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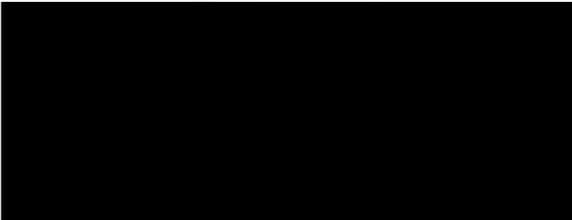
United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6275

KOLAN L. DAVIS, *Chief Counsel and Staff Director*
JENNIFER DUCK, *Democratic Staff Director*

November 15, 2017

Mr. Roger Stone



Dear Mr. Stone:

During the presidential election campaign, you made several public statements that you had “backchannel communications” with Julian Assange suggesting advance knowledge of Wikileaks’ plans to disclose information obtained from a cyberattack on US computer systems.¹ Given your role as an advisor to the Trump campaign and President Trump and your prior statements, we believe that you have information that would assist the Committee in its investigation related to the 2016 presidential election. Accordingly, we are writing to request documents and schedule an interview with you in November 2017.

On August 10, you told a local Republican party group: “I’ve actually communicated with Julian Assange.”² On August 21, 2016 you tweeted that “it will soon [be] the Podesta’s time in the barrel” and, in mid-September, you said that you expected Wikileaks to “drop a payload of new documents on a weekly basis fairly soon.”³ You have admitted to communicating with Guccifer 2.0, an anonymous internet persona that claimed responsibility on June 15, 2016 for hacking the Democratic National Committee’s computers.⁴

You also reportedly helped recruit Paul Manafort – who was recently charged in a money laundering conspiracy involving Russian oligarchs – to join

¹ Andrew Kaczynski, Nathan McDermott, and Chris Massie, “Trump advisor Roger Stone repeatedly claimed to know of forthcoming Wikileaks dumps,” CNN, March 20, 2017.

² Id.

³ Id.

⁴ Ryan Goodman, “How Roger Stone Interacted with Russia’s Guccifer and Wikileaks,” Newsweek, September 28, 2017.

the Trump campaign.⁵ More recently, it has been reported that you spoke with President Trump about the dismissal of FBI Director Comey.⁶

The Intelligence Community has concluded that Russia interfered in the 2016 election, with the goal of undermining faith in our democratic processes and harming Secretary Clinton's candidacy.⁷ As explained in the January 6, 2017 Intelligence Community assessment: "We further assess Putin and the Russian Government developed a clear preference for President-elect Trump."⁸ Director Comey was leading the FBI's investigation into Russian interference in the 2016 election – including possible ties to the Trump campaign – when he was summarily dismissed by the President.

The Committee is investigating these matters, and would ask in advance of your interview, please provide the following documents to the Committee, covering the time period from January 1, 2015 to the present:

1. All documents concerning efforts to obtain or share "hacked" emails or other electronic data belonging to or housed on the servers of the Democratic National Committee (DNC), John Podesta, Hillary Clinton, or the 2016 U.S. presidential campaign of Hillary Clinton.
2. All communications with WikiLeaks, Julian Assange, Guccifer 2.0, or DC Leaks, or anyone purporting to act or whom you believed to be acting on their behalf.
3. All communications with the Trump Organization or Trump campaign (including associates, representatives, surrogates, aides, and volunteers of the Trump Organization or campaign) regarding the 2016 presidential election.
4. All communications with Russian government officials, associates, or representatives, including any individuals who purported to act or whom you believed to be acting on behalf of or in concert with Russian government officials, associates, or representatives, about 2016 presidential election and candidates Donald J. Trump Jr. or Hillary Clinton.

⁵ Catherine Ho, "From Ukraine to Trump Tower, Paul Manafort Unafraid to Take on Controversial Jobs," Washington Post, April 7, 2016.

⁶ Ryan Lizza, "Trump's 'Good Job' Call to Roger Stone," The New Yorker, May 31, 2017;

⁷ Office of the Director of National Intelligence, "Assessing Russian Activities and Intentions in Recent US Elections," ICA 2017-01D, January 6, 2017, at 2-3.

⁸ Office of the Director of National Intelligence, "Assessing Russian Activities and Intentions in Recent US Elections," ICA 2017-01D, January 6, 2017.

I appreciate your cooperation and prompt attention to this important matter and ask that you provide the requested material as soon as possible, but no later than November 27, 2017. Please contact Brian Privor on my staff at (202) 224-7703 to schedule your interview and discuss arrangements for document production.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Dianne Feinstein". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

Dianne Feinstein
United States Senator

cc: The Honorable Charles E. Grassley

Roger J. Stone, Jr.

New York, NY

April 6, 2017

The Honorable Dianne Feinstein
Ranking Minority Member
Committee on the Judiciary
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510-6275

Dear Senator Feinstein,

This is in response to your letter requesting my production to the Committee of a broad range of documents, based on your belief that I have information that would assist in the Committee's investigation related to the 2016 presidential election.

I am happy to co-operate with the committee. It is unfortunate that you cannot access the more than four hours of sworn testimony before the House Intelligence Committee where I literally addressed every question you posed to me in your letter of November 15, 2017.

According to your letter, the following so-called news reports and a single unclassified, highly-conclusory intelligence assessment prompted your request:

- **CNN:** Andrew Kaczynski, Nathan McDermott, and Chris Massie, "Trump advisor Roger Stone repeatedly claimed to know of forthcoming Wikileaks dumps," March 20, 2017;
- **Newsweek:** Ryan Goodman, "How Roger Stone Interacted with Russia's Guccifer and Wikileaks," September 28, 2017;
- **Washington Post:** Catherine Ho, "From Ukraine to Trump Tower, Paul Manafort [sic] Unafraid to Take on Controversial Jobs," April 7, 2016;
- **The New Yorker:** Ryan Lizza, "Trump's 'Good Job' Call to Roger Stone," May 31, 2017;
- **Office of the Director of National Intelligence:** "Assessing Russian Activities and Intentions in Recent US Elections." ICA 2017-0 ID, January 6, 2017

While I appreciate your attention to various reporting outlets concerning this matter, this request is founded on numerous presumptions within the sources you cite which are, at best, specious and, at worst, outright false, if not totally fantastic, and demonstrably so.

Further, other than the DNI opinion, all sources you have cited are politically-biased outlets that evince an irrefutably partisan agenda and have provably-manipulated, if not invented, reportage to accommodate what is, to any honest observer, a highly-transparent, intense and sustained animus towards President Trump and his most vocal, visible supporters.

In the spirit of co-operation let me address the questions on which your document list is premised. Your letter states, verbatim, the following (in bullet-point form) as the bases for your request. My responses are beneath each of your assertions:

- On August 10, you told a local Republican party group: "I've actually communicated with Julian Assange."

As I testified to the House Select Committee on Intelligence in September, 2017, when I told the Southeast Broward Republican Club that I had communicated with Assange, it was through a back channel – in this case a confirming source who had contacts on the WikiLeaks legal team. I have never spoken to or met with Julian Assange.

- On August 21, 2016 you tweeted that "it will soon [be] the Podesta's time in the barrel"

As I have explained this Tweet is a reference to information first published in the Panama Papers in April 2016 which exposed the Russian business dealings of John and Tony Podesta and their closely-held company.

A summary of this information and other publicly-available or published information about the Podesta brothers' business dealings had been supplied to me by Dr. Jerome Corsi. Note that my Tweet says "*the* Podesta's." While some may have once called the President 'the Donald,' no one has ever called John Podesta "The Podesta."

My reference was clearly to the Podesta brothers and, indeed, their extensive business dealings in Russia went on to be reported by the mainstream media, including most of those you cite as sources, in your letter. At no time did I make any reference to John Podesta's email nor did I predict that they would either be illicitly-obtained or published, or anything whatsoever.

- In mid-September, you said that you expected Wikileaks to "drop a payload of new documents on a weekly basis fairly soon."

In June 2016 Julian Assange told CNN that he had material on Hillary Clinton and would publish it. On July 25th James Rosen of Fox News told Charles Ortel, a financial analyst

and expert on the unprosecuted corruption of the Clinton Foundation that WikiLeaks had information on the Clinton Foundation. My remarks to the Southeast Broward Republican club on August 8, 2016 reflected this tip.

In mid-August 2016 Randy Credico, a radio journalist working in New York, who had contacts on the WikiLeaks legal team told me that Assange had "the motherlode" on Hillary and that WikiLeaks would begin releasing it October 1, followed by weekly data dumps.

I had no advance notice of either the source, the content or the precise timing of the WikiLeaks publication of the allegedly-hacked material from the DNC, nor of any other materials of any kind, ever.

I never received any material whatsoever from WikiLeaks or Julian Assange and have never passed any such material to Donald Trump, The Trump campaign or anyone else, for that matter.

- You have admitted to communicating with Guccifer 2.0, an anonymous internet persona that claimed responsibility on June 15, 2016 for hacking the Democratic National Committee's computers.'

I reject the assertion that Guccifer 2.0 is a Russian asset. Although our intelligence services insist this is the case, these are agencies consisting of the same people who lied repeatedly and publicly about the government's collection of metadata on American citizens, until Edward Snowden proved they were lying.

They are also the same intelligence assets that electronically-surveilled some your colleagues' offices and activities in the Senate, about which an agency Director flat-out lied to the American people and the United States Senate, once caught and confronted.

My limited communication with Guccifer 2.0 over Twitter direct messages is *ex-post facto*, meaning it took place weeks after Wikileaks has already published the allegedly hacked DNC emails on their website.

The Intelligence community's own assessment, the only official document you cite states that, "Guccifer 2.0, who claimed to be an independent Romanian hacker, made multiple contradictory statements and false claims about his likely Russian identity throughout the election....Content that we assess was taken from e-mail accounts targeted by the GRU in March 2016 appeared on DCLeaks.com starting in June. We assess with high confidence that the GRU relayed material it *acquired from the DNC and senior Democratic officials* to WikiLeaks. Moscow most likely chose WikiLeaks because of its self-proclaimed reputation for authenticity. Disclosures through WikiLeaks did not contain any evident forgeries."

Not even the highest confidence “assessment” constitutes proof of any sort, except of the assessors’ opinion, in this case the assessment of institutions that, at the time of that assessment, manifested a clear bias against the President.

- You also reportedly helped recruit Paul Manafort — who was recently charged in a money laundering conspiracy involving Russian oligarchs — to join the Trump campaign.'

This is most definitely true. While Donald Trump was amassing primary caucus and state convention delegate victories, no one in the campaign was paying attention to the all-important appointments that would be made to the credentials, rules and platform committees.

In many cases even though Donald Trump was sweeping the delegate contests, established party leaders were appointing committee members who were hostile to Donald Trump’s candidacy.

Because the Republican national convention is internally governed by its own rules, not by state or federal law, it is technically possible to manipulate the rules and the actual makeup of the voting majority of a national convention to hijack a presidential nomination. This, in fact, happened in 1952 when Dwight Eisenhower wrenched the nomination from the hands of Sen. Robert a Taft of Ohio.

Paul Manafort, like me, is from Connecticut, one of the last states in the country that nominates its statewide candidates by convention. Those convention rules and procedures are in substance identical to the rules and procedures of the Republican National Convention.

Paul Manafort is among a small group of political operatives with strategic and organizational experience at party conventions, having run convention operations for Gerald Ford, Ronald Reagan and Senator Bob Dole.

Under Manafort’s leadership the Trump campaign turned back an attempt by the Republican Party establishment, led by Senator Ted Cruz, to amend convention rules to hijack the nomination from the front runner, Donald Trump.

Manafort also managed an impressive television presentation that included effective speeches by Ivanka Tromp, Eric Trump, Donald Trump Jr., General Mike Flynn and Mayor Rudy Giuliani, as well as Donald Trump himself.

While I take cannot take credit for the appointment of Paul Manafort by Donald Trump to marshal his convention operation, I am certainly among those who recommended this recruitment. In the wake of the convention’s success, Trump subsequently appointed Manafort his full campaign manager

- More recently, it has been reported that you spoke with President Trump about the dismissal of FBI Director Comey.

That the President and I have both denied this has been widely reported in the media. Were the President watching my interviews and commentary on Infowars.com, as well as in numerous other media appearances, he would certainly have known that I believed Mr. Comey should have been terminated as soon as the President assumed office, for good cause and irrespective of any activities involving any actual or possible investigations related in any way to President Trump.

- The Intelligence Community has concluded that Russia interfered in the 2016 election, with the goal of undermining faith in our democratic processes and harming Secretary Clinton's candidacy.

With all due respect, our Intelligence Community has become grotesquely politicized. The recent indictment of 13 Russian nationals who in 2016 conducted a small-scale digital media campaign indicates that their messaging was everything from pro-Trump to anti-Trump, anti-Hillary to pro-Hillary, co-Sanders and otherwise. The level of spending on that effort was minuscule in the overall scheme of what became a multibillion-dollar presidential contest.

As I testified to the House Select Committee on Intelligence I did not engage in, nor do I know anyone else, associated with the Trump Campaign or otherwise, who engaged in any conspiracy, collaboration, coordination or collusion with the Russian state or any other foreign nation, for that matter.

- As explained in the January 6, 2017 Intelligence Community assessment: "We further assess Putin and the Russian Government developed a clear preference for President-elect Trump."

Again, I must reject this bald assertion that is the thin product of a politicized government bureaucracy. In view of the approximately \$145M funneled from Russian and Russia business-connected energy Executives into the Clinton Foundation, the \$500,000 honorarium paid to Bill Clinton by many of the same Russian energy interests, as well as the Podesta brothers' lucrative banking, uranium and gas deals, a more objective conclusion based on actual evidence would indicate that the Russians had already purchased Hillary Clinton.

You asked that I provide the following documents to the Committee, covering the time period from January 1, 2015 to the present:

1. All documents concerning efforts to obtain or share "hacked" emails or other electronic data belonging to or housed on the servers of the Democratic National

Committee (DNC), John Podesta, Hillary Clinton, or the 2016 U.S. presidential campaign of Hillary Clinton.

2. All communications with WikiLeaks, Julian Assange, Guccifer 2.0, or DC Leaks, or anyone purporting to act or whom you believed to be acting on their behalf.
3. All communications with the Trump Organization or Trump campaign (including associates, representatives, surrogates, aides, and volunteers of the Trump Organization or campaign) regarding the 2016 presidential election.
4. All communications with Russian government officials, associates, or representatives, including any individuals who purported to act or whom you believed to be acting on behalf of or in concert with Russian government officials, associates, or representatives, about 2016 presidential election and candidates Donald J. Trump Jr. or Hillary Clinton.

The breadth and depth of documents you have requested is, with all due respect, not only excessive but approaching absurd. I am a political strategist and consultant who worked with the current president in years past, informally during the campaign, and in my advocacy and support undertaken independently and of my own accord. I also support myriad related causes, both partisan and ideological, with whom I have allied, worked and/or communicated.

However, it is my intention to provide the materials you have requested. I have over one million e-mails and documents that must be searched. It is important to know that your document request is much broader and less specific than that of the House Intelligence Committee.

Recent media reports that emails leaked by Sam Nutberg had not been turned over to the House Intelligence Committee fail to also report that they do not, in fact, fall within the scope of that Committee's specific document request.

My counsel will be in touch with the Committee to facilitate all this.

Cordially,

/signed/

Roger J. Stone, Jr.