

**ADDITIONAL VIEWS OF SENATORS HEINRICH, FEINSTEIN,
WYDEN, HARRIS, AND BENNET.**

(U) Almost four years after the 2016 U.S. presidential election, the Committee has now published the bipartisan results of its investigation of the Russian government's election interference and efforts to aid Donald Trump's candidacy. The Committee's work product is voluminous, fact-oriented, and essential reading for all Americans. But the Committee has not sought to draw overarching conclusions about its investigation, opting instead to let the reader determine the significance of these events. These additional views provide necessary context for the reader regarding (1) the Trump Campaign's cooperation with Russia; (2) investigative limitations; and (3) significant ongoing concerns.

(U) The Trump Campaign's Cooperation with Russia

(U) The Committee's bipartisan Report unambiguously shows that members of the Trump Campaign cooperated with Russian efforts to get Trump elected. It recounts efforts by Trump and his team to obtain dirt on their opponent from operatives acting on behalf of the Russian government. It reveals the extraordinary lengths by which Trump and his associates actively sought to enable the Russian interference operation by amplifying its electoral impact and rewarding its perpetrators – even after being warned of its Russian origins. And it presents, for the first time, concerning evidence that the head of the Trump Campaign was directly connected to the Russian meddling through his communications with an individual found to be a Russian intelligence officer.

(U) These are stubborn facts that cannot be ignored. They build on the Committee's bipartisan findings in Volume 2 and Volume 4 that show an extensive Kremlin-directed effort to covertly help candidate Trump in 2016, and they speak to a willingness by a major party candidate and his associates, in the face of a foreign adversary's assault on the political integrity of the United States, to welcome that foreign threat in exchange for advancing their own self-interest.

(U) The Committee's bipartisan Report found that Paul Manafort, *while he was Chairman of the Trump Campaign*, was secretly communicating with a Russian intelligence officer with whom he discussed Campaign strategy and repeatedly shared internal Campaign polling data. This took place *while the Russian intelligence operation to assist Trump was ongoing*. Further, Manafort took steps to hide these communications and repeatedly lied to federal investigators, and his deputy on the Campaign destroyed evidence of communications with the Russian intelligence officer. The Committee obtained some information suggesting that the Russian intelligence officer, with whom Manafort had a longstanding relationship, may have been connected to the GRU's hack-and-leak operation targeting the 2016 U.S. election. This is what collusion looks like.

(U) The Committee's bipartisan Report found that a member of the Trump Campaign's foreign policy advisory team was *provided with advance notice of the Russian plot* to anonymously release hacked emails that would damage Trump's opponent, and the Report found

that it is implausible that this information was not passed to the Campaign. The advance notice of a forthcoming covert Russian intervention on Trump's behalf came from an individual linked to the Russian government, and took place in April 2016, prior to any public awareness of the Russian meddling effort. No authorities were notified.

(U) The Committee's bipartisan Report found that Russia's goal in its unprecedented hack-and-leak operation against the United States in 2016, among other motives, was to assist the Trump Campaign. Candidate Trump and his Campaign responded to that threat by embracing, encouraging, and exploiting the Russian effort. Trump solicited inside information in advance of WikiLeaks's expected releases of stolen information, even after public reports widely attributed the activity to Russia, so as to maximize his electoral benefit. The Campaign crafted a strategy around these anticipated releases to amplify the dissemination and promotion of the stolen documents. *Even after the U.S. government formally announced the hack-and-leak campaign as a Russian government effort*, Trump's embrace of the stolen documents and his efforts to minimize the attribution to Russia only continued. The Committee's Report clearly shows that Trump and his Campaign were not mere bystanders in this attack – they were active participants. They *coordinated* their activities with the releases of the hacked Russian data, *magnified* the effects of a known Russian campaign, and *welcomed* the mutual benefit from the Russian activity.

(U) Additionally, the Committee's bipartisan Report shows that, at the June 9, 2016 meeting in Trump Tower, senior members of the Campaign sought, explicitly, to receive derogatory information for electoral benefit from a Russian lawyer known to have ties to the Russian government, with the understanding that the information was part of "Russia and its government's support for Mr. Trump." Prior to and during that meeting, members of the Trump Campaign's leadership clearly stated their desire to receive the promised derogatory Russian information, and ultimately they also clearly expressed their displeasure that the Russian information that was presented was not sufficiently damaging. That the Campaign leadership's desire to coordinate with Russia failed in this particular instance is hardly exculpatory; instead, it is emblematic of the leadership's mindset, intent and willingness to work with Russia in hopes of influencing the U.S. election to their benefit. The Committee's investigation found that the Russian lawyer that the Campaign leadership met with in Trump Tower, and one of her colleagues who also participated in the meeting, both have significant and concerning ties to Russian intelligence.

(U) Trump's Russia-friendly statements and policies during the Campaign did not occur in isolation. The Committee's bipartisan Report shows that, *during the campaign*, Donald Trump and the Trump Organization were pursuing a business deal in Russia. This is a topic about which the Campaign and its associates misled the public and Congress. The Committee's Report shows that Trump's outreach to the Kremlin began early and that during the Republican primary campaign, around the time that Trump authorized pursuit of the Russia deal, Trump asked for an in-person meeting with Putin. That request was relayed to the Kremlin. The Committee's Report shows that, during the campaign, Trump was kept up-to-date on the progress of the Russia deal and made positive public comments about Putin, in connection with the campaign, while deal negotiations were ongoing. During the campaign individuals working

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for or with the Trump Organization were in contact with the Kremlin regarding the deal and sought to leverage Trump's positive comments about Putin to advance the deal. A U.S. intelligence assessment indicates that Putin, who ordered the Russian operation that assisted Trump in the 2016 election, had a preference for leaders whose business interests made them more likely to deal with Russia. This made Trump uniquely appealing in Moscow, and the Committee's investigation found that Kremlin-directed influence efforts worked to undermine Republican candidates who ran against Trump in the U.S. presidential primary.

(U) There may be some who attempt to minimize the seriousness of Trump's actions, or the actions of his associates, by arguing that these individuals were motivated simply by self-interest or self-promotion. This argument overlooks that when self-interest is intertwined with the goals of a malign Russian influence operation, and when self-interest promotes the known Russian effort while also being promoted by that same Russian effort, then self-interest and Russia's interest become one and the same. Moreover, this argument misunderstands the deep counterintelligence vulnerability that is created when those who seek positions of great power, or proximity to that power, are willing to trade away national security for personal gain. There is good reason that such individuals are Putin's preferred interlocutors, and there is good reason why the U.S. security clearance application asks extensively about vulnerabilities that could be used as leverage, including foreign financial interests.

(U) Candidate Trump's pursuit of private business in Russia during the campaign, and his Campaign Chairman Paul Manafort's deep financial ties to a Kremlin-aligned Russian oligarch during the campaign, are not the only sources of leverage to which Trump and his Campaign were vulnerable. The Committee's bipartisan Report shows that during the campaign Trump maintained personal correspondence with a Russian oligarch and his adult son on topics including the upcoming U.S. election. The Moscow-based oligarch and his son, who were involved in offering the Trump Campaign derogatory information related to the election and who gave Trump a sizable gift during the Campaign, maintain significant and concerning connections not only to Kremlin leadership but also to Russian organized crime. Trump had previously done business with the oligarch in Moscow. The Committee's Report also shows that prior to and during the campaign, Trump was informed of alleged compromising tapes of him in Moscow. These allegations are separate from Christopher Steele's reports, which were not used to support the Committee's work. The Committee found that the Russian intelligence services clearly engage in the collection of compromising information for leverage, and that there may be substance to some of the allegations regarding Trump, which leaves open an ongoing concern about Russian influence operations.

(U) Finally, the Committee's bipartisan Report shows that almost immediately following Election Day in 2016, the Trump transition responded to Russia's election interference not by supporting punitive action, but rather by holding a series of secretive meetings and communications with Russian representatives that served to undercut the outgoing administration's efforts to hold Russia accountable. The transition's openness to this private Russian outreach prior to taking office, so soon after Russia's interference on Trump's behalf, combined with Trump publicly questioning Russia's involvement, signaled that there was little

intention by the incoming administration to punish Russia for the assistance it had just provided in its unprecedented attack on American democracy.

(U) Investigative Context

(U) There is also important additional context that should be provided to the reader regarding what the Committee's Report is, and what it is not. The Committee's Report does not duplicate the Special Counsel's investigation. The Special Counsel's work was *criminal* in nature, not a *counterintelligence* investigation. Counterintelligence investigations address intelligence questions pertaining to national security threats, not merely statutorily prohibited crimes. That is why the Committee pursued its investigation from a counterintelligence perspective. And it is why the Special Counsel's inability to "establish" a criminal conspiracy between the Trump Campaign and Russia does not convey the breadth and complexity of the threat presented by their actions.

(U) In its Report, the Committee described the events of 2016 in as much relevant detail as it could. Even so, the Committee's power to investigate—which does not include search warrants or wiretaps—falls short of the FBI's. So too do its staffing, resources, and technical capabilities. The result is that the American people still do not, and may never, have all the facts necessary to determine the full extent of the cooperation between Russia and the Trump Campaign in 2016.

(U) In addition, the Committee did not cover all areas of concern. For example, the Committee's investigation, for a variety of reasons, did not seek, and was not able to review, records regarding Donald Trump's finances and the numerous areas where those financial interests appear to have overlapped with Russia. In turn, the reader should not interpret the Report's absence of information on this topic to indicate that nothing of interest was found. Rather, it should be acknowledged that this was a potentially meaningful area that the Committee did not probe.

(U) Nevertheless, the facts above, which are further examined in the Committee's bipartisan Report, clearly show that what did happen between Russia and the Trump Campaign in 2016 is far worse than has been publicly revealed thus far. Furthermore, in nearly 1,000 pages of text, we are not aware of a *single case* where the information that is redacted makes the conduct of Trump or his associates less concerning. To the contrary, across the Report's most critical sections, the redacted information makes the already alarming public findings even more granular, explicit, and concerning.

(U) Significant Ongoing Concerns

(U) The value of the Committee's investigation is not purely historical. The counterintelligence lessons contained in this report regarding what happened to the United States in 2016 should be an alarm bell for the nation, and for those preparing to defend the nation against current and evolving threats targeting the upcoming U.S. elections. Indeed, Russia is actively interfering again in the 2020 U.S. election to assist Donald Trump, and some of the

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President's associates are amplifying those efforts. It is vitally important that the country be ready.

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(U) It is our conclusion, based on the facts detailed in the Committee's Report, that the Russian intelligence services' assault on the integrity of the 2016 U.S. electoral process and Trump and his associates' participation in and enabling of this Russian activity, represents one of the single most grave counterintelligence threats to American national security in the modern era.

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