

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA
Alexandria Division

SVETLANA LOKHOVA

Plaintiff,

v.

STEFAN A. HALPER,
DOW JONES & COMPANY, INC.
[WALL STREET JOURNAL],
THE NEW YORK TIMES COMPANY,
WP COMPANY, LLC
[WASHINGTON POST]

-and-

NBCUNIVERSAL MEDIA, LLC
[MSNBC],

Defendants.

Civil Action No. 1:19-cv-632

**TRIAL BY JURY
IS DEMANDED**

COMPLAINT

Plaintiff, Svetlana Lokhova, by counsel, files the following Complaint against defendants, Stefan A. Halper (“Halper”), Dow Jones & Company, Inc. (“Dow Jones”), The New York Times Company (the “Times”), WP Company, LLC d/b/a The Washington Post (the “Post”), and NBCUniversal Media, LLC d/b/a MSNBC (“NBCUniversal”), jointly and severally.

Plaintiff seeks (a) compensatory damages and punitive damages in the sum of **\$25,350,000.00**, (b) prejudgment interest on the principal sum awarded by the Jury from February 19, 2017 to the date of Judgment at the rate of six percent (6%) per year

pursuant to § 8.01-382 of the Virginia Code (1950), as amended (the “Code”), and (c) court costs – arising out of the Defendants’ defamation, common law conspiracy, and tortious interference with contract and reasonable business expectancies.

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Stefan Halper is a ratfucker¹ and a spy, who embroiled an innocent woman in a conspiracy to undo the 2016 Presidential election and topple the President of the United States of America.

2. Between January 2016 and May 2018, Halper colluded with rogue agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (“FBI”), with political operatives at Cambridge University, and with “journalists” employed by the Wall Street Journal, the Guardian, the New York Times, the Washington Post and other mainstream media outlets, to promote a narrative and publish statements about Plaintiff, about United States Army General Michael Flynn (“General Flynn”), and about others – statements that Halper and his confederates knew to be false.

3. Halper drew Plaintiff into a web of lies. As part of the sophisticated counterintelligence operation, Halper manufactured and published numerous false and defamatory statements. Halper misrepresented that Plaintiff was a “Russian spy” and a traitor to her country and that Plaintiff had an affair with General Flynn on the orders of Russian intelligence. Halper tortiously interfered with and undermined Plaintiff’s professional career and business by asserting that Plaintiff was not a real academic and that her research was provided by Russian intelligence on the orders of Vladimir Putin.

¹ “Ratfucking” is a well-known political term, originated by one-time Richard Nixon campaign strategist Donald Segretti. It is a colorful and foul simile for “pulling a dirty trick.” [<http://daveweigel.com/2010/06/on-ratfucking/>].

4. Halper and his confederates spread lies about Plaintiff and General Flynn in article after article published and republished and republished by third-parties over and over again between December 2016 and May 2019. The FBI knowingly used Halper's lies and the lies of others as the foundation and basis upon which to begin a "special investigation" into "collusion" between the Trump campaign and the Russian government. 1:19-cv-632

5. Defendants' combined character assassination devastated Plaintiff, injured her business as an academic and author, and propelled her to the epicenter of a massive fraudulent hoax about "Russian collusion". Plaintiff lost (a) the right and expectation of academic advancement or fellowship at Cambridge University; (b) the possibility of obtaining employment as a professor anywhere else in the World; (c) the opportunity to gain a PhD, despite working for seven (7) years toward her goal; and (d) valuable book contracts with Basic and Penguin Books, Norton and Harper Collins (second book), including advances, foreign rights, movie rights and royalties. Plaintiff suffered irreparable damage to her writing career. She was forced to flee her country after the birth of her child and to live abroad without a permanent address in order to avoid public scrutiny, invasion of her privacy, and constant public ridicule. Plaintiff's health has deteriorated. She dreads receiving email. She lives in constant fear and with a deep sense of betrayal and dismay. Plaintiff experiences a recurring nightmare about being separated from her baby as a result of arrest on a false charge manufactured by Halper and his handlers. Plaintiff has contemplated suicide to end the suffering caused by the enormous weight and stress of being collateral damage in Halper's international conspiracy and scandal.

6. On March 22, 2019, Special Counsel Robert Mueller submitted his confidential report entitled “Report on the Investigation into Russian Interference in the 2016 Presidential Election” (the “Mueller Report”). The Special Counsel and his staff of 19 lawyers, assisted by a team of approximately 40 FBI agents, intelligence analysts, forensic accountants, and other professional staff, issued more than 2,800 subpoenas, executed nearly 500 search warrants, obtained more than 230 orders for communication records, issued almost 50 orders authorizing use of pen registers, made 13 requests to foreign governments for evidence, and interviewed approximately 500 witnesses.

7. As part of the Special Counsel investigation, Mueller and his team interviewed General Flynn approximately nineteen times.

8. Mueller and his team **never** interviewed Plaintiff once and **never** subpoenaed a single record from her.

9. After a thorough investigation, the Special Counsel found **no evidence** that Plaintiff was a Russian spy; **no evidence** that General Flynn had an affair with Plaintiff; **no evidence** that General Flynn was ever compromised in any way as a result of any interaction he ever had with Plaintiff; and **no evidence** that any member of the presidential campaign of Donald Trump, and/or others associated with it, ever conspired with the Russian government in its efforts to interfere in the 2016 U.S. Presidential election. **The Mueller Report conclusively vindicates Plaintiff and General Flynn, and proves Halper and his associates were intentionally lying about virtually every material fact.**

10. In this case, Plaintiff seeks money damages for the anguish, insult, pain, embarrassment, humiliation, mental suffering, destruction of her good name and

reputation, and financial loss caused by the Defendants' defamation, conspiracy, tortious and intentional misconduct. Defendants' participation in corrupt counterintelligence operations and their indiscriminate and persistent use of the Internet and social media to defame must be stopped. Defendants committed criminal and deliberately wrongful acts. They engaged in conduct involving dishonesty, fraud, deceit and misrepresentation. The conduct of Defendants and their confederates cannot be tolerated and the mainstream media cannot continue to serve as a weapon of those bent on the destruction of American democracy. The Defendants should be punished for their unlawful actions and a very strong message needs to be sent to prevent others from acting in a similar way.

II. PARTIES

11. Plaintiff, Svetlana Lokhova ("Lokhova"), is a citizen of the United Kingdom (UK). She was born in Moscow on June 4, 1980. Lokhova matriculated to Cambridge University in 1998, where she studied history. She hold a Master's in Philosophy (MPhil) and a B.A (Honors) in History. Her groundbreaking Master's dissertation remains the definitive account of the founder of the Soviet intelligence service, Felix Dzerzhinsky. [<https://www.svetlanalokhova.com/biography>]. She became a citizen of the UK in 2002. She is a mother, historian, academic and author. Lokhova is a private individual. Until she was egregiously defamed by Halper and his co-conspirators in 2016, 2017 and 2018, Lokhova enjoyed an untarnished reputation in the community in which she lived and worked.

12. Defendant, Halper, is a citizen of Virginia. He lives in Great Falls, Virginia. Halper is (or was) an informant for the FBI.² He graduated from Stanford in 1967, and received a Ph.D. from Oxford in 1971 and Cambridge in 2004. He was the director of American studies in the Department of Politics and International Studies at Cambridge, where he taught classes and also delivered papers at institutions around the World, including Chatham House in London, the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, D.C., and the U.S. Naval War College. While at Cambridge, Halper worked for years alongside Sir Richard Dearlove (“Dearlove”). Dearlove spent decades with British Secret Intelligence Service (SIS), known as MI6, and was its Director from 1999 to 2004.³ [<http://www.csap.cam.ac.uk/network/richard-dearlove/>]. Halper organized and hosted a series of Cambridge Intelligence Seminars that were attended by intelligence community members, academics, and researchers from around the World. One such seminar in 2014, put together by both Halper and Dearlove, was

² While the FBI merely describes Halper as an “informant”, in truth Halper is actually a counterintelligence operative. In 2016, Halper actively courted at least three Trump campaign officials, offering to pay for travel and misrepresenting himself as eager to work for Donald Trump. During the 2016 presidential campaign, Halper was a “secret source” for the FBI. Halper was asked by the FBI to gather information on Carter Page (“Page”), George Papadopoulos (“Papadopoulos”), and Trump campaign co-chairman Sam Clovis (“Clovis”). [<https://dailycaller.com/2018/03/25/george-papadopoulos-london-emails/>; https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/secret-fbi-source-for-russia-investigation-met-with-three-trump-advisers-during-campaign/2018/05/18/9778d9f0-5aea-11e8-b656-a5f8c2a9295d_story.html?utm_term=.df8cb79900da]. Halper has been engaged in espionage for decades. In 1980, he oversaw a covert operation in which CIA operatives passed classified information about President Carter’s foreign policy to Reagan campaign officials. [<https://theintercept.com/2018/05/19/the-fbi-informant-who-monitored-the-trump-campaign-stefan-halper-oversaw-a-cia-spying-operation-in-the-1980-presidential-election/>].

³ Dearlove is a career intelligence officer of thirty-eight years standing. He has served in Nairobi, Prague, Paris, Geneva and Washington, as well as in a number of key London-based posts. [<https://thecsi.org.uk/sample-page/>].

attended by then-President Barack Obama's Defense Intelligence Agency Director, General Flynn. Between 2012 and 2018, Halper received a total of \$1,058,161.00 USD from the Department of Defense (DoD). Halper's contract was funded through annual awards paid out of the Pentagon's Office of Net Assessment (ONA").

[<https://www.zerohedge.com/news/2018-05-21/fbi-informant-stefan-halper-paid-over-1-million-obama-admin-spied-trump-aide-after>]. Over half of the sum paid to Halper was

for his counterintelligence efforts surrounding the 2016 Presidential election.

[<https://www.zerohedge.com/news/2019-02-20/fbi-official-admits-infiltrating-trump-campaign-just-dont-call-it-spying>;

<https://www.usaspending.gov/#/search/68d183f62648f90913efbf55858f3893>].

13. Halper and his handlers hatched the conspiracy to defame Plaintiff and smear General Flynn in Virginia. Halper carried out the plot from Virginia. He originally published the defamatory statements at issue in this case to his co-conspirators in the media from his computer in Virginia or using his phone in Virginia.

14. Defendant, Dow Jones, is a Delaware corporation with headquarters and a principal place of business in New York. One of the products published by Dow Jones is the *Wall Street Journal* ("WSJ" or the "Journal"). Dow Jones publishes the Journal both in print and online. [See, e.g., www.wsj.com]. On its website, Dow Jones claims that "[t]he most ambitious people in the world read The Wall Street Journal ... Journal readers are the leaders of today and tomorrow's rising stars." [<https://www.dowjones.com/products/wsj/>]. The Journal's global digital offerings have grown to include 12 sites in six languages, edited locally for a regionally relevant focus. The Journal has a massive social media presence, with 16.6 Million followers on Twitter

[https://twitter.com/WSJ?ref_src=twsrc%5Egoogle%7Ctwcamp%5Eserp%7Ctwgr%5Eauthor] and over 6,328,547 followers on Facebook. [<https://www.facebook.com/wsji/>].

15. Defendant, Times (NYSE:NYT), is a New York corporation. Its headquarters and principal place of business is in New York. The Times is a nationwide company that publishes *The New York Times* newspaper and www.nytimes.com. The putative “mission” of the Times is to “seek the truth and help people understand the world”. The Times’ content reaches a broad audience through both digital and print platforms. As of December 30, 2018, the Times had approximately 4.3 million paid subscriptions across 217 countries and territories to its digital and print products. [[https://s1.q4cdn.com/156149269/files/doc_financials/annual/2018/updated/2018-Annual-Report-\(1\).pdf](https://s1.q4cdn.com/156149269/files/doc_financials/annual/2018/updated/2018-Annual-Report-(1).pdf)]. In addition to its digital and print products, the Times targets viewers in Virginia and elsewhere via social media. The Times has over 43.4MM followers on Twitter and 16,500,000+ followers on Facebook. [https://twitter.com/nytimes?ref_src=twsrc%5Egoogle%7Ctwcamp%5Eserp%7Ctwgr%5Eauthor]; <https://www.facebook.com/nytimes/>].

16. Defendant, Post, is a limited liability company organized and existing under the laws of the State of Delaware with its principal place of business in Washington, D.C. None of the Post’s members is a citizen of the United Kingdom. The Post has one of the largest print circulations and number of online subscribers in the country. The Post has 13.7 Million followers on Twitter (@washingtonpost). [https://twitter.com/washingtonpost?ref_src=twsrc%5Egoogle%7Ctwcamp%5Eserp%7Ctwgr%5Eauthor]. Over 6,280,000 people follow the Post using Facebook. [<https://www.facebook.com/washingtonpost/>].

17. Defendant, NBCUniversal, is a limited liability company organized and existing under the laws of the State of Delaware with its principal place of business in New York. None of NBCUniversal's members is a citizen of the United Kingdom. NBCUniversal owns and operates "MSNBC". Reaching more than 96 million households worldwide, MSNBC offers a full schedule of live news coverage, progressive voices, award-winning documentary programming – 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. MSNBC also delivers breaking news and information across a variety of platforms, including www.msnbc.com. [<http://www.nbcuniversal.com/business/msnbc>]. MSNBC promotes its business and extreme left-wing causes via Twitter and Facebook. [https://twitter.com/MSNBC?ref_src=twsrc%5Egoogle%7Ctwcamp%5Eserp%7Ctwgr%5Eauthor; <https://www.facebook.com/msnbc/>]. MSNBC has 2.44 Million followers on Twitter. Over 2,264,000 people follow MSNBC on Facebook.

18. At all times relevant to this action, Halper colluded with operatives at Cambridge University, and agents employed by Dow Jones, the Guardian, the Times and the Post to leak false statements about Plaintiff as part of a nefarious effort to smear General Flynn and fuel and further the now debunked and dead narrative that the Trump campaign colluded with Russia. Halper, with the full knowledge and acquiescence of the media Defendants, used the Wall Street Journal, the Guardian, the Times, the Post and MSNBC – and their massive public followings – as a bullhorn and an echo chamber to amplify and republish the defamation to an unprecedented and unimaginable degree.

19. The Journal, Guardian, Times, Post and MSNBC knew that Halper was a spy and that Halper had an agenda to infiltrate and discredit the Trump campaign. These media Defendants knew that Halper was lying about Lokhova and General Flynn. They

never questioned their verifiably unreliable source and did no fact-checking. As a result of the collusive arrangement between Halper and his media stooges, Plaintiff suffered incredible ignominy.

III. JURISDICTION AND VENUE

20. The United States District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia has
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subject matter jurisdiction over this action pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1332. The parties are citizens of different States and the amount in controversy exceeds the sum or value of \$75,000, exclusive of interest, costs and fees.

21. Each of the Defendants is subject to personal jurisdiction in Virginia pursuant to Virginia's long-arm statute, § 8.01-328.1(A)(1), (A)(3) and (A)(4) of the Code, as well as the Due Process Clause of the United States Constitution. Halper lives in Virginia. He orchestrated the conspiracy from Virginia. The media Defendants are at home in Virginia. They sell millions of newspapers and have millions of subscribers and followers in Virginia. They engage in continuous and systematic business in Virginia. They colluded with a Virginia citizen to defame and injure Plaintiff. Each of the Defendants has minimum contacts with Virginia such that the exercise of personal jurisdiction over them comports with traditional notions of fair play and substantial justice and is consistent with the Due Process Clause of the United States Constitution.

22. Venue is proper in the Alexandria Division of the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia. A substantial part of the events giving rise to the claims stated in this action occurred in the Alexandria Division of the Eastern District of Virginia.

IV. STATEMENT OF THE FACTS

23. Lokhova is not and never has been a Russian spy or an agent of Russian intelligence or any branch or agency of the Russian government. She is Russian by birth. That's it.

24. Lokhova never had an affair with General Flynn. Indeed, she has never
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been alone with General Flynn, ever.

25. The lies told by the Defendants about Lokhova (described below) were invented by the Defendants out of whole cloth for the purpose of promoting a preconceived storyline about "collusion" between the Trump campaign and Russia. Halper and the media Defendants, being both experienced and adept at propaganda and having the tools at their disposal to carry out an effective propaganda campaign, knew that the sensational and scandalous accusations of "Russian collusion" would ignite a wildfire of controversy.

26. It was the goal of Halper and the media Defendants that the wildfire would engulf General Flynn and other members of the Trump campaign, and, after the 2016 election, that it would create another Watergate.

27. In 1999, as part of her university studies at Cambridge, Lokhova met Professor Christopher M. Andrew ("Andrew"). Andrew became Lokhova's long-term, academic mentor and co-author. Andrew was the official historian to "MI5", the counterintelligence organization in the UK. [<https://www.mi5.gov.uk/who-we-are>; <https://www.hist.cam.ac.uk/directory/cma1001@cam.ac.uk>; <http://www.csap.cam.ac.uk/network/christopher-andrew/>]. At Andrew's suggestion, Lokhova studied for a Master's Degree in 2001-2002. She was instructed to travel to

Moscow, where she obtained declassified documents from RGASPI, the former Communist Party archive. RGASPI is not an intelligence archive. At Andrew's suggestion, Lokhova began a PhD in Soviet Intelligence Studies in 2004.

28. In 2004, Lokhova left academia to pursue a career in finance. From 2004 until January 2012, Lokhova worked in London for the UK operations of Morgan Stanley, Citibank, Legal and General, and Troika Dialog UK, Ltd., respectively. Troika Dialog was an independent investment bank acquired by Sberbank on April 23, 2012. Lokhova took a leave of absence from Troika Dialog in early January 2012, after raising a discrimination complaint. She resigned from Troika Dialog before the Sberbank takeover. Lokhova won her hard-fought discrimination case in a UK court against Sberbank.

29. Lokhova has never worked for an entity associated with the Russian State.

30. In 2012, Andrew contacted Lokhova. Andrew suggested to Lokhova that she restart her PhD and rejoin the Cambridge Intelligence Seminar (the "Seminar") as a distraction from the stress of her ongoing legal case with Sberbank.

31. On rejoining academia, Lokhova became peripherally aware of Halper as a member of the Seminar.

32. Lokhova has never had a single conversation with Halper.

33. Halper went to great pains to avoid social interaction with Lokhova to the point of rudeness. Halper made it a point to sleep through Lokhova's presentations and, despite the small size of the forum (maybe 20 attendees), Halper would refuse to sit even on the same side of the table as Lokhova.

34. Other members of the Seminar evaded or simply refused to answer any direct questions about Halper's role or background. He was described as "very rich" and the "money" behind the Seminar.

35. Unlike Lokhova, Halper was (and is) deeply, intimately and undeniably connected with Russian intelligence.

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36. Between 2012 and 2015 Halper invited General Vladimir I. Trubnikov ("Trubnikov"), former director of Russian intelligence, to teach at the Seminar.⁴ A May 2012 course syllabus states, "Ambassador Vladimir I. Trubnikov will comment on the challenges faced while directing the Foreign Intelligence Service, his tenure as Ambassador to India, President Putin and the likely course of Russia's relations with Britain and the U.S." In May 2015, Trubnikov returned to teach with Halper at the Seminar on "current relations between the Russian Federation and the West." Other notable intelligence experts attended the event in 2015, including Major Gen. Peter Williams, a former British commander of the mission to the Soviet Forces in Germany. Halper's partner in the Seminar was Cambridge Professor Neil Kent ("Kent"). According to Kent's biography, he was a professor from 2002 to 2012 at Russia's St. Petersburg State Academic Institute. [<https://saraacarter.com/whistleblower-exposes-key-player-in-fbi-russia-probe-it-was-all-a-set-up/>].

⁴ Christopher Steele ("Steele") told the FBI that General Trubnikov was one of the sources of the infamous Steele dossier. [<https://dailycaller.com/2019/05/16/steele-dossier-sources-state-department/>] ("Dossier author Christopher Steele identified a former Russian spy chief and a top adviser to Russian President Vladimir Putin as being involved in handling potentially compromising information about President Donald Trump, State Department notes show. In her notes, State Department official Kathleen Kavalec also referred to the two Russians – former Russian foreign intelligence chief Vyacheslav Trubnikov and Putin aide Vladislav Surkov – as 'sources.'"). Lokhova has never met General Trubnikov.

37. Halper knew from his connections to Trubnikov and Kent that Lokhova was not a Russian spy.

A. GENERAL MICHAEL T. FLYNN

38. Michael T. Flynn graduated from the University of Rhode Island in 1981 with a degree in Management Science. He holds three graduate degrees: a Master of Business Administration in Telecommunications from Golden Gate University, San Francisco; a Master of Military Arts and Sciences from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas; and a Master of National Security and Strategic Studies from the United States Naval War College. He also holds an Honorary Doctorate of Laws from The Institute of World Politics, Washington, D.C. General Flynn is a graduate of the Army's Intelligence Officer Basic, Advanced, and Electronic Warfare Courses; the Combined Armed Services Staff Course; the United States Army Command and General Staff College and School of Advanced Military Studies; and the United States Naval War College. He was commissioned a second lieutenant in Military Intelligence. His first assignment was as a paratrooper of the 82nd Airborne Division at Fort Bragg, North Carolina. Since then, he has served in a variety of command and staff positions to include, Commander, 313th Military Intelligence Battalion and G2, 82nd Airborne Division; G2, 18th Airborne Corps, CJ2, CJTF-180 Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF) in Afghanistan; Commander, 111th Military Intelligence Brigade at the Army's Intelligence Center at Fort Huachuca, Arizona; Director of Intelligence, Joint Special Operations Command with duty in OEF and Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF); Director of Intelligence, United States Central Command with duty in OEF and OIF; Director of Intelligence, the Joint Staff; Director of Intelligence, International Security Assistance Force-Afghanistan and US Forces-

Afghanistan and Special Assistant to the Deputy Chief of Staff, G2. General Flynn's awards include the Defense Superior Service Medal (with 3 Oak Leaf Clusters), Legion of Merit (with Oak Leaf Cluster), Bronze Star Medal (with 3 Oak Leaf Clusters), Meritorious Service Medal (with Silver Oak Leaf Cluster), Joint Service Commendation Medal, Army Commendation Medal (with 4 Oak Leaf Clusters), the NATO Service Medal, and several service and campaign ribbons. General Flynn also has earned the Ranger Tab and Master Parachutist Badge, and the Joint Staff Identification Badge. In April 2012, President Barack Obama nominated General Flynn to be the 18th Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA). General Flynn became Director of the DIA on July 24, 2012.

39. General Flynn is happily married and has two sons.

B. THE CAMBRIDGE DINNER – FEBRUARY 28, 2014

40. In January 2014, Dearlove and Andrew invited Lokhova to attend a group dinner with General Flynn. **Dearlove – former director of MI6 – knew that Lokhova was born in Russia. Dearlove had no concerns with Lokhova. Dearlove would never have allowed Lokhova to attend an event with General Flynn if Dearlove had had any concerns with Lokhova.**

41. The purpose of the dinner was to promote the program that was to become the “Cambridge Security Initiative” (CSI), a group chaired by Dearlove. [<https://thecsi.org.uk/>]. The object of CSI was to advance education in international security and intelligence issues and to help support graduate students, such as Lokhova, while they were studying at Cambridge.

42. Lokhova arrived at the dinner with Dr. William Foster (“Foster”). Foster was (and is) Fellow in History and Vice-Principal of Homerton College at Cambridge. He is Director of Studies and Senior Lecturer in the history of modern and contemporary war at Homerton. [<https://www.homerton.cam.ac.uk/academicstaff/williamfoster>; <https://www.hist.cam.ac.uk/directory/whf21@cam.ac.uk>]. At the start of the dinner, Foster and Lokhova discussed a troublesome student. General Flynn briefly introduced himself to Foster and Lokhova.

43. Approximately twenty people attended the dinner. Lokhova sat between Foster and Dearlove on the other side of the table from General Flynn. Lokhova never sat next to General Flynn.

44. At the end of the dinner, Andrew invited Lokhova to address General Flynn. Lokhova participated in a brief, **public** exchange with General Flynn and Dearlove. No one expressed any concerns of any kind.

45. Lokhova took photographs of the dinner event which completely debunk the false narrative that Halper and the media Defendants published about Lokhova, General Flynn and the February dinner event. Although General Flynn appears in the photographs, Halper does not:



No one remembers Halper attending the event because, in truth, Halper was not there.⁵

46. Nothing inappropriate happened at the dinner. DIA representatives who attended the dinner raised no concerns. After the dinner, General Flynn left with DIA official, Dan O'Brien.

47. Andrew asked Lokhova to stay in occasional contact with General Flynn. Andrew hoped that General Flynn might speak again at the Seminar or do business with CSI. Lokhova had occasional email contact with General Flynn after February 2014. Andrew was copied or saw all the email exchanges, which were general in nature.

48. At no point did General Flynn sign any emails as "General Misha".

49. General Flynn never invited Lokhova to Moscow on an official visit or otherwise.

⁵ In February 2017, Foster told Halper the correct account of what happened the evening of the dinner with General Flynn. Halper knew the truth, yet continued to knowingly publish falsehoods about Lokhova and General Flynn to the media Defendants and others.



50. General Flynn never asked Lokhova to serve as a translator.

51. Lokhova is not a translator.

52. In April 2014, General Flynn announced his retirement.

53. Between 2014 and 2016, Lokhova continued to participate actively in the Seminar and with CSI without any issues. Lokhova was introduced to many former and
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serving security chiefs. Neither Dearlove, nor Halper, nor Andrew, nor Kent, nor anyone else ever raised any concerns about Lokhova.

54. In fact, in September 2015, Lokhova participated in a Cambridge – U.S. Conference sponsored by CSI. Dearlove chaired the conference. Andrew was a keynote speaker. The conference schedule identified Dearlove and Andrew, and contained the following biographies:

	<p>Sir Richard Dearlove is the recently retired Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge. He served as Chief (known as "C") of the British Secret Intelligence Service (SIS) from 1999 until his retirement in 2004. Prior to that, he was Director of Operations and from 1998, Assistant Chief. As Director of Finance, Administration and Personnel he also oversaw the move of SIS into its Headquarters Building at Vauxhall Cross in 1994. He is a career intelligence officer of 38 years standing and has served in Nairobi, Prague, Paris, Geneva, and Washington, as well as in a number of key London-based posts. Sir Richard is also Cochair of the Cambridge Security Initiative.</p>
	<p>Professor Christopher Andrew is Emeritus Professor of Modern and Contemporary History at Cambridge University and founder of the Cambridge Intelligence Seminar. He is Honorary Professor at Queen's University, Belfast; former Official Historian of MI5; former Visiting Professor at Harvard, Toronto, and Canberra; and Honorary Air Commodore and BBC presenter. His 18 books, translated into a number of languages, include several best-sellers on the history of secret intelligence around the world. Professor Andrew is also Cochair of the Cambridge Security Initiative.</p>

Dearlove and Andrew's good names and reputations were behind the conference. They had every good reason to invite the most highly qualified, reputable and trustworthy speakers. The credentials of all speakers were appropriately vetted.

55. Lokhova spoke on September 28, 2015:

TOPIC 3:	Ukraine-Russia: Social Media, Culture, and Information Warfare: Continuing the discussion on unconventional and hybrid warfare, with a more focused look at the role of information, religion, and culture perspectives.
1600 - 1730	Chair: Dr. Peter Martland, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge University and Partner CSI
	Panelists: Ms. Katrina Elledge, USG, NIU Fellow, Associate Scholar, Pembroke, Cambridge University 2014-15 Professor Neil Kent, Scott Polar Institute, Cambridge University and CSI Fellow Dr. Vsevolod Samokhvalov, POLIS, Cambridge University and CSI Fellow Professor Andrew Wilson, Senior Policy Fellow at the European Council on Foreign Affairs Ms. Svetlana Lokhova, Cambridge University, CSI Fellow

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Dearlove, Andrew and Halper knew that Lokhova was not a Russian spy. After the dinner in February 2014, Dearlove, Andrew and Halper approved Lokhova's appointment to the prestigious, honorary position of CSI Fellow. Dearlove, Andrew and Halper knew that nothing inappropriate had occurred between General Flynn and Lokhova at the February 2014 dinner in Cambridge. Dearlove, a veteran of British intelligence, never would have allowed Lokhova to actively participate in the CSI conference in September 2015 (or any other Cambridge event for that matter) if Dearlove had any concern whatsoever with Lokhova's interactions with General Flynn in February 2014.

56. In 2014, Andrew suggested Lokhova write a book based on her material from the RGASPI archive. He introduced her to his literary agents.

57. Following the dinner with General Flynn, Andrew was so impressed by the quality of Lokhova's material he suggested they should co-author the book. A lucrative publishing contract was obtained from Basic Books and Penguin. Basic offered an advance against all royalties and all proceeds from the disposition of subsidiary rights due to the Author under this Agreement; the Publisher shall pay the Author the sum of

one hundred seventy-five thousand dollars (\$175,000). The UK publisher offered GBP 20,000.

58. Lokhova shared all her research with Andrew. Under his editorship, she copyrighted her material in an article published by Routledge in a book in April 2014. The article publicly lists all Lokhova's sources.

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59. In December 2015, General Flynn traveled to Moscow as a private citizen and was paid \$45,000 to speak at a Russia Today ("RT") event, where he shared a table with President Vladimir Putin and others, including Green Party candidate, Jill Stein [<https://www.jill2016.com/>]:



60. Before he made the trip to Moscow, General Flynn advised his former employer, the DIA, about the trip; he then attended a "defensive" or "protective" briefing before he ever sat alongside Russian President Vladimir Putin at the RT dinner or before he talked with then-Russian Ambassador Sergey Kislyak. When General Flynn returned from Moscow, he spent time briefing intelligence officials on what he learned during the

Moscow contacts. Between two and nine intelligence officials attended the various meetings with General Flynn about the RT event, and the information was moderately useful, about what one would expect from a public event.

[<https://thehill.com/opinion/white-house/423558-exculpatory-russia-evidence-about-mike-flynn-that-us-intel-kept-secret>].⁶

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61. Lokhova never discussed going to Moscow with General Flynn. Indeed, she did not even know about General Flynn's trip.

C. THE COUNTERINTELLIGENCE CAMPAIGN

62. In late 2015, General Flynn informally became an adviser to the Trump presidential campaign.

63. Soon after General Flynn became an informal advisor to the Trump campaign, Halper came back into the picture.⁷

64. On January 12, 2016, Andrew emailed Lokhova, and invited her and her partner, David North ("North"), to Andrew's house to have dinner with Halper and his wife. Two dates in February were offered.

65. Andrew stated that the purpose of the dinner was to discuss the book that Lokhova and he were authoring. Lokhova was perplexed. At no point before this unexpected invitation had Halper expressed any interest in Lokhova's work.

⁶ In 2016, the Obama Administration renewed General Flynn's security clearance.

⁷ Sometime in early 2016, the FBI began to investigate Flynn "based on his relationship with the Russian government". [<https://www.foxnews.com/politics/flynn-investigation-effort-to-trap-him>].

66. In truth, Halper had no interest in Lokhova's work. Rather, Halper wanted to have dinner with Lokhova to probe her for information relating to Flynn in the hopes that his FBI handlers might find a basis upon which to file an application to conduct surveillance and spy on General Flynn.

67. Lokhova declined the invitation. Halper was, in her opinion, a loathsome
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character with whom Lokhova did not wish to share time.

68. Andrew became outraged by Lokhova's refusal to attend the dinner. Thereafter, relations deteriorated between Andrew and Lokhova. In March 2016, Andrew insisted on weekly meetings and close supervision of Lokhova's material as a condition of continuing with the book. In April 2016, Andrew walked away from the lucrative publishing contract with Lokhova.

69. For the balance of 2016, Lokhova was absent from Cambridge. Since 2016, Lokhova has had limited dealings with Andrew and the Seminar group.

70. In April 2016, Kent advised informed Lokhova that Halper and another academic, Dr. Peter Martland ("Martland"), were making statements about Lokhova's background and work. Halper and Martland were asking pointed questions about who Lokhova was meeting with, where and when. Foster later advised Lokhova that Halper was spying on Lokhova to get to General Flynn. Connecting Flynn to Russian intelligence was the foundation and launching pad for the Halper/FBI narrative that members of the Trump campaign were colluding with the Russians.

71. In July 2016, Andrew informed Lokhova that "ludicrous rumours were circulating" about her family's links to Russian intelligence.

72. Also in July 2016, Halper resigned from his role as co-convener of the Seminar.⁸ When he resigned, Halper did not mention “Kremlin-linked” interference in the Seminar as the reason for his departure. To the contrary, Halper reported that he was retiring for personal reasons and heading back to the United States permanently. [<https://twitter.com/RealSLokhova/status/1128104248883892224> (Email from Andrew); 1:19-cv-632 *id.* <https://twitter.com/RealSLokhova/status/1128068474700386304>].

73. Halper concealed the fact that his resignation from the Seminar was because of his involvement as a spy in an FBI counterintelligence operation. Halper concealed the fact that he was aiding and abetting agents of the FBI in their efforts to create the false narrative (the “insurance policy”) of “collusion” between the Trump campaign and the Russian government.

74. In September 2016, Lokhova won publishing contracts with Norton US and Harper Collins for her book, *The Spy Who Changed History*.

75. On November 8, 2016, Donald Trump was elected to be the 45th President of the United States of America.

⁸ Halper resigned from the Seminar in July 2016 to assist the FBI in its covert investigation of the Trump campaign. In July 2016, the FBI officially began a covert counterintelligence operation known as “Crossfire Hurricane”. The FBI launched operation Crossfire Hurricane after Papadopoulos revealed he knew of hacked Democratic Party emails to Australian Ambassador Alexander Downer over late-night drinks in London. Downer notified U.S. intelligence officials of his run-in with Papadopoulos after the emails, which contained damaging information about 2016 Democratic presidential nominee Hillary Clinton, were leaked to the public by WikiLeaks. On September 2, 2016, Halper unsolicitedly emailed Papadopoulos offering to pay the Trump adviser \$3,000 to write an academic paper about a gas field located in the Mediterranean Sea. Thereafter, Halper and CIA honeypot, Azra Turk, met with Papadopoulos. Halper lied to Papadopoulos and introduced Turk as his “assistant”. [<https://dailycaller.com/2018/05/21/fbi-informant-george-papadopoulos/>].

D. COLLUSION AND DEFAMATION

76. After November 8, 2016, Halper took action in furtherance of the conspiracy to defame Lokhova and General Flynn and to advance the wholly fabricated and fictitious “Russian collusion” narrative.⁹

77. In order to carry out the conspiracy, Halper employed multiple agents
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across multiple platforms. Halper used his experience and skill as a counterintelligence asset to undertake the defamation campaign against Lokhova.

78. Halper seeded the media Defendants (who already harbored extreme bias against and ill-will towards President Trump) with false and defamatory statements about Lokhova and General Flynn – statements that were eagerly republished with no evidentiary support and for the sole purpose of advancing the sensational and false narrative.

1. The FT Article

79. On December 17, 2016, while due to give birth, Lokhova became aware of an article that had been published in the Financial Times (FT) on December 16. <https://www.ft.com/content/d43cd586-c396-11e6-9bca-2b93a6856354> (the “FT Article”).

80. The FT Article, entitled “**Intelligence experts accuse Cambridge forum of Kremlin links**”, reported that Dearlove and Halper had cut ties with “fellow

⁹ A week after President Trump’s election win, Christopher Steele briefed Sir Charles Farr (“Farr”), who then chaired Britain’s Joint Intelligence Committee, about his investigation of Trump’s possible ties to Russia. Farr passed the information to other high-level British intelligence officials, including MI5 director Andrew Parker and MI6 director Alex Younger. [<https://dailycaller.com/2019/05/22/nunes-trump-theresa-may-steele/>]. Upon information and belief, Farr, Parker and/or Younger in turn passed the information on to Dearlove and Halper, which caused Halper and Dearlove to contact the *Financial Times* in November/December 2016. *See infra*.

academics” at Cambridge “in a varsity spy scare harking back to the heyday of Soviet espionage at the heart of the British establishment.” The FT Article stated that Dearlove and Halper resigned “because of concerns over what they fear could be a Kremlin-backed operation to compromise the group.” Halper said he stepped down due to “unacceptable Russian influence on the group”.

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81. The statements made by Halper to the FT were of and concerning Lokhova. The statements were false. Lokhova was not part of a “Kremlin-backed operation to compromise” the Seminar because, in truth, there was no such “operation”. Halper completely fabricated the so-called Russian “operation”.

82. Halper’s misrepresentations and propaganda in the FT Article were designed to seed the false narrative about Lokhova and stoke fears and paranoia about Russian subversion of the west and meddling in the 2016 presidential election.

83. The FT republished the FT Article to its 3.44 Million followers on Twitter. <https://twitter.com/FT/status/809871591513489408> (December 16, 2017) <https://twitter.com/FT/status/810159537508458496> (December 17, 2017)]. Thereafter, between 2017 and the present, the FT Article was republished thousands of times. [<https://twitter.com/search?q=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.ft.com%2Fcontent%2Fd43cd586-c396-11e6-9bca-2b93a6856354&src=typd>].

84. After publication of the FT Article, Halper began to contact other media outlets to solicit help in publicizing the false narrative about Lokhova and Russian intemeddling.

85. Halper told Sean O'Neill ("O'Neill"), a chief reporter with *The Times* of London (Britain's oldest national daily newspaper), that Lokhova was a Russian spy. On December 19, 2019, O'Neill called Lokhova and repeated the false accusation.

86. On January 23, 2017, President Trump appointed General Flynn as his National Security Advisor ("NSA").

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87. On February 13, 2017, General Flynn resigned as NSA.

88. Halper and the FBI saw General Flynn's resignation as the catalyst and opportunity to accelerate the defamation campaign and solidify the belief that "Russian collusion" was real.

2. **The Andrew Article**

89. Halper enlisted Andrew and Dearlove in his scheme to defame Lokhova and General Flynn.

90. On February 19, 2017, Andrew published an article in the *Sunday Times* of London, entitled "**Impulsive General Misha shoots himself in the foot**". [\[https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/impulsive-general-misha-shoots-himself-in-the-foot-17gfpbghr\]](https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/impulsive-general-misha-shoots-himself-in-the-foot-17gfpbghr) (the "Andrew Article").

91. The Andrew Article did not mention Lokhova by name, but was most certainly of and concerning Lokhova. The Andrew Article contained many untruths about Lokhova and General Flynn and was laden with sexual innuendo. For instance, Andrew falsely stated that General Flynn asked Lokhova to travel with him as a translator to Moscow on his next official visit and that General Flynn signed an email to Lokhova as "General Misha".

92. Halper and Andrew knew these statements were false. Neither Halper nor Andrew ever heard General Flynn ask Lokhova to travel with him to Moscow as a translator or otherwise.

93. Moreover, Andrew was copied on Lokhova's email communication with General Flynn. General Flynn never signed a single email, "General Misha".

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94. Halper and Andrew created the phraseology "General Misha" because they knew these words would receive international attention by the media and users of social media. The words were sexy and unforgettable. Halper and Andrew knew the words implied and would be immediately understood to mean that there was an intimate relationship between General Flynn and Lokhova. Indeed, the defamatory phrase "General Misha" has been repeated millions of times and lives in infamy on the Internet and in the Twitterverse:

<https://twitter.com/TheDailyEdge/status/847992638640881665>

("Mike Flynn didn't disclose contacts w/Russian spy 'expert' Svetlana Lokhova, he signed emails to her 'General Misha'");

<https://twitter.com/blakehounshell/status/848012993262735361>

("Michael Flynn signed his emails to a Russian-British graduate student 'General Misha'");

<https://twitter.com/ericgarland/status/848088269468438528>

("Flynn signed his letters 'General Misha.' Doesn't every three-star go by his own Russian nickname?");

<https://twitter.com/tedlieu/status/848570747152777217>

("Hmmm, Trump's former National Security Adviser & confidant #Flynn signed email as 'General Misha' to a Russian woman");

<https://twitter.com/olgaNYC1211/status/901225253216583681>

("Thread on General Misha's honey pot.. and yes he had one who most definitely is Russian Intel");

<https://twitter.com/carolecadwalla/status/936664798363824128>

(“The strange case of General ‘Misha’ & the Cambridge University intelligence group with ‘unacceptable’ links to Kremlin”);

<https://twitter.com/michaeldweiss/status/936601257682272258>

(“General Misha’s in the soup”);

<https://twitter.com/USseriously/status/997683832760471552>

(“Mr Flynn continued an unclassified email correspondence with the woman, Svetlana Lokhova, occasionally signing off his emails ‘general Misha’^{1:19-cv-632}, using the Russian nickname for Michael”);

<https://twitter.com/profcarroll/status/997648224616960001>;

(“FBI informant, an American academic, who teaches in Britain, had contacts with ‘General Misha’ who appeared captivated by a Russian student at Cambridge University in 2014 (Svetlana Lokhova?)”);

<https://twitter.com/LaurenWern/status/998962697659133952>

(“Flynn communicated w this woman & failed to disclose the interactions on his govt disclosure forms. He signed his emails to her w ‘General Misha,’ the Russian translation of his name”);

https://twitter.com/moscow_project/status/1069978961734762496

(“Flynn signed his correspondence with her—which he didn’t disclose—as ‘General Misha’ the Russian version of Mike”);

<https://twitter.com/DrDenaGrayson/status/1073681787786854401>

(“ Mueller *hammers* Misha  Flynn”);

<https://twitter.com/LouiseMensch/status/1075088383070924801>

(“You know what @genflynn? If you “forgot” any part of it, cc @RealSLokhova, you may want to start singing much louder before March, ‘General Misha’”);

<https://twitter.com/olgaNYC1211/status/1019674134677204993>;

(“Flynn had his own honey pot in 2015. Lokhova. he even signed off as General Misha. A very common KGB tactic”);

<https://twitter.com/olgaNYC1211/status/1075265421706780672>

(“Flynn would have had intel that Russia was prepare to invade Crimea when he was meeting with his honey pot. He signed off on emails as General Misha”);

<https://twitter.com/olgaNYC1211/status/1088114929297776640>

(“Flynn plotted to kidnap Erdogan’s enemy and deliver him, was working on a shady nuclear deal, and had a honey pot in the past ... Yes his Uk Russian spy who he addressed himself as general Misha”);

<https://twitter.com/MelissaJPeltier/status/1082811144769810432>

(“Another point – GRU is Russian MILITARY intelligence. As in a MILITARY op. Like our DIA. The one that General Michael ‘Misha’ Flynn was head of until Obama fired him”);

<https://twitter.com/TimothyDSnyder/status/1117480606156374016>

(“General Michael Flynn, an advisor of the Trump campaign and then Mr. Trump's national security advisor, called himself ‘General Misha’”);

<https://twitter.com/LouiseMensch/status/1113280471557918720>

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(“He’s a traitor. Doesn’t General Misha keep in touch with his old flame, then?”).

95. The Andrew Article was shared thousands of times on Twitter.

[<https://twitter.com/search?q=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.thetimes.co.uk%2Farticle%2Fimpulsive-general-misha-shoots-himself-in-the-foot-l7gfpbgghr&src=typd>].

96. Andrew refused to correct the Andrew Article. He later falsely claimed that the Article was written to head off “fake news” stories. In truth, Andrew wrote and published the Andrew Article in concert with Halper as part of the conspiracy to defame and smear Lokhova and to connect General Flynn to a Russian.

3. The WSJ Article

97. Halper told the Wall Street Journal that Lokhova and Flynn had an affair.

98. On February 28, 2017, two WSJ “journalists” emailed Lokhova asking about her “relationship with Flynn”. Lokhova did not reply. She was ill and dealing with a newborn.

99. When they could not get a comment out of Lokhova, the WSJ “journalists” then put it to senior academics at Cambridge that Lokhova and General Flynn had had an affair. The WSJ was informed that the accusations were untrue. In spite of these red flags and reasons to doubt Halper’s veracity, the Journal published Halper’s lies.

100. On March 1, 2017, Andrew emailed Lokhova as follows:

“Dear Svetlana, Neil rang me this morning and has probably briefed you by now about WSJ. Because I refused to speak to them when they rang, I had no idea they were following such an outrageous story. Understandable perhaps if Neil is right about the source, but nonetheless appalling best wishes Chris.”

Lokhova telephoned Kent to discuss the matter. Kent told Lokhova that the WSJ had contacted him and that the WSJ was accusing Lokhova of having an affair with General Flynn. 1:19-cv-632

Later on March 1, Andrew sent Lokhova a second email that stated:

“Dear Svetlana, I’ve been contacted by WSJ and refused all comment. David Ignatius of Washington Post is in UK at moment. I’ve known him for years and trust him. I’ve given him your email and he accepts that if you don’t wish to respond, that’s an end to it. I’ve told him you’ve signed a US contract for a blockbuster and that this will later be a big story for him. He trusts my judgement on that! Flynn’s career for years past is obviously going to continue to be investigated. David has an inside track on that which I think he’d share with you if you’re interested.”

101. On March 1, 2017, Lokhova received an email from the WSJ, which stated, “I’m a reporter at the Wall Street Journal and am researching a story that will likely mention your relationship with ... Gen. Michael Flynn.”

102. North issued a flat denial to the WSJ as follows:

“I am writing on behalf of my long-term partner Svetlana Lokhova. Ms Lokhova is currently unwell, and your enquiries have made that condition worse. She is recovering from the recent birth of our daughter. Your baseless allegations have been relaid [sic] to me by two third parties whom you have seen fit to contact. The allegations are deeply upsetting and hurtful to Ms Lokhova and our family. The underlying assumptions behind the allegations are preposterous. Having discussed this matter with Ms Lokhova, I can assure you that they without any foundation. Further, it is likely that your source is acting maliciously in inventing these falsehoods. Re. General Flynn Ms Lokhova has met General Flynn on only one occasion at a dinner in Cambridge in February 2014. The dinner was attended by upwards of a dozen people, and she had a twenty-minute public conversation with General Flynn and others. They have not met or spoke since then ... If you are prepared to share with me what it is you intend to publish in advance, I will endeavour to point out any further falsehoods to spare more harm to Ms Lokhova. I trust that this is the end of the matter.”

103. Lokhova forwarded the statement to David Ignatius at the Post. Ignatius thanked and later represented that he had no interest in publishing anything, as there was nothing to publish.

104. On March 17, 2017, the WSJ published an article, entitled “**Mike Flynn Didn’t Report 2014 Interaction With Russian-British National**”.
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[<https://www.wsj.com/articles/mike-flynn-didnt-report-2014-interaction-with-russian-british-national-1489809842> (the “WSJ Article”)].

105. The sources of the WSJ Article were Halper and Andrew.

106. The gist and defamatory implication of the WSJ Article was that Lokhova engaged in unlawful or suspicious interactions with General Flynn on behalf of the Russia government that should have been reported to the DIA. The WSJ Article is intentionally laden with false facts in order to support Halper’s preconceived false narrative. The Article referred to the February 2014 dinner as a “U.K. security conference”. It was not. It was a dinner. The Article misstated that General Flynn’s contact with Lokhova at the Cambridge dinner “came to the notice of US intelligence”. It did not. The Article falsely stated that Lokhova was a “foreign stranger”. She was a citizen of the UK. Moreover, Lokhova’s name, the fact that she was invited to the dinner by Dearlove, and the fact that she would show her research were all pre-reported to the DIA. The Article falsely insinuated and implied that General Flynn and Lokhova had engaged in “anomalous behavior” and that there were inappropriate interactions between the two. The WSJ Article falsely stated that Lokhova worked for “Russia’s state-controlled Sberbank” and suggested that the “contact” between General Flynn and Lokhova at the February 2014 dinner might be the subject of the FBI’s “wide-ranging

counterintelligence probe into any contacts that Trump campaign personnel may have had with Russian officials”. The WSJ Article further falsely implies that Lokhova had an ulterior motive in attending the dinner and that she “approached Mr. Flynn at the start” (untrue) and “sat next” to him (false) with a view to gathering information from him on behalf of the Russian government. The Article portrays Lokhova and her behavior as so suspicious that it leaves the reader in no doubt that Lokhova was an agent of an “adversarial power”.

107. The WSJ Article was republished thousands of times on Twitter. [\[https://twitter.com/search?q=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.wsj.com%2Farticles%2Fmike-flynn-didnt-report-2014-interaction-with-russian-british-national-1489809842&src=typd\]](https://twitter.com/search?q=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.wsj.com%2Farticles%2Fmike-flynn-didnt-report-2014-interaction-with-russian-british-national-1489809842&src=typd). It was instantly and universally understood to imply that General Flynn and Lokhova had engaged in wrongdoing. *See, e.g.:*

https://twitter.com/Amy_Siskind/status/842955271429414912

(“I hope they get this guy to sing about Trump before he goes to prison!”);

<https://twitter.com/kylegriffin1/status/843115804187148288>

(“Mike Flynn didn't report 2014 contact w/ Russian-British national—contact that came to the notice of U.S. Intel”);

<https://twitter.com/TomRtweets/status/843185113022324736>

(“Flynn is on another planet”);

<https://twitter.com/thegarance/status/847853482405240832>

(“an ‘erotic postcard’ sent by Stalin...’asked the woman to travel w him’...’continued an email exchange’...”).

108. On March 17, 2017, Bill Palmer (“Palmer”), author of the left-wing “Palmer Report”, republished the Journal’s false statements in an online article, entitled **“Exposed: Michael Flynn has been secretly meeting with Russians since his time at**

the DIA”. [<https://www.palmerreport.com/news/svetlana-lokhova-michael-flynn-russia-moscow/2150/>] (the “First Palmer Article”)].

109. The First Palmer Article stated that “the Wall Street Journal is now reporting that Flynn’s pattern of covertly meeting with Russians dates back to his final days at the Defense Intelligence Agency before he was fired.” Palmer captured the
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defamatory implication – the gist – of the WSJ Article:

“Flynn met with a young Russian woman named Svetlana Lokhova while at a conference in the United Kingdom in 2014. If this Russian woman came out of nowhere and approached Flynn, then he would have been expected and required to report the encounter when he got home. These are the kinds of tactics often used by foreign spies, and are therefore reported and tracked – particularly when it involves the head of the DIA. But instead there is no record that Flynn reported the meeting, thus suggesting that the meeting involved something on Flynn’s part that he didn’t want the U.S. government knowing about. This raises several questions. Was this Russian woman (source: [Wall Street Journal](#)) sent to this UK conference to recruit Michael Flynn for the Kremlin?”

110. On March 19, 2017, Kent emailed the WSJ to correct the grave errors of the WSJ Article. Kent stated as follows:

Rob, hi! I have just had an opportunity to look at a photo which was taken by someone at the dinner with Mike, but which is under Chatham House rules and therefore I cannot forward it. It clearly shows that Peter Martland sat on Mike's right hand and that Chris sat on his left. I was on the far left corner so didn't really take this on board. However, one would have expected that the two principal convenors of the seminars would have sat on either side. The dinner was a formal dinner with assigned seating, so it would have been impossible for Ms Lohkova to have approached him. Moreover, I should add that to the best of my knowledge she is a British national of Russian origin. I would assume that everyone who attended that dinner was clearly acceptable to Sir Richard Dearlove and posed no security risk; otherwise they would not have been allow to attend. Finally, to repeat what I said in our telephone call, the innuendo that you suggested that Ms Lohkova might have had some 'inappropriate' contact with Chris, Mike or Sir Richard is not only shocking to me, but preposterous! But why you came to me as a third party on the end of the table, who cannot even remember where Ms Lohkova sat, I still can't quite understand. Anyway I hope this clears up any loose ends.
It would be great if you could amend your article to reflect this.

Best regards,

Neil

111. In spite of repeated requests to retract and/or correct the WSJ Article, from both Lokhova and Kent, the Journal refused (and refuses) to take any action to mitigate the damage caused to Lokhova.

112. The WSJ Article remains on the Internet. The hyperlink is fully active and the Journal continues to earn substantial income from publication of the defamation.

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4. The Guardian Article

113. On March 22, 2017, Lokhova received the following email from reporter Nick Hopkins with the Guardian:

“We are researching a story about General Michael Flynn and the circumstances that led to his appointment as President Trump’s NSA last November, and the concerns this appeared to generate within the American intelligence community. As you know, the Wall Street Journal published a story a few days ago which named you as someone who had contact with General Flynn in 2014. At the time, General Flynn was head of the DIA. An extremely sensitive post. The WSJ reported that General Flynn did not report your meeting to the Defence Department, which the WSJ suggested was unusual, as you were – and remain – an expert on Russian intelligence, and he was, primarily, America’s ‘top spy’ ... Our story intends to reflect the meeting in Cambridge which, we understand, was being discussed by American and British intelligence officials in the period just before General Flynn’s appointment. We understand this was one of a number of episodes US officials were assessing to determine what they suggested, if anything, about General Flynn’s suitability for such a security sensitive position. General Flynn’s spokesman has told us that the meeting with you in 2014 was ‘incidental’ and nothing more.

...

Hopkins’ email went on to say that:

“ I wanted to give you an opportunity to give an on the record comment about the story in the WSJ, and also to address the nature and longevity of your connection with General Flynn, which appears to have raised questions, perhaps entirely unfairly, about his suitability for the NSA post.”

Earlier in the day, Hopkins emailed Andrew as follows:

“We have been told, by multiple sources, both here and in the US, that American intelligence officials were fretting about General Flynn ahead of his appointment as NSA. These concerns were based on his alleged behaviours in the previous two years, which included his trips to Russia. Their fears, whether they were justified or not, also included an assessment of his connection to a woman named by the WSJ as Svetlana Lokhova ... We have other material that suggests the meeting in Cambridge was the start, not the end, of their correspondence. Your own piece in the Sunday Times suggested a connection which endured beyond the seminar, and to the casual reader (as I was at the time), a naive behaviour rather unbecoming and of the head of the DIA. You have told Luke – quite forcefully I understand – that we would be quite wrong to suggest that anything untoward happened in Cambridge. Nor will we. But we do intend to set out the broad fears of US intelligence officials and explain why they were as concerned as they seemed to be, even if these anxieties might have been misplaced.”

114. On March 31, 2017, the Guardian published an online story written by Luke Harding (“Harding”),¹⁰ entitled “**Michael Flynn: new evidence spy chiefs had concerns about Russian ties**”. [<https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/mar/31/michael-flynn-new-evidence-spy-chiefs-had-concerns-about-russian-ties>] (the “Guardian Article”). The next day, story appeared on the front page of the Guardian print edition.

115. The sources of the Guardian Article were Halper, Andrew and the WSJ.

116. The Guardian Article began with the false and defamatory statement that “**US and UK officials were troubled by Moscow contacts and encounter with woman linked to Russian spy agency records**”. (Emphasis in original). The Guardian described

¹⁰ Harding is one of the leading proponents of the failed “Russian collusion” narrative. He is a friend of Christopher Steele, the putative author of the wholly fake and discredited “Steele dossier”, a compilation of lies calculated to show “collusion” between members of the Trump campaign and the Russian government. [<https://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2018/jan/7/christopher-steele-described-trump-russia-dossier-/>]. In 2017, Harding published a book called “Collusion”. An entire chapter of Harding’s book is devoted to “General Misha”. [<https://www.penguinrandomhouse.com/books/566132/collusion-by-luke-harding/9780525562511/>]. It is no coincidence that Halper used Harding and the Guardian as catalysts to promote and amplify the false and defamatory statements about Lokhova, General Flynn and “collusion” between the Trump campaign and Russia.

Lokhova as a “historian and a leading expert on Soviet espionage”. The Guardian implied that Lokhova had special access to documents in the possession of the “GRU – Russia’s military spy agency.” The Guardian Article falsely stated that “US intelligence officials had serious concerns about Michael Flynn’s appointment as the White House national security adviser because of his ... encounter with a woman [Lokhova] who had trusted access to Russian spy agency records”. The Guardian further falsely reported that “US and British intelligence officers discussed Flynn’s ‘worrisome’ behaviour”; that “[m]ultiple sources, who spoke on the condition of anonymity, said the CIA and FBI were discussing this episode, along with many others, as they assessed Flynn’s suitability to serve as national security adviser”; and that the Cambridge dinner meeting “was part of a wider pattern of ‘maverick’ behaviour which included repeated contacts with Russia”. Finally, the Guardian Article repeated Andrew’s misrepresentations in the Andrew Article.

117. The Guardian Article went viral. It was shared via Twitter by virtually every major news network hundreds of thousands of times on April 1, 2017. Between 2017 and the present day, it was republished over and over hundreds of thousands more times. [<https://twitter.com/search?q=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.theguardian.com%2Fus-news%2F2017%2Fmar%2F31%2Fmichael-flynn-new-evidence-spy-chiefs-had-concerns-about-russian-ties&src=typd>]. The Guardian Article was universally understood to imply that Lokhova was an agent of Russian intelligence and that she and General Flynn had engaged behavior that caused “US intelligence officials” “serious concerns”. *See, e.g.:*

<https://www.palmerreport.com/opinion/internet-michael-flynn-russia-roger-stone-guccifer/2184/>

(“Later he invited Lokhova to travel with him to Moscow, asking her to serve as a translator. He also sent her an email and signed it ‘General Misha’ – Russian for Michael. And it turns out Lokhova is so well connected to Putin and the Russian spy world that she was allowed to see the Russian GRU spy records, which has only happened two or three times during Putin’s entire reign (source: [The Guardian](#))”);

<https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2018/09/michael-flynn-will-be-sentenced/570538/>

(“Flynn’s questionable ties to Russia were not limited to Kislyak and Russia Today: The FBI and the CIA reportedly [examined his contact](#) in 2014 with a Russian British national, Svetlana Lokhova, who ‘has claimed to have unique access’ to the GRU, Russia’s military spy agency”);

https://twitter.com/4free_Ukraine/status/847845906317815808

(“Was Svetlana Lokhova, a British-Russian woman with unusual access to Russian intelligence, Flynn’s handler?”);

<https://twitter.com/ViewFromWise/status/847814384390942720>

(“US & UK intelligence were troubled by Michael Flynn’s Moscow contacts and encounter with female Russian spy”);

<https://twitter.com/MalcolmNance/status/848108731896352768>

(“There it is. Flynn poss caught in FSB honeypot w/female Russian Intel asset”);

<https://twitter.com/tedlieu/status/848570747152777217>

(“Hmmm, Trump’s former National Security Adviser & confidant #Flynn signed email as ‘General Misha’ to a Russian woman”);

<https://twitter.com/NaveedAJamali/status/933813915162517504>

(“Here’s the other thing to understand about espionage: once you’ve crossed the line once, the second time is easier. While at DIA Flynn had contact with Svetlana Lokhova who allegedly has Russian intel ties”);

<https://twitter.com/olgaNYC1211/status/911445116975554560>

(“Very troubling story of Flynn with his Honey pot. He signed off on emails as General Misha.. year after the GRU meet”).

118. Within minutes of publication of the Guardian Article, “unhinged British witch” Louise Mensch (“Mensch”) began tweeting (republishing) a series of false and defamatory statements about Lokhova. *See, e.g.*:

<https://twitter.com/LouiseMensch/status/847814538162565121>

(“What a scoop by @GuardianUS – incredible reporting”)

<https://twitter.com/LouiseMensch/status/847828054495948801>

(“Svetlana Lokhova, featured in Guardian’s Mike Flynn story <http://bit.ly/2ojfNic> worked for known FSB front Sberbank”);

<https://twitter.com/LouiseMensch/status/847899240936476673>

(“Because she is said to be linked to Russian intelligence via Sberbank, who fund SVB, subject of the #FISA warrant I reported Nov 7th);

https://twitter.com/lisagarner_lisa/status/847926170289029120

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(“There’s a Russian spy ring at Cambridge”);

<https://twitter.com/LouiseMensch/status/847894991561261056>

(“Scoop in December, Exclusive Sam Jones at the Financial Times #MoscowMisha”);

<https://twitter.com/LouiseMensch/status/847910660314992640>

(“Well sir, I hear she worked for Sberbank. If I may draw you a picture in 3 images #FISA #SVB #Sverbank #Flynn #Misha”).

5. *The Daily Mail and the Daily Telegraph Articles*

119. The velocity of the defamation initiated by Halper, Andrew, the WSJ and Harding/Guardian steadily increased.

120. On March 31, 2017 and April 2, 2017, the Daily Mail and the Daily Telegraph published back-to-back stories about Lokhova and General Flynn. [<https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4370168/Flynn-dismissal-linked-meeting-Cambridge-graduate.html>] (“Disgraced Trump aide, and questions over his meeting with Cambridge historian at Intelligence Seminar raised concerns among British and US security chiefs”); <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/04/01/cambridge-university-dragged-row-donald-trumps-ex-spy-chiefs/> (“Cambridge University dragged into row over Donald Trump’s ex-spy chief’s links to Russia”) (the “Mail and Telegraph Articles”)].

121. The sources of the Mail and Telegraph Articles were Halper, Andrew, the WSJ and the Guardian/Harding.

122. The Mail and Telegraph Articles repeated and republished the false and defamatory statements made in the WSJ Article and the Guardian Article. The Mail Article was liked 15.9 Million times on Facebook. The Mail Article falsely stated that “[a] meeting with an Anglo-Russian banker once falsely dubbed Crazy Miss Cokehead has been linked to the controversial dismissal of one of Donald Trump’s aides”. The Telegraph Article falsely stated that “Mr Flynn, a former lieutenant general in the US army, struck up a friendship at a Cambridge dinner with a Russian banker turned academic whom he then sought to enlist as a translator on an official trip to Moscow”. The Telegraph further falsely stated that “Mr. Flynn’s encounter with Miss Lokhova was exposed in February 2017 by Andrew. Neither the Daily Mail nor the Daily Telegraph cited the source(s) for their fabricated statements. However, it is obvious from the Articles that the sources were Halper, Andrew and the WSJ.

123. The Telegraph Article was republished thousands of times on Twitter. [<https://twitter.com/search?q=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.telegraph.co.uk%2Fnews%2F2017%2F04%2F01%2Fcambridge-university-dragged-row-donald-trumps-ex-spy-chiefs%2F&src=typd>]. As with each and every one of the other defamatory Articles, the Telegraph Article was accepted as true and republished without any attempt to fact-check. [See, e.g., <https://twitter.com/LizMair/status/999070995037196289> (“This is interesting. Always expect the Russians to infiltrate Cambridge :); *see also* <https://twitter.com/JuneCasagrande/status/1075082928546242560> (“Your periodic reminder that in 2014 #Flynn was calling himself ‘General Misha’ in emails he was

exchanging with a shadowy Russian Brit whom he met at a seminar suspected of infiltration by Russian spies”)].

124. On April 2, 2017, Palmer published another article, entitled “**Michael Flynn invited female Russian operative Svetlana Lokhova to accompany him to Moscow**”. <https://www.palmerreport.com/news/svetlana-lokhova-michael-flynn-russia-moscow/2150/> (the “Second Palmer Article”)].

125. The Second Palmer Article republished the false and defamatory statements that originated with Halper and Andrew and that were repeated in the Guardian Article. Palmer stated, “Now it’s being reported by The Guardian that the woman is indeed some kind of Russian operative – and that Flynn later attempted to travel back to Moscow with her.” Palmer further stated that:

“The woman in question is Svetlana Lokhova. She and Flynn first met at conference in the United Kingdom. Intelligence officials in Flynn’s position are required to report incidental contact with someone from a hostile nation, due to the frequency with which foreign operatives try to use such ‘incidental’ interactions as a way of obtaining information or recruiting people. Shortly afterward, Flynn began acting so erratically on the job at the Defense Intelligence Agency that he had to be fired. He then maintained his contact with Lokhova. Based on the extremely rare access which Vladimir Putin granted Svetlana Lokhova to GRU spy records, which have only been seen by two or three people in recent years, it’s become evident that she’s either a Russian government operative or a Russian spy or she has close connections with Russian spy. What’s not clear is whether Mike Flynn knew she was Russian operative when he invited her to accompany him on his next trip to Moscow, asking her to act as his translator.”

Finally, Palmer repeated that MSNBC “security analyst Malcom Nance” tweeted his assessment that “Flynn poss caught in FSB honeypot w/female Russian Intel asset”. [<https://twitter.com/MalcolmNance/status/848108731896352768>].

126. In addition to his website, www.palmerreports.com, Palmer operates a Twitter account, @PalmerReport. Palmer has 248,000 Twitter followers.

[<https://twitter.com/PalmerReport>]. Palmer's Articles about Lokhova were republished millions of times via Twitter to millions.

127. As a result of Halper, Andrew, the Journal and Harding's actions, other "journalists" descended on Lokhova's home. They began to show Lokhova's picture around, and question her neighbors. The intense media scrutiny and increasing aggressiveness of the press forced Lokhova (who had just had a baby) from her home and into hiding, where she tried to fight back against the false and defamatory statement published and republished by Halper, Andrew, the WSJ, the Guardian, the Daily Mail and Daily Telegraph.

6. The NYT Article

128. On March 4, 2017, Times reporter, Mathew Rosenberg ("Rosenberg"), emailed Lokhova as follows: "Hi – I cover intelligence and national security for The New York Times. I'm eager to speak with you about Lt. Gen. Flynn, who I am told you met at Cambridge in 2014."

129. After North issued a statement to the Times reporter, Rosenberg acknowledged that he had been given the wrong information about Lokhova and that he had "found out" it was not Lokhova who had arranged General Flynn's trip to Moscow in December 2015, as Rosenberg had been told.

130. On May 12, 2017, the BBC published a detailed interview with Lokhova in which Lokhova explained the truth about what happened at the Cambridge dinner in February 2014 and her limited and infrequent interactions with General Flynn. [<https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-39863781>].

131. Lokhova forwarded the BBC story to Rosenberg at the New York Times. Rosenberg said that he believed Lokhova's story and was going to publish an interview to clear her name.

132. In addition to the BBC story, Lokhova gave Rosenberg an extensive interview and provided detailed written answers to questions posed by Rosenberg. 1:19-cv-632
Among the detailed written statements given Rosenberg are the following:

Q. Describe the circumstances under which you met Lt. Gen. Flynn. Where were you, what was the scene like, how many people were there? Most important: What did you and General Flynn discuss, and how long did your conversation last?

A. I am a British author and historian. My specialization is Soviet espionage undertaken in the 1930s.

Back in Feb 2014, I was a fellow of an organization called the Cambridge Security Initiative. It was one of many groups consulting on long-term global security issues with amongst others the DIA and other Western intelligence agencies. I was a Russian expert.

General Flynn, was head of the DIA at the time was to co-host a conference with Sir Richard Dearlove in Cambridge in 2015 for the DIA. To honor Flynn's official visit to Cambridge, CSI hosted a formal dinner at Pembroke College.

There were perhaps at most twenty guests at the dinner who were all pre-cleared in advance with the DIA. I sat on the opposite side of the table away from the guest of honor.

Lokhova further explained to Rosenberg that:

Towards the end of the evening, I was asked by Professor Andrew to showcase my party piece to the group. I like to use cognitive dissonance to challenge preconceptions. I showed Flynn, Dearlove, and others in the group a discovery from the official Stalin Archive. It is a photograph of an "erotic statue" (attached). The words on the postcard from Stalin are very *un Stalin* like. The card makes people re-examine how they think about "Uncle Joe". Flynn had official high-ranking guests from Moscow coming to Washington as part of the global fight on terror and asked me to send the material to him to use as an icebreaker. The conversation with the group lasted ten mins tops. It was a group discussion, not a private conversation.

Q. Did anyone at the dinner introduce you to General Flynn? Can you say who else was at the dinner?

A. Oh yes, as a relatively junior member off the CSI, I would never speak to anyone as important as General Flynn without introduction. A formal event like a Cambridge dinner has their own protocol. The dinner is a very stiff, snazzy event. There was obviously a seating plan etc. As a junior member of the group, I was sat quite far away from the key people. As I said, at some point towards the end of the dinner, Professor Andrew who was sitting next to General Flynn, asked me from across the table to show my work to the group. I never had a one-on-one conversation with General Flynn.

When asked whether she stayed in touch with Flynn after the February 2014 dinner, Lokhova notified the Times that:

After Flynn had left the DIA, CSI wanted to stay in touch with him on behalf of the leadership I sent him a few emails about our events or on matters that might be of interest in the next few months. I recall sending him BBC exposure of the Cambridge 'Sixth Man' Cedric Belfrage from the MI5 archives that Professor Andrew and I worked on, and the declassification of the defector Mitrokhin's archive which is now at Churchill College Cambridge University. I copied the correspondence to Professor Andrew. I recall that Flynn was adamant that traitors should be exposed and felt it was important to publicize espionage history so that the public could understand more about the subject. He liked my Sir Roger Casement story, a victim of black propaganda.

To be clear, I have not spoken or met Flynn apart from that one time in 2014. We wanted him to talk at our Intelligence seminar in Cambridge if he was ever back in the UK. I have not seen or spoken to Flynn except in that one group discussion.

Lokhova explained to Rosenberg the outrage she felt when she first heard that "journalists" were being told that Lokhova was a Russian spy:

Q. When did you first hear that journalists were being told that you were somehow tied to Russian intelligence and had turned General Flynn? What was the version of the story that you heard, and from whom did you hear it?

A. My life was devastated out of the blue on 28 February this year. I suddenly got two emails from Rob Barry of the WSJ. The next day two other US papers got in touch by email. It felt like an orchestrated approach. The newspapers all asked the same question. They wanted to discuss "my relationship" with Flynn. I don't have a relationship with Flynn. I only briefly met him once years ago. I was surprised by the interest. I was recovering from the birth of my child so initially ignored the WSJ. A couple of the US papers were friendly and explained what was going on in emails, not the WSJ.

But the next day I got truly horrifying phone calls from my Professor and another colleague, a senior academic in Cambridge. They had both been contacted by the WSJ by phone. They both separately told me that the WSJ had accused me of being a modern day Mata Hari [a famous female WW1 spy]. The WSJ cited me to others of having "inappropriate relations" i.e. affairs with General Flynn and others on the orders of Russian intelligence. On the one hand the accusations were untrue but at the same time outrageous, vile and scandalising. I still do not know who else they approached. It was horrifying to me, and to the others accused by the WSJ. All of us felt physically sick and repelled by the accusations.

I was furious, devastated and outraged. I was just trying to spend those valuable first weeks with my baby and the journalists robbed me of it. The accusation of affairs was all untrue and a hammer blow to my health. I am an ordinary person not Mata Hari. I became very distressed. It was all I could think about. I worry about bringing a child into a sick world. I now know from bitter experience how these rumours get out of control.

I now know who is responsible for creating the story and I hope they feel ashamed of themselves. It is an evil fantasy created out of jealousy. I cannot help but thinking that this is because of my gender. A woman cannot be successful in her own right but only if she sleeps with men apparently. There is also racial profiling here: as all those with Russian names or descent has to be Putin's spies all 140 million.

Lokhova highlighted for Rosenberg numerous inaccuracies in the WSJ Article:

As my partner told the WSJ, I of course never "approached" Flynn, and never sat next to him. I was not a graduate student at the time; there is not even a course in Soviet intelligence history at Cambridge University. The dinner wasn't a conference etc. their list of errors goes on and on. Despite evidence, such as emails from others who were at dinner, contradicting every part of their account, the WSJ would not change anything.

The WSJ's refer to an article written by My Professor in the Sunday Times in February. He made some mistakes in his article. Flynn only ever signed his emails to me "Mike", never "Misha," and he never invited me to Moscow.

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Lokhova informed Rosenberg point blank that she had no connection to Russian intelligence:

Q. Do you have any connections -- formal or informal -- to Russian intelligence? If so, can you describe the connections?

A. No. The Russians don't trust me. I have closely collaborated publicly with Professor Andrew for 20 years. He is famous for working with famous Russian KGB defectors Mitrokhin and Gordievsky. They are regarded as traitors by Russians. He is also the former official historian of MI5, not credentials that scream friend of Russia. They do not open doors in Moscow. I am seen in Russia as suspicious perhaps even a British spy so of course, they won't help me at all. They never have. I wrote to the SVR recently asking a few basic questions for my upcoming book and was turned down flat. No-one gets into the GRU files— it is well known. I have never tried. The fact that I can expose new GRU missions in the US from information gleaned from public sources is groundbreaking- it is what makes my book unique.

Lokhova explained to Rosenberg the "accurate story" behind her book:

Q. What's the accurate story behind the book you are writing and the Russian archival material you are using?

A. I have done over a decade of painstaking research in Russian, American and British public archives to piece together what is an incredible true story. I found details of one of the first Soviet intelligence operations in the US in a public document in a Russian archive. It showed that a military intelligence officer was sent on a mission to MIT in 1931. He later was executed for a plot to kill Stalin- not one of those fake plots. It started a trail that led me to find the origins of the heyday of the Soviet success in spying in the US. I will identify the first female American GRU officer and most extraordinarily I discovered that a KGB officer met Shirley Temple and got into the Oval office twice to see FDR. Now that is a real Russian influence at the White House!

I have the scoop on approaches made to Stalin to get him to interfere in a US presidential election. The candidate on whose behalf approaches were made will shock you, so will Stalin's response.

133. After receiving Lokhova's written statements, Rosenberg shelved the story.

134. The reason Rosenberg and the NYT shelved the story was they knew the FBI planned to start a formal investigation into “Russian collusion”. The truth would have been inconvenient for the FBI.

135. The FBI counterintelligence operation, of which Halper and the NYT were important parts, succeeded in creating the false impression of “collusion” between members of the Trump campaign and Russians. This false narrative established a basis for investigating the invented “collusion”.

136. On May 9, 2017, President Trump fired FBI director, James Comey (“Comey”).

137. Within days, the FBI opened an investigation into whether President Trump was secretly working on behalf of Russia against American interests. [<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/11/us/politics/fbi-trump-russia-inquiry.html>].

138. On May 17, 2017, Deputy Attorney General Rod Rosenstein appointed Robert Mueller as Special Counsel to investigate the alleged collusion between the Trump campaign and Russia.

139. On May 18, 2017, Halper fanned the flames he had created with his lies about General Flynn and Likhova, and made a revelatory admission on BBC radio. Halper told the world all about the counterintelligence operation. Halper told the BBC that there was a “sense” that the FBI’s inquiry into Russian collusion was moving in the direction of Watergate. That was the FBI’s intention. Halper disclosed that “[i]t has clearly gathered a fair amount of momentum. It is the topic of continued discussion and analysis in Washington.” [<https://twitter.com/BBCr4today/status/865542638316814339>]. As part of the propaganda, Halper misrepresented that “people are deeply concerned about the erratic nature of this White House”. Halper claimed that there was “a

frustration that the country is lacking a coherent and focused leadership” and a “broad sense that this president may not have the proper skills for this job.”

140. Halper revealed on international radio the true goal of the FBI counterintelligence operation: to overthrow President Trump in a soft coup.

141. Throughout 2017, questions arose about the sources who allegedly
1:19-cv-632 supplied “evidence” of “Russian collusion”, specifically Christopher Steele.

<https://www.forbes.com/sites/paulroderickgregory/2017/01/13/the-trump-dossier-is-false-news-and-heres-why/#7b1c6f1c6867>;

<https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/25/us/politics/steele-dossier-trump-expained.html>;

<https://www.vanityfair.com/news/2017/10/hillary-clinton-donald-trump-dossier>;

<https://themoscowproject.org/collusion/steeles-dossier-shared-fbi/>].

142. On January 29, 2018, the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence (the “Committee”) voted to disclose a memorandum (“Memorandum”) containing classified information relating to the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (“FISA”) abuses ant the Department of Justice (“DOJ”) and the FBI. The President authorized declassification of the Committee Memorandum on February 2, 2018.

143. The Committee Memorandum raised serious concerns with legitimacy and legality of certain DOJ and FBI interactions with the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court (“FISC”). Specifically, the Committee found that in connection with the application for a FISA probable cause order authorizing electronic surveillance on Page, DOJ and FBI made material misrepresentations and concealed material facts from the FISC, including the following:

- 1) The “dossier” compiled by Christopher Steele (Steele dossier) on behalf of the Democratic National Committee (DNC) and the Hillary Clinton campaign formed an essential part of the Carter Page FISA application. Steele was a longtime FBI source who was paid over \$160,000 by the DNC and Clinton campaign, via the law firm Perkins Coie and research firm Fusion GPS, to obtain derogatory information on Donald Trump’s ties to Russia.
- 2) The Carter Page FISA application also cited extensively a September 23, 2016, *Yahoo News* article by Michael Isikoff, which focuses on Page’s July 2016 trip to Moscow. This article does not corroborate the Steele dossier because it is derived from information leaked by Steele himself to *Yahoo News*. The Page FISA application incorrectly assesses that Steele did not directly provide information to *Yahoo News*. Steele has admitted in British court filings that he met with *Yahoo News*—and several other outlets—in September 2016 at the direction of Fusion GPS. Perkins Coie was aware of Steele’s initial media contacts because they hosted at least one meeting in Washington D.C. in 2016 with Steele and Fusion GPS where this matter was discussed.
- 3) Before and after Steele was terminated as a source, he maintained contact with DOJ via then-Associate Deputy Attorney General Bruce Ohr, a senior DOJ official who worked closely with Deputy Attorneys General Yates and later Rosenstein. Shortly after the election, the FBI began interviewing Ohr, documenting his communications with Steele. For example, in September 2016, Steele admitted to Ohr his feelings against then-candidate Trump when Steele said he **“was desperate that Donald Trump not get elected and was passionate about him not being president.”** This clear evidence of Steele’s bias was recorded by Ohr at the time and subsequently in official FBI files—but not reflected in any of the Page FISA applications.
- 4) According to the head of the FBI’s counterintelligence division, Assistant Director Bill Priestap, corroboration of the Steele dossier was in its “infancy” at the time of the initial Page FISA application. After Steele was terminated, a source validation report conducted by an independent unit within FBI assessed Steele’s reporting as only minimally corroborated. Yet, in early January 2017, Director Comey briefed President-elect Trump on a summary of the Steele dossier, even though it was—according to his June 2017 testimony—“salacious and unverified.” While the FISA application relied on Steele’s past record of credible reporting on other unrelated matters, it ignored or concealed his anti-Trump financial and ideological motivations. Furthermore, Deputy Director McCabe testified before the Committee in December 2017 that no surveillance warrant would have been sought from the FISC without the Steele dossier information.

- 5) The Page FISA application also mentions information regarding fellow Trump campaign advisor George Papadopoulos, but there is no evidence of any cooperation or conspiracy between Page and Papadopoulos. The Papadopoulos information triggered the opening of an FBI counterintelligence investigation in late July 2016 by FBI agent Pete Strzok. Strzok was reassigned by the Special Counsel's Office to FBI Human Resources for improper text messages with his mistress, FBI Attorney Lisa Page (no known relation to Carter Page), where they both demonstrated a clear bias against Trump and in favor of Clinton, whom Strzok had also investigated. The Strzok/Lisa Page texts also reflect extensive discussions about the investigation, orchestrating leaks to the media, and include a meeting with Deputy Director McCabe to discuss an "insurance" policy against President Trump's election.

144. Publication of the Committee Memorandum was the first concrete revelation that the "Russian collusion" narrative was a counterintelligence hoax.

145. It was not long before Halper's role in the counterintelligence operation saw the light of day.

146. Recognizing that he would be exposed as a shady, deceptive FBI informant, Halper approached his confederates at the Times. Halper contacted FBI go-to man, Adam Goldman ("Goldman"). [<https://www.nytimes.com/by/adam-goldman>].¹¹ Goldman was part of the propaganda team at the Times who "reported" on "Russia's meddling in the presidential election." In truth, Goldman served as a medium, a vessel through which Halper and the FBI leaked information to the public. Goldman is one of many in the "mainstream media" who serve at the pleasure of the FBI and CIA. Goldman was an integral part of the counterintelligence operation to defame Likhova and General Flynn and to destabilize the Trump administration.

¹¹ Goldman has 124,000 followers on Twitter. His Twitter profile, @adamgoldmanNYT, reveals that he used to work with Ignatius at the Post. [<https://twitter.com/adamgoldmannyt?lang=en>].

147. Goldman and the Times acted in furtherance of the conspiracy by laundering Halper's lies through the storied *New York Times* newspaper, which gave Halper's lies an air of legitimacy.

148. On May 18, 2018, the Times published an article written by Goldman, Rosenberg and Mark Mazzetti, entitled:

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F.B.I. Used Informant to Investigate Russia Ties to Campaign, Not to Spy, as Trump Claims

By Adam Goldman, Mark Mazzetti and Matthew Rosenberg

May 18, 2018

[<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/18/us/politics/trump-fbi-informant-russia-investigation.html> (the "NYT Article")].

149. The purpose of the NYT Article was to "get out front" of the news about Halper's role as an FBI spy, to distract readers and to promote the FBI narrative that Halper was only used (paid) to "investigate" Russian ties to the Trump campaign, not to spy on the campaign.

150. Although the Times did not mention Halper by name in the NYT Article, Halper was the "Informant" identified in the headline and the "source" referenced throughout the story.

151. The Times blindly republished the following false statements by Halper:

“The informant [Halper] also had contacts with Mr. Flynn, the retired Army general who was Mr. Trump’s first national security adviser. The two met in February 2014, when Mr. Flynn was running the Defense Intelligence Agency and attended the Cambridge Intelligence Seminar, an academic forum for former spies and researchers that meets a few times a year. According to people familiar with Mr. Flynn’s visit to the intelligence seminar, the source [Halper] was alarmed by the general’s apparent closeness with a Russian woman who was also in attendance. The concern was strong enough that it prompted another person¹² to pass on a warning to the American authorities that Mr. Flynn could be compromised by Russian intelligence, according to two people familiar with the matter. Two years later, in late 2016, the seminar itself was embroiled in a scandal about Russian spying. A number of its organizers resigned over what they said was a Kremlin-backed attempt to take control of the group”.

152. In publishing the false statements in the NYT Article, the Times completely disregarded Lokhova’s written statements given to Rosenberg a year earlier.

153. Indeed, the Times made no attempt to contact Lokhova prior to publication on May 18, 2018.

154. The NYT Article falsely implied that Halper was at the dinner with General Flynn in February 2014. He was not. The Article misrepresented that Halper was “alarmed by the general’s apparent closeness” with Lokhova. Halper was not “alarmed” about anything. No “closeness” was “apparent” to anyone at the dinner because Lokhova was never “close” to General Flynn. There was no basis for any belief that Lokhova had “compromised” General Flynn, let alone on behalf of Russian intelligence, and no “warning” was passed to “American authorities”. This is all a concerted lie concocted by Halper and Goldman/NYT.

¹² Halper’s lies were openly obvious. Even Goldman should have seen the truth. **If Halper was so concerned (“alarmed”) in 2014 at a dinner he never attended, why did it take him over two (2) years to resign from the Seminar because of the “Kremlin-backed attempt to take over the group”? Further, if Halper had concerns about the “closeness” of General Flynn and Lokhova, why did Halper not report the matter himself? Why did “another person” pass on “a warning”?**

155. Between May 17, 2018 and the present, the NYT Article was republished by CNN and other mainstream media outlets, and by the Times and many others to millions via Twitter. *See, e.g.:*

<https://www.cnn.com/2018/05/18/politics/russia-informant-trump-campaign/index.html>;

<https://twitter.com/nytimes/status/997641945739644928>

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<https://twitter.com/nytimes/status/997809604410118145>;

<https://twitter.com/nytpolitics/status/997983002469785600>;

https://twitter.com/DRUDGE_REPORT/status/997892828092030976;

<https://twitter.com/NicolleDWallace/status/997807873517408256>;

<https://twitter.com/tribelaw/status/997797418770075649>;

<https://twitter.com/ThePlumLineGS/status/997791496727343104>;

<https://twitter.com/HeidiNBC/status/998003388444020736>;

<https://twitter.com/mayawiley/status/998263775470981120>;

<https://twitter.com/ByronYork/status/997655685981724677>;

<https://twitter.com/CGasparino/status/997811552014225414>;

(“as someone who has covered the FBI’s use of informants, they do act like spies. sorry trump seems right on this one”);

<https://twitter.com/kylegriffin1/status/997654327266340865>;

(“The informant met Flynn in 2014 at a seminar. NYT reports the source was alarmed by Flynn’s apparent closeness with a Russian woman in attendance. The concern was strong enough that it prompted another person to warn authorities Flynn could be compromised”);

https://twitter.com/Amy_Siskind/status/997653749194723328;

(“Read until the end in Flynn in 2014: ‘the source was alarmed by the general’s apparent closeness with a Russian woman who was also in attendance’”);

<https://twitter.com/ChuckRossDC/status/999674664304574464>;

(“So what's the source of this information about Flynn? And was the concern justified? According to NY Times, it was Stef Halper who first sounded the alarm on Flynn”);

<https://twitter.com/JuneCasagrande/status/997657500907331585>

(“Remember when Flynn got busted for lying about foreign contacts? One he concealed was Svetlana Lokhova, to whom Flynn was ‘General Misha.’ Today we learned an ally was so alarmed by his relationship w/her it was reported to US authorities in 2014”).

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Halper and the Times are liable for the republication of their false and defamatory statements about Lokhova.

7. The Post Article

156. On June 5, 2018, the Post published a story written by Tom Hamburger (“Hamburger”), Robert Costa (“Costa”) and Ellen Nakashima (“Nakashima”), entitled **“Cambridge University perch gave FBI source access to top intelligence figures — and a cover as he reached out to Trump associates”**.

https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/cambridge-university-pe%E2%80%A611e8-99d2-0d678ec08c2f_story.html?utm_term=.531c96c297a1 (the “Post Article”)].

157. The source of the Post Article was Halper.

158. Prior to publication, the Post reached out to Lokhova. Lokhova told the Post that the story about her and General Flynn was false; that Halper was a known liar; and that she had spoken a year earlier with Ignatius and that Ignatius, after flying to Cambridge and interviewing sources in 2017, determined there was nothing to the story.

159. Prior to publication, Hamburger talked to Ignatius. Hamburger knew, therefore, that the facts stated in the Post Article were false and unverifiable.

160. Prior to publication, Hamburger sent Lokhova a copy of her May 27, 2018 interview with the *Times* of London. Lokhova verified that her statements to the *Times*

were accurate. [<https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/svetlana-lokhova-im-a-mum-under-siege-not-mata-hari-bkggndttq>].

161. The Post Article named Halper, and described him as a “a longtime source of information for U.S. intelligence and law enforcement personnel”. The Post Article reported the following as facts:

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During this period, Halper formed a close bond with Dearlove, the now-retired head of British intelligence service MI6. Together, they launched the Cambridge Security Initiative, which produced research for governments and other clients, modeled in part after the Rand Corporation. Together, the two also became active in the Cambridge Intelligence Seminar, established by another Cambridge professor, Christopher Andrew, formerly an official historian for the British domestic intelligence service, MI5. All three were present for a 2014 visit by Flynn, then head of the Defense Intelligence Agency, who had agreed to speak to the intelligence seminar while traveling for Defense Department-related activities. During a dinner Flynn attended, Halper and Dearlove were disconcerted by the attention the then-DIA chief showed to a Russian-born graduate student who regularly attended the seminars, according to people familiar with the episode. Both the student and a Defense Department official traveling with Flynn have denied that anything inappropriate occurred.

Hamburger completely ignored the facts stated in the May 27, 2018 interview given by Lokhova to the *Times* of London.

162. Post Article contained the following falsehoods:

- Halper was “attended” at the February 2014 dinner;
- “Halper and Dearlove were disconcerted by the attention the then-DIA chief showed to a Russian-born graduate student [Lokhova] who regularly attended the seminars”.

163. The Post Article was republished millions of times via Twitter. *See, e.g.:*

<https://twitter.com/costareports/status/1003968153448271872>;

(“My latest on the backstory of the Russia investigation w/ @thamburger @nakashimae”);

<https://twitter.com/washingtonpost/status/1003972080130543616>.

8. MSNBC

164. At all times relevant to this action, NBCUniversal/MSNBC acted by and through its authorized agents, including Malcom W. Nance (“Nance”). Nance is “the chief terrorism analyst on MSNBC”. [https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCFWz-RVDDuPdX-PImCjEaQQ/about?disable_polymer=1]. Nance maintains and operates an official Twitter account on which he conducts the business of “NBC/MSNBC”. Nance has 606,800 Twitter followers:



Nance is a regular contributor to the business of MSNBC, appearing in hundreds of videos over many years. [See, e.g., [https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCFWz-](https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCFWz-RVDDuPdX-PImCjEaQQ/about?disable_polymer=1)

[RVDDuPdX-PImCjEaQQ/featured?disable_polymer=1](#)]. Nance has an extreme bias and demonstrated prejudice against General Flynn and President Trump. [See, e.g., <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EfIfI2tvvU8> (“within the intelligence community, the thought was that he [General Flynn] may have been a turned agent to Russian intelligence.”)]. Nance made and tweeted the false and defamatory statements about Lokhova at issue in this action during normal business hours and while performing the business of MSNBC. NBCUniversal is liable for Nance’s false and defamatory tweets under the doctrine of *respondeat superior*.

165. On April 1, 2017, Nance called Lokhova a “honeypot”.¹³



[<https://twitter.com/MalcolmNance/status/848108731896352768>]. Nance’s colleagues joined in the republication of Nance’s defamatory statement about Lokhova. Joy Reid republished Nance’s sexist and defamatory statement to her 1.4 Million followers on Twitter. [<https://twitter.com/JoyAnnReid/status/848497416752025600>].

166. On May 6, 2017, MSNBC aired a program, entitled “**Nance: Was Flynn recruited by foreign powers?**”, in which MSNBC specifically referred to Lokhova as a “Russian intelligence officer”. Nance called General Flynn “dirty” in an intelligence

¹³ A “honeypot” is a spy (typically attractive and female) who uses sex to trap and blackmail a target. [<https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/honeypot>; see <https://twitter.com/MalcolmNance/status/1070299994039742464> (“Fun Fact: The Intelligence community informally describes cheap honey pot temptresses who collect thru sex employed by GRU/KGB (FSB) as ‘Svetlanas’. ‘Natasha’s’ were trained smart agents who used brains.”)].

sense. [<https://www.msnbc.com/am-joy/watch/nance-was-flynn-recruited-by-foreign-powers-937950787864>].

167. In May 2018, after Halper was exposed as an FBI spy, NBCUniversal contacted Lokhova. NBCUniversal's producer, Anna Schechter ("Schechter"), represented that NBCUniversal wanted to do a program on Halper. Schechter represented that the program would help clear Lokhova's name, and would hold "a powerful (if repugnant) man to account" and would hold America's "top law enforcement agency to account". "We will set the record straight, and right a wrong. It will be all the more powerful if NBC does it ... because it's the most watched network". Schechter stated that she was "passionate about righting this wrong and telling your story, which exposes Halper's true character, and calls out the FBI for relying on a slanderer who cares much more about telling a juicy yarn than the truth. This is a breach of justice full stop". Schechter further stated that "[a]s a woman, and a professional woman, I shudder at the notion of a fallacious story about sleeping with Flynn and spying no less not just told around Cambridge but given to the press and reported as fact. I and my team in the investigative unit will take this story and it's important implications very seriously and I believe our agencies (FBI and CIA) will be better for the fact that we shine a bright light on an unreliable and loose-lipped informant prone to inventing stories". In reliance on NBCUniversal's representations, Lokhova decided to do an interview. In light of Goldman/NYT's and the Post's suppression of the facts, Lokhova was skeptical, but she wanted the truth to be told to the largest audience possible. NBCUniversal promised to make that happen. [<https://twitter.com/RealSLokhova/status/1120500428381274112>].

168. NBCUniversal concealed its ulterior motive from Lokhova. NBCUniversal was not interested in publishing the truth or holding anyone accountable. Rather, NBCUniversal was determined to defame and discredit General Flynn and Lokhova, and to blindly promote the “Russian collusion” narrative. The phone calls from Schechter after May 2018 went from fact-checking to interrogation-type questions to twisting. Then, Lokhova noticed that she was being followed on Twitter by Ken Dilanian (Dilanian’’) ¹⁴ and the producer of the Rachel Maddow Show, Mathew Alexander. Then, Schechter called and concealed the fact that others were on the line. During one call, it struck Lokhova that there were more than just her and Schechter on the line. Lokhova asked Schechter directly if Dilanian was listening to the call and feeding her questions? Schechter abruptly ended the call. Schechter then called Lokhova from her mobile. Schechter sounded distressed, and said she was being pressured by her colleagues. Schechter said she believed Lokhova, but said a colleague at NBCUniversal with “25 years intelligence experience” was laughing and saying that “everyone at the CIA knows Flynn had an affair with Lokhova”.

169. In July 2018, Nance stated that he believed that Lokhova was a “sexy” woman agent:

¹⁴ Dilanian is a known to have a “closely collaborative relationship with the CIA”. [<https://www.latimes.com/nation/nationnow/la-na-nn-tribune-dilanian-20140904-story.html>].



[<https://twitter.com/MalcolmNance/status/1018954261391118338>].

170. On July 19, 2018, Nance again stated that Lokhova was a "Honeypot":



[<https://twitter.com/MalcolmNance/status/1019640292004200450>].

171. Halper knows what a real “honeypot” looks like. He employed a honeypot named Azra Turk (“Turk”) in an attempt to entrap Trump aide Papadopoulos.

[<https://twitter.com/costareports/status/1124009254594187264>;

[https://dailycaller.com/2019/05/02/stefan-halper-spygate-](https://dailycaller.com/2019/05/02/stefan-halper-spygate-papadopoulos/?utm_source=Twitter&utm_campaign=atdailycaller&utm_medium=Social)

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[papadopoulos/?utm_source=Twitter&utm_campaign=atdailycaller&utm_medium=Social](https://dailycaller.com/2019/05/02/stefan-halper-spygate-papadopoulos/?utm_source=Twitter&utm_campaign=atdailycaller&utm_medium=Social)

].

172. At all times relevant to this action, Halper knew that Lokhova was not a honeypot.

COUNT I – DEFAMATION

173. Plaintiff restates paragraphs 1 through 172 of this Complaint, and incorporates them herein by reference.

174. The law of defamation protects a basic constitutional interest: the individual’s right to personal security and the uninterrupted entitlement to enjoyment of his reputation. *Gazette, Inc. v. Harris*, 229 Va. 1, 7, 325 S.E.2d 713 (1985) (citation omitted). In *Rosenblatt v. Baer*, Mr. Justice Stewart emphasized that:

“‘Society has a pervasive and strong interest in preventing and redressing attacks upon reputation.’ The right of a man to the protection of his own reputation from unjustified invasion and wrongful hurt reflects no more than our basic concept of the essential dignity and worth of every human being—a concept at the root of any decent system of ordered liberty ... The destruction that defamatory falsehood can bring is, to be sure, often beyond the capacity of the law to redeem. Yet, imperfect though it is, an action for damages is the only hope for vindication or redress the law gives to a man whose reputation has been falsely dishonored ... Surely if the 1950’s taught us anything, they taught us that the poisonous atmosphere of the easy lie can infect and degrade a whole society.”

383 U.S. 75, 92-93 (1966); *id. Milkovich v. Lorain Journal Co.*, 497 U.S. 1, 12 (1990)

(“Good name in man and woman, dear my lord, Is the immediate jewel of their souls. Who

steals my purse steals trash; 'Tis something, nothing; 'Twas mine, 'tis his, and has been slave to thousands; But he that filches from me my good name Robs me of that which not enriches him, And makes me poor indeed.") (quoting WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, OTHELLO, act 3 sc. 3)).¹⁵

175. Halper and the media Defendants each used the Internet, print media, Twitter and Facebook to make, publish and republish numerous false factual statements of and concerning Lokhova. These statements are detailed verbatim above. The Defendants published the false statements without privilege of any kind.

176. At all times relevant to this action, Andrew, the Journal, the Guardian, the Times and the Post acted as co-conspirators and agents of Halper. While the conspiracy between Halper, Andrew and the media Defendants continued, the media Defendants made, published and republished numerous false factual statements of and concerning Lokhova. These statements are detailed verbatim above. The media Defendants published the false statements without privilege of any kind. Halper is liable for Andrew and the media Defendants' false and defamatory statements as a matter of law.

177. The false statements constitute defamation *per se*. The statements accuse and impute to Lokhova the commission of crimes involving moral turpitude and for which Lokhova may be punished and imprisoned in a state or federal institution. The statements impute to Lokhova an unfitness to perform the duties of an office or employment for profit, or the want of integrity in the discharge of the duties of such

¹⁵ Libelous speech is not protected by the First Amendment. *Bose Corp. v. Consumers Union of the United States, Inc.*, 466 U.S. 485, 504 (1984) (cited in *Pendleton v. Newsome*, 290 Va. 162, 173, 772 S.E.2d 759 (2015)); *id. United States v. Alvarez*, 132 S. Ct. 2537, 2560 (2012) ("false factual statements possess no First Amendment value.").

office or employment. Finally, the Defendants' false statements also prejudice Lokhova in her profession and employment as a historian, academic and author.

178. By publishing the Andrew Article, the WSJ Article, the Guardian Article, the NYT Article, the Post Article and the MSNBC statements and tweets in print, on the Internet, and by tweeting these statements to the Twitter universe, the Defendants knew or should have known that their defamatory statements would be republished over and over by third-parties to Lokhova's detriment. Republication by both identified subscribers and Twitter users and by anonymous persons was the natural and probable consequence of the Defendants' actions and was actually and/or presumptively authorized the Defendants. In addition to the original publications of the Articles, the Defendants are liable for the republications of the false and defamatory statements by third-parties under the doctrine (the "republication rule") announced by the Supreme Court of Virginia in *Weaver v. Home Beneficial Co.*, 199 Va. 196, 200, 98 S.E.2d 687 (1957) ("where the words declared on are slanderous per se their repetition by others is the natural and probable result of the original slander.").

179. The Defendants' false statements have harmed Lokhova and her reputation.

180. The Defendants made the false statements with actual or constructive knowledge that they were false or with reckless disregard for whether they were false. The Defendants acted with actual malice and reckless disregard for the truth for the following reasons:

a. The Defendants conceived a story line in advance of any investigation and then consciously set out to make the evidence conform to the

preconceived story. The Defendants pursued and regurgitated preconceived narratives about Lokhova and General Flynn that they knew to be false, and intentionally employed a scheme or artifice to defame Lokhova. Defendants acted intentionally, purposefully and in concert to accomplish an unlawful purpose through unlawful means, without regard for the Lokhova's rights and interests.

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b. The Defendants knew their statements were false, and possessed information that demonstrated the falsity of their statements. Defendants' fraudulent, deceitful, deceptive, unethical and untruthful actions and omissions, which occurred over a lengthy period of time, show their actual malice towards Lokhova.

c. The media Defendants abandoned all journalistic standards in writing, editing and publishing the Articles at issue. Indeed, they acted as counterintelligence operatives rather than as journalists.

d. The Defendants relied on sources that they knew to be wholly debunked and unreliable.

e. The Defendants were in possession of information that demonstrated that their statements about Lokhova were false.

f. The Defendants exhibited an extreme, institutional hatred for Lokhova, General Flynn and President Trump.

g. The media Defendants exhibited extreme bias in their reporting, editing and publishing concerning Lokhova.

h. The Defendants chose to manufacture and publish false and scandalous statements and use insulting words that were unnecessarily strong and that constitute violent, abusive, hateful, sensational language, disproportionate to the

occasion. The words chosen by the Defendants evince their ill-will, spite and actual malice.

i. The Defendants did not act in good faith because, in the total absence of evidence, they could not have had an honest belief in the truth of their statements about Lokhova.

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j. The Defendants reiterated, repeated and continued to republish the false defamatory statements about Lokhova out of a desire to hurt her and to permanently stigmatize her.

k. The Defendants initiated the defamation in retaliation and reprisal, and went out of their way to publish and then republish false statements about Lokhova that the Defendants knew were untrue.

l. Via email and Twitter, Lokhova demanded a retraction of the defamatory statements. The Defendants refused to correct, retract or apologize.

181. As a direct result of the Defendants' defamation, Lokhova suffered presumed damages and actual damages, including, but not limited to, insult, pain, embarrassment, humiliation, mental suffering, injury to her reputation, loss of income and business, special damages, costs, and other out-of-pocket expenses, in the sum of \$25,000,000 or such greater amount as is determined by the Jury.

COUNT II – COMMON LAW CONSPIRACY

182. Plaintiff restates paragraphs 1 through 181 of this Complaint, and incorporates them herein by reference.

183. Beginning in 2016 and continuing through May 2018, Halper combined, associated, agreed or acted in concert together and with one or more agents of the FBI,

the Journal, the Guardian, the Times, the Post, and other operatives or agents (whose identity is unknown at this time) for the express purposes of injuring Lokhova, intentionally and unlawfully impeding and interfering with her business and employment, and defaming Lokhova. In furtherance of the conspiracy and preconceived plan, the Defendants engaged in a joint scheme the unlawful purpose of which was to destroy Lokhova's personal and professional reputations, advance the goals of the counterintelligence operation and, ultimately, to overthrow President Trump.

184. The Defendants acted intentionally, purposefully, without lawful justification, and with the express knowledge that they were defaming Lokhova. As evidenced by their concerted action online, in print and via Twitter, the Defendants acted with the express and malicious intent to cause Lokhova permanent injury.

185. The Defendants' actions constitute a conspiracy at common law.

186. As a direct result of the Defendants' willful misconduct, Lokhova suffered actual damages, including, but not limited to, insult, pain, embarrassment, humiliation, mental suffering, injury to her reputation, loss of income and business, special damages, costs, and other out-of-pocket expenses, in the sum of \$25,000,000 or such greater amount as is determined by the Jury.

COUNT III – TORTIOUS INTERFERENCE

187. Plaintiff restates paragraphs 1 through 186 of this Complaint and incorporates them herein by reference.

188. Lokhova had valid and reasonable contracts and business expectancies in her book deals and employment as a historian, academic and author.

189. By reason of their discussions and interactions with Lokhova and amongst themselves and/or with Andrew, the Defendants each had knowledge of Lokhova's contracts and business expectancies.

190. The Defendants intentionally interfered with Lokhova's property rights and business expectancies by, *inter alia*, devising, aiding, abetting and actively participating in the scheme to defame and injure Lokhova by intentionally lying in the Articles at issue, by fabricating evidence and claims about Lokhova and General Flynn, and by encouraging others to republish the false and defamatory statements. The Defendants' improper methods, actions and practices were, *inter alia*, defamatory, unethical, oppressive, over-reaching, fraudulent, hostile, and sharp.

191. As a direct result of the Defendants' tortious interference with Lokhova's contracts and valid business expectations, Lokhova suffered damage and incurred loss, including, without limitation, loss of income and business, damage to reputation, prestige and standing, court costs, and other damages in the amount of \$25,000,000 or such greater amount as is determined by the Jury.

Lokhova alleges the foregoing based upon personal knowledge, public statements of others, and records in her possession. Lokhova believes that substantial additional evidentiary support, which is in the exclusive possession of the Defendants, the FBI, Cambridge University, and their agents and other third-parties, will exist for the allegations and claims set forth above after a reasonable opportunity for discovery.

Lokhova reserves her right to amend this Complaint upon discovery of additional instances of Defendants' wrongdoing.

CONCLUSION AND REQUEST FOR RELIEF

WHEREFORE, Plaintiff, Svetlana Lokhova, respectfully requests the Court to enter Judgment against the Defendants, jointly and severally, as follows:

A. Compensatory damages in the amount of \$25,000,000 or such greater amount as is determined by the Jury;

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B. Punitive damages in the amount of \$350,000 or the maximum amount allowed by law;

C. Prejudgment interest from February 19, 2017 until the date Judgment is entered at the maximum rate allowed by law;

D. Postjudgment interest at the rate of six percent (6%) per annum until paid;

E. Attorney's Fees and Costs;

F. Such other relief as is just and proper.

TRIAL BY JURY IS DEMANDED

DATED: May 23, 2019

SVETLANA LOKHOVA

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