By that person you're referring to
- in Rome?
- 25 A. Yes.

Washington, DC

- 1 Q. Now, with regard to -- just to finish up
- 2 on the interactions with FBI, do you know were
- 3 there any additional interactions between
- 4 Mr. Steele and the FBI?
- 5 A. There was some sort of interaction, I
- 6 think it was probably telephonic that occurred
- 7 after Director Comey sent his letter to Congress
- 8 reopening the investigation into Hillary Clinton's
- 9 e-mails. That episode, you know, obviously created
- 10 some concern that the FBI was intervening in a
- 11 political campaign in contravention of
- 12 long-standing Justice Department regulation.
- So it made a lot of people, including us,
- 14 concerned about what the heck was going on at the
- 15 FBI. So, you know, we began getting questions from
- 16 the press about, you know, whether they were also
- 17 investigating Trump and, you know, we encouraged
- 18 them to ask the FBI that question. You know, I
- 19 think -- I'm not sure we've covered this fully,
- 20 but, you know, we just encouraged them to ask the
- 21 FBI that question.
- 22 On October 31st the New York Times posed a
- 23 story saying that the FBI is investigating Trump
- 24 and found no connections to Russia and, you know,
- 25 it was a real Halloween special.

Glenn Simpson August 22, 2017
Washington, DC

- 1 Sometime thereafter the FBI -- I understand
- 2 Chris severed his relationship with the FBI out of
- 3 concern that he didn't know what was happening
- 4 inside the FBI and there was a concern that the FBI
- 5 was being manipulated for political ends by the
- 6 Trump people and that we didn't really understand
- 7 what was going on. So he stopped dealing with
- 8 them.
- 9 Q. Okay. So I do want to get to the timing
- 10 on that. I know that I'm getting close to the end
- 11 of my hour. Can I just ask you a general question
- 12 on the memos that we were talking about. I had
- 13 asked you specifically about the first one, if you
- 14 had in any way -- first of all, with regard to the
- 15 packet on whole, did you have any input or
- 16 involvement in the drafting of these or input for
- 17 the research?
- 18 A. No.
- 19 Q. And did you edit any of them in any way?
- 20 A. No.
- 21 Q. So these were documents that you were just
- 22 receiving from Mr. Steele?
- A. Yes. I mean, the only qualifier I'd add
- 24 is I'm sure I said things like Paul Manafort was
- just named campaign manager, what do you know about

Washington, DC

- 1 him, that kind of thing.
- Q. I do want to get into some more specifics
- 3 about kind of what steps and what items you may
- 4 also clarify, but I do want to make sure, if I
- 5 could have your indulgence, just that we -- well,
- 6 we can finish up the FBI part on our next hour
- 7 because it sounds like there's a little more to
- 8 finishing that. So our hour is up. If you'll just
- 9 give me a moment.
- 10 Okay. So we'll go ahead and go off the
- 11 record. It is 2:58.
- 12 (A short break was had.)
- MR. DAVIS: We'll go back on the record.
- 14 It's now 3:09.
- 15 EXAMINATION
- 16 BY MR. DAVIS:
- Q. Mr. Simpson, do you know Emin Agalarov,
- 18 E-M-I-N, A-G-A-L-A-R-O-V?
- 19 MR. LEVY: Personally or just does he know
- 20 about him?
- 21 MR. DAVIS: Personally.
- 22 BY THE WITNESS:
- 23 A. No.
- Q. Do you know Aras, A-R-A-S, Agalarov?
- 25 A. No.

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Page 181 Q. Has Fusion ever worked with either of 2 them? 3 A. No. Q. To the best of your knowledge, have 4 5 either of them had any role in the Prevezon work? A. Not to my knowledge. 6 7 Q. Do you know Rob Goldstone? A. No. 8 Q. Has Fusion ever worked with him? 10 A. No. Q. Paid him or been paid by him? 11 12 A. No. Q. To the best of your knowledge, has 13 14 Mr. Goldstone had any work in the Prevezon or 15 Magnitsky work? 16 A. Not to my knowledge. Q. When you had these dinners in June of 2006 17 18 with Ms. Veselnitskaya, who else attended those 19 dinners? 20 MR. FOSTER: 2016. MR. DAVIS: 2016. Excuse me. 21 22 BY THE WITNESS: 23 A. The Baker lawyers would have attended, did 24 attend. 25 Q. Was Rinat Akhmetshin there?

Washington, DC

- 1 A. I specifically remember he was at the
- 2 second dinner on I think it was the 10th. I don't
- 3 specifically remember if he was at the other
- 4 dinner. I don't have many memory of the other
- 5 dinner.
- 6 Q. Do you recall if he was at the court
- 7 hearing on the 9th?
- 8 A. I believe he was. I'm not certain of it.
- 9 The other person would have been a translator at
- 10 some of these dinners. I can't remember which
- 11 ones.
- 12 Q. Were there any other individuals there
- involved with HRAGI or Prevezon work beyond the
- 14 people you've mentioned?
- MR. LEVY: When you say "there," you're
- 16 talking about now?
- MR. DAVIS: You're right. At the hearing.
- 18 BY THE WITNESS:
- 19 A. The hearing. Before you were asking about
- 20 the dinners, right?
- 21 Q. I was.
- 22 A. Now you're asking about the hearing. I
- 23 just want to be clear. Well, it was a crowded
- 24 hearing and there may have been other people
- 25 involved. I mean, I remember specifically pretty

Washington, DC

- 1 much most of the Baker legal team was there,
- 2 Natalia was there, I believe she -- I believe
- 3 Anatoli was her translator for that. There was
- 4 some other people who I think were also from Baker
- 5 Hostetler who were there. Former Attorney General
- 6 Mukasey was arguing for Prevezon. So I just
- 7 remember that there were lawyers -- people who I
- 8 believed were lawyers who were there to watch the
- 9 argument and maybe had some connection to the case.
- 10 There was another associate I think from New York
- 11 who was there, usually came to some of the Court
- 12 hearings. That's all I remember.
- Q. And the first dinner on the 8th were there
- 14 any other attendees?
- 15 A. I don't remember. I think John Moscow
- 16 might have been there.
- Q. And the second dinner on the 10th, were
- 18 there any other attendees beyond the ones you've
- 19 already described?
- 20 A. I don't recall. My wife.
- 21 O. You mentioned that information Fusion had
- 22 gathered may have been passed on to the HRAGI
- 23 people via Baker Hostetler or if they instructed
- 24 you to that you would have. Did you have any
- 25 expectation that that would reasonably result in

Washington, DC

- 1 them influencing U.S. policy?
- 2 A. I can't say that I would have specifically
- 3 expected anything from that. I was acting --
- 4 lawyers hire me to do research for them, the
- 5 research is their property or their client's
- 6 property, it's not mine. So if they want me to
- 7 provide it to somebody else, it's their
- 8 information. So I would -- it's a fairly
- 9 ministerial thing. I'm not sure I would have an
- 10 expectation of any sort of specific result from
- 11 that.
- 12 Q. But you did understand HRAGI to be
- 13 lobbying on the Hill?
- 14 A. They were registered to lobby on the Hill.
- 15 So I believe that's what they were doing, yeah.
- Q. And did you understand that your actions
- on behalf of Prevezon or Baker Hostetler would
- 18 principally benefit the Russian government? Who
- 19 did you believe the principal beneficiary to be?
- 20 MR. LEVY: I'd like to note for the record
- 21 that Patrick is smiling as he's asking the
- 22 question. You can answer.
- MR. MUSE: He's trying to contain his
- 24 laughter.
- 25 BY THE WITNESS:

Washington, DC

- 1 A. We did not believe that was being done on
- 2 behalf of the Russian government.
- 3 Q. What do you understand Prevezon's
- 4 relationship, if any, to be with the Russian
- 5 government?
- A. Prevezon was introduced to me as the
- 7 client and Denis Katsyv was the owner of Prevezon.
- 8 Generally speaking, when we take on a new case, you
- 9 know, from a respected law firm part of the, you
- 10 know, discussion is who's the client, and, you
- 11 know, Mark Cymrot said they've checked out Denis
- 12 Katsyv and he has -- he's a legitimate businessman.
- 13 He's got a real estate company, it's a successful
- 14 company, and he has an explanation for how he makes
- 15 his money and appears to be legit. To some extent
- 16 whenever you enter a new case that's part of what
- 17 you're being hired to determine is whether that
- 18 initial due diligence stands up, but in any event,
- 19 he was presented to me as a successful real estate
- 20 investor.
- 21 As I say, I worked with Baker Hostetler for a
- 22 number of years and it's a conservative midwestern
- 23 law firm with a lot of respected people in it, and
- 24 part of the obligations of lawyers in this country
- 25 and now in a lot of other countries is to determine

Washington, DC

- 1 where their money comes from and who their clients
- 2 are and whether their clients are involved in
- 3 criminal activity. I don't remember the exact
- 4 specifics of our discussions of these matters, but
- 5 one of the issues was whether he's a legitimate
- 6 businessman.
- 7 Q. Did you ever receive a letter of inquiry
- 8 from the Department of Justice regarding the
- 9 applicability of the Foreign Agent Registration Act
- 10 to your work on the Prevezon case or Magnitsky
- 11 matter?
- 12 A. No, I have not.
- 13 Q. Did you charge any fees to any other
- 14 entities or people besides Baker Hostetler for work
- on the Prevezon or Magnitsky matters?
- A. I don't think so, no. I specifically can
- 17 tell you I wasn't compensated by this foundation or
- 18 anybody else involved in any of the lobbying.
- 19 Q. At the time of this June -- early June
- 20 trip to New York had you already engaged Mr. Steele
- 21 to do work on Mr. Trump's involvement with Russia?
- 22 A. I don't specifically remember. As I
- 23 mentioned, the actual agreements are handled by
- 24 other people on my staff.
- Q. Which employees and associates of Fusion

Washington, DC

- 1 worked on the project investigating then candidate
- 2 Donald Trump?
- 3 MR. LEVY: We can give you that information
- 4 at the end of the interview.
- 5 MR. DAVIS: Why at the end of the interview?
- 6 MR. LEVY: I just want to make sure that
- 7 employees involved in this matter are protected.
- 8 We've had death threats come to the company. We'll
- 9 be happy to cooperate with the committee and give
- 10 the names of those people. I just want to do it
- 11 outside of this transcript, unless you're going to
- 12 assure me the transcript is going to be kept
- 13 confidential.
- MR. FOSTER: Let's go back to the previous
- 15 question. What was the previous question?
- MR. DAVIS: Whether he'd already started
- 17 working with Mr. Steele during the time of the --
- 18 MR. FOSTER: During the time of the meetings
- in early June, right? And your answer was?
- MR. SIMPSON: I don't know.
- 21 MR. FOSTER: Do you have -- you said you
- don't handle those issues at the company.
- MR. SIMPSON: That's right.
- MR. FOSTER: So your company does have
- 25 records that would establish that fact?

Washington, DC

- 1 MR. SIMPSON: We keep books and records. We
- 2 should have records of agreements and things, yeah.
- 3 MR. FOSTER: So did you not review any of
- 4 those in preparation for today?
- 5 MR. LEVY: What he reviewed is privileged.
- 6 MR. FOSTER: Have you reviewed them -- I'm
- 7 not asking if you reviewed them with counsel. Have
- 8 you reviewed them recently?
- 9 MR. LEVY: If he reviewed anything to prepare
- 10 for this interview it would have been at the
- 11 direction of counsel and attorney work product.
- 12 MR. FOSTER: So you do or don't know whether
- 13 you have such records that would identify the
- 14 date -- the precise dates of the engagements?
- 15 MR. LEVY: We will --
- MR. FOSTER: I'm just asking what he knows.
- MR. LEVY: I think he's told you. Go ahead.
- MR. SIMPSON: I'll just restate that we run
- 19 a -- it's a reasonably well-run company, we keep
- 20 books and records. So, you know, those kinds of
- 21 things are kept in our corporate files.
- 22 BY MR. DAVIS:
- Q. Did Baker Hostetler or Prevezon pay for
- 24 your travel to New York for the meetings in June of
- 25 2016?

Washington, DC

- 1 MR. LEVY: The meetings?
- 2 MR. DAVIS: The dinner after the hearing.
- 3 BY THE WITNESS:
- A. The purpose of the trip was the hearing.
- 5 It was routine for me to attend hearings. So I
- 6 would bill them -- my office would bill them for my
- 7 train trips and hotels depending on whether there
- 8 was -- whether it was specifically for the Prevezon
- 9 case. I don't know if -- I don't know for a fact
- 10 that we billed them.
- 11 Q. Did you travel with any other members of
- 12 the Prevezon team either to or from New York?
- 13 A. I don't think so.
- Q. So I think you've already stated that Ed
- 15 Baumgartner worked on both projects, on the
- 16 Prevezon project and another Trump investigation.
- 17 To the best of your knowledge, does Mr. Baumgartner
- 18 know Rinat Akhmetshin?
- 19 A. I don't know. I'd just like to clarify,
- 20 you know, my recollection is that Ed worked -- the
- 21 Prevezon thing wound down and I don't think I
- 22 brought Ed on until it was either ending or had
- 23 already ended.
- Q. Can you clarify the time frame for when it
- was winding down?

Washington, DC

- 1 MR. LEVY: Talk about what the "it" was when
- 2 you say "it."
- 3 BY THE WITNESS:
- A. The hearing was on June 9th, I guess we
- 5 said, and that was the culmination of a long
- 6 controversy over whether Browder was going to have
- 7 to testify and whether, you know, we had to be
- 8 disqualified and, you know, there was a whole
- 9 series of media attacks on us during that period
- 10 from Browder. Then nothing happened after that and
- 11 that was, you know, sort of the peak of that. It
- 12 was after that that a lot of the issues involving
- 13 Russia and the campaign started to heat up.
- Q. Was there any overlap between the
- 15 employees from Fusion who were working on the Trump
- 16 investigation and the Prevezon case?
- 17 A. I think the primary employees did not
- 18 overlap, but I can't tell you that there was a
- 19 Chinese wall of separation. Various people
- 20 specialize in certain things and can contribute
- 21 ad hoc to something.
- Q. And you worked on both, correct?
- 23 A. Yes, I did.
- Q. You previously mentioned that Fusion had
- 25 hired subcontractors beyond Mr. Steele to work on

Washington, DC

- 1 the Trump project. Was there any overlap of other
- 2 subcontractors between the Trump investigation and
- 3 the Prevezon work?
- 4 A. Not to my recollection.
- 5 Q. And had Fusion worked with Mr. Steele
- 6 prior to this project regarding Mr. Trump?
- 7 A. Yes.
- 8 Q. And had you previously paid him or Orbis?
- 9 A. I believe so, yeah.
- 10 Q. And had Fusion been paid by him or Orbis
- 11 as well?
- 12 A. Yes, I believe so.
- Q. And are you aware of any interactions
- 14 Mr. Steele had with the FBI prior to his work on
- 15 the investigation of Mr. Trump and his associates?
- MR. MUSE: Could you repeat that?
- MR. DAVIS: Are you aware of any interactions
- 18 with Mr. Steele with the FBI prior to his work on
- 19 the investigation of Mr. Trump and his association?
- 20 BY THE WITNESS:
- 21 A. I was not at the time, but I am now.
- 22 Q. Did you have reason to believe that in his
- 23 prior position within British intelligence he would
- 24 have interacted with the FBI?
- A. Yes, he's told me that.

Washington, DC

- 1 Q. Do you believe that the FBI generally
- 2 considers sources more credible if they have
- 3 previously provided reliable information?
- 4 A. That's my understanding.
- 5 Q. Was Mr. Steele's reportedly successful
- 6 history in working with the FBI a factor in
- 7 deciding to hire Orbis for the Trump project?
- 8 A. No.
- 9 Q. Do you know Christopher Burrows?
- 10 A. Yes.
- 11 Q. Do you know if he worked on the Trump-
- 12 Russia project with Orbis?
- 13 A. I do not.
- Q. Do you know Sir Andrew Wood?
- 15 A. No.
- Q. Are you aware he's an associate of Orbis
- 17 Business Intelligence?
- 18 A. I am aware of that as of now. I didn't
- 19 know it -- I don't know when I learned of it, but I
- 20 didn't know it last year, much of last year.
- Q. Did Fusion ask Orbis to undertake other
- 22 actions beyond preparing the memoranda containing
- 23 the allegations regarding Mr. Trump and his
- 24 associates?
- 25 A. Not that I specifically -- I'm sorry. Ir

Washington, DC

- 1 connection with that engagement?
- Q. In connection with that engagement.
- 3 A. Not that I specifically recall.
- 4 Q. Did you communicate with Mr. Steele other
- 5 than through these memos? Did you have phone calls
- 6 and e-mails with him?
- 7 A. Mostly we spoke by phone.
- 8 MR. FOSTER: You did also e-mail with him?
- 9 MR. SIMPSON: Nothing -- I don't believe I
- 10 had anything substantive. E-mail security is a
- 11 major problem. So, generally speaking, we would
- try to communicate telephonically on an encrypted
- 13 line.
- MR. FOSTER: Did you have another method of
- 15 communicating with him via text.
- MR. SIMPSON: I mean, we used encrypted
- 17 methods of communicating. Part of the security
- 18 concern we have involve there's been a lot of
- 19 attempts to break into our systems. So I prefer
- 20 not to get into a lot of that, but suffice to say
- 21 we use secured encrypted systems.
- MR. FOSTER: Regardless of the details of how
- 23 you did, do you retain copies of written
- 24 communications that you may have engaged with him
- 25 through some other secure method?

Washington, DC

- 1 MR. SIMPSON: Generally not.
- 2 MR. FOSTER: You have not retained?
- 3 MR. SIMPSON: Generally we use things that
- 4 can't be stolen because they no longer exist.
- 5 MR. FOSTER: Disappearing messages, auto
- 6 deleting messages? Is that correct?
- 7 MR. SIMPSON: That sort of thing, yes, that's
- 8 correct.
- 9 MR. FOSTER: I just needed a verbal answer.
- 10 MR. SIMPSON: Yeah. Sorry.
- 11 BY MR. DAVIS:
- 12 Q. You previously mentioned the relationship
- 13 with Mr. Steele was more collaborative than a
- 14 manager-employee and I think you referenced
- 15 mentioning as an example Paul Manafort's been named
- 16 campaign chairman, what do you know about him. Did
- 17 you collaborate with Mr. Steele on the content of
- 18 the memos even if he did the drafting?
- 19 A. No, generally speaking. I was managing a
- 20 much bigger project and he's a reliable provider.
- 21 So I did very little tasking.
- 22 Q. You mentioned other subcontractors were
- 23 focusing on other regions in which the Trump
- 24 organization has business. Were those other
- 25 subcontractors retained until the election or how

Washington, DC

- long did their engagements last?
- A. It was ad hoc. So as things came we said
- 3 can we find someone in Latin America, give them an
- 4 assignment, they'd complete the assignment. If
- 5 there's no more to do, stop. So it's hard to
- 6 generalize.
- 7 Q. One point I'd like to clarify from
- 8 Ms. Sawyer's questioning. I believe you said that
- 9 Mr. Steele had told you that the FBI had a source
- 10 from inside the Trump organization and I believe
- 11 she referred to a source from inside the Trump
- 12 campaign. Do you know which is the accurate --
- MR. LEVY: He's not going to get into the
- 14 details of that source.
- MR. DAVIS: I'm not asking for any particular
- 16 details. It was characterized differently by you
- 17 and by counsel. I just wanted to make sure.
- 18 BY THE WITNESS:
- 19 A. I don't know.
- MR. FOSTER: So you don't know whether it was
- 21 the organization or the campaign, in other words?
- MR. SIMPSON: That's correct.
- MR. FOSTER: Meaning the business versus the
- 24 campaign.
- 25 BY MR. DAVIS:

Washington, DC

- 1 Q. And did Mr. Steele tell you that the FBI
- 2 had relayed this information to him?
- 3 A. He didn't specifically say that.
- 4 Q. I'm going to have you take a look at one
- 5 of the filings --
- 6 MR. FOSTER: I thought you said earlier that
- 7 he did say the FBI told him.
- 8 MR. SIMPSON: I think I was saying we did not
- 9 have the detailed conversations where he would
- 10 debrief me on his discussions with the FBI. He
- 11 would say very generic things like I saw them, they
- 12 asked me a lot of questions, sounds like they have
- 13 another source or they have another source. He
- 14 wouldn't put words in their mouth.
- 15 (Exhibit 4 was marked for
- identification.)
- 17 BY MR. DAVIS:
- 18 Q. I'm going to have you take a look at one
- 19 of the filings by Mr. Steele's attorneys in the
- 20 lawsuit against him and Orbis in the United
- 21 Kingdom. This will be Exhibit 4. If you could
- 22 please turn to page 2 and read paragraph No. 8.
- 23 That paragraph states "At all material times Fusion
- 24 was subject to an obligation not to disclose to
- 25 third parties confidential intelligence material

Washington, DC

- 1 provided to it by the Defendants in the course of
- 2 that working relationship without the agreement of
- 3 the Defendants." Is that a correct description of
- 4 your understanding of how the material was to be
- 5 treated?
- 6 MR. MUSE: There's also a context to that who
- 7 the Defendants are in other such matters.
- 8 MR. DAVIS: Sure. The Defendants are Orbis
- 9 Business Intelligence Limited and Christopher
- 10 Steele.
- 11 BY THE WITNESS:
- 12 A. What's the question?
- 13 Q. Is that an accurate description of what
- 14 you understood the obligations to be with that
- 15 material?
- A. I mean, that's hard for me to answer.
- 17 There's a mutual expectation of confidentiality,
- 18 and if that's what you read that as saying, then
- 19 yes, there's a mutual expectation of
- 20 confidentiality.
- Q. Was that expectation established by
- 22 contract?
- MR. LEVY: We're not going to talk about
- 24 contracts with clients.
- 25 BY MR. DAVIS:

Washington, DC

- 1 Q. Was it established by practice?
- 2 A. I guess I'll just reiterate we do
- 3 confidential work together and we treat all matters
- 4 as confidential. He's pretty good at sticking to
- 5 that and so am I.
- Q. Was any of the information included in the
- 7 memoranda Orbis prepared during the Trump
- 8 investigation not considered "confidential
- 9 intelligence" under this understanding such that
- 10 Fusion was not required to obtain Orbis's
- 11 permission in order to disclose it?
- 12 A. I don't really understand the question.
- Q. I'm saying if the understanding is that
- 14 you weren't to disclose confidential intelligence
- 15 material, were the memos confidential intelligence
- 16 material, the dossier memos?
- 17 A. They're confidential, yes.
- 18 MR. MUSE: Hold on one second. Here's the
- 19 mischief that's created by that. Someone else is
- 20 sending this and you're asking what they mean.
- 21 There may be direct answers to those questions if
- 22 you ask direct questions, but to do it in the frame
- 23 of reference of someone else putting forth a piece
- 24 of evidence, which this is, it inevitably creates
- 25 confusion. The reference to the document adds

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Washington, DC

- 1 nothing to his knowledge. It's just simply a point
- of reference by you, but it doesn't add anything to
- 3 what he might be saying. So I think the better way
- 4 to get at it is simply to ask direct questions.
- 5 MR. DAVIS: There are two parties to this, at
- 6 least, and we've got one's description. I'd like
- 7 to know if he agrees with that description.
- 8 MR. MUSE: But even within what do they mean
- 9 by this is the question. I mean, what do they mean
- 10 by this sort of paragraph. You're asking him for
- 11 an interpretation. He can answer questions about
- 12 the relationship.
- MR. DAVIS: I'm asking him to give an
- 14 interpretation of their agreement in terms of what
- 15 he did.
- MR. MUSE: And therein lies the problem.
- MR. DAVIS: But if it's an agreement to which
- 18 he's a party, there's a basis for that
- 19 understanding.
- 20 MR. MUSE: I don't think that's the way the
- 21 rule works.
- MR. FOSTER: Well, I think the bigger
- 23 mischief from my point of view is the fact that
- 24 we're trying to get an understanding of what the
- 25 contractual relationship was. You're telling us

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- 1 you're not going to provide us with details about
- 2 that contractual relationship, you're not going to
- 3 provide us with copies of any nondisclosure
- 4 agreements, contracts we've asked for and we don't
- 5 have. So we're asking him for his understanding of
- 6 what obligations he had.
- 7 MR. LEVY: And that's outside the scope of
- 8 this interview. Go ahead.
- 9 MS. SAWYER: Can I in general ask that you
- 10 guys all speak up a little bit because we're right
- 11 under the blower.
- 12 MR. LEVY: Will do.
- 13 MR. FOSTER: The record will reflect we are
- 14 not raising our voices.
- To be clear, you're instructing him not to
- 16 answer that question because you think it's outside
- 17 the scope of what he agreed to come here to talk
- 18 about voluntarily?
- 19 MR. LEVY: That's not what I said. You had
- 20 made a comment about contracts, and I just wanted
- 21 to make sure that obviously the Chair and the
- 22 Ranking Member have agreed those questions are not
- 23 part of the scope of this interview. That said,
- 24 I've now forgotten what the pending question was.
- 25 So if Patrick wants to restate it he can and we can

Washington, DC

- 1 evaluate it.
- 2 MR. DAVIS: Sure. In general we're asking
- 3 questions about distribution of the material within
- 4 the dossier which was the scope of the agreement.
- 5 If you look at page 4 of that same exhibit,
- 6 paragraph 30, Steele's attorneys state "The
- 7 Defendants" -- and again, that's Orbis Business
- 8 Intelligence and Christopher Steele -- "did not
- 9 however provide any of the pre-election memoranda
- 10 to any of the media or journalists, nor did they
- 11 authorize anyone to do so, nor did they provide the
- 12 confidential December memorandum to media
- organizations or journalists, nor did they
- 14 authorize anyone to do so."
- To the best of your knowledge, did Orbis ever
- 16 authorize Fusion to make any disclosures of the
- 17 memoranda to the media?
- MR. LEVY: Just before we get into this
- 19 question, this paragraph began with a sentence you
- 20 did not read and it says "In the first sentence of
- 21 subparagraph 8.2.5 as noted." I don't know what
- 22 they're referring to. Maybe you do. Can you show
- 23 us that?
- MR. DAVIS: I don't have that with me at the
- 25 moment, but I'll see if we can find it. Regardless,

Washington, DC

- 1 did Orbis ever authorize you to share the memoranda
- 2 with the media?
- 3 BY THE WITNESS:
- A. I'm not sure I can answer this in -- I'm
- 5 not sure I know the answer to this.
- 6 MR. LEVY: If you don't know, then...
- 7 MR. SIMPSON: It's a little confusing.
- 8 MR. FOSTER: You don't know whether or not
- 9 Orbis or Mr. Steele authorized you to distribute
- 10 the memos to the media?
- 11 MR. SIMPSON: I think what I would like to
- 12 say is that we had discussions about, you know,
- information as opposed to memos and, you know, at
- 14 various times in talking to reporters about the
- 15 Trump-Russia connection, you know, things -- those
- 16 discussions would be informed by what's in the
- memos.
- MR. FOSTER: So are you saying that you may
- 19 have provided information from the memos to the
- 20 media without discussing whether or not -- without
- 21 getting permission specifically From Mr. Steele or
- 22 Orbis?
- 23 MR. SIMPSON: What I'm saying is we discussed
- 24 that. No. I'm saying we discussed generally the
- 25 wisdom of answering questions from reporters about

Washington, DC

- 1 different matters, what we could say and what we
- 2 couldn't say.
- 3 MR. FOSTER: And in those discussions did he
- 4 ever authorize you to discuss the information
- 5 contained in the memoranda with the media?
- 6 MR. SIMPSON: As I've stated before, this is
- 7 not a master-servant relationship. We worked
- 8 together. Sometimes he's working for my clients,
- 9 sometimes I'm working for his. So we might jointly
- 10 make a decision, but it's not a sort of can I do
- 11 this, yes you can do that kind of relationship. So
- 12 if they -- so I hope that's responsive.
- MR. FOSTER: So did you ever share either the
- 14 memos or the content of the memos with the media
- 15 independently of him without having discussed it
- 16 with him?
- 17 MR. SIMPSON: I think what I said was I had
- 18 spoken with reporters over the course of the summer
- 19 and through the fall about the investigations by
- the government and the controversy over connections
- 21 between -- alleged connections between the Trump
- 22 campaign and the Russians. Some of what we
- 23 discussed was informed by Chris's reporting. So
- 24 whether that was -- I don't think there's any sense
- 25 that that was an unauthorized thing to do.

Washington, DC

- 1 MR. DAVIS: On page 5 --
- 2 MR. FOSTER: Is it something that you
- 3 discussed with him that you were doing?
- 4 MR. SIMPSON: We would discuss inquiries that
- 5 we had received from reporters, yes.
- 6 MR. FOSTER: And that you were answering?
- 7 MR. SIMPSON: To the best of our ability. I
- 8 mean, we obviously didn't tell people about the
- 9 existence of these things for a long time.
- 10 BY MR. DAVIS:
- 11 Q. On page 5 of that same exhibit, paragraph
- 12 32 there's a portion of the sentence -- and I'll
- just read this for background before we move on to
- 14 another segment. I think this is relevant for
- 15 context. There's a portion here in which Steele's
- 16 attorneys state that he gave -- that the Defendants
- 17 gave "Off-the-record briefings to a small number of
- 18 journalists about the pre-election memoranda in
- 19 late summer/autumn 2016." I'd like to provide
- 20 Exhibit 5 which is the second filing by
- 21 Mr. Steele's attorneys.
- 22 MS. SAWYER: Patrick, you've represented this
- 23 one as the second filing. Are we sure these are --
- MR. DAVIS: Second for the purpose of this
- interview, second one we're referencing.

Washington, DC

- 1 MS. SAWYER: Were these documents that were
- 2 requested or obtained from a third party in the
- 3 course of the investigation?
- 4 MR. DAVIS: These were documents that were
- 5 published in the media. I believe the second one
- 6 was published by McClatchy.
- 7 MS. SAWYER: And what about the first?
- 8 MR. DAVIS: That was the one published by the
- 9 Washington Times.
- 10 (Exhibit 5 was marked for
- identification.)
- 12 BY MR. DAVIS:
- 13 Q. So with the second one on page 8 of
- 14 Exhibit 5, under the response to 18 Steele's
- 15 attorneys state "The journalists initially briefed
- 16 at the end of September 2016 by the second
- 17 Defendant and Fusion at Fusion's instruction were
- 18 from the New York Times, the Washington Post, Yahoo
- 19 News, the New Yorker, and CNN. The second
- 20 Defendant" -- that would be Mr. Steele --
- 21 "subsequently participated in further meetings at
- 22 Fusion's instruction with Fusion and the New York
- 23 Times, the Washington Post, and Yahoo News which
- 24 took place in mid-October 2016. In each of those
- 25 cases the briefing was conducted verbally in

Washington, DC

- 1 person. In addition, and again at Fusion's
- 2 instruction, in late October 2016 the second
- 3 Defendant briefed the journalist from Mother Jones
- 4 by Skype. No copies of the pre-election memoranda
- 5 were ever shown or provided to any journalist by or
- 6 with the authorization of the Defendants. The
- 7 briefings involved the disclosure of limited
- 8 intelligence regarding indications of Russian
- 9 interference in the U.S. election process and the
- 10 possible coordination of members of Trump's
- 11 campaign team and Russian government officials."
- 12 To the best of your knowledge, is that a full
- 13 and accurate account of all the news organizations
- 14 with which Fusion and Mr. Steele shared information
- 15 from the memoranda.
- 16 A. I'd say it's largely right.
- 17 Q. Are there any that have been omitted?
- 18 A. Maybe, yeah.
- MR. LEVY: Just say what you know or recall.
- 20 BY THE WITNESS:
- 21 A. Yeah. I think there's at least one thing
- 22 misidentified. There might have been another. I
- 23 can't specifically think of it, but I think this is
- 24 incomplete, that maybe one of the broadcast
- 25 networks is misidentified. I just don't have a

Washington, DC

- 1 tally of this. It's mostly right.
- 2 Q. By broadcast network I assume you mean CNN
- 3 is incorrect, it was a different network?
- 4 A. I think so.
- 5 Q. Do you recall which network it was?
- A. I think it was ABC.
- 7 Q. Did you attend these meetings with
- 8 Mr. Steele?
- 9 A. Yeah. Yes.
- 10 Q. Did any other Fusion associates attend?
- 11 A. Possibly, yes.
- 12 Q. Can you identify them?
- MR. LEVY: We can give that to you
- 14 afterwards.
- 15 BY MR. DAVIS:
- Q. Do you recall the specific dates of these
- 17 meetings?
- 18 A. No.
- 19 Q. I believe the filing says end of September
- 20 2016. Does that comport with your recollection?
- 21 A. Yes.
- 22 Q. Was this, as far as you know, before or
- 23 after Mr. Steele had had his second meeting with
- 24 the FBI?
- 25 A. I don't remember. Sorry.

Washington, DC

- 1 Q. Did Mr. Steele ever indicate to you
- 2 whether the FBI had asked him not to speak with the
- 3 media?
- 4 A. I remember Chris saying at some point that
- 5 they were upset with media coverage of some of the
- 6 issues that he had discussed with him.
- 7 Q. Sorry. I didn't hear.
- A. He never said they told him he couldn't
- 9 talk to them.
- 10 Q. Do you recall which journalists you spoke
- 11 to at each of these organizations and what
- 12 information from the memoranda was revealed to
- 13 each?
- 14 A. I remember some of them and I remember
- 15 some of the names, yeah, some of the people I
- 16 talked to and some of these discussions.
- Q. Can you tell us what those were?
- 18 MR. LEVY: The answer to that question goes
- 19 to confidential conversations that's been declined
- 20 to answer.
- MR. FOSTER: Sorry. Confidential what?
- MR. LEVY: The answer to that question might
- 23 implicate privilege and other obligations we've
- 24 already set forth and he's not going to answer the
- 25 question.

Washington, DC

- 1 MR. FOSTER: What's the privilege?
- 2 MR. LEVY: First amendment, confidentiality.
- 3 MR. FOSTER: Confidentiality agreement,
- 4 contractual obligation, is that what you're talking
- 5 about?
- 6 MR. LEVY: No. Just talking to confidential
- 7 sources, First Amendment issue. We can discuss it
- 8 later after the interview.
- 9 BY MR. DAVIS:
- 10 Q. Mr. Steele's filing indicates that these
- 11 meetings occurred at Fusion's instruction. Is that
- 12 correct, did you initiate these meetings and
- instruct Mr. Steele to participate in them?
- 14 A. I'd just reiterate the nature of our
- 15 relationship was that we would -- I might propose
- 16 something and he might agree to do it, but it was
- 17 not a -- it was not a military style relationship
- 18 where I gave the orders and he carried them out.
- 19 Q. Was part of the purpose of your
- 20 investigation to share information with
- 21 journalists?
- 22 A. I think that's a fair statement. To the
- 23 extent -- I mean, I'm sorry. Could you be clear.
- 24 You mean the project overall?
- Q. Yes, investigating Mr. Trump and his

Washington, DC

- 1 associates.
- A. As I said earlier, in any project, and
- 3 that would include this one, the objective is to
- 4 gather relevant information, and some of that
- 5 information was gathered for other purposes and
- 6 some of it was gathered for the possibility that it
- 7 might be useful to the press.
- Q. Did your client instruct you to have these
- 9 meetings?
- 10 MR. LEVY: The answer to that question might
- 11 implicate privilege or obligations that we've set
- 12 forth.
- 13 BY MR. DAVIS:
- Q. Do you have any reason to believe that
- 15 Mr. Steele passed any information on to journalists
- 16 without Fusion?
- 17 A. Without me -- you mean without me
- 18 participating, without me authorizing it? Can you
- 19 be more specific?
- Q. Sure. Let's start without you
- 21 participating. The filing references meetings that
- 22 both you and Fusion jointly had with journalists.
- 23 Do you believe he had any meetings with journalists
- 24 without you present?
- MR. LEVY: Without Mr. Simpson physically

Washington, DC

- 1 present?
- 2 MR. DAVIS: For physical meetings or via
- 3 Skype, without him aware of them contemporaneously.
- 4 BY THE WITNESS:
- 5 A. That's a difficult question to answer
- 6 because I don't know what I don't know, but I don't
- 7 have any reason to believe that he did anything
- 8 that I didn't authorize or approve.
- 9 Q. Jason may have already touched on this,
- 10 but did Fusion disclose hard copies of the
- 11 memoranda to any journalists?
- MR. LEVY: The answer to that question might
- 13 implicate privilege or obligations. So he's going
- 14 to decline to answer that question.
- MR. FOSTER: Doesn't the filing say that they
- 16 did not?
- MR. LEVY: While our letter to the committee
- 18 has said that neither Mr. Simpson nor Fusion GPS
- 19 provided the dossier to BuzzFeed, Mr. Simpson's
- 20 going to decline to answer your question
- 21 respectfully. He's given you a lot of information
- 22 today. He's not going to answer that question.
- 23 BY MR. DAVIS:
- Q. Still with Exhibit 5 on page 2, the
- 25 responses to 4 and 6. Here the attorneys for Orbis

Washington, DC

- 1 and Mr. Steele --
- 2 MR. LEVY: Where are you again?
- 3 BY MR. DAVIS:
- Q. Page 2, the response to 4 and to 6. Here
- 5 the attorneys for Orbis and Mr. Steele state "The
- 6 duty not to disclose intelligence to third parties
- 7 without the prior agreement of the Defendants" --
- 8 again, that's Orbis and Mr. Steele -- "do not
- 9 extend to disclosure by Fusion to its clients,
- 10 although the Defendants understand that copies of
- 11 the memoranda were not disclosed by Fusion."
- 12 A. Where are you? You're on page 2 -- okay.
- 13 I see it now.
- Q. -- "do not extend to disclosure by Fusion
- 15 to its clients, although the Defendants understand
- 16 that copies of the memoranda were not disclosed by
- 17 Fusion to its clients."
- 18 Further down on that same page in response to
- 19 a question about whether Fusion's clients, insofar
- 20 as disclosure to them, was permitted, could
- 21 themselves disclose the intelligence from Orbis,
- 22 the filing responds "Defendants understood that the
- 23 arrangement between Fusion and its clients was that
- 24 intelligence would not be disclosed."
- Is that a correct statement of the

Washington, DC

- 1 relationship between you and the client, did Fusion
- 2 not disclose the memoranda or information contained
- 3 there in to its clients?
- 4 MR. LEVY: He's not going to get into
- 5 discussion with the client because of privileges
- 6 and obligations that might be implicated by the
- 7 answer to that question.
- 8 BY MR. DAVIS:
- 9 Q. Do you believe this filing is accurate in
- 10 those paragraphs?
- MR. LEVY: Again, to comment on that he would
- 12 have to talk about client communications that are
- 13 privileged and might implicate privilege or
- 14 obligation were he to answer your question.
- 15 BY MR. DAVIS:
- Q. Mr. Simpson, do you believe that any
- 17 confidentiality obligations regarding the memos did
- 18 not extend to law enforcement and intelligence
- 19 services?
- 20 A. Yes. I mean, I -- well, in general I
- 21 think that in the course of any sort of
- 22 confidential business lawyers or other
- 23 professionals engage in if they come across
- 24 information about a possible terrorist attack or a
- 25 mafia operation they should report it, yes, and

Washington, DC

- 1 that that is, in fact, not covered by ordinary
- 2 confidentiality.
- 3 Q. Was Fusion aware of the reports that the
- 4 FBI considered -- let me rephrase. Was Fusion
- 5 aware that the FBI considered paying Mr. Steele to
- 6 investigate Mr. Trump and his associates?
- 7 A. When?
- Q. At any time.
- 9 MR. LEVY: When you say "paying," what do you
- 10 mean by that?
- 11 MR. DAVIS: Providing money.
- MR. LEVY: For a fee? Are you talking about
- 13 reimbursements?
- MR. DAVIS: Fees or reimbursements in this
- 15 context.
- 16 BY THE WITNESS:
- 17 A. We've learned that. We know that now. In
- 18 fact, it was --
- 19 MR. LEVY: Learned what?
- 20 BY THE WITNESS:
- 21 A. Well, we learned -- sometime after the
- 22 election we learned that Chris had discussed
- 23 working for the FBI on these matters after the
- 24 election and that that didn't happen.
- Q. Did Mr. Steele discuss that with you at

Washington, DC

- 1 the time?
- 2 A. He didn't discuss it -- I don't remember
- 3 exactly when he mentioned this to me, but he
- 4 mentioned to me at some point I think after the
- 5 election that he had discussed this with them.
- 6 MR. FOSTER: So prior to news reports to that
- 7 effect? In other words, you learned it from him
- 8 not from the news; is that right?
- 9 MR. LEVY: Wait. You asked two different
- 10 questions. I'm trying to figure out which one you
- 11 want him to answer.
- 12 MR. FOSTER: The last one.
- MR. LEVY: What was the last one?
- MR. FOSTER: You learned it from the news and
- 15 not from him? Are you saying you learned it from
- 16 him?
- 17 MR. LEVY: Learned what from him?
- MR. FOSTER: That he discussed with the FBI
- 19 having the FBI pay Mr. Steele.
- MR. SIMPSON: I don't remember.
- 21 MR. LEVY: The witness is yawning. Let's
- 22 take a break.
- MR. MUSE: We will attribute that to fatigue
- 24 as opposed to the questions.
- MR. FOSTER: Let's go off the record. It is

Washington, DC

- 1 3:55.
- 2 (A short break was had.)
- 3 MR. DAVIS: We'll go back on the record.
- 4 It's now 4:05. We'll continue with the questions.
- 5 BY MR. DAVIS:
- 6 Q. Mr. Simpson, did anyone from Fusion ever
- 7 communicate with the FBI regarding information in
- 8 the memoranda or other allegations regarding
- 9 Mr. Trump and his associates?
- 10 A. From Fusion, did anyone from Fusion
- 11 communicate with the FBI? No, no one from Fusion
- 12 ever spoke with the FBI, to the best of my
- 13 knowledge.
- Q. Did you ever exchange any e-mails with
- 15 them?
- 16 A. We did not communicate with them by e-mail
- 17 either.
- Q. Do you know any current or former FBI
- 19 personnel?
- MR. LEVY: As a general matter?
- MR. DAVIS: Yeah, as a general matter.
- 22 BY THE WITNESS:
- A. As a general matter I'm sure I do. I know
- 24 current and former law enforcement officials. I go
- 25 to a lot of crime conferences and things like

Washington, DC

- 1 that.
- Q. Were any of them consulted as part of this
- 3 investigation?
- 4 A. Not to my recollection.
- 5 Q. Was the amount of Fusion's compensation in
- 6 the Trump investigation dependent on the FBI
- 7 initiating an investigation of Mr. Trump or his
- 8 associates?
- 9 A. No.
- 10 Q. Was the amount of Orbis's compensation
- 11 dependent on the FBI initiating an investigation of
- 12 Mr. Trump and his associates?
- 13 A. No.
- Q. Other than Senator McCain, who we'll
- 15 discuss later, did Fusion or Orbis disclose any of
- 16 the memoranda information contained therein or
- 17 related information from Mr. Steele with any
- 18 elected officials or staff in Congress?
- 19 A. I don't recall having done so, no.
- 20 Q. If we could turn briefly back to Exhibits
- 21 4 and 5. I just want to reference two things.
- MR. LEVY: I also want to clarify in the
- 23 premise of that question there were factual
- 24 assertions made that may or may not be true to
- 25 which the witness did not respond.

Washington, DC

- 1 MR. DAVIS: Sure. Understood. To be clear,
- 2 we obviously were not referencing any disclosures
- 3 to this committee as part of the committee's
- 4 inquiry.
- 5 BY MR. DAVIS:
- Q. So on Exhibit 4, page 3, paragraph 21A,
- 7 Mr. Steele's attorneys state that the post-election
- 8 dossier memoranda was provided to a senior United
- 9 Kingdom government national security official
- 10 acting in his official capacity. In Exhibit 5 on
- 11 page 2 -- I'm sorry -- page 5, the response to 13
- 12 similarly references disclosing that memoranda to
- 13 the UK national security official.
- Mr. Simpson, to the best of your knowledge,
- 15 were the memoranda or information contained therein
- 16 disclosed to foreign governments?
- 17 A. I have no knowledge of this beyond what
- 18 you're showing me. I can tell you about, you know,
- 19 what I know about Chris's encounter with David
- 20 Kramer and how all that came about. If Chris
- 21 specifically said something to me about showing
- this to one of his government officials I don't
- 23 remember it. So...
- MR. LEVY: Why don't you walk them through.
- 25 BY THE WITNESS:

Washington, DC

- 1 A. If you want to know the rest of the story,
- 2 I'm happy to walk you through it.
- 3 Q. Sure, we can do that.
- 4 A. So after the election obviously we were as
- 5 surprised as everyone else and Chris and I were
- 6 mutually concerned about whether the United States
- 7 had just elected someone who was compromised by a
- 8 hostile foreign power, more in my case whether the
- 9 election had been tainted by an intervention by the
- 10 Russian intelligence services, and we were, you
- 11 know, unsure what to do. Initially we didn't do
- 12 anything other than to discuss our concerns, but we
- 13 were gravely concerned.
- 14 At some point a few weeks after the election
- 15 Chris called me and said that he had received an
- 16 inquiry from David Kramer, who was a long-time
- 17 advisor to Senator McCain, and that according to --
- 18 Kramer told Chris that he had run into Sir Andrew
- 19 Wood at a security conference in Halifax,
- 20 Nova Scotia and that Kramer was accompanying
- 21 Senator McCain to this conference and that the
- three of them had had an unscheduled or unplanned
- 23 encounter where the issue of this research was
- 24 discussed and the essence of it, I guess, was
- 25 conveyed to Senator McCain and to David Kramer from

Glenn Simpson

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- 1 Andrew Wood. I don't remember whether Andrew
- 2 Wood's name was specifically given to me by
- 3 Christopher Steele at that time. It was later
- 4 given to me. It later became an accepted fact that
- 5 Chris had mentioned him to me. I believe he
- 6 probably mentioned it.
- 7 But anyway, he did say someone that he worked
- 8 with in the past who was a former UK government
- 9 official with experience in Russia had had this
- 10 conversation with David Kramer and John McCain and
- 11 that Senator McCain had followed up on it as to
- 12 what more there was to know about these
- 13 allegations, this information.
- So Chris asked me do you know David Kramer,
- 15 and I said yes, I've known David Kramer for a long
- 16 time. David Kramer is part of a small group of
- 17 people that I'm sort of loosely affiliated with.
- 18 We've all worked on Russia and are very concerned
- 19 about kleptocracy and human rights and the police
- 20 state that Russia has become, in particular the
- 21 efforts of the Russians to corrupt and mess with
- 22 our political system. So we shared this concern
- 23 going back to when I was at the Wall Street Journal
- 24 and that's how I met David. He was working at the
- 25 State Department as assistant secretary for human

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- 1 rights, and I was reporting on human rights and
- 2 corruption in Russia.
- 3 So I told Chris he's legit. David is someone
- 4 I've known for a long time and he knows a lot about
- 5 these issues and he's very concerned about Putin
- 6 and the Kremlin and the rise of the new Russia and
- 7 criminality and kleptocracy. So he said, well, can
- 8 we trust him? And I said yes, I think we can trust
- 9 him. He says he wants information to give to
- 10 Senator McCain so that Senator McCain can ask
- 11 questions about it at the FBI, with the leadership
- 12 of the FBI. That was essentially -- all we sort of
- 13 wanted was for the government to do its job and we
- 14 were concerned about whether the information that
- 15 we provided previously had ever, you know, risen to
- 16 the leadership level of the FBI. We simply just
- 17 didn't know. It was our belief that Director Comey
- 18 if he was aware -- if he was made aware of this
- 19 information would treat it seriously.
- 20 Again, at this time, you know, while we
- 21 believed that we had very credible reporting here,
- 22 you know, what we really -- we just wanted people
- 23 in official positions to ascertain whether it was
- 24 accurate or not. You know, we just felt that was
- 25 our obligation. So I said to Chris I think we can

Washington, DC

- 1 trust him, and he said okay. Well, he was here, I
- 2 met with him, and I told him what happened. Now
- 3 he's back in Washington and, you know, I'm going to
- 4 hand him to you.
- 5 I don't remember whether I called David or
- 6 David called me, I just don't remember, but we got
- 7 in touch and he, you know, asked me -- we met.
- 8 Q. And after you met how did he -- did you
- 9 provide the memoranda to --
- 10 MR. LEVY: Sorry. Finish your question.
- 11 BY MR. DAVIS:
- 12 Q. -- did you provide the memoranda to him?
- 13 MR. LEVY: The answer to that question might
- 14 implicate privilege and other obligations. So he's
- 15 going to decline to answer the question.
- 16 BY MR. DAVIS:
- Q. Did Mr. Steele represent to you that Orbis
- 18 or Mr. Wood had initiated this contact with
- 19 Mr. Kramer and Mr. McCain to share the dossier
- 20 information?
- 21 A. Well, that has two parts on that question.
- 22 I think I can answer the first part which I think
- 23 answers the second. Anyway, he did not describe
- 24 this as having been initiated by Orbis. He
- 25 described this as a chance encounter at a security

Washington, DC

- 1 conference where, you know, someone who had some
- 2 knowledge of these matters shared it with Senator
- 3 McCain and David Kramer and that caused David
- 4 Kramer to follow up with Chris and that it was
- 5 passive. In other words, it was initiated by
- 6 Mr. Kramer.
- 7 Q. Did Mr. Steele describe anyone else being
- 8 involved at the Halifax international security
- 9 conference in this discussion?
- 10 A. Not that I can recall.
- 11 Q. According to the official attendee list
- 12 for that conference, Mr. Akhmetshin was also there.
- 13 To the best of your knowledge, was he involved in
- 14 any capacity in the effort to discuss the dossier
- information with Mr. Kramer and Mr. McCain?
- 16 A. That's the first time I've received that
- 17 information. So I don't have any knowledge.
- Q. And you haven't spoken with Mr. Akhmetshin
- 19 about that, I assume?
- 20 A. No.
- 21 O. In addition to the disclosures we have
- 22 already discussed, to whom did Fusion GPS provide
- 23 the memoranda, information contained therein, or
- 24 related information from Orbis?
- MR. LEVY: Beyond what you've discussed?

Washington, DC

- 1 MR. DAVIS: Anyone we've left out.
- 2 MR. LEVY: The answer to that might implicate
- 3 privilege or other obligations. So he's going to
- 4 decline to answer the question.
- 5 BY MR. DAVIS:
- Q. To the extent there's any portion of the
- 7 answer to that question that would not implicate
- 8 those privileges, I would ask that you reveal
- 9 those.
- 10 A. I'm not sure I see how I could answer that
- 11 question without getting into privileged areas.
- MR. FOSTER: Again, what privilege?
- MR. LEVY: We can discuss it at the end.
- 14 It's a voluntary interview. He's declining to
- 15 answer that.
- 16 BY MR. DAVIS:
- Q. Did any Fusion employees communicate with
- 18 any foreign governments or foreign intelligence
- 19 agencies about the memoranda or the information
- 20 contained therein?
- 21 A. I don't believe so, certainly not
- 22 knowingly.
- Q. Did you and Mr. Steele ever discuss any
- 24 communications he had with foreign government
- 25 officials about the information in the memoranda?

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- 1 A. It would be difficult -- nothing specific
- 2 that I recall. There are parts of the memos that
- 3 talk about information that foreign government
- 4 officials provided in the course of their research,
- 5 but beyond what's in the memos I don't really have
- 6 any recollection.
- 7 Q. Do you know who paid for Mr. Steele's trip
- 8 to Rome to meet with the FBI?
- 9 A. I have read recently that -- I think in a
- 10 letter from Senator Grassley that the FBI
- 11 reimbursed the expense, but to be clear, I mean,
- 12 that's it. He was, to my knowledge, not been
- 13 compensated for that work or any other work during
- 14 this time.
- MR. FOSTER: I'm sorry. You're saying that
- 16 Fusion did not pay for the trip?
- MR. LEVY: Go ahead and answer the question.
- MR. SIMPSON: I don't think we did. I have
- 19 no information that we paid for it. Again, this
- 20 sort of emphasizes, you know, the point I was
- 21 making earlier which was this was something that I
- 22 considered to be something that Chris took on on
- 23 his own based on his professional obligations and
- 24 not something that was part of my project. So it
- 25 makes sense to me that he was reimbursed by them,

Washington, DC

- 1 not us.
- 2 BY MR. DAVIS:
- 3 Q. To clarify, you were saying his
- 4 interactions with the FBI were not part of your
- 5 project?
- A. They obviously grew out of the project,
- 7 but as he explained it to me, you know, when you
- 8 learn things in your daily life that raise national
- 9 security considerations you're obligated to report
- 10 them. So that wouldn't have anything to do with my
- 11 client's goals or project.
- 12 Q. But in your briefings with journalists you
- 13 did reference his interactions -- Mr. Steele's
- 14 interactions with the FBI, correct?
- 15 A. At some point that occurred, but I don't
- 16 believe it occurred until very late in the
- 17 process.
- Q. Can you estimate when in the process?
- 19 A. It was probably the last few days before
- 20 the election or immediately thereafter.
- Q. So the meetings in September that you
- 22 referenced, you didn't reveal Mr. Steele passing on
- 23 information to the FBI?
- MR. LEVY: Can you repeat the question.
- 25 Sorry.

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- 1 MR. DAVIS: So in your meetings with
- 2 journalists in September you didn't reference
- 3 Mr. Steele's interactions with the FBI or passing
- 4 on of information to them?
- 5 BY THE WITNESS:
- A. I don't recall.
- 7 MR. DAVIS: I think my hour is up.
- 8 MR. FOSTER: Off the record at 4:21.
- 9 (A short break was had.)
- 10 MS. SAWYER: We'll go back on the record.
- 11 It's 4:30.
- 12 EXAMINATION
- 13 BY MS. SAWYER:
- Q. I wanted to return to our conversation
- 15 about interactions that Mr. Steele had with the
- 16 FBI. We had been talking about a second time he
- 17 met in Rome. Besides that meeting and the first
- 18 meeting in early July, are you aware of any other
- 19 meetings or conversations that Mr. Steele had with
- 20 the FBI?
- 21 A. I think I was just recounting that he
- 22 vaguely said that he had broken off with them over
- 23 this concern that we didn't really know what was
- 24 going on. I'm sorry to be vague, but we just
- 25 didn't understand what was going on and he said he

Washington, DC

- 1 had broken off with them.
- Q. When you say "we" did not understand what
- 3 was going on, who are you referring to as the "we"?
- A. Chris and I, mostly just the two of us.
- 5 There was a lot of public controversy over the
- 6 conduct of the FBI. I remember discussing it with
- 7 many people, but this conversation was between the
- 8 two of us.
- 9 Q. And what was the time frame of when Steele
- 10 said he had broken off with the FBI?
- 11 A. I can -- I don't know exactly, but it
- 12 would have been between October 31st and election
- 13 day.
- MS. QUINT: October 31st was when you said
- 15 there was an article --
- 16 MR. SIMPSON: In the New York Times. There
- 17 was an article in the New York Times on
- 18 October 31st that created concern about what was
- 19 going on at the FBI.
- MS. QUINT: Because it wasn't consistent with
- 21 your understanding of the investigation?
- MR. SIMPSON: Exactly.
- 23 BY MS. SAWYER:
- Q. And I think, just to be clear, this was an
- 25 article you had talked about that both revealed

Washington, DC

- 1 that Director Comey had alerted Congress to
- 2 something about the Clinton e-mail investigation?
- 3 A. No. That happened a few days previous. I
- 4 don't know the exact date that he sent the letter
- 5 to Congress, but this was an article specifically
- 6 about -- it was disclosing the existence of an FBI
- 7 investigation of Trump's ties to Russia, which, to
- 8 my recollection, was the first time that anyone
- 9 reported that the FBI was looking at whether the
- 10 Trump campaign had ties to the Kremlin but at the
- 11 same time saying that they had investigated this
- 12 and not found anything, which threw cold water on
- 13 the whole question through the election.
- Q. And was that -- just to tie it together
- 15 when you were talking previously, was that in
- 16 connection with your conversation with journalists
- 17 where you directed them to ask the FBI as to
- 18 whether there was an investigation going on?
- 19 A. I'm not going to get into specific news
- 20 organizations or reporters or stories, but I would
- 21 restate that this was during the period when we
- 22 were encouraging the media to ask questions about
- 23 whether the FBI was, in fact, investigating these
- 24 matters.
- I'll add that, you know, a lot of what we

Washington, DC

- 1 were talking to the media about were things in the
- 2 public record, specifically Carter Page, Paul
- 3 Manafort had resigned over allegations of illicit
- 4 relationships with Russian oligarchs and Ukrainian
- 5 oligarchs. So there was, you know, a lot of open
- 6 source public information pointing towards the
- 7 possibility that the Russians had infiltrated the
- 8 Trump campaign. So we spoke broadly to reporters
- 9 and encouraged them to look into this.
- 10 Q. And did you ever come to find out who the
- journalists had spoken with at the FBI about the
- 12 existence of an investigation into Russian
- 13 interference and possible ties to the Trump
- 14 campaign?
- 15 A. No.
- Q. So you had indicated that Mr. Steele said
- 17 he had -- I think your phrase was "broken off" with
- 18 the FBI. What did you understand that to mean?
- 19 A. That Chris was confused and somewhat
- 20 disturbed and didn't think he understood the
- 21 landscape and I think both of us felt like things
- 22 were happening that we didn't understand and that
- 23 we must not know everything about, and therefore,
- 24 you know, in a situation like that the smart thing
- 25 to do is stand down.

Washington, DC

- 1 Q. And had he been reaching out affirmatively
- 2 to the FBI and providing them with information or
- 3 were they reaching out to him and he was simply
- 4 responding to their requests?
- 5 A. The first contact was initiated by Chris
- 6 to someone that he said he knew.
- 7 Q. And now you're just going back to the July
- 8 contact?
- 9 A. Yes. The September briefing or debriefing
- 10 in Rome I believe I understood -- to this day I
- 11 understand that to have been initiated by the FBI.
- 12 Subsequent contacts during this period I just don't
- 13 know.
- Q. Do you know if there were any contacts
- 15 after that second meeting in Rome between then and
- 16 the point in time which occurred sometime between
- 17 October 31st and the election day when he stopped
- 18 communicating with the FBI, do you know if there
- 19 actually were any conversations or meetings between
- 20 Mr. Steele and the FBI?
- 21 A. He didn't literally tell me about specific
- 22 contacts. I just recall that there was -- that he
- 23 broke off, which implies that he told him he didn't
- 24 want to have anything more to do with them. I
- 25 believe he also mentioned that they didn't like

Washington, DC

- 1 media coverage, that there was media coverage of,
- 2 you know, FBI interest in Donald Trump. I don't
- 3 know what it was that they didn't like.
- 4 Q. And I think you've already answered this
- 5 question, but to the best of your knowledge, did
- 6 Mr. Steele ever obtain payment from the FBI for
- 7 actual research that he was doing on Russian
- 8 interference or on possible ties between the Trump
- 9 campaign and Russia?
- 10 A. He told me he did not, and I have no
- independent information other than what he told me.
- 12 I don't believe he ever received compensation for
- 13 working on anything related to Trump and Russia.
- Q. I'm going to direct your attention back to
- 15 what we marked as Exhibit 3, which is the series of
- 16 memos that you had received from Mr. Steele in the
- 17 course of his work. We talked about the first memo
- 18 and we also talked about the second memo to some
- 19 degree. You were explaining to me why you believed
- 20 the second memo, which starts at page 41394, came
- 21 about, why he had generated that report or done
- 22 that research, and you had indicated that there was
- 23 much more public reporting on the hacking. I think
- 24 you had mentioned -- that's when you mentioned
- 25 Debbie Wasserman Schultz.

Washington, DC

- 1 So with regard to that memo, were there any
- 2 particular things that you independently verified?
- 3 A. I just need to review it here for a
- 4 second.
- 5 Q. Sure.
- 6 (Reviewing document.)
- 7 BY THE WITNESS:
- 8 A. Most of this I did not seek to
- 9 independently verify and was relatively new
- 10 information. I was aware at the time of
- 11 connections between Russian intelligence and cyber
- 12 criminals, and I was aware at the time that the
- 13 Russian mafia and Russian cyber crime was a
- 14 subcontractor to the Russian intelligence services.
- 15 So this comported with my general knowledge of
- 16 these matters, but a lot of the specifics was new
- 17 information to me.
- The only things in here that I specifically
- 19 recognize from other work or from other research
- 20 was that the -- the allegation that the telegram
- 21 encrypted messaging system, which is an app, had
- 22 been compromised by Russian intelligence and that
- 23 someone else in the business of cyber security had
- 24 told me that too who was in a position to know. I
- 25 don't remember who that was, but I was told that by

Washington, DC

- 1 an American. And issues of Russian criminal
- 2 operations with names like Booktrap and Maddel
- 3 (phonetic) rings a bell to me or did ring a bell to
- 4 me at the time. There's been a great deal -- there
- 5 had been a great deal at this time even of U.S. law
- 6 enforcement activity against organized Russian
- 7 cyber crime operations.
- 8 Q. And this memo which is dated 26 July -- it
- 9 actually bears the date 2015.
- 10 A. I noticed that.
- 11 Q. Is that just, as far as you understand it,
- 12 a typo or mistake? Was it actually 2016?
- 13 A. Yes.
- Q. Then similarly with what I have -- and I'm
- 15 just doing it in the order that it was Bates-
- 16 stamped and appeared on BuzzFeed -- there's a
- 17 two-page report and it bears the Bates Nos. 41397
- 18 and 41398 and it has a company report number
- 19 2016/095. This one has the title "Russia/U.S.
- 20 Presidential Election, Further Indications of
- 21 Extensive Conspiracy Between Trump's Campaign Team
- 22 and the Kremlin."
- 23 Did you do any independent verification of
- 24 these facts?
- 25 A. I did some work on aspects of this. We

Washington, DC

- 1 were separately -- you know, my team and myself
- 2 were separately investigating various things in
- 3 here. So I can't talk about this as a
- 4 verification, but I was analyzing this.
- 5 MR. FOSTER: Speak up, please.
- 6 BY THE WITNESS:
- 7 A. I analyzed this information in the same
- 8 manner I analyzed the other stuff.
- 9 Q. So based on the work that you were doing,
- 10 did any of that independent work that you did alter
- 11 the content of this?
- 12 A. No.
- Q. So it was in addition to whatever was
- 14 provided in this memo, this two-page memo?
- 15 A. Yes, that's right.
- Q. And to the best that you can recall, can
- 17 you tell us what you were learning at the same time
- 18 about the topics covered in this memo?
- 19 A. Yes. Could I just clarify something? I
- 20 assume this is exactly how it was published and
- 21 someone mixed up the sequence of the memos. So the
- 22 next memo's numbered 94 and is dated July 19th and
- 23 this one is 95 and is not dated, I don't believe.
- 24 Maybe that's why they got mixed up.
- But in any event, what I would loosely call

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- 1 the Carter Page memo came before this conspiracy
- 2 memo. So with that caveat I can say we were
- 3 investigating just based on open sources and, you
- 4 know, other methods, more public information Carter
- 5 Page's trip to Russia. We watched tapes of it, we
- 6 did background work on Carter Page, I did research
- 7 on his business dealings, and in the course of
- 8 trying to analyze -- you know, this is some new
- 9 detail here about how the operation is working in
- 10 the Kremlin and how they are trying to use
- 11 influence and it comports with my knowledge and
- 12 Chris's knowledge of how the Kremlin does this,
- which is they offer people business deals as a way
- 14 to compromise them. And, in fact, you know, to my
- 15 knowledge, this is a much bigger issue than
- 16 personal indiscretions when it comes to the way the
- 17 Kremlin operates and is something I know a fair bit
- 18 about.
- 19 So we looked into Carter Page and we also
- 20 looked into Igor Sechin and whether Sergei Ivanov
- 21 was in a position to be managing the election
- 22 operation, which is what 94 talks about, and we
- 23 determined that he was. I, you know, independently
- 24 verified he does have a deputy who's very obscure
- 25 named Igor Divyekin. It's spelled two different

Washington, DC

- 1 ways here. I believe the correct spelling is
- $2 \quad D-I-V-Y-E-K-I-N.$
- MR. MUSE: Can you give the Bates number of
- 4 the document you're looking at.
- 5 MR. SIMPSON: This one is 41399.
- 6 BY MS. SAWYER:
- Q. And just for the record, it's a two-page
- 8 document, 41399 to 41400, and it has the date, I
- 9 think you indicated before, 19 July 2016. Is this
- 10 the memo that you said you referred to as the
- 11 Carter Page memo?
- 12 A. Yes.
- 13 Q. And you were explaining that in the
- 14 sequencing this one came before the document that
- 15 actually in terms of Bates numbers --
- 16 A. Right.
- 17 Q. -- comes before it which we had talked
- about which had the company report No. 095. So 94
- 19 came to you before 095 -- report No. 095; is that
- 20 correct?
- 21 A. That's my recollection.
- 22 Q. So with regard to the research you were
- 23 also doing, is it also just true that whatever
- independent research you were doing did not then
- 25 get incorporated into document company report

Washington, DC

- 1 2016/94, the Carter Page memo?
- 2 A. That's correct. We essentially segregated
- 3 this reporting from other things we were doing for
- 4 reasons we discussed earlier. A lot of this is
- 5 human intelligence, it's not the kind of thing that
- 6 you would share with almost anyone basically. A
- 7 lot of the work that we do is public record
- 8 research. Generally speaking, most of this
- 9 information is useful for making decisions and
- 10 trying to understand what's going on, but it's
- 11 not -- doesn't have much use beyond that unless you
- 12 can independently verify it. So our reports are
- 13 full of footnotes and appendices and court records
- 14 and that sort of thing.
- 15 O. So is it fair to characterize the research
- 16 that you were doing as kind of a separate track of
- 17 research on the same topic sometimes?
- 18 A. I think so. I wouldn't say it was
- 19 completely separate because, for instance, on some
- 20 subjects I knew more than Chris. So when it comes
- 21 to Paul Manafort, he's a long-time U.S. political
- 22 figure about whom I know a lot. But his
- 23 reporting -- you know, so there may have been some
- 24 bleed between things I told him about someone like
- 25 Manafort, but most of these characters neither of

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- 1 us know much about and it's really just he's
- 2 faithfully reporting information to him that's
- 3 being reported to him by his network.
- In British intelligence the methodology's a
- 5 little different from American intelligence.
- 6 There's a practice of being faithful to what people
- 7 are saying. So these are relatively
- 8 straightforward recitations of things that people
- 9 have said. Obviously as we talked about before,
- 10 you know, disinformation is an issue that Chris
- 11 wrestles with, has wrestled with his entire life.
- 12 So if he believed any of this was disinformation,
- 13 he would have told us.
- Q. And did he ever tell you that information
- in any of these memos, that he had concerns that
- 16 any of it was disinformation?
- 17 A. No. What he said was disinformation is an
- issue in my profession, that is a central concern
- 19 and that we are trained to spot disinformation, and
- 20 if I believed this was disinformation or I had
- 21 concerns about that I would tell you that and I'm
- 22 not telling you that. I'm telling you that I don't
- 23 believe this is disinformation.
- Q. And then on the memo, the Carter Page
- 25 memo, which is company report 2016/94, you said

Washington, DC

- 1 that you had done -- you, Fusion -- you, Glenn
- 2 Simpson had done some research into Carter Page,
- 3 including Mr. Page's business dealings?
- 4 A. Yes.
- 5 Q. Is that information that you still have?
- 6 A. I don't know. I haven't looked for it. I
- 7 don't know.
- 8 Q. You also specifically mentioned Igor
- 9 Sechin and maybe work that you had done research
- 10 into Sechin. Is that work that you would also
- 11 still have?
- 12 A. I don't know if I have anything specific
- 13 on Sechin. Sechin is a well-known character. I
- 14 collect, you know, research on various people who
- 15 are oligarchs or mafia figures. I don't think I
- 16 have any specific reports on Sechin, but I know a
- 17 lot about him. He's, you know, sort of Putin's
- 18 No. 1 compadre in the kleptocracy.
- 19 Q. And with regard to Carter Page, did you
- 20 reach any findings, conclusions about his business
- 21 dealings, about him, about his connections in
- 22 particular to, you know, Russia?
- 23 A. Yes.
- Q. And can you share what those were?
- 25 A. Carter Page seemed to us to be a typical

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1 person who the Russians would attempt to co-opt or

- 2 compromise or manipulate. He was on the younger
- 3 side, a little bit -- considered to be a striver
- 4 who was ambitious and not terribly savvy, and those
- 5 are the kind of people that the Russians tend to
- 6 compromise. That was the general sense we had. He
- 7 was also, you know, from early on described as
- 8 somewhat eccentric.
- 9 There was a -- I remember quite clearly there
- 10 was a bit of a -- when we were talking to reporters
- 11 about him because he was all over the news for this
- 12 trip to Russia and we had done -- there was a fair
- amount of open source on his consulting firm, his
- 14 complaint that he'd lost money on Russian
- 15 investments and he owned stock in Gazprom and he
- 16 was really mad about the sanctions and he went over
- 17 there in this hastily-arranged trip to speak to
- 18 this school and that was all pretty unusual, but
- 19 there's a lot of skepticism in the press about
- 20 whether he could be linked between the Kremlin and
- 21 the Trump campaign because he seemed like a zero, a
- 22 lightweight.
- I remember sort of not being able to kind of
- 24 explain to people that's exactly why he would end
- 25 up as someone who they would try to co-opt. Of

Washington, DC

- 1 course, you know, when we talk about things in the
- 2 dossier that are confirmed, this is one of the
- 3 things that I think really stands out as notable,
- 4 which is that Chris identified Carter Page as
- 5 someone who had -- seemed to be in the middle of
- 6 the campaign, between the Trump campaign and the
- 7 Kremlin, and he later turned out to be an espionage
- 8 suspect who was, in fact, someone that the FBI had
- 9 been investigating for years.
- 10 Q. So beyond what is in the dossier, did you
- 11 kind of find any evidence that he had actually been
- 12 compromised? Now I'm speaking of Carter Page.
- 13 A. Well, the definition of compromised is
- 14 someone who has been influenced sometimes without
- 15 even their knowledge. We had reason to believe
- 16 that he had, in fact, been offered business deals
- 17 that were -- that would tend to influence him,
- 18 business arrangements.
- 19 Q. And do you have the records of those
- 20 business deals that you had collected?
- 21 A. Yeah. I don't think so. Most of that
- 22 was, in fact, reporting that we did with other
- 23 people who knew him from the business world.
- Q. And then just the next memo that we had
- touched on, 2016/95, it has Bates numbers 41397 to

Washington, DC

- 1 398, it does not bear a date on it. Do you recall
- 2 roughly when you received this particular report?
- 3 A. Sometime in midsummer.
- Q. The next report, which is 2016/097 which
- 5 is two pages, has the date of 30 July 2016. Just
- 6 by the numbers it would appear to maybe have come
- 7 between those two. Does it seem logical that it
- 8 came sometime between July 19th and July 30th?
- 9 A. That seems logical.
- 10 Q. And then just in general, with regard to
- 11 this particular memo did you do any research to
- verify this information that was in this memo?
- MR. LEVY: Beyond what he said as a general
- 14 matter?
- MR. MUSE: I'm sorry. You were going back
- 16 and forth. Which one in particular?
- 17 MS. SAWYER: This is memo No. -- it has
- 18 Company Intelligence Report 2016/095, it's Bates
- 19 numbers 41397 and 41398.
- MR. MUSE: Thank you.
- 21 BY MS. SAWYER:
- 22 Q. Was there particular information in this
- 23 memo that you did verify?
- A. One of the things I did, which is pretty
- 25 typical of how I would sort of analyze things, was

Washington, DC

- 1 I looked at the Russian pension system to determine
- 2 if, in fact, the Russian government was
- 3 distributing lots of pension payments to Russian
- 4 immigrants in the United States, and I found some
- 5 reports from the Social Security Administration and
- 6 other places describing this system.
- 7 Basically because everyone in Russia, you
- 8 know, more or less works for the government,
- 9 there's a lot of -- there's a large number of
- 10 Russian emigres in the United States who receive
- 11 pension payments that are paid through the
- 12 embassies and various people, Russian lawyers and
- 13 others who we became interested in in the course of
- 14 this investigation seem to be involved in that
- 15 process. I'm not saying they did anything illegal.
- 16 I'm just saying, you know, we looked at this
- 17 system, and as someone who does a lot of money
- 18 laundering work this was an interesting thing that
- 19 I hadn't heard about.
- There's all this money flowing in the United
- 21 States from Russia, it probably flows in under some
- 22 sort of diplomatic status. So if there's sanctions
- on Russia and the Russians can't move money in the
- 24 United States for most things, this would, in fact,
- 25 be an ideal mechanism for moving money into the

Washington, DC

- 1 United States for whatever purpose, for some kind
- 2 of illicit purpose. I think that's a pretty good
- 3 example of the kind of general work I would do to
- 4 determine whether there's some base level of
- 5 credibility to the things we're getting.
- 6 Q. And in answering that you said that some
- 7 of the officials that you had identified as
- 8 involved in this effort seemed to come up with
- 9 regard to the pension disbursements. Who
- 10 specifically are you referring to?
- 11 A. We identified a lawyer in Sunny Isles
- 12 Beach, Florida who said she previously worked for
- 13 Gazprom and just had on her professional Website or
- 14 someplace that she was -- she had some kind of
- 15 relationship with the Russian embassy in dealing
- 16 with these pension issues.
- 17 Q. And do you recall that lawyer's name?
- 18 A. I don't.
- 19 Q. Anyone else besides that individual?
- 20 A. If I could look at this for a second.
- 21 Q. Sure.
- 22 (Reviewing document.)
- 23 BY THE WITNESS:
- A. I don't have a clear recollection of this.
- 25 I'm sorry. I thought there was another name in

Washington, DC

- 1 here that we had looked at, but I don't see it in
- 2 this memo.
- 3 Q. To the extent you have records about this
- 4 and the individual in Sunny Isles, would you at
- 5 least look for them and let us know whether you
- 6 would be willing to provide them to the committee?
- 7 MR. LEVY: Counsel has the request.
- 8 BY MS. SAWYER:
- 9 Q. Just moving on to the next memo, which is
- 10 Company Intelligence Report 2016/097, it bears the
- 11 Bates Nos. 401 and 41402, it's a two-page memo
- 12 dated 30 July 2016. Again, when you take a look at
- 13 that, was there anything that you independently
- 14 verified that comes out of this memo?
- 15 (Reviewing document.)
- 16 BY THE WITNESS:
- 17 A. I don't think so.
- 18 Q. Okay. Then Company Intelligence Report
- 19 2016/100, was there any information there that you
- 20 either independently verified or had independent
- 21 research on any of the individuals mentioned in
- 22 there? It mentions Sergei Ivanov, Dmitry Peskov.
- MR. MUSE: If I may, some clarification.
- 24 When you say is there anything that you
- 25 independently verified that comes out of the memo,

Washington, DC

- 1 are you talking -- it's a little confusing because
- 2 the memo comes in, he already knows some
- 3 information, but I think he's generally said that
- 4 he's not doing a draft of the memo beforehand and
- 5 yet your question seems to permit that possibility.
- 6 MS. SAWYER: No. I appreciate the
- 7 clarification.
- 8 BY MS. SAWYER:
- 9 Q. Just to be clear, I'm not trying to --
- 10 what we're trying to determine is is there
- 11 information that either you had in your possession
- 12 that corroborated and verified this or even went
- 13 beyond what was in this and amplified information
- on any of these individuals relevant to Russia's
- interference or possible ties with the Trump
- 16 campaign?
- 17 A. Yes. I'm trying to be as helpful as I
- 18 can. The thing that we worked on with regard to
- 19 Sergei Ivanov, who was the head of what's called
- 20 the head of administration which we confirmed from
- 21 open sources is kind of an internal Kremlin
- 22 intelligence operation, and that Ivanov according
- 23 to experts on Russia, the Russian military, Russian
- 24 intelligence, does, in fact, run this internal
- 25 Kremlin intelligence operation that sort of sits

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- 1 atop the FSB and the SVR, the GRU, which are the
- 2 other agencies specifically tasked with areas of
- 3 intelligence, military for the GRU, foreign for the
- 4 SVR, domestic for the FSB.
- 5 Before I got this memo I didn't know about
- 6 this internal Kremlin structure. It was either
- 7 this one or the previous one. So in the course of
- 8 saying who is this Ivanov guy, you know, we looked
- 9 at Ivanov and found journal articles and other
- 10 public information about his long history of
- 11 intelligence. He's a veteran of the FSB, his long
- 12 history with Vladimir Putin, and his role atop this
- 13 internal operation.
- In particular I remember reading a paper by a
- 15 superb academic expert whose name is Mark Galeotti,
- 16 G-A-L-E-O-T-T-I, who's done a lot of work on the
- 17 Kremlin's black operations and written quite widely
- on the subject and is very learned. So that would
- 19 have given me comfort that whoever Chris is talking
- 20 to they know what they're talking about.
- Q. With regard to that just in general, I did
- 22 want to ask you not to identify based on the
- 23 particular sources, but did Mr. Steele ever share
- 24 with you who his sources were?
- MR. LEVY: That conversation, if it occurred,

Washington, DC

- 1 would implicate obligations and he's going to
- 2 decline to answer that question.
- 3 MS. SAWYER: And is that based just on the --
- 4 can you just articulate the obligations so we can
- 5 understand them.
- 6 MR. LEVY: It's a very sensitive security
- 7 issue and I just don't -- in a transcript where
- 8 there's no assurance of confidentiality it's not a
- 9 discussion we want to have here.
- 10 BY MS. SAWYER:
- 11 Q. And do you know whether he shared his
- 12 sources with the FBI?
- 13 A. I don't. I don't know.
- MR. FOSTER: What was the answer?
- 15 MR. SIMPSON: Sorry. I don't know whether he
- 16 shared his sourcing with the FBI.
- MS. SAWYER: Can we just take a minute. We
- 18 can go off the record for a minute.
- 19 (A short break was had.)
- 20 MS. SAWYER: Just with sensitivity toward the
- 21 lateness of the day and in the interest of time it
- 22 would just be helpful -- and I'll give you as much
- 23 time as you need to take a few minutes and, if you
- 24 could, look through the remaining memos and let us
- 25 know if anything kind of stood out to you, if there

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- 1 were things that either did not ring true at the
- 2 time and that you were concerned about or things in
- 3 particular that in addition to what's in here you
- 4 had independent research about that you could share
- 5 with the committee in the context of our
- 6 investigation. Is that a clear request?
- 7 MR. MUSE: Heather, may I make a suggestion?
- 8 MS. SAWYER: Sure.
- 9 MR. MUSE: Why don't we break for a few
- 10 minutes so he can look at it, but here's a bigger
- 11 problem and I don't mean this as criticism
- 12 particularly with regard to the sensitivity as to
- 13 time. The difficulty is in summary questions
- 14 there's sometimes the problem that is created when
- 15 you try to sort of do a wholesale commentary,
- 16 particularly after it's been sort of more
- 17 focused --
- MS. SAWYER: I understand where you're going.
- 19 So yeah. I don't want to put us in a position
- 20 where --
- 21 MR. LEVY: Let's just take some time for the
- 22 witness to review the document.
- MS. SAWYER: Why don't you take a little bit
- 24 of time.
- MR. MUSE: In that spirit maybe you could

Washington, DC

- 1 look in case you have a more focused inquiry too.
- MS. SAWYER: We can certainly do that. Why
- 3 don't we take a five-minute break and I'll ask
- 4 whatever remaining questions we have on the
- 5 dossier.
- 6 MR. FOSTER: We'll go off the record at 5:11.
- 7 (A short break was had.)
- 8 MS. SAWYER: We're back on the record at
- 9 5:20.
- 10 BY MS. SAWYER:
- 11 Q. We appreciate you are walking through some
- 12 of these and we understand your general practice
- and I want to make sure I'm characterizing this
- 14 accurately. When you would get the memos you
- 15 would -- from Mr. Steele you would review them, you
- 16 would see if they resonated with information that
- 17 you already knew and other research you may already
- 18 have done. I think you already told me that you
- 19 don't recall at the time anything jumping out at
- 20 you as patently inaccurate; is that fair to say?
- 21 A. Yes, that's fair to say.
- 22 Q. And I had just asked you to review and I
- 23 appreciate you taking the time to review the
- 24 additional memos which would just run from Bates
- No. 41405 to 41425 to just try to determine for the

Washington, DC

- 1 committee if research that you had been doing on
- 2 the separate track on some of these topics in
- 3 particular amplified the work in the dossier.
- 4 MR. LEVY: When you say "amplified the work
- 5 in the dossier," what do you mean?
- 6 MS. SAWYER: Both kind of verified and maybe
- 7 gave you some additional information and insights
- 8 on either the factual allegations in them or
- 9 whether or not the key players identified had also
- 10 engaged in either similar or related behavior on
- 11 Russian -- you know, related to Russian
- 12 interference.
- 13 BY THE WITNESS:
- A. I'd say that's generally right. I read a
- 15 lot of books and studies on Russia and organized
- 16 crime. So over the years I just have a lot of
- 17 residual knowledge of some of the people and
- 18 subjects that are covered in the memos.
- 19 Q. Okay. So nothing certainly jumped out at
- 20 you and then as --
- 21 A. Nothing jumped out at me --
- 22 Q. -- as inconsistent with information that
- 23 you had gained from other sources?
- A. That's correct.
- Q. And did you have any reason to believe

Washington, DC

- 1 either then or now that Mr. Steele would have kind
- 2 of fabricated any of the information that he
- 3 included in any of these memos?
- 4 A. No.
- 5 Q. I do want to return to a few of the topics
- 6 and a few of the specifics, but I think I'll hold
- 7 that until the next round because I have a few
- 8 other just follow-up questions for you.
- 9 It had come up in the last round that there
- 10 was a meeting and some information was provided to
- 11 Mr. Kramer. Were you still -- at the time that
- 12 occurred were you, Fusion GPS, still working on
- 13 behalf of a client who had engaged you to do
- 14 research as part of the presidential election
- 15 campaign or did that occur after that engagement
- 16 ended?
- 17 A. It occurred after the engagement had
- 18 ended.
- 19 Q. And besides Mr. Steele, did you discuss
- 20 sharing information with Mr. Kramer with anyone
- 21 else?
- 22 A. Not that I recall.
- Q. My colleagues had also asked you about
- 24 meetings and particularly that occurred between
- June 8th and June 10th of 2016 and some of the

Washington, DC

- 1 individuals involved in those meetings. As a
- 2 general matter, did you discuss the work you were
- 3 doing related to the presidential election campaign
- 4 with -- did you ever discuss that with Natalia
- 5 Veselnitskaya?
- A. I don't believe I ever discussed it with
- 7 her. I'd just add that she doesn't speak much
- 8 English. So the possibilities are almost none. I
- 9 didn't discuss it with her.
- 10 Q. Do you have any reason to believe that she
- 11 knew that you were doing work -- opposition
- 12 research work on then Candidate Trump?
- 13 A. No.
- Q. Do you have any reason to believe that she
- 15 knew that Christopher Steele was doing work for you
- 16 as part of that project, the opposition research on
- 17 Candidate Trump?
- 18 A. No.
- 19 Q. What about Rinat Akhmetshin, did you ever
- 20 talk with Rinat Akhmetshin about the fact that you
- 21 were doing opposition research on Candidate Trump?
- A. Not that I recall, no.
- Q. Do you have any reason to believe that
- 24 Christopher Steele ever spoke with Rinat Akhmetshin
- 25 about the fact that Christopher Steele had been

Washington, DC

- 1 engaged by you to do work -- related to the
- 2 opposition work on then Candidate Trump?
- 3 A. Do I have any reason to believe that he
- 4 spoke? No, I have no reason to believe he did.
- 5 Q. Do you know if he did or not?
- A. It's never -- we've never discussed it,
- 7 but I have no reason to think he would have.
- 8 Q. And if he had discussed it, would that
- 9 have been consistent with the nondisclosure
- 10 agreement that you indicated you would have had
- 11 with Mr. Steele?
- 12 A. That would -- if he discussed it with
- 13 someone like that without my knowledge, it would
- 14 not have been consistent with our agreement.
- Q. And then given that, would it surprise you
- 16 if Mr. Steele had talked with Rinat Akhmetshin
- 17 about the work he was doing related to then
- 18 Candidate Trump?
- 19 A. Yes, that would surprise me.
- 20 Q. Did you discuss the fact that you were
- 21 doing opposition research on Candidate Trump with
- 22 anyone at Prevezon Holdings?
- A. Not that I recall, no.
- Q. And if you had done so, would that have
- 25 been consistent with your confidentiality

Washington, DC

- 1 obligations to that client?
- A. No, it wouldn't have been consistent.
- 3 Q. Did you speak with anyone at Baker
- 4 Hostetler about the work that you had been engaged
- 5 to do on then Candidate Trump?
- 6 A. Not that I recall.
- 7 Q. So the point in time at which you were in
- 8 meetings that included -- the meetings that you had
- 9 related to the Court hearing at Prevezon that
- 10 you've already discussed, the dinner, the Court
- 11 hearing, and then a subsequent dinner, they occur
- 12 right around the same time that Natalia
- 13 Veselnitskaya and Rinat Akhmetshin and the
- 14 individual you described as a translator, Anatoli
- 15 Samochornov, met -- or it has been reported met
- 16 with individuals in the Trump campaign. Did that
- 17 topic just never come up during those three days?
- 18 A. It never came up. I don't know what else
- 19 to say. It never came up.
- 20 Q. So you at the time had no idea that they
- 21 were meeting with or met -- and actually, in fact,
- 22 met with members of the Trump campaign?
- 23 A. I didn't have any idea about that meeting
- 24 until quite recently.
- Q. So in an August 1, 2017 news briefing

Washington, DC

- 1 White House Press Secretary Sarah Huckabee Sanders
- 2 said "The Democrat linked firm Fusion GPS actually
- 3 took money from the Russian government while it
- 4 created the phoney dossier that's been the basis
- 5 for all of the Russia scandal fake news." What is
- 6 your response to that statement?
- 7 A. It's not true?
- 8 Q. And what in particular is not true about
- 9 it?
- 10 A. Well, it's a false allegation leveled by
- 11 William Browder before this committee and in other
- 12 places for the purpose of his advantage. She's
- 13 repeating an allegation that was aired before this
- 14 committee and in other places that we were working
- 15 for the Russian government and it's not true.
- Most importantly the allegation that we were
- 17 working for the Russian government then or ever is
- 18 simply not true. I don't know what to say. It's
- 19 political rhetoric to call the dossier phoney. The
- 20 memos are field reports of real interviews that
- 21 Chris's network conducted and there's nothing
- 22 phoney about it. We can argue about what's prudent
- 23 and what's not, but it's not a fabrication.
- Q. And I think you've already answered you
- 25 contend that you were not taking money from the

Washington, DC

- 1 Russian government and that was in relation to the
- 2 litigation work you had done with Baker Hostetler,
- 3 correct?
- 4 A. Yes. They are a well-regarded law firm
- 5 that has obligations to determine the sources of
- 6 funds when they take a client and, to my knowledge,
- 7 they did so and the money was not coming from the
- 8 Russian government.
- 9 Q. So that was for the Prevezon work for
- 10 Baker Hostetler. Did you take money in any way,
- 11 shape, or form that could be attributed to the
- 12 Russian government for the work that you were
- 13 doing -- the opposition research work that you were
- 14 doing on then Candidate Trump?
- 15 A. No.
- Q. Did, to the best of your knowledge,
- 17 Mr. Steele take money in any way, shape, or form
- 18 that could be attributed to the Russian government
- 19 for the work that he did on the memos as part of
- 20 the opposition research on Candidate Trump?
- 21 A. No.
- 22 I'll add one more thing to the response to
- 23 Sarah Huckabee Sanders, which is her assertion that
- 24 we are a Democrat linked opposition research firm.
- 25 I think I addressed this earlier, but to be clear,

Washington, DC

- 1 we don't have a business of -- we're not an
- 2 appendage to the Democratic party. We run a
- 3 commercial business, we're all ex-journalists. We
- 4 take clients from both sides of the aisle. We have
- 5 a long history of that, I'm proud of that. I'm
- 6 happy to say I have lots of Republican clients and
- 7 friends.
- 8 Q. To the extent there have been allegations
- 9 or indications that the work that Mr. Steele did,
- 10 his research into Russian interference in the 2016
- 11 election, or your work could have been influenced
- 12 by Rinat Akhmetshin, do you believe that is true
- 13 and if -- do you believe it's true?
- 14 A. No.
- 15 Q. Do you believe that the work that
- 16 Mr. Steele did on Russian interference and possible
- 17 ties to the Trump campaign or your work could have
- 18 been influenced by Natalia Veselnitskaya?
- 19 A. No.
- 20 MS. SAWYER: I think my time is up for this
- 21 round. So I appreciate your patience and we'll
- 22 take a break.
- 23 MR. FOSTER: It's 5:34.
- 24 (A short break was had.)
- MR. DAVIS: We'll go back on the record.

Washington, DC

- 1 It's 5:43 p.m.
- 2 EXAMINATION
- 3 BY MR. DAVIS:
- 4 Q. Mr. Simpson, could you walk us through
- 5 your itinerary to the best you remember it from
- 6 June 8th through 10th of 2016, especially any
- 7 interactions you had with Prevezon team members
- 8 during those three days?
- 9 MR. LEVY: Beyond what he's discussed today?
- 10 MR. DAVIS: Yes.
- 11 BY THE WITNESS:
- 12 A. I took the train to New York. I don't
- 13 recall, but I may have had other business. I don't
- 14 remember. I think there was a dinner. I went back
- 15 to my hotel, went to bed. Got up the next morning.
- 16 I don't remember the sequence, but I remember
- 17 meeting with Weber Shandwick, the PR firm, about
- 18 preparations for -- I think we expected there was
- 19 going to be a trial. I think that's what it was
- 20 about. It might have been about the press coverage
- 21 of the hearing. I just don't remember. I went to
- 22 the hearing and I think -- if I remember the
- 23 sequence correctly, I went to the hearing, then I
- 24 had the meeting with those guys, the Weber
- 25 Shandwick guys, and then I hightailed it home. My

Washington, DC

- 1 son's junior prom was that night or senior prom and
- 2 I was under some pressure to go home and be a dad.
- 3 Q. And then on the 10th, that first day back
- 4 in D.C.?
- 5 A. I don't think that was my first day back.
- 6 I was back the evening of the 9th.
- 7 Q. Sorry. The first full day.
- 8 A. I think it was a weekend. So I don't know
- 9 what I was doing. Probably just relaxing. I went
- 10 to the dinner, it was at a restaurant called
- 11 Barcelona up on Wisconsin Avenue, it was a social
- 12 occasion. I brought my wife, other people brought
- 13 their wives. We talked about books and other other
- 14 nongermane topics. It was just a social
- 15 occasion.
- 16 (Exhibit 6 was marked for
- identification.)
- 18 BY MR. DAVIS:
- 19 Q. I'm going to show you an exhibit. I think
- 20 we're on 6. We understand these are meeting notes.
- 21 Do these phrases about -- including Mr. Browder
- 22 mean anything to you or relate to any of the
- 23 research that you conducted or otherwise aware of
- 24 regarding Mr. Browder?
- MR. LEVY: When say "meetings notes," meeting

Washington, DC

- 1 notes about what meeting?
- 2 MR. DAVIS: These are the meeting notes from
- 3 the June 9th meeting at Trump Tower. These are
- 4 Mr. Manafort's notes or they're contemporaneous.
- 5 BY THE WITNESS:
- 6 A. I could tell -- obviously you know who
- 7 Bill Browder is. Cyprus Offshore, Bill Browder's
- 8 structure, you know, investment -- Hermitage
- 9 Capital, his hedge fund, set up numerous companies
- 10 in Cyprus to engage in inward investment into
- 11 Russia, which is a common structure, both partially
- 12 for tax reasons but also to have entities outside
- 13 of Russia, you know, managing specific investments.
- 14 I can only tell you I assume that's what that
- 15 references. I don't know what the 133 million --
- MR. FOSTER: Can I interrupt? And you know
- 17 that from research that you did and provided to --
- 18 MR. SIMPSON: Yes.
- 19 MR. LEVY: Let him finish.
- 20 MR. FOSTER: -- research that you did and
- 21 provided to Baker Hostetler and their client?
- MR. SIMPSON: Yes. There was a -- I can
- 23 elaborate a little bit. As part of the research
- 24 into how Hermitage Capital worked we looked at
- 25 various things, their banking relationships, the

Washington, DC

- 1 way they structured their investments in Russia. I
- 2 don't remember how many, but there was a large
- 3 number of shell companies in Cyprus that were used
- 4 to hold the investments of individual clients of
- 5 Hermitage. So one of the things we discovered from
- 6 that was the likely identities of some of
- 7 Hermitage's clients.
- 8 BY MR. DAVIS:
- 9 Q. Do any of the other entries in here mean
- 10 anything to you in light of the research you've
- 11 conducted or what you otherwise know about
- 12 Mr. Browder?
- 13 A. I'm going to -- I can only speculate about
- 14 some of these things. I mean, sometimes --
- MR. LEVY: Don't speculate.
- 16 BY THE WITNESS:
- 17 A. Just would be guesses.
- 18 Q. Okay.
- 19 A. I can skip down a couple. So "Value in
- 20 Cyprus as inter," I don't know what that means.
- 21 "Illici," I don't know what that means. "Active
- 22 sponsors of RNC," I don't know what that means.
- 23 "Browder hired Joanna Glover" is a mistaken
- 24 reference to Juliana Glover, who was Dick Cheney's
- 25 press secretary during the Iraq war and associated

Washington, DC

- 1 with another foreign policy controversy. "Russian
- 2 adoptions by American families" I assume is a
- 3 reference to the adoption issue.
- Q. And by "adoption issue" do you mean Russia
- 5 prohibiting U.S. families from adopting Russian
- 6 babies as a measure in response to the Magnitsky
- 7 act?
- 8 A. I assume so.
- 9 Q. The information here, is this generally
- 10 consistent with the type of information you or
- 11 Baker Hostetler were providing about Mr. Browder
- 12 and his activities?
- MR. LEVY: Can you repeat that question.
- MR. DAVIS: Is the information here, to the
- 15 best you can decipher it, consistent with the
- 16 information that you and Baker Hostetler and HRAGI
- 17 were relaying to other parties about Mr. Browder's
- 18 activities?
- MR. LEVY: He's just told you that a lot of
- 20 what's here he doesn't know what it means, he
- 21 doesn't have knowledge or recollection as to these
- 22 terms.
- MR. DAVIS: The parts you do recognize.
- 24 BY THE WITNESS:
- 25 A. Couple of the items touch on things that I

Washington, DC

- 1 worked on, Cyprus, Bill Browder.
- 2 Q. I'm going to jump back to the Russia
- 3 investigation. You'd mentioned before you've had
- 4 some subcontractors that you've worked with long
- 5 enough that you call them super subs; is that
- 6 correct?
- 7 A. Yes.
- Q. Orbis or Mr. Steele, is that one such
- 9 super sub in your opinion?
- 10 A. It's a loose term. We don't have a list
- of super subs.
- MR. FOSTER: Is he one of them?
- MR. SIMPSON: There is no list. So I can't
- 14 tell you if he's one of them. He's a reliable
- 15 subcontractor who's worked with us in the past and
- 16 we've been very satisfied with the quality of his
- work.
- MR. LEVY: Just to reiterate, I think as you
- 19 described these super subs earlier loosely, even
- 20 with some of these super subs Mr. Simpson said that
- 21 he would talk about clients only on a need-to-know
- 22 basis even with the super subs, so-called.
- 23 BY MR. DAVIS:
- Q. Beyond the memoranda prepared by
- 25 Mr. Steele, did Fusion create any other work

Washington, DC

- 1 product relating to this investigation?
- 2 MR. LEVY: Which investigation?
- 3 MR. DAVIS: The investigation into Mr. Trump
- 4 and his associates.
- 5 MR. LEVY: In addition to what?
- 6 MR. DAVIS: Sorry. The investigation into
- 7 Mr. Trump and his associates.
- 8 MR. LEVY: I'm sorry. Just repeat the whole
- 9 question.
- 10 MR. DAVIS: Sure. In addition to the
- 11 memoranda compiled by Mr. Steele, did Fusion itself
- 12 create any other work product as part of this
- 13 investigation?
- MR. LEVY: I just want to make sure there's
- 15 no confusion. It wasn't Fusion that created the
- 16 memoranda.
- MR. DAVIS: Right, but it was a subcontractor
- 18 giving it back to Fusion.
- 19 MR. LEVY: That's correct.
- 20 BY MR. DAVIS:
- Q. With that understanding, did Fusion create
- 22 any work product of its own?
- 23 A. Yes.
- Q. And can you describe what type of work
- 25 product that was?

Washington, DC

- 1 A. I believe I described it before. We do a
- 2 lot of public records research, things that are in
- 3 the news, things that are in court documents. We
- 4 summarize those things and try to document, you
- 5 know, and attach them to the underlying source
- 6 material.
- 7 Q. So you create sort of summary memoranda of
- 8 those documents?
- 9 A. Yes.
- 10 Q. Okay. And to whom is that distributed?
- MR. LEVY: As a general matter?
- 12 MR. DAVIS: Well, within the course of this
- 13 investigation.
- MR. LEVY: Inasmuch as that answer calls for
- 15 client communications the answer might be
- 16 privileged, might touch on obligations Mr. Simpson
- 17 has. So he's not going to answer that question.
- 18 MR. FOSTER: Did you provide work product to
- 19 your client?
- 20 MR. LEVY: Again, the answer to that question
- 21 might implicate privilege or his obligations.
- 22 BY MR. DAVIS:
- 23 Q. Is the version of the Steele memoranda
- 24 that was published by BuzzFeed identical to the
- 25 version that Orbis provided Fusion?

Washington, DC

- 1 A. To my knowledge, yes.
- Q. The version published by BuzzFeed contains
- 3 several redactions, not merely the ones by
- 4 Mr. Gubarev, G-U-B-A-R-E-V, that were later added.
- 5 Were those redactions in the versions Mr. Steele
- 6 provided to you?
- 7 MR. LEVY: So wait. You're asking about the
- 8 version in Exhibit 3?
- 9 MR. DAVIS: Right.
- 10 MR. LEVY: And you're asking if the
- 11 redactions that appear here were delivered to
- 12 Fusion?
- MR. DAVIS: Right.
- 14 BY THE WITNESS:
- 15 A. No.
- Q. Do you know who added those redactions?
- 17 A. No.
- 18 Q. Did any version of the memoranda list
- 19 source and subsource names rather than referring to
- 20 sources anonymously?
- 21 A. I'm not sure I understand the question.
- 22 Q. In the version that we have as an exhibit
- 23 obviously it doesn't give identifying information
- 24 for sources, it says source A, subsources, things
- 25 like that. Was there ever a version that listed

Washington, DC

- 1 the actual source names rather than substituting
- 2 them?
- 3 A. These are the versions that we received.
- 4 Q. They're what?
- 5 A. These are the memos that we received.
- 6 Q. Those are the memos you received. Okay.
- 7 MR. FOSTER: But he's asking if you received
- 8 any other memos that listed the sources?
- 9 MR. LEVY: He did not -- what I think he said
- 10 is that he did not receive any versions of these
- 11 memos that listed the sources.
- MR. FOSTER: Okay. Did you receive any other
- 13 documentation from Mr. Steele that listed the
- 14 sources?
- MR. SIMPSON: I don't want to get into source
- 16 information.
- 17 BY MR. DAVIS:
- 18 Q. Again, I don't want to repeat questions
- 19 that have been asked, but I don't want to
- 20 unintentionally omit anything. Did the version
- 21 provided to the FBI include all source names?
- 22 A. I don't know that there was a version
- 23 provided to the FBI.
- Q. When Mr. Steele first met with the FBI in
- 25 the summer of 2016 do you know if he provided the

Washington, DC

- 1 first memoranda that he created?
- 2 MR. LEVY: He's already answered that
- 3 question.
- 4 BY THE WITNESS:
- 5 A. No, I don't know.
- 6 Q. Do you know if he provided any other
- 7 memoranda to the FBI on a rolling basis at all at
- 8 any point?
- 9 MR. LEVY: He's answered that question too.
- 10 BY THE WITNESS:
- 11 A. I don't know.
- 12 Q. So I'd like to go back to Exhibit 4, I
- 13 believe. On page 3, paragraph 18 Mr. Steele's
- 14 attorneys are describing the December memoranda and
- 15 they state "The Defendants" -- again, that's
- 16 Mr. Steele and Orbis -- "continued to receive
- 17 unsolicited intelligence on the matters covered by
- 18 the pre-election memoranda after the U.S.
- 19 presidential election and the conclusion of the
- 20 assignment for Fusion."
- 21 They reiterate this point on Exhibit 5 on
- 22 page 4. Request 11 asks "Please state whether such
- 23 intelligence was actively sought by the
- 24 Defendant" --
- 25 A. Where are you at?

Washington, DC

- 1 Q. Page 4, request 11. It states "Please
- 2 state whether such intelligence was actively sought
- 3 by the second Defendant or merely received as
- 4 presently pleaded." The response they say is "Such
- 5 intelligence was not actively sought, it was merely
- 6 received."
- 7 Did anyone -- are you aware of who sent this
- 8 unsolicited intelligence to Mr. Steele?
- 9 A. No.
- 10 Q. Could you describe his methods of
- 11 compiling the dossier a little more? I think
- 12 before you described field interviews. He seems to
- 13 be talking about unsolicited information coming to
- 14 him rather than information he sought out?
- 15 A. I can try. When you're doing field
- 16 information gathering you have a network of people,
- 17 sources. It's not like a light switch that you
- 18 turn on and off, these are people you work with.
- 19 So they call you and tell you stuff. You know, you
- 20 don't close the window and stop answering phone
- 21 calls, you know, when the engagement ends. So I
- 22 assume this is stuff that came in straggle,
- 23 whatever you call it.
- Q. To the best of your knowledge, did
- 25 Mr. Steele pay any of his sources or subsources in

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Washington, DC

- 1 the memoranda for information?
- 2 A. I don't know. I think there's been a
- 3 little bit of confusion I would like to clear up.
- 4 Some people were saying that he was paying people
- 5 for information. I don't know whether he does or
- 6 not, but that's not basically how I understand
- 7 field operations to work. You commission people to
- 8 gather information for you rather than sort of
- 9 paying someone for a document or to sit for an
- 10 interview or something like that. That's not how I
- 11 understand it works.
- 12 Q. To make sure I understand, are you saying
- 13 you don't pay for particular information, you would
- 14 have an established financial arrangement with
- 15 someone?
- 16 A. If he did at all, but I did not ask and he
- 17 did not share that information. He did not invoice
- 18 me for any such.
- 19 Q. Did Mr. Steele ever discuss his opinion of
- 20 Mr. Trump with you?
- 21 A. We didn't discuss our political views of
- 22 Mr. Trump, I don't think, at least not that I
- 23 specifically remember, if that's what you mean.
- 24 O. That is.
- 25 If I recall correctly, you said earlier that

Washington, DC

- 1 once Fusion had exhausted public documentary
- 2 sources you turned to Mr. Steele and some other
- 3 subcontractors for human intelligence; is that
- 4 correct?
- 5 A. Yeah, field intelligence.
- 6 Q. Would your engagement with your client
- 7 have ended had you not turned to human
- 8 intelligence?
- 9 A. I have no idea. I mean, I can't
- 10 speculate.
- 11 Q. Well, to clarify, when say you had
- 12 exhausted the public documentation, are you saying
- 13 you reached the end of your work or was there still
- 14 more?
- 15 A. No. It's a broad project, there's lots of
- 16 things going on. We're pulling legal filings and
- 17 bankruptcies and all sorts of other stuff on all
- 18 kinds of issues. I was talking about specific
- 19 lines of inquiry.
- Q. To the best of your knowledge, do Rinat
- 21 Akhmetshin and Christopher Steele know each
- 22 other?
- A. I don't know.
- Q. To the best of your knowledge, has
- 25 Mr. Akhmetshin ever worked with Orbis?

Washington, DC

- 1 A. Not to my knowledge.
- 2 MR. FOSTER: If Mr. Akhmetshin were one of
- 3 the sources in the dossier, would you know that?
- 4 MR. SIMPSON: I believe he would have told me
- 5 that by now given the public controversy over this
- 6 matter, but he hasn't.
- 7 BY MR. DAVIS:
- Q. I'm sorry. Is the "he" --
- 9 A. Chris Steele.
- 10 Q. How often would you say you interacted
- 11 with Mr. Akhmetshin during the 2016 elections
- 12 season?
- 13 A. Infrequently, intermittently.
- Q. When was the last time you spoke with him?
- 15 A. I don't remember, but I don't think it
- 16 was -- I just don't remember.
- 17 Q. To the best of your knowledge, was Ed
- 18 Lieberman aware of your Trump research project?
- 19 A. Not to the best of my knowledge.
- 20 MR. FOSTER: Could you just tell us generally
- 21 who else other than your client was aware of the
- 22 Trump research project as it was going on. So
- 23 excluding your client and excluding your
- 24 subcontractors, who else knew that you were doing
- 25 it?

Washington, DC

- 1 MR. SIMPSON: Journalists.
- 2 MR. FOSTER: In the summer of 2016?
- 3 MR. SIMPSON: Yes.
- 4 MR. FOSTER: And they knew that because you
- 5 were telling them about it?
- 6 MR. SIMPSON: We get calls from journalists
- 7 who are working on stories about all kinds of
- 8 subjects and some things we can answer questions on
- 9 and others we don't. I'm a former journalist, as I
- 10 think you know, and we do lots of different kinds
- of research and people who are working on a story
- 12 will call us and say what do you know about, you
- 13 know, Carter Page and we'll say, well, here's the
- 14 things that we know.
- 15 MR. FOSTER: And they're aware you're being
- 16 paid to do that research for a client?
- MR. SIMPSON: I don't know. Generally that's
- 18 not an issue.
- MR. FOSTER: So my question was who knew that
- 20 you were doing the research, the Trump-Russia
- 21 research at the time?
- 22 MR. LEVY: He answered the question. He told
- 23 you he spoke with journalists and told them what he
- 24 had found.
- MR. FOSTER: Right. I was trying to clarify.

Washington, DC

- 1 My question was whether or not they knew you were
- 2 being paid to do that research.
- 3 MR. LEVY: He answered that question too and
- 4 he said he did not explain that to the journalists.
- 5 MR. SIMPSON: It's hard to generalize. I run
- 6 a business, it's a research business. Reporters
- 7 know we have clients who pay us to do research.
- 8 So, you know, I don't remember any specific queries
- 9 about whether we were being paid or not, but I
- 10 think most journalists would assume that someone
- 11 had paid us to do research.
- MR. FOSTER: They knew you were doing a Trump
- oppo research project as opposed to a Hillary
- 14 Clinton oppo research project?
- 15 MR. LEVY: From 2015 through the end of the
- 16 election?
- 17 MR. FOSTER: Can you let the witness answer,
- 18 please.
- MR. SIMPSON: The word "they" is extremely
- 20 broad. Journalists would call and ask questions
- 21 about specific things and from that they might
- 22 conclude that we were doing a Trump oppo project.
- 23 It's just worth pointing out that in a
- 24 political season all kinds of people are doing
- 25 research on all kinds of things. Some people are

Washington, DC

- 1 interested in trade, other people are interested in
- 2 guns. So you wouldn't necessarily intuit exactly
- 3 what we were doing. Most people are interested in,
- 4 you know -- they're interested in the story they're
- 5 working on. So some people will say, hey, I'm
- 6 interested in whether Donald Trump gets his ties
- 7 from third-world countries and they wouldn't ask
- 8 about anything else.
- 9 BY MR. DAVIS:
- 10 Q. You mentioned before, if I recall
- 11 correctly, that Fusion was having issues with
- 12 persons attempting to hack it?
- 13 A. That's a current concern, yes.
- Q. When did that concern -- when did you
- 15 first become aware of that concern?
- 16 A. Relatively recently.
- 17 Q. So after the election?
- 18 A. Yes.
- 19 MR. FOSTER: Did you tell journalists that
- 20 you had engaged Mr. Steele in the summer of 2016?
- MR. SIMPSON: I don't specifically remember
- 22 doing that until the fall.
- MR. FOSTER: After the election or before?
- MR. SIMPSON: Before the election.
- MR. FOSTER: Can you remember the context in

Washington, DC

- 1 which you told them that?
- 2 MR. SIMPSON: Yes.
- 3 MR. FOSTER: Can you describe it for us,
- 4 please.
- 5 MR. SIMPSON: Sure. Essentially there was --
- 6 at some point the controversy over the Trump
- 7 campaign's possible relationship with the Kremlin
- 8 became, you know, one of the main -- major issues
- 9 in the campaign and there were things that Chris
- 10 knew and understood to be the case that only he
- 11 could really explain in a credible way, and I
- 12 thought that -- we thought that he should be the
- one that explains them, you know. So we sat down
- 14 with a small group of reporters who were involved
- in investigative journalism of national security
- 16 issues and we thought were in a position to make
- 17 use of him as a resource.
- MR. FOSTER: Do you recall whether that was
- 19 before or after he ended his relationship with the
- 20 FBI?
- MR. SIMPSON: Before.
- 22 BY MR. DAVIS:
- 23 Q. Do you recall what the first published
- 24 article -- when the first published article came
- 25 out that referenced material from the memoranda?

- 1 A. Not specifically.
- 2 MR. FOSTER: Earlier you talked about
- 3 evaluating the credibility of the information in
- 4 the memoranda that you were being provided by
- 5 Mr. Steele and, by way of summary, you talked about
- 6 your belief that he was credible and that you had
- 7 worked with him before and the information he had
- 8 provided you had been reliable in the past. Did
- 9 you take any steps to try to assess the credibility
- 10 of his sources, his unnamed sources in the material
- 11 that he was providing to you?
- MR. SIMPSON: Yes, but I'm not going to get
- 13 into sourcing information.
- MR. FOSTER: So without getting into naming
- 15 the sources or anything like that, what steps did
- 16 you take to try to verify their credibility?
- 17 MR. SIMPSON: I'm going to decline to answer
- 18 that.
- MR. FOSTER: Why?
- 20 MR. LEVY: It's a voluntary interview, and in
- 21 addition to that he wants to be very careful to
- 22 protect his sources. Somebody's already been
- 23 killed as a result of the publication of this
- 24 dossier and no harm should come to anybody related
- 25 to this honest work.

Washington, DC

- 1 MR. FOSTER: I'm not asking him to identify
- 2 the sources. I'm just asking what steps he took to
- 3 try to verify or validate the information.
- 4 MR. LEVY: He's given you --
- 5 MR. FOSTER: If he can answer generally
- 6 without identifying the sources, I'd ask him to
- 7 answer.
- 8 MR. LEVY: He's given you over nine hours of
- 9 information and he's going to decline to answer
- 10 this one question.
- MR. FOSTER: And several others.
- MR. LEVY: Not many.
- 13 BY MR. DAVIS:
- Q. I think you mentioned that you were in
- 15 London when you first heard that someone was
- 16 interested in hiring Fusion to work on the Trump
- 17 research; is that correct?
- 18 MR. LEVY: Repeat the question.
- MR. DAVIS: If I recall correctly,
- 20 Mr. Simpson said that he was in London when he
- 21 first heard that somebody was interested in hiring
- 22 Fusion to do Trump research?
- 23 BY THE WITNESS:
- A. That's my recollection.
- Q. Were either of the clients on this project

Washington, DC

- 1 not American citizens?
- 2 A. Were either of the clients on this --
- 3 MR. LEVY: Clients on which project?
- 4 BY MR. DAVIS:
- 5 Q. Were any clients on the Trump research not
- 6 American citizens?
- 7 A. I don't mind answering that if that's
- 8 okay. They're domestic clients.
- 9 MR. FOSTER: You said earlier that the
- 10 information that you gather in your work is owned
- 11 by the client, it's not owned by you, and so
- 12 therefore you also referenced your nondisclosure
- 13 agreements and that you felt like if you had
- 14 information that related to national security or
- 15 law enforcement that the nondisclosure agreement
- 16 did not prevent you from disclosing that
- 17 information to third parties. Is that a fair
- 18 summary?
- 19 MR. LEVY: Wait. You said a lot there.
- 20 Which third parties are you talking about?
- MR. FOSTER: Well, to law enforcement.
- MR. LEVY: I think he's answered this
- 23 already. You're asking him whether it was
- 24 permittable under his contractual obligations to
- 25 report a crime to the national security community,

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- 1 and he said yes, it's fine for him to do that.
- 2 MR. FOSTER: Right. I'm trying to summarize
- 3 the previous answer as a premise to my next
- 4 question. Is that an accurate summary of what you
- 5 said before?
- 6 MR. LEVY: Summarizing testimony is dangerous
- 7 after he's given nine hours of it. If you want to
- 8 ask him a question, ask him a question.
- 9 MR. FOSTER: Is there a specific provision in
- 10 your NDA that provides an exception for disclosure
- 11 to law enforcement or intelligence agencies?
- 12 MR. LEVY: I think he earlier didn't talk
- 13 about the contract, but if you want to talk about
- 14 it as a matter of practice what your understanding
- 15 is, go ahead.
- MR. SIMPSON: I don't know.
- MR. FOSTER: My colleague Ms. Sawyer asked
- 18 you earlier about public reports that the initial
- 19 client on the Trump work was a Republican and that
- 20 it's also been publicly reported that later there
- 21 was another client who was a supporter of Hillary
- 22 Clinton. Are you the source for any of those
- 23 public reports?
- MR. LEVY: A hundred percent of what you were
- 25 saying was referring to news articles, right.

Washington, DC

- 1 MR. SIMPSON: I've been asked about this by
- 2 various journals as to what I've heard, whether
- 3 they can report things that they've heard
- 4 elsewhere, and I have not -- I don't know if you'd
- 5 classify that as being a source, but I've been
- 6 asked those questions and I've avoiding getting
- 7 into specifics. But I have -- if people have
- 8 accurate information of a general nature like that,
- 9 I generally would not -- I would confirm things.
- 10 MR. FOSTER: Sorry. I didn't understand your
- 11 answer.
- 12 MR. MUSE: It's quite clear.
- MR. SIMPSON: Depends on what you say a
- 14 source is. If someone calls me and say I hear
- 15 client No. 1 was a Republican, then I'd say I don't
- 16 have any problem with you writing that. That's not
- 17 quite the same thing.
- MR. FOSTER: So you confirm the accuracy of
- 19 information?
- MR. LEVY: He didn't say that.
- 21 MR. SIMPSON: There are certain things that
- 22 I've chosen not to deny. You know, generally
- 23 speaking, I deal with a lot of journalists. I'm
- 24 not going to mislead people.
- 25 BY MR. DAVIS:

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- 1 Q. To the extent you can clarify, is it that
- 2 there were two sets of clients, one of whom was
- 3 Republican and one of which was a Clinton
- 4 supporter, or was it one person's whose views
- 5 changed?
- 6 MR. LEVY: We're not going to get into the
- 7 identity of clients. As you know, we've agreed to
- 8 an interview about questions 5 through 13 of the
- 9 March 24 request. Questions 1 through 4 talk about
- 10 the identities of the clients. The Chair and the
- 11 Ranking Member agreed with counsel for Mr. Simpson
- 12 about the scope of this interview and that question
- 13 is outside of it. In addition, the answer to that
- 14 question would implicate privilege and obligations.
- 15 He's talked to you for nine hours, he's given you a
- 16 lot of information, and he's not going to answer
- 17 questions about identities of clients.
- MR. DAVIS: You've asserted attorney-client
- 19 work product privilege --
- 20 MR. LEVY: There is no such privilege. I've
- 21 asserted the attorney work product privilege, we've
- 22 asserted privileges under the First Amendment,
- 23 we've asserted the attorney-client privilege, and
- 24 we've asserted privileges of confidentiality. It's
- 25 a voluntary interview and he's declining to answer

Washington, DC

- 1 the question.
- 2 MR. DAVIS: I understand that.
- 3 BY MR. DAVIS:
- Q. So with the Prevezon matter, then, is it
- 5 correct the law firm involved was Baker Hostetler
- 6 and the ultimate client was Prevezon, is that
- 7 right, while you were working there?
- 8 A. Yes.
- 9 Q. So any attorney-client privileges within
- 10 the context of that information would be -- the
- 11 holder of that privilege is Prevezon; is that
- 12 correct?
- 13 MR. LEVY: That's a legal conclusion that
- 14 he's not qualified to draw.
- MR. DAVIS: You don't feel that you can speak
- 16 to it without their permission?
- 17 MR. LEVY: Speak to what?
- MR. DAVIS: To questions that would be
- 19 covered by attorney-client privilege.
- MR. LEVY: I'm not sure he's qualified to
- 21 answer that question.
- 22 BY MR. DAVIS:
- Q. Did you work with any law firms in
- 24 relation to the Trump investigation?
- MR. LEVY: Again, we're not getting into the

Washington, DC

- 1 identity of any clients --
- 2 MR. DAVIS: I didn't say client.
- 3 MR. LEVY: I understand. Or their lawyers.
- 4 MR. FOSTER: I think the issue we're trying
- 5 to deal with is in order to assess your claims of
- 6 privilege the committee needs to understand at
- 7 least as much about the context of the dossier work
- 8 as it does about the Prevezon work in terms of who
- 9 was involved. So if there's a law firm involved or
- 10 if he was reporting to a law firm or acting under
- 11 the direction of a law firm, then we need to be
- 12 able to assess whether or not that was in
- 13 anticipation of litigation, whether he was doing it
- 14 by the direction of a law firm in order to assess
- 15 your assertions of privilege.
- 16 MR. LEVY: I understand. We've identified
- 17 our position. We've been talking -- Mr. Simpson
- 18 has been answering your questions since 9:30 this
- 19 morning, it's now 6:15. He's been fully
- 20 cooperative and he's here because the Chair and the
- 21 Ranking Member agreed to a limited scope. The
- 22 questions you're asking are outside of that scope
- 23 and this is part of why appearing at a hearing was
- 24 going to be impossible. Through this agreement
- 25 we're here. He's given you a ton of information.

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- 1 If you want to discuss the privilege with counsel
- 2 after the interview, you may do so. He's answered
- 3 a ton of questions today and he's going to decline
- 4 to answer this last one.
- 5 MR. FOSTER: The last one was did you work
- 6 with a law firm on the Trump matter?
- 7 MR. LEVY: He's declining to answer.
- 8 MR. FOSTER: There were several points in the
- 9 interview where you made a point of saying your
- 10 firm is not a Democratic linked firm in reference
- 11 to the Sarah Huckabee Sanders quote. It's been
- 12 publicly reported that you did opposition research
- 13 for a client targeting Mr. Romney in the 2012
- 14 election. Obviously we've been talking about the
- 15 Trump opposition research. Have you ever done
- 16 opposition research regarding Mr. Obama?
- MR. LEVY: We're not going to get into
- 18 specific client matters that are outside the scope
- 19 of this interview. He's told you he's represented
- 20 clients on the right and left, but he's not going
- 21 to get into other matters beyond Prevezon and what
- 22 he did in the 2016 election.
- 23 MR. SIMPSON: I did investigate Senator
- 24 Obama's campaign in 2008 when I was working for the
- 25 Wall Street Journal and wrote an article that

Washington, DC

- 1 caused his campaign chair to resign. The record is
- 2 replete -- or the public report of my work is
- 3 replete with examples of investigations I've done
- 4 of Democrats that resulted in them losing their
- 5 elections and being prosecuted.
- 6 MR. LEVY: At the Wall Street Journal?
- 7 MR. SIMPSON: Yes.
- 8 BY MR. DAVIS:
- 9 Q. Are you party to a joint defense agreement
- 10 related to your Prevezon work?
- MR. LEVY: He's not going to talk about
- 12 privileged discussions or agreements, and he's
- 13 probably not qualified to answer anyway.
- 14 BY MR. DAVIS:
- 15 Q. Is Fusion GPS paying Cunningham Levy for
- 16 the firm's representation of you or as a third
- 17 party?
- 18 MR. LEVY: That's privileged also. He's not
- 19 getting into payments to his lawyers and it's
- 20 beyond the scope of this interview which has now
- 21 gone on for almost nine hours.
- 22 BY MR. DAVIS:
- Q. Has Fusion GPS ever offered directly or
- 24 indirectly to pay journalists to publish
- 25 information?

Washington, DC

- 1 A. No.
- 2 Q. Are you aware of any Fusion clients
- 3 offering directly or indirectly to pay journalists
- 4 to publish information from Fusion?
- 5 MR. LEVY: While working for Fusion on a
- 6 Fusion matter or as a general matter?
- 7 MR. FOSTER: Can you let the witness answer.
- 8 MR. LEVY: Well, if the question's clear he
- 9 can answer any question --
- 10 MR. FOSTER: I think the question was clear.
- 11 MR. LEVY: -- within the scope of the
- 12 interview --
- MR. DAVIS: Are there any of Fusion's
- 14 clients offering --
- 15 THE REPORTER: Guys.
- 16 BY MR. DAVIS:
- Q. I'll repeat the question. Are you aware
- 18 of any of Fusion's clients offering directly or
- 19 indirectly to pay journalists to publish
- 20 information from Fusion?
- 21 A. Not to my knowledge or recollection, no.
- MR. FOSTER: What was the end date of the
- 23 Trump engagement?
- MR. LEVY: He told you he didn't recall
- 25 exactly.

Washington, DC

- 1 MR. SIMPSON: That's not correct. The
- 2 election was the end date. I assume you're asking
- 3 about the general election? The election date
- 4 would have been the end.
- 5 MR. FOSTER: So you didn't do any work on the
- 6 Trump matter after the election date, that was the
- 7 end of your work?
- 8 MR. SIMPSON: I had no client after the
- 9 election.
- 10 MR. FOSTER: It's 6:21. Let's go off the
- 11 record for a minute.
- 12 (A short break was had.)
- MS. SAWYER: We'll go back on the record.
- 14 It's 6:30.
- 15 EXAMINATION
- 16 BY MS. SAWYER:
- 17 Q. We appreciate your time today, your
- 18 patience in answering our questions.
- 19 You've been asked a number of questions just
- 20 about -- well, strike that.
- Were any of the particular factual findings
- 22 or conclusions that you reached with regard to the
- 23 research that was being done related to Russian
- 24 interference in the 2016 election including
- 25 possible ties to the Trump campaign, were any of

Washington, DC

- 1 the factual findings or conclusions influenced in
- 2 any way by the identity of the client for whom you
- 3 were doing that work?
- A. All the questions you've asked I guess
- 5 this one I've not given a lot of thought to.
- 6 Offhand, not that I can think of.
- 7 Q. So you weren't trying to reach a
- 8 particular conclusion based on the identity had
- 9 they asked you to find -- well, strike that.
- I think what I'm trying to get some sense of
- 11 comfort around is to the extent there might be
- 12 concerns that the work being done was driven in a
- 13 direction designed to reach a particular conclusion
- 14 for a client or because of the client's identity
- 15 was that the case?
- A. I think it's safe to say that, you know,
- 17 at some point probably early in 2016 I had reached
- 18 a conclusion about Donald Trump as a businessman
- 19 and his character and I was opposed to Donald
- 20 Trump. I'm not going to pretend that that wouldn't
- 21 have entered into my thinking. You know, again, I
- 22 was a journalist my whole life. So we were, you
- 23 know, trained not to take sides and practiced in
- 24 not taking sides.
- 25 So most of what I do as a research person is

Washington, DC

- 1 we try to avoid getting into situations where one's
- 2 etiology or political views would cloud your work
- 3 because it's a known hazard, but, you know, I
- 4 reached an opinion about Donald Trump and his
- 5 suitability to be president of the United States
- and I was concerned about whether he was the best
- 7 person for the job.
- 8 Q. And given that you had been trained not to
- 9 allow etiology to cloud your work, it sounds like
- 10 you reached a conclusion and had concerns about
- 11 Candidate Trump. What steps did you take to then
- 12 ensure that your conclusion didn't cloud the work
- 13 that was being done?
- 14 A. Well, to be clear, my concerns were in the
- 15 category of character and competence rather than --
- 16 I didn't have any specific concerns for much of the
- 17 time about his views, which I don't share, but that
- 18 wasn't really the issue. Most of what we do has to
- 19 do with do people have integrity and whether
- 20 they've been involved in illicit activity. So
- 21 those were the things I focused on.
- 22 Q. So the conclusion that you reached, was it
- 23 informed by the research that you were -- your
- 24 personal conclusion, was it informed by the
- 25 research that you were conducting?

Washington, DC

- 1 A. Yes. We deal in factual information and
- 2 over the course of this project we gathered lots of
- 3 facts about Donald Trump.
- 4 Q. You mentioned that earlier and I think you
- 5 made clear a number of times in the course of the
- 6 day that the specific work on Russian interference
- 7 and possible ties to the campaign that Mr. Steele
- 8 was doing was one part of that bigger picture, and
- 9 I did want to ask you about some of that bigger
- 10 picture of the work and get a sense from you, if I
- 11 could, you know, some of the background and
- 12 findings. In particular one of the things you had
- 13 mentioned -- well, you just mentioned right now as
- 14 we were speaking the term "illicit activity."
- 15 What, if any, research did you conduct that gave
- 16 you any concerns about then Candidate Trump and
- 17 potential illicit activity?
- A. I think the thing I cited to you was his
- 19 relationship with organized crime figures, and that
- 20 was a concern.
- 21 Q. And what can you share with us about the
- 22 findings, your findings?
- A. Well, I've tried to share as much as I
- 24 could think of over the course of today. As I say,
- 25 there were various allegations of fraudulent

Washington, DC

- 1 business practices or dishonest business practices
- 2 or connections with organized crime figures. In
- 3 fact, you know, there was numerous others that I
- 4 can't remember the names of. It was a long history
- 5 of associations with people accused of involvement
- 6 in criminal activity.
- 7 You know, just to reiterate, the facts of
- 8 these investigations are the facts and we don't try
- 9 to drive an investigation to any particular
- 10 conclusion, certainly not based on our political
- 11 views. So I think it would be, you know, not
- 12 believable for me to tell you I didn't reach, you
- 13 know, views about Donald Trump's integrity, but,
- 14 you know, those were -- those didn't influence the
- 15 research in terms of the findings. Those were the
- 16 findings.
- 17 Q. You mentioned specifically and I think
- 18 with regard to organized crime particularly ties to
- 19 Felix Sater is one. You indicated a connection to
- 20 Yudkovich Mogilebich, I think it is.
- 21 A. Mogilebich.
- 22 Q. Mogilebich, which we can spell for you.
- 23 Tell me if I have this correct.
- M-O-G-I-L-E-B-I-C-H.
- 25 A. Yes.

Washington, DC

- 1 THE REPORTER: What's the first name?
- 2 MR. SIMPSON: Semyon, S-E-M-Y-O-N.
- 3 BY MS. SAWYER:
- 4 Q. Yudkovich, did I get that --
- 5 A. I believe I was probably talking fast and
- 6 I think I might have made a reference to
- 7 Yanukovych, which is the former president of the
- 8 Ukraine.
- 9 Q. With regard to any of that work, did you
- 10 create work product based on that work?
- 11 A. I don't specifically recall what we would
- 12 have created.
- Q. And with regard to that work, did you
- 14 share any of that information with law enforcement
- 15 agencies?
- A. No. I mean, just to reiterate, the only
- 17 contact that, you know, occurred during this
- 18 engagement was -- at least to my knowledge, was
- 19 Chris's dealing with the FBI. Other than that, I
- 20 don't remember having any dealings with the FBI.
- Q. You had also mentioned earlier in the day
- 22 work -- that there was an investigation about money
- 23 from Kazakhstan?
- 24 A. Yes.
- Q. And could you tell me about that and what

Washington, DC

- 1 you investigated and what you learned.
- 2 A. There was some parallel litigation in
- 3 New York involving attempts by the government of
- 4 Kazakhstan to recover money that had been allegedly
- 5 stolen from Kazakhstan, billions of dollars in a
- 6 colossal bank failure. The name of the bank was
- 7 BTA Bank. It's been well established in various
- 8 courts that the government's allegations are
- 9 basically true, which is that large amounts of
- 10 money were illicitly removed from this bank,
- 11 laundered across Europe and into the United States
- 12 apparently. Allegedly.
- 13 So there was a civil case, at least one civil
- 14 case in New York involving -- filed by the city of
- 15 Almaty, A-L-M-A-T-Y, against some alleged Kazakh
- 16 money launderers. I don't remember exactly how,
- 17 but we learned that -- it wasn't from Chris. We
- 18 learned that Felix Sater had some connections with
- 19 these people, and it's been more recently in the
- 20 media that he's helping the government of
- 21 Kazakhstan to recover this money. There's been
- 22 media reports that the money went into the Trump
- 23 Soho or it went into the company that built the
- 24 Trump Soho. I can't remember the name.
- 25 Q. So the connection in that instance was to

Washington, DC

- 1 Felix Sater and through Felix Sater to --
- 2 potentially to Donald Trump?
- 3 A. Yes. It was a company that Felix Sater
- 4 and Donald Trump were involved in together.
- 5 Q. And the research you did on that project,
- 6 was that public source research? Did you have any
- 7 other -- did you have human intelligence sources on
- 8 that project?
- 9 A. I think I probably did have some human
- 10 sources. That's my answer.
- 11 Q. And did you use subcontractors at all on
- 12 that work?
- 13 A. I can't say specifically whether it was --
- 14 I remember commissioning some public record-type
- 15 research on Felix Sater and his history in
- 16 New York.
- 17 Q. Did you feel in the course of that that
- 18 you had uncovered evidence of any criminal activity
- 19 by Donald Trump?
- 20 A. In the course of that I don't think so. I
- 21 think my concern was the associations with known
- 22 organized crime figures.
- Q. And that included Felix Sater?
- 24 A. Yes.
- Q. Anyone else in particular?

Washington, DC

- 1 A. There were others.
- 2 MR. LEVY: Beyond what we've discussed today?
- MS. SAWYER: Yes, beyond what we've already
- 4 discussed.
- 5 BY THE WITNESS:
- A. Another figure involved in the Trump Soho
- 7 project was a central Asian person named Arif,
- 8 A-R-I-F, is the last name. The first name is
- 9 generally spelled Tevfik, it's T-E-V-F-I-K. If you
- 10 search under a different transiteration of that
- 11 name you can find open source reporting alleging
- 12 that he's an organized crime figure from Central
- 13 Asia and he had an arrest for involvement in child
- 14 prostitution.
- 15 Q. You mentioned as well that you had
- 16 reviewed tax bills. Were these specifically Donald
- 17 Trump's tax bills?
- 18 A. They were Trump properties and I believe
- 19 we may have reviewed some public information about
- 20 estate taxes and things like that. We didn't have
- 21 access to his tax returns.
- 22 Q. Did you reach any conclusions based on
- 23 your review of his tax bills? I think you
- 24 mentioned that in connection with trying to assess
- 25 either financial connections or his financial

Washington, DC

- 1 standing. Did you reach any conclusions with
- 2 regard to either of those?
- 3 A. Yes. I concluded -- we concluded that his
- 4 statements about what individual properties were
- 5 worth were greatly exaggerated and at odds with the
- 6 information that he'd supplied, you know, in legal
- 7 filings with tax authorities and other records,
- 8 corporate records.
- 9 Q. Did any of that indicate anything that
- 10 showed a connection to Russia or the Russian
- 11 government or Russian officials or Russian
- 12 oligarchs?
- 13 A. Not that I can recall.
- Q. You mentioned as well, you brought up
- 15 Trump golf courses. What in particular were you
- 16 looking into with regard to Donald Trump's golf
- 17 courses?
- 18 A. The original inquiry was into the value of
- 19 the courses, whether he had to borrow money to buy
- them, whether they were encumbered with debt, how
- 21 much money they brought in, what valuations he put
- 22 on them, and property tax filings.
- Q. And in general can you share what findings
- 24 and conclusions you reached?
- MR. LEVY: With regard to?

Washington, DC

- 1 MS. SAWYER: To the work on the golf
- 2 properties.
- 3 BY THE WITNESS:
- A. A number of them don't make any money.
- 5 His valuations of the properties are questionable.
- 6 I guess those would be the main findings.
- 7 Q. You just mentioned broadly but didn't
- 8 describe it, you mentioned research on Scotland. I
- 9 don't know if it was particular properties or
- 10 something with regard to Scotland. Can you just
- 11 describe what that research was.
- 12 A. Sure. He has golf courses in Scotland and
- 13 Ireland and one of the facets of UK or anglo
- 14 company law is that private companies have to file
- 15 financial statements, public financial statements.
- 16 So when you're looking at a guy like Donald Trump
- 17 who doesn't like to share information about his
- 18 company, it's useful to find a jurisdiction where
- 19 he's required to share that information with the
- 20 local government.
- 21 So we went and ordered the records -- the
- 22 financial statements of the golf courses. There's
- 23 also a long-running land use controversy -- I think
- 24 there's multiple long-running land use
- 25 controversies over those properties. We haven't

Washington, DC

- 1 really touched on this at all, but there were also
- 2 environmental issues that were part of the
- 3 research.
- 4 Q. With regard to the public financial
- 5 statements, did you reach any conclusions based on
- 6 that?
- 7 A. That they were not profitable entities. I
- 8 don't specifically recall. I just remember that
- 9 these were not doing very well and that he'd sunk a
- 10 lot of money into them and he hadn't gotten a lot
- 11 of money back yet.
- 12 MS. QUINT: You mentioned a couple of times,
- 13 Mr. Simpson, that you had particular familiarity
- 14 with Mr. Manafort and even that you were more
- 15 familiar with him in particular than Chris Steele
- 16 was. In general and it might not be easy to be
- 17 general about it, but what was your focus when you
- 18 had looked into Manafort? What main areas were you
- 19 familiar with?
- 20 MR. SIMPSON: Over the years, originally at
- 21 the Wall Street Journal we learned of his
- 22 relationship with Ukrainian and Russian oligarchs.
- 23 So it was generally continued in that vein. He was
- 24 subject of some litigation over his business
- 25 dealings in New York. There was a lawsuit filed by

Washington, DC

- 1 the opposition politician from Ukraine accusing him
- 2 of involvement in corruption in Ukraine. So as
- 3 just a -- not for any particular client, but just
- 4 because these matters are something I follow I had
- 5 collected those documents. I think there's
- 6 probably some other litigation that I collected
- 7 that was in a similar vein.
- 8 MS. QUINT: And it was all documentary or did
- 9 you have human sources for your Manafort research?
- 10 MR. SIMPSON: I don't think -- for the most
- 11 part it was just what you call gathering string,
- 12 just accumulating files on people or subjects that
- 13 are of interest.
- 14 BY MS. SAWYER:
- 15 Q. The committee, certain members of the
- 16 committee, the Chairman and Ranking Member along
- 17 with Senators Graham and Whitehouse had sent a
- 18 request for documents and information on July 19.
- 19 I understand your efforts to identify that
- 20 information are ongoing and I know that in response
- 21 to one of my questions about Mr. Page your attorney
- 22 has already said that the request for information
- 23 is pending and being reviewed. I just wanted to
- 24 ask you a couple of questions about some of the
- 25 other individuals that we had identified in that

Washington, DC

- 1 letter and in particular in request No. 6?
- MR. LEVY: Do you have an exhibit or should I
- 3 just get my copy out?
- 4 MS. SAWYER: I'm happy to enter it as an
- 5 exhibit or I can just read the names. I don't
- 6 think there's any reason we need to --
- 7 MR. LEVY: Just read the names to move it
- 8 along, that's fine.
- 9 MS. SAWYER: I don't think there's any
- 10 reason -- there's nothing in this letter to inform
- 11 your answer otherwise.
- 12 BY MS. SAWYER:
- Q. So with regard to Alpha Group, sometimes
- 14 I've heard Alpha Group, sometimes I've heard Alpha
- 15 Bank. I don't know if they're two distinct
- 16 entities. Do you know anything about Alpha Bank or
- 17 Alpha Group with regard to Russian interference in
- 18 the 2016 election?
- 19 A. Alpha Group is not a corporate person,
- 20 it's not an entity. It's just a collective name.
- 21 Alpha Bank is a bank. I know a limited amount. I
- 22 know, you know, journalists were working on some
- 23 issues related to this and they asked us about it,
- 24 but the information didn't come from us.
- Q. So you were asked by journalists about it,

Washington, DC

- 1 but you're saying whatever information you had was
- 2 not generated by Fusion GPS?
- 3 A. That's right. I know they're a big player
- 4 and they have long, deep ties to Vladimir Putin.
- 5 One of the founders, Pyotr Aven, P-Y-O-T-R, second
- 6 word Aven, A-V-E-N, was an associate of Vladimir
- 7 Putin when he was in the mayor's office in Saint
- 8 Petersburg around the time same that Bill Browder
- 9 was doing business with the mayor's office.
- 10 They're very powerful politically and economically
- in Russia and they have -- in the tens of billions
- 12 are the assets of the founders and they have all
- 13 sorts of interests. They have epic disputes with
- 14 western corporations, including BP. So people in
- 15 my business tend to just have a lot of
- 16 institutional knowledge about them and, you know, I
- 17 shared my institutional knowledge about them.
- Q. You mentioned other founders. Are those
- 19 other founders Mikhail Fridman and German Khan?
- 20 A. Yes.
- Q. Do you have any information there have
- 22 been reports about potential communications between
- 23 a server at Alpha Bank and potentially servers that
- 24 belong to the Trump organization or Trump -- some
- 25 entity associated with Donald Trump? Do you have

Washington, DC

- 1 any information about those particular reports?
- A. That's kind of an open-ended question. I
- 3 think what I said is we were asked about that and
- 4 it wasn't -- that information wasn't generated by
- 5 us and I'm happy to say it's beyond our competence
- 6 to have generated, but in the course of being asked
- 7 about it, you know, people gave us information. I
- 8 don't know what else to say.
- 9 Q. And what information were you given?
- 10 A. A bunch of data. I mean, we were shown
- 11 like do you know what this would mean, does this
- 12 mean, and it's beyond -- it's really -- it's
- 13 certainly beyond my competence.
- Q. So the data that you were shown, you could
- 15 not draw any conclusions from it?
- 16 A. I did not draw any conclusions from the
- 17 data.
- 18 Q. Another individual that there's been a lot
- 19 of press reporting on is Sergei Millian. Other
- 20 than what -- what, if anything, can you tell us
- 21 about did you conduct any research into
- 22 Mr. Millian? And, if so, what conclusions did you
- 23 reach with regard to Russian interference in the
- 24 2016 election?
- 25 A. We learned from sources that he had

Washington, DC

- 1 connections to the Trump organization and we did an
- 2 open source investigation of him. We found a
- 3 picture of him with Donald Trump and another real
- 4 estate investor in Florida. We've discovered
- 5 that's not his real name or at least not the name
- 6 he came to the United States with and that before
- 7 he became a real estate broker he was a linguist
- 8 and translator. Speaking generally, people with
- 9 advanced training in linguistics are oftentimes
- 10 involved in intelligence matters, but I don't know
- 11 whether he is or isn't. Various reporters became
- 12 interested in him because he was boasting about his
- 13 connections to the Trump organization in the Trump
- 14 campaign. So we got lots of inquiries about who
- 15 was he, was he a spy, you know, that sort of thing.
- Q. And did you make a determination whether
- or not he had actual ties to the Trump campaign?
- 18 A. Well, some of the -- yes. I mean, he
- 19 was -- I think he's Facebook friends with Michael
- 20 Cohen. I'm sorry. It was some social media
- 21 connection. It was either Twitter friends or
- 22 Facebook friends. It was public information. We
- 23 took it from that that they did know each other. I
- 24 guess we gradually learned of Michael Cohen's role
- in the Trump campaign as opposed to in the Trump

Washington, DC

- 1 organization.
- Q. And what did you learn about Mr. Cohen's
- 3 role in the Trump campaign?
- 4 A. We learned that his job included dealing
- 5 with inquiries about Russia and he seemed to get
- 6 all of the serious inquiries, investigative
- 7 inquiries about Russia. He seemed to know a lot
- 8 about that. We learned that he was a very
- 9 intimidating person who had a history of
- 10 threatening reporters with libel suits. We learned
- 11 that he's married to -- his father-in-law is a
- 12 Ukrainian emigre, that he had some Ukrainian
- 13 clients and connections to the taxi industry in
- 14 New York which is heavily populated with Russian
- 15 emigres, and we learned that he was involved in
- some of Trump's projects where there was a lot of
- 17 Russian buyers. The only other thing I can think
- 18 of is that he was also the person who dealt with
- 19 allegations against Mr. Trump from the tabloids.
- 20 Q. And with regard to Trump projects with
- 21 Russian buyers, what specific projects had a number
- of Russian buyers?
- 23 A. I don't specifically remember. Florida
- 24 maybe. I think it was Florida. Sorry.
- MS. SAWYER: Just give us a minute.

Washington, DC

- I think that's really all of our questions.
- 2 I don't know if there's follow-up that you all had.
- 3 MR. FOSTER: Just very quickly. I can do it
- 4 from right here.
- 5 So I asked you -- or you were asked earlier
- 6 about representations that you're not -- you don't
- 7 see your firm as being Democrat linked and in my
- 8 previous question I asserted that there had been
- 9 public reports that you had done work, opposition
- 10 research during the 2012 election aimed at
- 11 Mr. Romney, but I didn't ask you to confirm that.
- 12 Is that correct?
- MR. LEVY: Work for clients outside the scope
- 14 of the interview is not within the scope of the
- 15 interview.
- 16 MR. FOSTER: It's relevant to his claim that
- 17 he's not a Democrat linked firm.
- MR. LEVY: He's answered that question. He's
- 19 given you multiple answers to that question and
- 20 significant information in support of his answer to
- 21 that question, and that small fact which may or may
- 22 not be pertinent is that he's going to decline to
- 23 answer because it's outside the scope of this
- 24 interview.
- MR. SIMPSON: I decline to answer.

Glenn Simpson August 22, 2017
Washington, DC

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1 MR. FOSTER: In some of the questioning in
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- 2 the last round there was some talk of your -- you
- 3 didn't have a particular aim in your research, you
- 4 were following the facts wherever they lead. Is it
- 5 fair to say -- is it a fair description to say that
- 6 your job was opposition research aimed at
- 7 Mr. Trump? That's been widely reported and
- 8 characterized that way. Do you think that's a fair
- 9 characterization of what your job was?
- 10 MR. LEVY: He's been talking for nine and a
- 11 half hours, a lot of which was describing his work.
- 12 To simplify it in any particular way at this point
- 13 I think is unfair to the witness.
- 14 MR. FOSTER: You weren't hired to find
- 15 positive information about Mr. Trump, were you?
- MR. SIMPSON: To the contrary. I think when
- 17 you're doing research on any subject you're trying
- 18 to figure out what the truth is. So if Donald
- 19 Trump's got a good business record and he's really
- 20 worth billions of dollars, that's important
- 21 information. In fact, you shouldn't be feeding
- 22 reporters stories about how Donald Trump is not
- 23 worth billions of dollars if he's worth billions of
- 24 dollars. So, you know, I think the connotation of
- 25 negativity, I get, you know, where you're coming

Washington, DC

- 1 from, but, in fact, you're just trying to figure
- 2 out what's true.
- 3 It's like with the Prevezon case, we were
- 4 trying to figure out who's telling the truth, is it
- 5 our guys or is it Browder. I do my job well and I
- 6 get rehired when I give them the right information,
- 7 when I give them accurate information. So if
- 8 Donald Trump turned out to be a great businessman,
- 9 that's what I would have to tell people.
- 10 MR. FOSTER: Nothing further from me.
- MR. LEVY: Before we go off the record, will
- we be entitled to a copy of the transcript?
- MR. FOSTER: You'll be able to review the
- 14 transcript and request corrections, make an
- 15 errata.
- MR. LEVY: Will it be kept confidential?
- 17 We'd like to make a request that it be kept
- 18 confidential given the sensitivity of the matters
- 19 discussed today.
- 20 MR. FOSTER: Your request is noted.
- MR. LEVY: Noted, but no decision on it?
- MR. FOSTER: No decision.
- 23 MR. LEVY: And upon reviewing the transcript,
- 24 when will we have that opportunity?
- MR. FOSTER: We can arrange that off the

Washington, DC

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    record.
           MR. LEVY: When we do we just reserve the
 2
 3
     right obviously to correct the record or supplement
     it.
 5
           MR. FOSTER: That's why we'd allow you to
 6
     review it.
 7
           MR. LEVY: Thank you very much.
           MR. DAVIS: Nothing further. We're going off
8
9
     the record at 7:04.
                         (Whereupon the interview was
10
11
                          concluded at 7:04 p.m.)
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1	CERTIFICATE OF SHORTHAND REPORTER - NOTARY PUBLIC
2	I, TINA M. ALFARO, Certified Shorthand
3	Reporter No. 084-004220, Certified Realtime
4	Reporter, and Notary Public in and for the State of
5	Illinois, do hereby certify:
6	That GLENN SIMPSON, whose interview is
7	hereinbefore set forth, was duly sworn by me and
8	that said deposition is a true record of the
9	testimony given by such witness.
10	I further certify that I am not counsel
11	for nor in any way related to any of the parties to
12	this suit, nor am I in any way interested in the
13	outcome thereof.
14	In witness, whereof, I have hereunto set
15	my hand this day of,2017.
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20	Tina M. Alfaro, CSR, CRR
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