

CHARLES E. GRASSLEY, IOWA, CHAIRMAN  
ORRIN G. HATCH, UTAH  
LINDSEY O. GRAHAM, SOUTH CAROLINA  
JOHN CORNYN, TEXAS  
MICHAEL S. LEE, UTAH  
TED CRUZ, TEXAS  
BEN SASSE, NEBRASKA  
JEFF FLAKE, ARIZONA  
MIKE CRAPO, IDAHO  
THOM TILLIS, NORTH CAROLINA  
JOHN KENNEDY, LOUISIANA  
DIANNE FEINSTEIN, CALIFORNIA  
PATRICK J. LEAHY, VERMONT  
RICHARD J. DURBIN, ILLINOIS  
SHELDON WHITEHOUSE, RHODE ISLAND  
AMY KLOBUCHAR, MINNESOTA  
AL FRANKEN, MINNESOTA  
CHRISTOPHER A. COONS, DELAWARE  
RICHARD BLUMENTHAL, CONNECTICUT  
MAZIE HIRONO, HAWAII

United States Senate  
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY  
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6275

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

October 4, 2017

**VIA ELECTRONIC TRANSMISSION**

The Honorable Christopher Wray  
Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
935 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW  
Washington, D.C. 20535

Dear Director Wray:

On March 6, 2017, I wrote to then-Director Comey asking a series of questions stemming from press reports about the FBI's interaction with Mr. Christopher Steele, the former British spy and purported author of the political opposition research dossier of allegations of collusion against President Trump and his associates. While the Committee did receive some information in response, most of the questions went unanswered, and the information the Committee received contained material inconsistencies.

To address these inconsistencies, I sent a follow up letter on April 28, requesting that the FBI answer all the questions in the original letter, explain the inconsistencies, and answer some additional questions. Although Mr. Comey indicated at his oversight hearing on May 3, 2017, that the FBI would provide answers, the President fired him shortly thereafter. The Committee has received no additional information about these issues from the FBI. The Committee continues to need this information to perform its constitutional duty of oversight of the FBI. On August 25, 2017, I sent you a classified letter addressing the issues in detail. I have yet to receive a response to that letter.

There is another concern about Mr. Steele's and Fusion GPS's work that the FBI needs to address. Public reports indicate that the FBI received the dossier and has used it in the Russia investigation. However, it appears that the FBI, the media, and various Congressional offices were not the only recipients of the dossier prior to its publication. In court filings by Mr. Steele's attorneys in London, he admitted that he had passed at least some contents of the dossier to at least one foreign government – the United Kingdom.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Those filings are attached to this letter.

Media reports have also claimed that foreign governments passed along information to the United States about purported contacts between Trump associates and Russians. Given that Mr. Steele also distributed the dossier's contents to at least one foreign government, it is possible that this political dossier's collusion allegations, or related allegations originating via Mr. Steele, may have also been surreptitiously funneled into U.S. intelligence streams through foreign intelligence sharing. If so, that foreign information would likely have ended up within the FBI's investigation of allegations of collusion between Trump associates and Russia. However, given that foreign intelligence agencies carefully guard their sources and methods, it may not have been clear to the FBI that the foreign reporting was actually based on the work of Mr. Steele and Fusion GPS.

If this in fact happened, it would be alarming. Mr. Steele's dossier allegations might appear to be "confirmed" by foreign intelligence, rather than just an echo of the same "research" that Fusion bought from Steele and that the FBI reportedly also attempted to buy from Steele. It is even more alarming in light of what we are learning about the allegedly unregistered Russian foreign agents who Fusion GPS and Glenn Simpson were working with to undermine the Magnitsky Act and who met with Trump family and campaign officials last summer.

The Committee must understand what steps the FBI has taken to ensure that any foreign information it received and used in the Russia investigation, beyond the dossier itself, was not ultimately sourced to Mr. Steele, his associates such as Fusion GPS, or his sub-sources. Please respond to the following by no later than October 18, 2017:

1. Please provide all foreign intelligence reports that are or have been part of the FBI's investigation into alleged collusion between Trump associates and Russia.
2. Please explain what steps, if any, the FBI took to determine whether Mr. Steele or his network were the ultimate source of each foreign intelligence document received.
3. Other than the Steele dossier itself, did the FBI rely on any information provided by foreign nationals or foreign governments in seeking investigative authorities in the investigation of alleged collusion between Trump associates and Russia? If so, please include the relevant warrant applications and related documents.

I anticipate that your responses to these questions may contain both classified and unclassified information. Please send all unclassified material directly to the Committee. In keeping with the requirements of Executive Order 13526, if any of the responsive documents do contain classified information, please segregate all unclassified material within the classified documents, provide all unclassified information directly to the Committee, and provide a classified addendum to the Office of Senate Security. Although the Committee complies with all laws and regulations governing the handling of classified information, it is not bound, absent its prior agreement, by any handling restrictions or instructions on unclassified information unilaterally asserted by the Executive Branch.

Thank you for your prompt attention to this important matter. If you have any questions, please contact Patrick Davis of my Committee staff at (202) 224-5225.

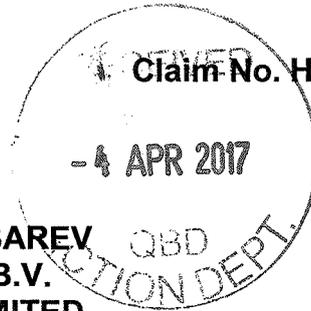
Sincerely,



Charles E. Grassley  
Chairman  
Committee on the Judiciary

cc: The Honorable Dianne Feinstein  
Ranking Member  
Senate Committee on the Judiciary

**IN THE HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE**  
**QUEEN'S BENCH DIVISION**



**BETWEEN:-**

- (1) ALEKSEJ GUBAREV**
- (2) WEBZILLA B.V.**
- (3) WEBZILLA LIMITED**
- (4) XBT HOLDINGS S.A.**

**Claimants**

**-and-**

- (1) ORBIS BUSINESS INTELLIGENCE LIMITED**
- (2) CHRISTOPHER STEELE**

**Defendants**

---

**DEFENCE**

---

References in this Defence are to paragraphs in the Particulars of Claim unless otherwise stated.

**Introduction**

1. Save that it is admitted that the Second and Third Claimants are hosting infrastructure companies based in the Netherlands and Cyprus respectively, no admissions are made as to paragraphs 1 and 2.
2. Paragraphs 3-5 are admitted.
3. Orbis was founded in 2009 by the Second Defendant and Christopher Burrows.
4. The Second Defendant and Christopher Burrows were formerly senior and experienced Crown servants in the Foreign and Commonwealth Office.
5. Sir Andrew Wood GCMG was the British Ambassador to Moscow between 1995 and 2000. He is an Associate Fellow of the Russia and Eurasia Programme at the Royal Institute for International Affairs at Chatham House. He is also an Associate of Orbis.

6. Fusion GPS (“Fusion”) is a consultancy based in Washington DC providing research, strategic intelligence and due diligence services to clients.
7. Prior to the events in issue in this case the Defendants had developed a working relationship with Fusion over a number of years.
8. At all material times Fusion was subject to an obligation not to disclose to third parties confidential intelligence material provided to it by the Defendants in the course of that working relationship without the agreement of the Defendants.

#### **The pre-election memoranda**

9. Between June and early November 2016 Orbis was engaged by Fusion to prepare a series of confidential memoranda based on intelligence concerning Russian efforts to influence the US Presidential election process and links between Russia and Donald Trump.
10. The Defendants produced sixteen such memoranda. These will be referred to for convenience as “the pre-election memoranda”, having been prepared before the 2016 US Presidential election. The last one was produced in the latter part of October 2016. None were produced in November 2016. None of the pre-election memoranda contained any reference to, or intelligence about, the Claimants.
11. As an Associate of Orbis, Sir Andrew Wood was aware of the Second Defendant’s intelligence gathering for the pre-election memoranda.

#### **Senator John McCain**

12. Senator John McCain is the Chair of the US Senate Armed Services Committee and a member of the US Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs.
13. David Kramer is a former US State Department civil servant and was US Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor from 2008 to 2009. He is the Senior Director for Human Rights and Human Freedoms at Senator McCain’s Institute for International Leadership.
14. After the election of Donald Trump as the 45<sup>th</sup> President of the United States on 8 November 2016, Sir Andrew Wood met Mr Kramer and Senator McCain. As a result of their discussions Sir Andrew arranged for the Second Defendant to meet Mr Kramer, as the representative of Senator McCain, in order to show him the pre-election memoranda on a confidential basis.

15. The meeting between the Second Defendant and Mr Kramer took place on 28 November 2016 in Surrey. Mr Kramer told the Second Defendant that the intelligence he had gathered raised issues of potential national security importance.
16. An arrangement was then made upon Mr Kramer's return to Washington for Fusion to provide Sen. McCain with hard copies of the pre-election memoranda on a confidential basis via Mr Kramer.
17. On behalf of Sen McCain, Mr Kramer requested to be provided with any further intelligence gathered by the Defendants about alleged Russian interference in the US Presidential election.

#### **The confidential December memorandum**

18. The Defendants continued to receive unsolicited intelligence on the matters covered by the pre-election memoranda after the US Presidential election and the conclusion of the assignment for Fusion.
19. After receiving some such intelligence the Second Defendant prepared the confidential December memorandum, referred to at paragraph 8.1, on his own initiative on or around 13 December 2016.
20. The Defendants considered, correctly, that the raw intelligence in the December memorandum:
  - a. was of considerable importance in relation to alleged Russian interference in the US Presidential election;
  - b. had implications for the national security of the US and the UK; and
  - c. needed to be analysed and further investigated/verified.
21. Accordingly the Second Defendant provided a copy of the December memorandum to:
  - a. A senior UK government national security official acting in his official capacity, on a confidential basis in hard copy form; and
  - b. Fusion, by enciphered email with an instruction to Fusion to provide a hard copy to Sen. McCain via Mr Kramer.

#### **Liability for the publication complained of**

22. Save that it is admitted that the words complained of and set out therein were contained in the confidential December memorandum, paragraph 6 is denied.

23. It is denied that in their natural and ordinary meaning, in their proper context, the words complained of bore or were capable of bearing the meaning pleaded at paragraph 7.
24. Read in context the natural and ordinary meaning of the words complained of was that there were grounds to investigate whether the Claimants had been coerced by Russia into hacking the computers used by the US Democratic Party leadership, transmitting viruses, planting bugs, stealing data and conducting altering operations.
25. Save insofar as it is admitted above paragraph 8.1 is denied.
26. The first sentence of paragraph 8.2 is noted. This is understandable. The contents of the December memorandum were highly sensitive and the Defendants only disseminated copies of it in strict confidence as aforesaid.
27. The remainder of paragraph 8.2 is, in the premises, denied in its entirety.
28. Sub-paragraphs 8.2.1, 8.2.2 and 8.2.4 are admitted.
29. As to sub-paragraph 8.2.3:
  - a. In so far as this sub-paragraph refers to the pre-election memoranda:
    - i. The first sentence is too vague for the Defendants to plead to in any meaningful way;
    - ii. The second sentence is denied;
  - b. In so far as it refers to the confidential December memorandum:
    - i. The first sentence is again too vague for the Defendants to plead to in any meaningful way. The December memorandum was provided to the recipients identified above so that that the information in it was known to the United States and United Kingdom governments at a high level by persons with responsibility for national security;
    - ii. The second sentence is denied.
30. The first sentence of sub-paragraph 8.2.5 is noted. The Defendants did not, however, provide any of the pre-election memoranda to media organizations or journalists. Nor did they authorize anyone to do so. Nor did they provide the confidential December memorandum to media organizations or journalists. Nor did they authorize anyone to do so.
31. The second sentence of sub-paragraph 8.2.5 is denied.

32. Save that it is admitted that the Second Defendant gave off the record briefings to a small number of journalists about the pre-election memoranda in late summer/autumn 2016, sub-paragraph 8.2.6 is denied.
33. Paragraph 8.3 is admitted but liability for such publication resides with BuzzFeed.
34. No admissions are made as to paragraph 8.4.
35. Paragraph 8.5 is denied. The Defendants are not liable for publication by BuzzFeed.

### **Qualified privilege**

36. Further or in the alternative, the confidential December memorandum was published by the Defendants, as pleaded at paragraph 21 above, in good faith, on an occasion of qualified privilege.
37. In the circumstances set out above the Defendants were under a duty to pass the information in the December memorandum to the senior UK government national security official and Sen. McCain so that it was known to the United Kingdom and United States governments at a high level by persons with responsibility for national security. These recipients had a corresponding duty or interest to receive it in their capacities as senior representatives of those governments with such responsibilities.
38. The incidental publications to Fusion and Mr Kramer were reasonable as a means of bringing this sensitive document securely to the attention of Sen. McCain.
39. The Defendants did not publish the December memorandum to any of the said recipients with the intention it should be republished to the world at large nor did they ask any of them to republish the December memorandum to others. If any of the recipients did so with the result that it was published to the world at large the Defendants, in the circumstances, retain the protection of qualified privilege.

### **Harm**

40. In relation to paragraph 9, it is admitted that publication of the words complained of by BuzzFeed (or any subsequent internet republication of those words by third parties) was likely to cause serious harm to the reputation of the First Claimant. Save as aforesaid, paragraph 9 is not admitted. In particular, it is not admitted that the publication of the words complained of by BuzzFeed (or any such subsequent republication) has caused serious financial loss to any of the Claimants or that it is likely to do so in future. The Claimants are required to prove the existence and extent of any past financial loss and/or any likely future financial loss caused by the publication of the words complained of.

41. Paragraph 10 is noted. It is not admitted that the law of each of the jurisdictions in the European Union in which the words complained of were published was and is, so far as material, the same as the law of England and Wales.
42. In relation to paragraph 11:
  - a. Paragraphs 23 and 24 above are repeated and sub-paragraph 11.1 is denied;
  - b. Sub-paragraph 11.2 is admitted but it is denied that the Defendants published or caused the publication of the words complained of extremely widely;
  - c. Sub-paragraph 11.3 is not admitted;
43. The first sentence of paragraph 12 is not admitted.
44. In relation to the second sentence of paragraph 12, it is denied that the Claimants are entitled to claim damages, whether aggravated or otherwise, against the Defendants as opposed to BuzzFeed.
45. In relation to paragraphs 12.1 and 12.2, it is admitted that the Defendants did not contact the Claimants prior to the publication of the words complained of by BuzzFeed. In light of the matters pleaded above the Defendants had no reason to contact the Claimants in relation to the publication of the December memorandum by BuzzFeed.
46. Paragraph 12.3 is denied. The First, Second and Third Claimants sent a letter before action to the Defendants on 23 January 2017. The Defendants acknowledged receipt of the letter before action through a letter from their former solicitors, Schillings, on 30 January 2017. The Defendants then provided a detailed response to the letter before action four days later on 3 February 2017. The Defendants pointed out that the Claimants' letter before action did not meet the requirements contained in the Pre-Action Protocol for Defamation. In particular the letter before action:
  - a. stated that McDermott Will & Emery were instructed by "*affiliates*" of the Second and Third Defendants, but did not provide the names or any details of those "*affiliates*". Nor did it state whether McDermott Will & Emery were instructed by the Fourth Claimant;
  - b. did not identify the particular publication(s) that were the subject of the prospective claim, contrary to paragraph 3.2 of the Pre-Action Protocol for Defamation;
  - c. did not identify the meaning that the First to Third Claimants attributed to the words complained of, contrary to paragraph 3.3 of the Pre-Action Protocol for Defamation.

The Defendants therefore requested the Claimants to provide the necessary information in order to enable the Defendants to provide a full response to the

proposed claim. Notwithstanding the fact that the Defendants provided a detailed response to the Claimants' letter before action within 11 days of that letter being sent, and notwithstanding the numerous deficiencies in the letter before action, on 3 February 2017 the Claimants issued and served proceedings on the Defendants. In the circumstances, the Claimants' decision to issue proceedings less than two weeks after the letter before action was precipitous, incompatible with the overriding objective in the Civil Procedure Rules, and breached the requirements of the Pre-action Protocol for Defamation.

47. It is denied that the Claimants are entitled to an injunction against the Defendants as pleaded in paragraph 13 of the Particulars of Claim or at all.

**GAVIN MILLAR Q.C.**

**EDWARD CRAVEN**

#### **STATEMENT OF TRUTH**

The Defendants believe that the facts set out in these Particulars of Claim are true.

Signed:



Christopher Steele

Position: Director, Orbis Business Intelligence Ltd

Date: 03 April 2017

BETWEEN

(1) ALEKSEJ GUBAREV  
(2) WEBZILLA B.V.  
(3) WEBZILLA LIMITED  
(4) XBT HOLDING S.A

Claimants

and

(1) ORBIS BUSINESS INTELLIGENCE LIMITED  
(2) CHRISTOPHER STEELE

Defendants

---

DEFENDANTS' RESPONSE TO CLAIMANTS' REQUEST FOR FURTHER  
INFORMATION PURSUANT TO CPR PART 18

---

**Under paragraphs 7 and 8**

*Of: "At all material times Fusion was subject to an obligation not to disclose to third parties confidential intelligence material provided to it by the Defendants in the course of that working relationship without the agreement of the Defendants."*

REQUESTS

1. Whether the alleged duty of confidentiality is said to arise by contract or in equity.
2. If by contract, state whether the duty arose under (a) a general contract of retainer; or (b) specific contracts relating to the specific work.
3. In either event state whether any contract(s) relied on were written or oral; if oral, stating when and between whom they were made.

RESPONSE

The duty arose both by contract and in equity. A written non-disclosure agreement was concluded between the First Defendant and a representative of Fusion in January 2010 in relation to work conducted by Fusion for the First Defendant. Furthermore, Fusion was aware of the confidentiality of intelligence reports through the course of business with the Defendants and, in relation to the disclosure of the memoranda to Mr Kramer, the Second Defendant and Fusion had had specific discussions in which the confidentiality of the memoranda had been emphasised and Fusion was instructed to inform Mr Kramer of their confidentiality.

REQUEST

4. State whether the alleged duty not to disclose such intelligence to 'third parties' without the prior agreement of the Defendants in the course of the working relationship extended to disclosure by Fusion to their own clients (ie the clients who had commissioned the intelligence material: see paragraph 6 of the Defence).

#### RESPONSE

In relation to the pre-election memoranda the duty not to disclose intelligence to third parties without the prior agreement of the Defendants did not extend to disclosure by Fusion to its client(s), although the Defendants understand that copies of the memoranda were not disclosed by Fusion to its client(s).

In relation to the December memorandum, this was not prepared pursuant to any contract as stated at paragraph 18 of the Defence. The duty not to disclose this intelligence report to third parties without the prior agreement of the Defendants therefore did extend to disclosure by Fusion to its client(s).

#### REQUEST

5. State whether the Defendants owed any reciprocal duty of confidence to Fusion and/or Fusion's clients in relation to the intelligence they provided.

#### RESPONSE

Since it was not produced pursuant to the engagement with Fusion described at paragraph 9 of the Defence, the Defendants did not owe any obligation of confidence to Fusion and/or Fusion's client(s) in relation to the intelligence contained in the December memorandum.

#### REQUEST

6. State whether Fusion's clients, insofar as disclosure to them was permitted (see Request 4), were under any duty to the Defendants and/or Fusion not to (a) use and/or (b) disclose the intelligence, and, if so, give like particulars as to how that duty is alleged to arise.

#### RESPONSE

The response to question 4 above is repeated. The Defendants understood that the arrangement between Fusion and its client(s) was that intelligence would not be disclosed. As explained above, the December memorandum was not produced pursuant to the engagement referred to at paragraph 9 of the Defence and therefore disclosure of the December memorandum to their client(s) was not permitted.

#### **Under paragraphs 9 and 10**

*Of "Between June and early November 2016 Orbis was engaged by Fusion to prepare a series of confidential memoranda based on intelligence concerning Russian efforts to influence the US Presidential election process and links between Russia and Donald Trump".*

#### REQUEST

7. Please identify (see paragraph 6 of the Defence) Fusion's client(s) in relation to this particular engagement.

#### RESPONSE

This request is neither reasonably necessary nor proportionate to enable the Claimants to prepare their own case nor to understand the case they have to meet.

*Of "The Defendants produced sixteen such memoranda. These will be referred to for convenience as 'the pre-election memoranda', having been prepared before the 2016 US Presidential election. The last one was produced in the latter part of October 2016. None were produced in November 2016. None of the pre-election memoranda contained any reference to, or intelligence about, the Claimants".*

#### REQUEST

8. In view of the assertion that no memoranda were produced in November 2016, please state the nature of the engagement in early November 2016 as referred to in paragraph 9, and whether this engagement was performed and what intelligence it related to.

#### RESPONSE

The nature of the Defendants' engagement by Fusion did not change during the period between the preparation of the last pre-election memorandum on 20 October 2016 and the date of the US Presidential election. However since the Defendants did not receive any relevant intelligence concerning Russian efforts to influence the US Presidential election process and links between Russia and Donald Trump during this period, no memoranda were produced pursuant to the engagement after 20 October 2016.

#### **Under paragraphs 12 and 13**

*Of "Senator John McCain is the Chair of the US Senate Armed Services Committee and a member of the US Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs" and "David Kramer is a former US State Department civil servant and was US Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor from 2008 to 2009. He is the Senior Director for Human Rights and Human Freedoms at Senator McCain's Institute for International Leadership".*

#### REQUEST

9. Please confirm (as paragraph 29b(i) of the Defence suggests) that Senator McCain and Mr Kramer are alleged (a) to have been acting in these official capacities; and (b) only in relation to those capacities in the course of the matters pleaded in paragraphs 14 to 17 and 21b; and, if not, identify any other capacity in which they were acting and when and for what purpose(s).

#### RESPONSE

The Defendants believed that Senator McCain and Mr Kramer were acting only in their official capacities and were not informed of any other capacity or purpose in which they were acting. There were no grounds that led the Defendants to suspect that Senator McCain and Mr Kramer were not acting in their official capacities at any time up to and including the publication of the December memorandum to Mr Kramer.

**Under paragraph 14**

*Of "As a result of these discussions Sir Andrew arranged for the Second Defendant to meet Mr Kramer, as the representative of Senator McCain, in order to show him the pre-election memoranda on a confidential basis".*

REQUEST

10. State what is meant by 'on a confidential basis', indicating precisely what use or uses Senator McCain was/were permitted to make of the pre-election memoranda and whether these uses were specified to Senator McCain and Mr Kramer.

RESPONSE

The Defendants understood that the contents of the memoranda would be treated in the strictest confidence and would only be used by Senator McCain in his official capacity for the sole purpose of analysing, investigating and verifying their contents to enable such action to be taken as necessary for the purposes of protecting US national security. The Second Defendant expressly informed Mr Kramer that the pre-election memoranda were only to be used for this exclusive purpose before he showed Mr Kramer any of the memoranda. Mr Kramer was not at this time provided with copies of the memoranda that had been prepared as at that date, but was shown copies.

**Under paragraph 18**

*Of "The Defendants continued to receive unsolicited intelligence on the matters covered by the pre-election memoranda after the US Presidential election and the conclusion of the assignment for Fusion".*

REQUEST

11. Please state whether such intelligence was actively sought by the Second Defendant or merely received (as presently pleaded).

RESPONSE

Such intelligence was not actively sought; it was merely received.

**Under paragraph 19**

Of "After receiving some such intelligence the Second Defendant prepared the confidential December memorandum, referred to at paragraph 8.1, on his own initiative on or around 13 December 2016".

#### REQUEST

12. Please state whether the words 'on his own initiative' mean that the December memorandum was not (a) created; or (b) provided to Fusion pursuant to any contract. If not, please specify the contract in question.

#### RESPONSE

The December memorandum was not created or provided to Fusion pursuant to any contract.

#### **Under paragraph 20**

*Of "The Defendants considered, correctly, that the raw intelligence in the December memorandum: a. was of considerable importance in relation to alleged Russian interference in the US Presidential election; b. had implications for the national security of the US and the UK; and c. needed to be analysed and further investigated/verified".*

#### REQUEST

13. Please state whether the Second Defendant only reached this conclusion on behalf of the First Defendant or whether Christopher Burrows and/or Sir Andrew were party to his assessment.

#### RESPONSE

The Defendants' assessment that the pre-election memoranda and any subsequent related intelligence which they received should be disclosed to the individuals referred to at paragraph 21 of the Defence was reached following separate discussions between the Second Defendant and (i) Christopher Burrows of the First Defendant; (ii) Sir Andrew Wood (who had spoken with Senator McCain); (iii) David Kramer (who was acting on behalf of Senator McCain) and (iv) the UK national security official referred to at paragraph 21(b) of the Defence. Mr Burrows shared the Second Defendant's assessment at the relevant time. The Defendants considered that the issues were self-evidently relevant to the national security of the US, UK and their allies and that subsequent intelligence relating to these issues ought to be disclosed to the individuals referred to at paragraph 21 of the Defence. Each of the individuals with whom the Second Defendant discussed the issue shared this view at the time and, to the Second Defendant's knowledge and belief, continue to hold that view.

## **Under paragraph 20c and 21**

### REQUEST

14. Please state whether the December memorandum was provided to (a) the UK national security official; and/or (b) Fusion; and/or (c) Mr Kramer and Senator McCain with the source of the allegations against the Claimants redacted or not.

### RESPONSE

Information pertaining to the status of the source(s) of the intelligence contained within the December memorandum was not redacted when it was provided to either the UK national security official and/or Fusion and/or Mr Kramer and Senator McCain. The information contained within the intelligence reports pertaining to the status of the source(s) was consistent with the Defendants' conscious efforts to protect the identity of the source(s).

### REQUEST

15. Please state whether the instruction to Fusion contained any express reference to confidentiality (contrast paragraph 21a which expressly refers to 'on a confidential basis').

### RESPONSE

In the Second Defendant's communications with Fusion surrounding the provision of the instruction by enciphered email, it was explicitly stated that the memoranda were only to be provided to Mr Kramer for the purpose of passing them on to Senator McCain. Substantive conversations between the Second Defendant and Fusion relating to this matter were conducted using secure telephone communications. During those secure communications, the Second Defendant expressly emphasised that the December memorandum was subject to the same strict restrictions on disclosure to third parties as were contained in the written agreement described in the response to requests 1 to 3 above.

## **Under paragraph 21a and b**

*Of "Accordingly the Second Defendant provided a copy of the December memorandum to: a. a senior UK government national security official acting in his official capacity, on a confidential basis in hard copy form; and b. Fusion, by enciphered email with an instruction to Fusion to provide a hard copy to Sen. McCain via Mr Kramer".*

### REQUEST

16. Please state whether intelligence provided by the Defendants to Fusion was generally provided in enciphered form.

## RESPONSE

Intelligence provided by the Defendants to Fusion was provided securely and where provided electronically it was provided in enciphered form.

### **Under paragraphs 23 and 24**

*Of "It is denied that in their natural and ordinary meaning, in their proper context, the words complained of bore or were capable of bearing the meaning pleaded at paragraph 7" and "Read in context the natural and ordinary meaning of the words complained of was that there were grounds to investigate whether the Claimants had been coerced by Russia into hacking the computers used by the US Democratic Party leadership, transmitting viruses, planting bugs, stealing data and conducting altering operations".*

## REQUEST

17. Please identify the context relied on and the reader(s) to whom it was allegedly known.

## RESPONSE

The readers referred to are the readers of the December memorandum who accessed and read the words complained of via the article that was published on the BuzzFeed website on 10 January 2017.

The December memorandum was a raw intelligence report which contained information gathered from a confidential source(s) about various national security issues that warranted further investigation.

Further, the words complained of were published by BuzzFeed as part of an article which stressed that the contents of the dossier (which included the December memorandum) were "*unverified*", "*unconfirmed*" and contained "*unverified, and potentially unverifiable allegations*". The article added that, "*BuzzFeed News reporters in the US and Europe have been investigating the alleged facts in the dossier but have not verified or falsified them.*" The article reported that the President-elect's attorney, Michael Cohen, had said that allegations in the dossier "*were absolutely false*".

In these circumstances, readers of the words complained of were therefore aware that (i) the contents of the December memorandum did not represent (and did not purport to represent) verified facts, but were raw intelligence which had identified a range of allegations that warranted investigation given their potential national security implications; (ii) persons mentioned in the December memorandum were unlikely to have been approached for comment, and therefore many of those persons were likely to deny the allegations contained in the raw intelligence; and (iii) while the December memorandum was prepared in good faith, its content must be critically viewed in light of the purpose for and circumstances in which the information was collected.

### **Under paragraph 32**

Of "Save that it is admitted that the Second Defendant gave off the record briefings to a small number of journalists about the pre-election memoranda in late summer/autumn 2016, sub-paragraph 8.2.6 is denied".

#### **REQUEST**

18. Please identify the journalists briefed by the Second Defendant and state when and how the briefing was done in each case and the gist of what was conveyed.

#### **RESPONSE**

The journalists initially briefed at the end of September 2016 by the Second Defendant and Fusion at Fusion's instruction were from the New York Times, the Washington Post, Yahoo News, the New Yorker and CNN. The Second Defendant subsequently participated in further meetings at Fusion's instruction with Fusion and the New York Times, the Washington Post and Yahoo News, which took place in mid-October 2016. In each of those cases the briefing was conducted verbally in person. In addition, and again at Fusion's instruction, in late October 2016 the Second Defendant briefed a journalist from Mother Jones by Skype. No copies of the pre-election memoranda were ever shown or provided to any journalists by, or with the authorisation of, the Defendants. The briefings involved the disclosure of limited intelligence regarding indications of Russian interference in the US election process and the possible co-ordination of members of Trump's campaign team and Russian government officials.

#### **REQUEST**

19. Please state what is meant by 'off the record' and, in particular whether it means:
- (a) The information provided was not to be published (but might be used);
  - (b) The information might be published but not attributed to the Defendants in any way;
  - (c) As (b), but the Defendants could be generically described, but not by name.

#### **RESPONSE**

The Second Defendant understood that the information provided might be used for the purpose of further research, but would not be published or attributed. The Defendants repeat that no off the record briefing ever took place concerning the December memorandum, and no copies of any of the pre-election memoranda or the December memorandum were ever provided to journalists by, or with the authorisation of, the Defendants.

#### **REQUEST**

20. Please state whether these terms were agreed to by the journalists concerned.

## RESPONSE

The Second Defendant was told by Fusion that the terms had been explained to the relevant journalists in advance by them and the Second Defendant reinforced the basis on which he was speaking to each of the journalists he met in person. None of the journalists raised any objection.

### **Under paragraphs 36 to 39**

## REQUEST

21. Please state whether the defence of qualified privilege is relied on by the Defendants if they are held to be liable for publication to the world at large as distinct from the admitted publication to the individuals identified by the Defendants in the Defence.

## RESPONSE

Yes.

## **STATEMENT OF TRUTH**

The Defendants believe that the facts stated in this Response are true.

Signed:



Nicola Cain

Position: Legal Director, RPC; Defendants' legal representative

Date: 18 May 2017

Claim No. HQ17D00413

**IN THE HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE  
QUEEN'S BENCH DIVISION**

**BETWEEN**

**(1) ALEKSEJ GUBAREV**

**(2) WEBZILLA B.V.**

**(3) WEBZILLA LIMITED**

**(4) XBT HOLDING S.A.**

**Claimants**

**and**

**(1) ORBIS BUSINESS INTELLIGENCE  
LIMITED**

**(2) CHRISTOPHER STEELE**

**Defendants**

---

**DEFENDANTS' RESPONSE TO  
PART 18 REQUEST**

---

RPC  
Tower Bridge House  
St Katharine's Way  
London  
E1W 1AA  
T: 020 3060 6000

Reference: ORB4.1

Solicitors for the Defendants