U.S. Department of Justice

Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C. 20535

March 2, 2020

MR. JASON LEOPOLD
BUZZFEED NEWS
7TH FLOOR
1630 CONNECTICUT AVENUE NW
WASHINGTON, DC 20009

FOIPA Request No.: 1432673-000
Civil Action No.: 19-cv-01278
Subject: All 302's of individuals who were questioned/interviewed by FBI Agents working for the Office of Special Counsel Robert Mueller

Dear Mr. Leopold:

The enclosed documents were reviewed under the Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts (FOIPA), Title 5, United States Code, Section 552/552a. Below you will find checked boxes under applicable statutes for the exemptions asserted to protect information exempt from disclosure. The appropriate exemptions are noted on the processed pages next to redacted information. In addition, a deleted page information sheet was inserted to indicate where pages were withheld entirely pursuant to applicable exemptions. An Explanation of Exemptions is enclosed to further explain justification for withheld information.

Section 552		Section 552a
☑ (b)(1)	☑ (b)(7)(A)	☐ (d)(5)
☐ (b)(2)	☐ (b)(7)(B)	☐ (j)(2)
☑ (b)(3)	☑ (b)(7)(C)	☐ (k)(1)
Federal Rules of	☑ (b)(7)(D)	☐ (k)(2)
Criminal Procedure 6(e)	☑ (b)(7)(E)	☐ (k)(3)
50 U.S.C § 3024(i)(1)	☑ (b)(7)(F)	☐ (k)(4)
☑ (b)(4)	☐ (b)(8)	☐ (k)(5)
☑ (b)(5)	☐ (b)(9)	☐ (k)(6)
☑ (b)(6)		☐ (k)(7)

800 pages were reviewed and 545 pages are being released.

Please see the paragraphs below for relevant information specific to your request and the enclosed FBI FOIPA Addendum for standard responses applicable to all requests.

☑ Document(s) were located which originated with, or contained information concerning, other Government Agency (ies) [OGA].

☐ This information has been referred to the OGA(s) for review and direct response to you.
☑ We are consulting with another agency. The FBI will correspond with you regarding this information when the consultation is completed.

Please refer to the enclosed FBI FOIPA Addendum for additional standard responses applicable to your request. **"Part 1"** of the Addendum includes standard responses that apply to all requests. **"Part 2"** includes additional standard responses that apply to all requests for records on individuals. **"Part 3"** includes general information about FBI records that you may find useful. Also enclosed is our Explanation of Exemptions.

Although your request is in litigation, we are required by law to provide you the following information:

If you are not satisfied with the Federal Bureau of Investigation's determination in response to this request, you may administratively appeal by writing to the Director, Office of Information Policy (OIP), United States Department of Justice, 441 G Street, NW, 6th Floor, Washington, D.C. 20530, or you may submit an appeal through OIP's FOIA STAR portal by creating an account following the instructions on OIP's website: https://www.justice.gov/oip/submit-and-track-request-or-appeal. Your appeal must be postmarked or electronically transmitted within ninety (90) days of the date of my response to your request. If you submit your appeal by mail, both the letter and the envelope should be clearly marked "Freedom of Information Act Appeal." Please cite the FOIPA Request Number assigned to your request so it may be easily identified.

You may seek dispute resolution services by contacting the Office of Government Information Services (OGIS). The contact information for OGIS is as follows: Office of Government Information Services, National Archives and Records Administration, 8601 Adelphi Road-OGIS, College Park, Maryland 20740-6001, e-mail at ogis@nara.gov; telephone at 202-741-5770; toll free at 1-877-684-6448; or facsimile at 202-741-5769. Alternatively, you may contact the FBI's FOIA Public Liaison by emailing foipaquestions@fbi.gov. If you submit your dispute resolution correspondence by email, the subject heading should clearly state "Dispute Resolution Services." Please also cite the FOIPA Request Number assigned to your request so it may be easily identified.

Please direct any further inquiries about this case to the Attorney representing the Government in this matter. Please use the FOIPA Request Number and/or Civil Action Number in all correspondence or inquiries concerning your request.

☑ See additional information which follows.

Sincerely,

David M. Hardy
Section Chief
Record/Information
Dissemination Section
Information Management Division

Enclosures
Additional Information:

In response to your Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts (FOIPA) request, enclosed is a processed copy of Bates Stamped documents, FBI (19-cv-1278)-2164 through FBI (19-cv-1278)-2963. The enclosed documents represent the sixth interim release of information responsive to your request. To minimize costs to both you and the FBI, duplicate copies of the same document were not processed.

Revisions were made to withholdings in documents previously released to you. Enclosed is an updated copy of Bates Stamped document FBI (19-cv-1278)-1332, 1356-1357, 1359-1361, 1367, 1369-1370, and 1378.

You were previously advised we were consulting with another agency concerning information related to your litigation. A portion of that information has been returned to the FBI and is enclosed in the following Bates Stamped documents FBI (19-cv-1278)-154-155, 157-158, 210, 212, 216-217, 1053-1085, 1216-1226, and 1326-1328.

FBI FOIPA Addendum

As referenced in our letter responding to your Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts (FOIPA) request, the FBI FOIPA Addendum includes information applicable to your request. Part 1 of the Addendum includes standard responses that apply to all requests. Part 2 includes additional standard responses that apply to all requests for records on individuals. Part 3 includes general information about FBI records. For questions regarding Parts 1, 2, or 3, visit the www.fbi.gov/foia website under "Contact Us." Previously mentioned appeal and dispute resolution services are also available at the web address.

Part 1: The standard responses below apply to all requests:

(i) **5 U.S.C. § 552(c).** Congress excluded three categories of law enforcement and national security records from the requirements of the FOIA [5 U.S.C. § 552(c) (2006 & Supp. IV (2010)]. FBI responses are limited to those records subject to the requirements of the FOIA. Additional information about the FBI and the FOIPA can be found on the www.fbi.gov/foia website.

(ii) **National Security/Intelligence Records**. The FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of national security and foreign intelligence records pursuant to FOIA exemptions (b)(1), (b)(3), and PA exemption (j)(2) as applicable to requests for records about individuals [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(1), (b)(3), and (j)(2); 50 U.S.C § 3024(i)(1)]. The mere acknowledgment of the existence or nonexistence of such records is itself a classified fact protected by FOIA exemption (b)(1) and/or would reveal intelligence sources, methods, or activities protected by exemption (b)(3) [50 USC § 3024(i)(1)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that national security or foreign intelligence records do or do not exist.

Part 2: The standard responses below apply to all requests for records on individuals:

(i) **Requests for Records about any Individual—Watch Lists.** The FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of any individual's name on a watch list pursuant to FOIA exemption (b)(7)(E) and PA exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(7)(E), (j)(2)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that watch list records do or do not exist.

(ii) **Requests for Records for Incarcerated Individuals.** The FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of records which could reasonably be expected to endanger the life or physical safety of any incarcerated individual pursuant to FOIA exemptions (b)(7)(E), (b)(7)(F), and PA exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(7)(E), (b)(7)(F), and (j)(2)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that such records do or do not exist.

Part 3: General Information:

(i) **Record Searches.** The Record/Information Dissemination Section (RIDS) searches for reasonably described records by searching those systems or locations where responsive records would reasonably be found. A reasonable search normally consists of a search for main files in the Central Records System (CRS), an extensive system of records consisting of applicant, investigative, intelligence, personnel, administrative, and general files compiled and maintained by the FBI in the course of fulfilling law enforcement, intelligence, and administrative functions. The CRS spans the entire FBI organization and encompasses the records of FBI Headquarters (FBIHQ), FBI Field Offices, and FBI Legal Attaché Offices (Legats) worldwide and includes Electronic Surveillance (ELSUR) records. For additional information about our record searches visit www.fbi.gov/services/information-management/foipa/requesting-fbi-records.

(ii) **FBI Records.** Founded in 1908, the FBI carries out a dual law enforcement and national security mission. As part of this dual mission, the FBI creates and maintains records on various subjects; however, the FBI does not maintain records on every person, subject, or entity.

(iii) **Requests for Criminal History Records or Rap Sheets.** The Criminal Justice Information Services (CJIS) Division provides Identity History Summary Checks – often referred to as a criminal history record or rap sheets. These criminal history records are not the same as material in an investigative "FBI file." An Identity History Summary Check is a listing of information taken from fingerprint cards and documents submitted to the FBI in connection with arrests, federal employment, naturalization, or military service. For a fee, individuals can request a copy of their Identity History Summary Check. Forms and directions can be accessed at www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/identity-history-summary-checks. Additionally, requests can be submitted electronically at www.edo.cjis.gov. For additional information, please contact CJIS directly at (304) 625-5590.

(iv) **The National Name Check Program (NNCP).** The mission of NNCP is to analyze and report information in response to name check requests received from federal agencies, for the purpose of protecting the United States from foreign and domestic threats to national security. Please be advised that this is a service provided to other federal agencies. Private citizens cannot request a name check.

EXPLANATION OF EXEMPTIONS

SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552

(b)(1) (A) specifically authorized under criteria established by an Executive order to be kept secret in the interest of national defense or foreign policy and (B) are in fact properly classified to such Executive order;

(b)(2) related solely to the internal personnel rules and practices of an agency;

(b)(3) specifically exempted from disclosure by statute (other than section 552b of this title), provided that such statute (A) requires that the matters be withheld from the public in such a manner as to leave no discretion on issue, or (B) establishes particular criteria for withholding or refers to particular types of matters to be withheld;

(b)(4) trade secrets and commercial or financial information obtained from a person and privileged or confidential;

(b)(5) inter-agency or intra-agency memorandums or letters which would not be available by law to a party other than an agency in litigation with the agency;

(b)(6) personnel and medical files and similar files the disclosure of which would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy;

(b)(7) records or information compiled for law enforcement purposes, but only to the extent that the production of such law enforcement records or information (A) could reasonably be expected to interfere with enforcement proceedings, (B) would deprive a person of a right to a fair trial or an impartial adjudication, (C) could reasonably be expected to constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy, (D) could reasonably be expected to disclose the identity of confidential source, including a State, local, or foreign agency or authority or any private institution which furnished information on a confidential basis, and, in the case of record or information compiled by a criminal law enforcement authority in the course of a criminal investigation, or by an agency conducting a lawful national security intelligence investigation, information furnished by a confidential source, (E) would disclose techniques and procedures for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions, or would disclose guidelines for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions if such disclosure could reasonably be expected to risk circumvention of the law, or (F) could reasonably be expected to endanger the life or physical safety of any individual;

(b)(8) contained in or related to examination, operating, or condition reports prepared by, on behalf of, or for the use of an agency responsible for the regulation or supervision of financial institutions; or

(b)(9) geological and geophysical information and data, including maps, concerning wells.

SUBSECTIONS OF TITLE 5, UNITED STATES CODE, SECTION 552a

(d)(5) information compiled in reasonable anticipation of a civil action proceeding;

(j)(2) material reporting investigative efforts pertaining to the enforcement of criminal law including efforts to prevent, control, or reduce crime or apprehend criminals;

(k)(1) information which is currently and properly classified pursuant to an Executive order in the interest of the national defense or foreign policy, for example, information involving intelligence sources or methods;

(k)(2) investigatory material compiled for law enforcement purposes, other than criminal, which did not result in loss of a right, benefit or privilege under Federal programs, or which would identify a source who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;

(k)(3) material maintained in connection with providing protective services to the President of the United States or any other individual pursuant to the authority of Title 18, United States Code, Section 3056;

(k)(4) required by statute to be maintained and used solely as statistical records;

(k)(5) investigatory material compiled solely for the purpose of determining suitability, eligibility, or qualifications for Federal civilian employment or for access to classified information, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;

(k)(6) testing or examination material used to determine individual qualifications for appointment or promotion in Federal Government service the release of which would compromise the testing or examination process;

(k)(7) material used to determine potential for promotion in the armed services, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished the material pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence.

FBI/DOJ

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET
Civil Action No.: 19-cv-1278 / 19-cv-1626
FOIA: 1432673-000 / 1433273-000
PDF Title: 19-cv-1278 Release 6 Bates 2164-2963

Total Withheld Pages = 255

Bates Page Reference	**Reason for Withholding** (i.e., exemptions with coded rationale, duplicate, sealed by order of court, etc.)
FBI(19cv1278) 2164	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 2165	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 2166	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 2167	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 2168	Referral/Consult
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FBI(19cv1278) 2170	Referral/Consult
FBI(19cv1278) 2171	Referral/Consult
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FBI(19cv1278) 2840	Referral/Consult
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FBI(19cv1278) 2850	b6; b7A; b7C; b7E
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FBI(19cv1278) 2899	b6; b7A; b7C; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 2900	b3; b6; b7A; b7C; b7E
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FBI(19cv1278) 2902	b3; b6; b7A; b7C; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 2903	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7A; b7C; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 2904	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7A; b7C; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 2905	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7A; b7C; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 2906	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7A; b7C; b7E

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FBI(19cv1278) 2908	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7A; b7C; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 2909	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7A; b7C; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 2910	b5 per DOJ/OIP; b6; b7A; b7C; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 2956	b6; b7A; b7C; b7E
FBI(19cv1278) 2957	b3; b6; b7A; b7C; b7E
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Official Record

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 02/26/2018

RICHARD BURT, former United States (U.S.) Ambassador and current Board of Directors member of CENTER FOR THE NATIONAL INTEREST (CNI), was interviewed pursuant to a proffer agreement at Patriots Plaza I, 395 E Street SW, Washington, DC 20546 by Special Agent (SA) [redacted] SA [redacted] Intelligence Analyst (IA) [redacted] and Assistant Special Counsel (ASC) Aaron Zelinsky. Accompanying BURT were CNI's [redacted] After being advised of the identities of the interviewing officials and after reviewing the proffer agreement, in the presence of his attorneys, BURT executed the proffer agreement, whereupon he provided the following information: b6 b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b3 b6 b7C

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[redacted] b6 b7C

Investigation on 02/09/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 02/12/2018 b6 b7C

by [redacted] b7E

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

BURT helped ALFA establish contacts with Western businesses in order to assist in ALFA's expansion outside of Russia.

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

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After the Board meeting concluded, BURT had a conversation with AVEN. AVEN told BURT that he (AVEN) had been talking to someone in the Russian government who had expressed an interest in establishing a communications channel between the Kremlin and the DONALD TRUMP transition team.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

BURT recalled SIMES had some sort of relationship with JARED KUSHNER. BURT subsequently called SIMES. BURT asked SIMES if he could help facilitate the establishment of a communications channel between the Russian government and the TRUMP team. SIMES told BURT he did not want to do what BURT was asking. SIMES said now was not a good time to do something like that given the media attention surrounding Russian influence in the 2016 U.S. Presidential elections. Additionally, SIMES, on BURT's behalf, was lobbying the TRUMP transition team for BURT to be the next U.S. Ambassador to Moscow.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

BURT made up the "trusted third party" referenced in the opening line of the email. No trusted third party existed. The "very influential person" was SIMES.

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communications channel between the Russian government and the TRUMP team. It was BURT's idea to call it "Project A." BURT was cognizant of the sensitivities regarding what AVEN was requesting, so BURT did not want to directly refer to it in an email.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

that there "is an interest and an understanding for the need to establish such a channel." In this email, BURT was not communicating to AVEN the view of the TRUMP team - BURT noted that he added some hype to this particular sentence to make it sound like there was more interest from the TRUMP team in establishing a communications channel with the Russian government than was actually true.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

BURT did not recall discussing the topic with SIMES again.

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[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

The conversation BURT had with AVEN in Luxembourg, and AVEN's request to see if BURT could help establish a communications channel between the Russian government and the TRUMP team, were unusual. It was not in the normal realm of BURT's dealings with AVEN.

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

SIME b5 per DOJ/OIP called BURT and told BURT that CNI had the opportunity to provide input for TRUMP's speech

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BURT, SIMES, and SAUNDERS quickly went through a set of bullet points to provide to the TRUMP campaign for TRUMP's foreign policy speech.

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[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

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In the summer of 2016, BURT attended two dinner meetings with SESSIONS and several other individuals. BURT believed the dinner meetings occurred between June and August 2016.

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the TRUMP campaign might benefit by listening to experienced Republican foreign policy experts.

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

BURT recalled was not at the first dinner meeting, but that he chaired the second dinner meeting.

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

while BURT focused his discussions on NATO and U.S./European relations.

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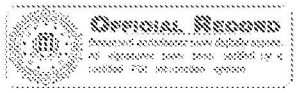

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 09/29/2017

JAMES JAY CARAFANO, date of birth (DOB) [redacted] social security account number (SSAN) [redacted] was interviewed on 09/11/2017 at his office at The Heritage Foundation (Heritage), 214 Massachusetts Ave NE, Washington, DC. CARAFANO's telephone number is [redacted] and his email address is [redacted] b6 b7C

After interviewing agents [redacted] and [redacted] advised CARAFANO they were seeking assistance with an investigation, CARAFANO asked if this was regarding [redacted] CARAFANO was informed that it was not regarding [redacted] CARAFANO asked if that was the [redacted] and the agents replied affirmatively. CARAFANO explained he would need to consult with his people first and would return shortly. b6 b7C

CARAFANO returned to his office with [redacted] for The Heritage Foundation, telephone number [redacted] email address [redacted] explained he was [redacted] for Heritage and wanted to know what this was about. The agents advised that CARAFANO was not the target of an investigation and the FBI was simply seeking his assistance into an investigation, specifically regarding [redacted] inquired as to whether Heritage was the target of an investigation. The agents informed him that Heritage was not the target of a case and no other Heritage employees were [redacted] CARAFANO confirmed [redacted] The agents confirmed they were working for the Special Counsel's Office. b6 b7C

[redacted] explained that the agents would need to come back at a later scheduled time so [redacted] could discuss the details with CARAFANO. The agents left their contact info with [redacted] and CARAFANO who seemed amenable to an interview of CARAFANO at a later date. b6 b7C

Investigation on 09/11/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 09/11/2017

by [redacted] b6 b7C b7E

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 05/04/2018

SAMUEL HARVEY CLOVIS JR., date of birth (DOB [redacted] was interviewed on 10/26/2017 at the Federal Bureau of Investigation and Special Counsel Office located at 395 E Street SW, Washington, D.C. Present for the interview were Agents [redacted] and [redacted] Special Counsel Attorneys JEANNIE RHEE, ANDREW GOLDSTEIN and AARON ZELINSKY. CLOVIS also had his attorney, [redacted] present. CLOVIS provided the following information: b6 b7C

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Investigation on 10/26/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 11/08/2017 b7E

by [redacted] b6 b7C

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 12/01/2017

SAMUEL HARVEY CLOVIS JR., date of birth (DOB) [redacted] was interviewed on 10/03/2017 at his place of employment, U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1400 Jefferson Drive, Washington, DC. After being advised of the identity of interviewing Agents [redacted] and the nature of the interview, CLOVIS provided the following information: b6 b7C

About one quarter of the way through the interview, CLOVIS was advised that lying to the agents could constitute a federal offense. He did not indicate wanting to change any of his previous statements at that time.

Background

CLOVIS started off the interview by explaining that he hates Russia and that should be clear throughout his interview. CLOVIS was an Air Force fighter pilot and worked at the Pentagon during the period 1984 to 1988. CLOVIS described himself as a Sovietologist, acting as a think tank for the chief of staff. CLOVIS was an expert on Russia and Eastern Europe with additional expertise in the Middle East. CLOVIS was essentially a wargame specialist on a red team.

CLOVIS was picked up for the campaign because of his broad policy background. In addition to his military time, CLOVIS had run for office in Iowa where he found out he was good at campaigning but not at fundraising. The TRUMP campaign recruited him heavily. CLOVIS had met TRUMP during the late summer of 2014 while CLOVIS was running for state treasurer. CLOVIS was fundraising for STEVE KING, CLOVIS' congressman in Iowa, when TRUMP was a keynote speaker. TRUMP pulled CLOVIS off to the side and spoke with him at that event. Then, in spring of 2015, CLOVIS was asked to introduce TRUMP for a Lincoln dinner at Council Bluffs. TRUMP liked it and CLOVIS narrated a town hall for him shortly after that.

CLOVIS got a call from TRUMP's people asking CLOVIS to be on the campaign if TRUMP ran for president. CLOVIS was helping a friend with a different campaign at the time. So he declined and was asked to consider the TRUMP

Investigation on 10/03/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 10/03/2017 b7E

by [redacted] b6 b7C

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FBI(19cv1278)-2219

campaign when the other campaign was over, which ended approximately 63 days later. CLOVIS was asked by twelve different candidates to be on their campaigns. In August 2015, CLOVIS joined the TRUMP team as the National Co-chair and Chief Policy Advisor.

Campaign

The TRUMP team was small until March 2016 when it started to expand. STEPHEN MILLER came on and handled the day-to-day feeding of the candidate so CLOVIS could focus on other things. CLOVIS was largely spreading word about the campaign to interest groups, think tanks and other groups. MILLER was a young energetic guy which made him good as the hand-holder for TRUMP. CLOVIS and MILLER have a good relationship.

After March 2016, CLOVIS shifted away from the foreign policy team and launched some coalition projects in the summer, including successful coalitions on agriculture, law enforcement and other areas. CLOVIS explained the coalitions started the real campaigning.

CLOVIS went to TRUMP Tower fairly often during the campaign but has not been there in a while. CLOVIS did not have any notes or records of his involvement in the campaign.

In April 2016, CLOVIS called LEWANDOWSKI and GLASSNER on a Saturday and told them they needed a policy for if they win. [redacted] CLOVIS advised them to be careful who they talk to and to only talk to them in public. CLOVIS specifically mentioned China, Russia and Pakistan.

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Russia was never a topic between CLOVIS and TRUMP. They would occasionally discuss it in debate prep. CLOVIS did most of the debate prep during the primaries. They talked about a Ukrainian policy and discussed having a bipartisan approach to this because of the divided base on Ukraine.

Right before Christmas of 2015 the team started to focus on foreign policy. CLOVIS asked COREY LEWANDOWSKI and TRUMP about doing something related to foreign policy. CLOVIS read an article about another candidate and decided to write a 3,800 word essay to serve as a blueprint for the foreign policy team. The essay was never published but CLOVIS floated it to the campaign. The essay discussed topics such as NATO, Russia, the Middle East, Pakistan, China and North Korea. Despite efforts to develop a foreign policy, the team never had a definitive foreign policy.

A lot of people approached the campaign with ideas about foreign policy topics. Some of them wanted to approach and engage Russia but CLOVIS never trusted Russia. CLOVIS remembers DAVID KLEIN, [redacted] reached out indicating "we can get you a meeting" because he had religious connections to a Russian rabbi. CLOVIS said he "stiff-armed" KLEIN.

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CLOVIS thought interacting with Russia was a bad idea on any level because of comments TRUMP made. CLOVIS mentioned a trip to Israel which had been contemplated by TRUMP prior to Christmas. TRUMP also contemplated trips to Europe and Russia. CLOVIS thought TRUMP should go to London, Paris, Rome, Tel Aviv or Jerusalem first before planning trips elsewhere. These trips were contemplated prior to the Convention.

CLOVIS recalls emails with people trying to reach out to setup Russia meetings based on seeing the emails recently for the Senate investigation. CLOVIS said DAVID KLEIN, GEORGE PAPADOPOULOS, [redacted] were the ones that came to mind. CLOVIS met [redacted] that SESSIONS and STEVE KING attended as well. CLOVIS didn't know ROHRABACHER who advocated for engaging and aligning with Russia in Syria and the Middle East. CLOVIS thought this was before the convention, maybe in Spring of 2016. CLOVIS told SESSIONS he wouldn't follow-up with [redacted] because that was not where they needed to go.

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CLOVIS thinks the Special Counsel investigation is more political than practical. From CLOVIS' perspective he didn't see anything that warranted an investigation. CLOVIS said the campaign didn't have anything to do with Russians. No one advised anyone to meet with Russians. CLOVIS wanted nothing to do with Russia and would never approve a meeting with the Russians. CLOVIS explained that relations are different with Russia. You can't just sit down at a table with them. CLOVIS understood meeting with the Brits, South Koreans, Italians and the Australian ambassador. CLOVIS also explained that visits with foreigners complicate things when you have to complete an SF-86, which he just had to go through.

CLOVIS did not have any insight into TRUMP JR.'S meeting with a Russian attorney.

CLOVIS was paid for his time working on the campaign in line with a signed contract.

CLOVIS was not aware of the campaign having any derogatory information against HILLARY CLINTON but CLOVIS didn't handle opposition information. He does not recall any discussion of the hacks, [redacted] or the Democratic National Committee (DNC). b6 b7C

CLOVIS did not recognize the names [redacted] or [redacted] BOB FORESMAN sounded familiar but CLOVIS didn't know why. When it was mentioned to CLOVIS that FORESMAN was identified as someone who offered the campaign back channels to the Kremlin, CLOVIS did not seem to be able to further identify FORESMAN. CLOVIS indicated that he never engaged with [redacted] b6 b7C

CLOVIS recalls talking to SESSIONS about the Logan Act as far back as September or October 2015.

After March, CLOVIS got a call about how the press was beating up the campaign over national security. CLOVIS talked to STEPHEN MILLER, COREY LEWANDOWSKI and MICHAEL GLASSNER. KUSHNER asked CLOVIS to put together a foreign policy team within 24 hours to resolve the press issue. JEFF SESSIONS was to be the national advisor on National Security. MILLER came from SESSIONS staff. CLOVIS said there were a total of eight on the initial team including CARTER PAGE, GEORGE PAPADOPOULOS, [redacted] KEITH KELLOGG, [redacted] and WALID PHARES. PHARES was close to IVANKA TRUMP and CLOVIS is still friends with PHARES. CLOVIS put the list together and sent it to KUSHNER and IVANKA TRUMP and SESSIONS approved it. b6 b7C

CLOVIS tried to get everyone from the team to attend the meeting in D.C. on March 31, 2016. That was the only meeting CLOVIS attended with the team. There were two other meetings after that, including one with the Washington Post. CLOVIS recalled that PAGE and [redacted] did not attend the meeting but PAPADOPOULOS, [redacted] CARAFANO, KELLOGG, PHARES, SESSIONS and [redacted] were at the meeting. CLOVIS looked at a photograph of the meeting and explained that he was off to the side of the photo. He explained DAN SCAVINO, HOPE HICKS, LEWANDOWSKI and MILLER were there as well. b6 b7C

CLOVIS does not recall Russia being brought up in the March 31, 2016 meeting. [redacted] This ate up so much time there was no time for others to speak. So everyone else at the table only b6 b7C

had a couple minutes to introduce themselves. CLOVIS did not seem familiar with the article about PAPADOPOULOS bringing up a Putin meeting at this meeting but CLOVIS said that doesn't mean it didn't happen.

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b3

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[redacted]

PAPADOPOULOS was on the make and wanted a way into the political in-crowd. He wanted a position of power and financial gain. He was trying to get a White House position. Prior to becoming an advisor, PAPADOPOULOS reached out to LEWANDOWSKI or MILLER and LEWANDOWSKI pushed him to CLOVIS. CLOVIS performed a Google search on PAPADOPOULOS and determined he was a Hudson Institute guy and had credibility in energy policy.

PAPADOPOULOS couldn't keep his mouth shut with the British press and got into trouble over that. CLOVIS called and told him to "shut up". CLOVIS remembers telling PAPADOPOULOS over the phone not to engage with Russia but couldn't recall exactly when that was. CLOVIS thought it was probably prior to the phone call he had with PAPADOPOULOS on May 5, 2016. CLOVIS remembered meeting with PAPADOPOULOS at the Doubeltree Hotel on April 1, 2016 and recalled they talked about PAPADOPOULOS' desire to come back to the U.S. and work on the campaign.

[redacted]

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[redacted]

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CLOVIS did not know who JOSEPH MIFSUD was.

LEWANDOWSKI and GLASSNER introduced CLOVIS to PAGE at TRUMP Tower one day, telling CLOVIS "This is CARTER PAGE. You need to meet him." PAGE had an interesting background, including time in the Navy, experience in energy policy and Russian business. They were rushed into putting a foreign policy team together. CLOVIS thought PAGE was pretty harmless but also didn't provide much value. CLOVIS said he never talked to PAGE about meetings with Russia and doesn't remember PAGE ever bringing up Russia.

[redacted]

b3

CLOVIS explained that he had made it clear that the team didn't represent the campaign on anything. PAGE did a reasonable job but PAPADOPOULOS couldn't stop. PAPADOPOULOS was traveling all over, including Greece and Israel.

CLOVIS stated that he hates Russia. CLOVIS described the foreign policy team as "herding cats". PAGE was in Russia and PAPADOPOULOS couldn't keep his mouth shut. CLOVIS has not talked to anyone else about the Russia investigation.

CLOVIS didn't recall anyone other than PAPADOPOULOS encouraging meetings with Russia. CLOVIS thinks this was self-serving. CLOVIS never saw anyone else encouraging the meetings. CLOVIS said LEWANDOWSKI never would have engaged on that. LEWANDOWSKI listened to CLOVIS. CLOVIS does not recall PAPADOPOULOS ever telling him derogatory information about CLINTON.

[redacted]

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[redacted] b3

PHARES was an Egypt and Middle East guy with high level contacts in the Egyptian government and CLOVIS thought he had connections in the UAE too. CLOVIS thought PHARES had connections with a Deputy Minister in Egypt for either Education or Academics or something like that. PHARES said his friends could broker meetings but CLOVIS said "no".

CLOVIS was asked if he ever met with any Egyptians and he explained that he had met PHARES and an Egyptian in a hotel lobby in Georgetown at one point. CLOVIS described the hotel as a nice hotel with a restaurant but no parking. CLOVIS thought maybe it was a Renaissance or Continental Hotel. CLOVIS couldn't recall the name of the Egyptian. PHARES tried to get CLOVIS to setup another meeting with the Egyptian but CLOVIS didn't think it was a good use of his time because he had a lot to do.

CLOVIS was asked about foreign travel that PHARES and PAPADOPOULOS tried to plan. CLOVIS explained that they did not travel and no one would have approved their travel. They were instructed not to travel on behalf of the campaign. CLOVIS said that no one traveled overseas for the campaign.

After the March 31, 2016 meeting, [redacted] and KELLOGG continued to work with the campaign but there is no evidence any of the other guys from the foreign policy team provided anything after that. b6 b7C

CLOVIS had a good relationship with SESSIONS. They were in line on foreign policy and immigration. SESSIONS was very cautious on the foreign policy front which aligned with CLOVIS.

CLOVIS explained several times in regards to the foreign policy team that his position changed in March. After March, CLOVIS was working on a special project for DONALD TRUMP JR. regarding land management. CLOVIS was also working on the campaign's education policy because of his higher education background as a professor. CLOVIS doesn't know who had the foreign policy lead after that.

CLOVIS was not involved in discussions about foreign policy but heard from [redacted] often. [redacted] KELLOGG was close to the President and eventually MICHAEL FLYNN came along and was close to him too. They likely had his ear on foreign policy. CLOVIS did not have the President's ear. b6 b7C

LEWANDOWSKI sent CLOVIS a memo from FLYNN early on asking what CLOVIS thought of the memo. CLOVIS thought FLYNN was too conventional. His ideas were in line with that of an Army general and not in line with TRUMP. FLYNN lacked depth. In April 2016, LEWANDOWSKI asked CLOVIS to take a meeting with FLYNN. CLOVIS met FLYNN at a hotel in Tyson's Corner [redacted] CLOVIS felt that FLYNN was self-serving and was not there for TRUMP. CLOVIS told LEWANDOWSKI that. CLOVIS thinks FLYNN was added because the team was hurting for support. KELLOGG and FLYNN knew each other.

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Based on reading FLYNN's memo, CLOVIS thought FLYNN did not have much depth or thought. He had expected more from the head of the DIA. CLOVIS had no idea about any connections FLYNN had with Russia. CLOVIS was happy to see FLYNN go. FLYNN insinuated himself into the campaign. He was close with KELLOGG. CLOVIS doesn't remember when FLYNN started.

PAUL MANAFORT became the campaign manager when LEWANDOWSKI was fired. CLOVIS didn't know MANAFORT and wouldn't even be able to recognize him. CLOVIS speculated that MANAFORT and others had been angling for him to be campaign manager since Day 1. CLOVIS thinks ROGER STONE, REINCE PRIEBUS and others were trying to get MANAFORT that role. CLOVIS pointed out there was only one professional on the team, MICHAEL GLASSNER. The rest of the team running the campaign included an [redacted] CLOVIS does not know STONE and never met him. PRIEBUS always treats CLOVIS with the utmost regard but they never had any substantive conversations.

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KUSHNER showed up to an event in Milwaukee wearing jeans and a polo while the rest of the team was wearing suits. KUSHNER didn't take much interest in the campaign until Fall 2015. Then KUSHNER and IVANKA TRUMP became much more involved. DONALD TRUMP JR. and ERIC TRUMP never interferred in the campaign. They were TRUMP's business partners and acted like business partners. KUSHNER and IVANKA TRUMP were listening to STONE but LEWANDOWSKI stood in the way as the establishment. He didn't always have answers which strained his relationship with the children. IVANKA TRUMP is TRUMP's blindspot, his princess. STEPHEN MILLER had more of a day-to-day tactical influence on TRUMP. MILLER is young, energetic and looks good.

TRUMP was closest to his kids - IVANKA, DON, ERIC, and KUSHNER. TRUMP was also close to HICKS throughout the campaign. She was not a policy person but she kept the boss calm. TRUMP was close to MILLER constantly but

MILLER was more of a chameleon. TRUMP was also close to DON MCGAHN and GARY COHN from the National Economic Council. MELANIA TRUMP was not as involved in policy issues.

CLOVIS would kid with IVANKA TRUMP. CLOVIS did some research for her regarding education and the Family Medical Leave Act (FMLA). She called CLOVIS around Christmas of 2015 and said that her dad had approved her tasking CLOVIS. She wanted assistance with policies related to education and FMLA. She sent CLOVIS some drafts to read and he had to explain to her that they were running as Republicans. So he worked with her to develop some conservative positions. In January 2016, KUSHNER started to send CLOVIS questions. At that time, everyone was sick including CLOVIS, GLASSNER and LEWANDOWSKI. On March 14, 2016, KUSHNER and IVANKA TRUMP advised CLOVIS to put a foreign policy team together.

CLOVIS explained that he never received any guidance from the campaign on what to do. He had a contract with the campaign and received payment as part of that contract. CLOVIS said he never read the contract but probably has it somewhere. CLOVIS explained that DAN SCAVINO [redacted] HOPE HICKS, COREY LEWANDOWSKI, MICHAEL GLASSNER and some of the young kids working at Trump Tower also got paid for their involvement in the campaign.

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LEWANDOWSKI is the one CLOVIS went to most often. LEWANDOSWKI told CLOVIS to just do what's best for the campaign, the only guidance CLOVIS ever got about working on the campaign.

[redacted]

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CLOVIS never trusted GORDON, who worked in the Alexandria office for DEARBORN and MASHBURN. GORDON was the National Security coordinator but CLOVIS isn't sure how effective GORDON was. GORDON was non-substantial. He was a gopher for DEARBORN and MASHBURN. DEARBORN coordinated the policy stuff in town. DEARBORN is now a Deputy Chief at the White House and his deputy, MASHBURN, is over cabinet affairs in the White House. CLOVIS had a good relationship with DEARBORN and MASHBURN.

When asked about who took over the foreign policy team when CLOVIS transitioned out, he explained KUSHNER, KELLOGG and FLYNN handled foreign policy.

CLOVIS was asked who setup the meeting between TRUMP and el-Sisi. TRUMP said it was probably arranged through KUSHNER.

[redacted] b3

OBAMA and ROMNEY had done foreign trips but CLOVIS didn't think that was right for TRUMP. At one point in the interview, CLOVIS expressed that he didn't know how foreign leaders got TRUMP's phone number.

Convention

The Republican National Committee (RNC) asked CLOVIS to go to the Convention. CLOVIS hadn't planned on going but was asked to attend to handle media. CLOVIS does not recall who from the RNC called asking him to attend the Convention. CLOVIS booked his trip so late he couldn't get a plane ticket and had to take the train instead.

CLOVIS arrived at the Convention on Monday morning at 3 a.m., checked into his hotel and was on T.V. by 6 a.m. CLOVIS mostly did media while he was there. Wednesday or Thursday was his last day and he was able to sleep in that day because he didn't have to be anywhere until 10 or 11 a.m. CLOVIS was on a panel at the ambassador event at Case Western. It involved the foreign diplomatic corps and a bunch of ambassadors and was setup by the RNC. CLOVIS said only the Australian ambassador talked to CLOVIS because the ambassador had talked about having CLOVIS to his home. SESSIONS may have been there earlier in the week.

CLOVIS then went into Cleveland, packed his room and went to an EU Parliament Q&A which had campaign reps for both parties.

CLOVIS was asked about changes to the GOP platform regarding Ukraine. CLOVIS was shocked to hear about the change because he thought the campaign was "threading the needle" when it came to Ukraine. CLOVIS explained that they had stopped talking to him about foreign policy by

this time though. CLOVIS didn't think the change was in line with TRUMP's stance. CLOVIS thought their plan was to support Ukraine in their independence by engaging their NATO allies. CLOVIS is concerned PUTIN is trying to establish a Soviet empire. CLOVIS thought the plan was to surround Ukraine with a NATO presence. CLOVIS does not know who was on the platform committee.

Transition Team

CLOVIS was in Florida until the day before the election and returned to Iowa. CLOVIS remembers [redacted] was surprised that TRUMP won on election night.

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CLOVIS became a Policy Director for the transition team after the election. DEARBORN called him after the election around November 19 or 20 to ask when CLOVIS was going to report to the office. DEARBORN told CLOVIS someone was supposed to call CLOVIS to arrange for him to come to D. C. CLOVIS had received a call from someone about his pay but they did not discuss him going to D.C. CLOVIS waited until after Thanksgiving to go to D.C.

CLOVIS led the "beachhead team" in on Inauguration Day. (Note: It is known to the Agents the campaign utilized this military terminology to refer to differing aspects of the transition team.) CLOVIS explained that he's the only one who got out of the campaign without any scars. CLOVIS said he didn't want to work in the White House. CLOVIS is happy with the position he's been nominated for at the Department of Agriculture. He said the democrats have been holding up his nomination but is confident it will go through eventually. CLOVIS said his role at the Department of Agriculture is to keep the promises TRUMP made during the campaign.

Communications

CLOVIS utilized the email accounts [redacted] and [redacted] for the campaign. He also has an email from his education days that he still uses, [redacted] but he did not utilize it for the campaign. He utilized his cell phone number [redacted] He took down Facebook and Twitter for the campaign. So he was not utilizing these during that time.

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[redacted]

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[redacted]

b3

FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

Official Record

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 12/01/2017

SAMUEL HARVEY CLOVIS JR., date of birth (DOB) [redacted] was approached by Agents [redacted] and [redacted] on 10/03/2017 at his place of employment, U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1400 Jefferson Drive, Washington, DC after being previously interviewed that same day. After the agents identified themselves, CLOVIS provided the following information: b6 b7C

[redacted] b3

[redacted] b3

CLOVIS was asked who took over handling the foreign policy team and replied that he didn't know who took it over. CLOVIS explained that [redacted] and J.D. GORDON tried to keep the group together. CARTER PAGE and GEORGE PAPADOPOULOS were not involved with the campaign team. They were not players in the campaign. [redacted] PAGE wasn't even at the March 31, 2016 meeting. CLOVIS thought [redacted] was cultivating that group. MICHAEL FLYNN, KEITH KELLOGG and [redacted] went to work in the New York office. On occasion JARED KUSHNER would send things to CLOVIS as well. [redacted] and RICK DEARBORN handled policy. b6 b7C b3

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

Investigation on 10/03/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 10/16/2017 b7E

by [redacted] b6 b7C

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PAGE had interactions with JASON MILLER about his speaking engagements. PAGE and PAPADOPOULOS were told to stand down. PAPADOPOULOS understood he was not supposed to outrun his headlights. Both PAGE and PAPADOPOULOS represented themselves as members of the campaign but they were not. PAGE and PAPADOPOULOS were energy experts and the campaign was in need of energy experts.

TRUMP wanted improved relations with Russia. The "bromance" TRUMP had with PUTIN bothered CLOVIS but the press and the public fed on it. CLOVIS felt like he had to cleanup after with a shovel because TRUMP played up his bromance with PUTIN for the public.

[redacted] b3

[redacted]

[redacted] b3 b6 b7C

[redacted] b3

[redacted] He noted that they weren't connected to anyone in New York and CLOVIS wasn't rude enough to tell them to stop bothering him. CLOVIS also mentioned that he had brought them on to the team in the first place. PAPADOPOULOS was always trying to work something. So he kept pushing it and CLOVIS kept telling him no. CLOVIS was stringing him along.

[redacted] b3

[redacted] b3

[redacted]

[redacted]

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CLOVIS was asked about emails regarding an "unofficial trip" to Russia which were discussed in a Washington Post article. CLOVIS indicated this was info he was not privy to. CLOVIS said he doesn't know who would have authorized such meetings but he never gave PAPADOPOULOS any indication to setup meetings.

CLOVIS went into more detail about the March 31, 2016 meeting at Trump International Hotel in Washington, D.C. CLOVIS has no recollection about a meeting with Russia coming up. CLOVIS explained that each person went around the room and introduced themselves in order of where they were seated and each person only had time to say their name and where they were from and not much else. PHARES introduced himself, then KEITH KELLOGG, [redacted] an individual CLOVIS couldn't identify, JAMES CARAFANO, JEFF SESSIONS, J.D. GORDON, PAPADOPOULOS, [redacted] another unknown individual and a business man SESSIONS brought along.

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TRUMP spent a lot of time talking to [redacted] which left less time for those after him. GORDON didn't really say anything because he was nervous around TRUMP. GORDON was nervous around CLOVIS too. PAPADOPOULOS started to talk and mentioned London but TRUMP or LEWANDOWSKI cut him off because they were running out of time. [redacted] didn't say much. TRUMP recognized [redacted] CLOVIS suggested PAPADOPOULOS may have mentioned meeting with Russia to someone else. CLOVIS said this was so contrary to his beliefs that it may not have been mentioned to him if only for that reason.

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CLOVIS only attended this meeting. After that meeting, TRUMP stayed for a meeting with 15 business people and then a third meeting after with the Washington Post.

CLOVIS was asked if he ever heard anyone discuss Russians having dirt on HILLARY CLINTON. CLOVIS said he wasn't aware of that and if someone had that info they probably wouldn't bring it to CLOVIS. CLOVIS pointed out that he was never asked to do anything untoward. Every meeting was above board.

CLOVIS said he spent a lot of time deconstructing the polls to explain them to the candidate. The campaign was chaotic with LEWANDOWSKI being fired and PAUL MANAFORT coming on. There were lots of late phone calls. CLOVIS just kept trying to do his job. HOPE HICKS and TRUMP's kids liked CLOVIS. He would campaign and talk to influential supporters. His ability to keep his head down and move on is why CLOVIS stayed around.

[redacted] b3

[redacted] b3

[redacted] b3

CLOVIS proposed a recommendation that in the future any paid members of a campaign be required to submit notification of contact with any foreign officials. CLOVIS further explained how Russia can be very sneaky and will try to distract you on one side while sneaking by you on the other side. They will use any mechanism they can. CLOVIS fought them for years. CLOVIS didn't feel like there was anything going on with the campaign though. Looking back, he can't say for sure if that's true.

[redacted] b6 b7C

CLOVIS asked the agents [redacted] since he had cooperated. He was concerned about his travel plans and indicated he planned on leaving [redacted] and returning to D.C. [redacted] Agents agreed to [redacted] but said they would contact him later with information [redacted] b3

Official Record

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 03/22/2018

RICHARD HANNAH DAVIS (DAVIS) was interviewed at the Office of Special Counsel, Washington, DC on Febraury 8, 2018. Present for the duration of the interview were FBI Special Agent [redacted] Forensic Accountant [redacted] and Special Counsel Attorneys Kyle Freeny and Greg Andres. Also present was DAVIS's attorneys [redacted] of the law firm Petrillo, Klin & Boxer LLP. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing parties and the nature of the interview, DAVIS provided the following information: b6 b7C

DAVIS was advised his participation in the interview was voluntary. DAVIS was also advised he needed to be truthful in his answers and lying to a federal agent could constitute a federal crime. DAVIS acknowledged his rights and obligations.

Background

[redacted] After being involved in campaigns in Alabama and Mississippi, he got more involved in politics and came to Washington, DC. He became involved with the College Republican National Committee during 1980 when Reagan was nominated. He worked with LEE ATWATER organizing small campaigns for Reagan. He ended up working as White House staff. DAVIS worked for the Department of Health and Human Services in a role as White House Liaison and was involved in speech writing. When he left the administration, he worked with [redacted] and PAUL MANAFORT (MANAFORT) as consultants managing a senate campaign in Virginia. b6 b7C

During the Reagan administration, DAVIS worked in the Department of Interior as well as the Commerce Department. DAVIS worked for Thomas Barrack (BARRACK) where he was introduced to MANAFORT.

He worked for ATWATER again during Reagan's 1984 reelection campaign. Afterwards, he did domestic policy work for Reagan. In 1987, he left and joined BLACK, MANAFORT, STONE AND KELLY. This was DAVIS's first time working with MANAFORT, but he had known him previously. He started as an associate in the firm and then was promoted to junior partner. The firm was bi-partisan. In the early 1990s, BLACK, MANAFORT, STONE AND KELLY was

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sold to Burson-Marstellar. He stayed for about four years before he left the firm in the mid-1990s. He set up a new firm, DAVIS, MANAFORT FREEDMAN. ROGER STONE also worked at the new company. This evolved into DAVIS MANAFORT INC. Around the end of the 1990s, DAVIS MANAFORT was really just MANAFORT and DAVIS and they mostly did foreign consulting as there was more money involved in foreign consulting. When needed, they hired contractors. DAVIS wanted the company to stay small. He did not like the atmosphere of large firms and managing people. The firm did some corporate work domestically. Most of this was DAVIS's. There was no paid political campaign work domestically. MANAFORT was not involved with any domestic work, only foreign work.

The firm's foreign footprint went way back to BLACK, MANAFORT, STONE AND KELLY. MANAFORT had done work in Africa and the Philippines in the past. DAVIS did not get involved with foreign work until later. In the late 1980s, DAVIS took his first international trip to Argentina. MANAFORT was working on the presidential campaign there. DAVIS went back occasionally for political work. MANAFORT did most of the foreign work for the firm. ATWATER also had foreign work, but he was in and out of U.S. administrations. STONE also did some foreign work.

DAVIS MANAFORT Entities

DAVIS MANAFORT, INC was DAVIS and MANAFORT's first entity. It was a C Corp. DAVIS MANAFORT PARTNERS, INC. (DMP) was formed later. DAVIS could not recall why they needed the partnership structure. DAVIS was not involved with DMP INTERNATIONAL LLC.

JOHN HANNAH

JOHN HANNAH was a pre-DMP entity. It was created when DAVIS, MANAFORT, [redacted] and others were buying vacation homes in Wintergreen, VA. b6 b7C Originally, DAVIS and MANAFORT purchased a home together, but then MANAFORT bought a separate place and DAVIS had to enlist [redacted] to help pay the mortgage on the place he and MANAFORT had originally purchased together.

JOHN HANNAH began buying raw land on the mountain from developers. The entity was used as an investment vehicle particularly for real estate purchases. Initially, it was just Wintergreen properties, but they expanded into flipping properties, buying and selling five or six properties. When they had excess capital from DMP, they put it into JOHN HANNAH and invested it. Sometimes, excess revenue was sent directly to the JOHN HANNAH account.

Trump Tower Purchase

The Trump Tower condo purchase was after they cashed out of Wintergreen. MANAFORT found the condo and bought it without DAVIS seeing it. The condo was used for business. MANAFORT used the condo more often. They used the condo for personal trips as well. MANAFORT handled the real estate transactions. The condo was purchased with income received from DMP.

MCCAIN Campaign

Around 1999 to 2000, DAVIS began his relationship with MCCAIN and joined his presidential campaign. DAVIS took a leave of absence from DAVIS MANAFORT. DAVIS's relationship with MCCAIN has continued through the present. He returned to DAVIS MANAFORT in early 2000 after the primaries and worked there until 2006 when he returned to work for MCCAIN's second presidential campaign. DAVIS remained working with MCCAIN until he lost the election in November 2008. When he was done with the MCCAIN campaign, he met with MANAFORT and they decided to part ways and so began the unwinding DMP.

PEGASUS

After parting with MANAFORT, DAVIS restarted his relationship with Craig Cogut at Pegasus Captial and began working for them as a partner around [redacted] He is still with them as a partner. There are four partners. DAVIS is not a financial professional, but functions as an operating partner with a network of consultants, advisors, and researchers. DAVIS is involved with [redacted] b6 b7C

DAVIS was introduced to Pegasus by [redacted] He was first introduced to [redacted] was a New York finance guy. [redacted] did not have anything in common except their shared interest in environmental issues. DAVIS had previously done environmental defense work. b6 b7C

In 2009, DAVIS and [redacted] talked regarding the need for investing funds in the environmental space. [redacted] pitched Pegasus as fund for sustainable markets, and DAVIS decided to join the firm. b6 b7C

DAVIS did some previous work for Pegasus which involved helping with the [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] b6 b7C

DAVIS's transition from politics to private equity was difficult. DAVIS was looking for a career change. He did not want to work in Washington, DC or with MANAFORT anymore. The MCCAIN campaign was bruising for DAVIS. There were attacks on lobbyists. DAVIS was attacked by the Obama campaign for doing work as a lobbyist. DAVIS did not like being in the spotlight.

There were moments during the MCCAIN campaign when MANAFORT wanted to be involved but DAVIS said no because of MANAFORT's background. MANAFORT's ego was bruised badly because he could not get into the MCCAIN campaign. When DAVIS got out of campaign, he learned that MANAFORT's only client was the Party of Regions and Victor Yanukovych. That was not appealing to DAVIS. MANAFORT only wanted to do foreign work. There was tension between DAVIS and MANAFORT after the campaign.

Prior to the MCCAIN campaign, DAVIS had a close relationship with MANAFORT. They spent a lot of time together, invested together and their families were close. After Black, MANAFORT Stone and Kelly was bought out, Black and Kelly stayed with the firm, but MANAFORT, DAVIS, and STONE left to start their new company.

Party of Regions/Ukraine Work

When asked why he did not want to participate in Party of Regions /Yanukovych work, DAVIS said he wanted a change of venue. He wanted to get out of politics. He could not reconcile being a MCCAIN guy and working for Yanukovych. MCCAIN had always been Russia's worst enemy in the U.S. Senate and Yanukovych was Russia/PUTIN's puppet.

MANAFORT was knee deep in Yanukovych's resurrection.

Other MANAFORT-DAVIS entities

DAVIS could not recall the entity Vernon View Partners. [redacted] b6 b7C so he said it could have been an entity that DAVIS and MANAFORT shared.

3eDC was a company organized by MANAFORT and DAVIS around the end of 2005 or early 2006. They realized the Republican Party had done a poor job in

the intelligence and data gathering business. There was little investment from the Republican Party in infrastructure, such as data gathering and the computerization of campaigns. MANAFORT and DAVIS invested in data and computerization, and social media. They hired a few people, and the MCCAIN campaign became the company's first client. 3eDC became a vendor for the campaign involved with voter data and internet advertising. The connection to DAVIS got press attention because of DAVIS's position with the campaign as the campaign chairman. As the chairman, DAVIS had an overarching position running the campaign and was more involved with strategy, recruiting, and fundraising. He was not involved in day to day operations.

3eDC was let go when the campaign was ultimately shut down in 2008. When asked if 3eDC was a way to monetize his position on the campaign, DAVIS said yes. It was not unusual for this type of monetizing. DAVIS was not responsible for hiring 3eDC by MCCAIN. He presented the company. There was no comparable firms. It was a revolutionary idea.

3eDC did some work in Virginia for legislative races. In the end 3eDC was not a profitable, and DAVIS ended up losing money on 3eDC.

There was no relationship between 3eDC and JOHN HANNAH; however, JOHN HANNAH could have invested in 3eDC, but DAVIS could not recall.

[redacted] b6 b7C

In the early 2000s, MANAFORT [redacted] MANAFORT embarked upon outside projects. He had a movie company [redacted] He always had the biggest house and fanciest car, and had expensive suits. Working with MANAFORT was stressful. He had an aggressive approach, but that was MANAFORT, he had an edge, and it worked.

In the early 2000s, DAVIS's understanding was that MANAFORT's only source of income was DAVIS MANAFORT.

[redacted] handled DAVIS MANAFORT [redacted] of KWC was also involved until DAVIS left. b6 b7C

LOAV Ltd was another one of MANAFORT's entities. DAVIS was not involved with the company. It was used for MANAFORT's side projects. When asked if DAVIS knew if money transferred between LOAV and JOHN HANNAH, DAVIS said it might have since LOAV was MANAFORT"s investment vehicle. There could have been transfers into and out of either JOHN HANNAH or DMP or both companies. Funds were comingled. DAVIS assumed DMP funds were coming from other sources. MANAFORT never shared where money was coming from.

When asked if MANAFORT borrowed money from DAVIS, he said no, but MANAFORT took more than his share from the company. DAVIS would usually find out from b6 b7C

was MANAFORT's buddy b6 b7C He seemed close with MANAFORT and got MANAFORT into international activities. got MANAFORT into fancy suits and high living. When asked why he thought was giving MANAFORT money, DAVIS said it was a rumor that DAVIS had heard from other people. For example, DAVIS did not know the nature of MANAFORT's business or investments with He only knew before DAVIS became a partner with MANAFORT.

DAVIS first met MANAFORT around 1977 to 1978 when he was chairman for the College Republic National Committee in Alabama. b6 b7C he met young republicans, connected with MANAFORT, ATWATER, and STONE through when he went to Memphis on a WHIP for Young Republicans to lobby. STONE was the chairman of the Young Republicans. MANAFORT was running phone banks. In 1981 or 1982, he got closer to MANAFORT during the Virginia senate rate.

Rick Gates (GATES)

GATES worked for BLACK, MANAFORT, STONE, AND KELLY. GATES worked as a driver. DAVIS did not know how he got hired. b6 b7A b7C lottery company, was a client. and MANAFORT were close as well going back to the early days of MANAFORT's political life.

GATES left MANAFORT was looking to hire because DAVIS and were leaving. MANAFORT hired GATES. DAVIS and b6 b7C GATES knew each other but never really worked together. The only overlapped for a couple of months. Over the years, DAVIS has communicated with GATES for scheduling, but he always messed it up. GATES was not very organized.

DAVIS and MANAFORT invested in Washington Nationals tickets together, which they kept until last year when MANAFORT dropped out and did not pay the bill. b6 b7C MANAFORT did not notify DAVIS he was dropping out, he just didn't pay the bill.

Foreign Work

Montenegro was DAVIS's last foreign gig. Montenegro was the last bit of Yugoslavia under Serbian rule. At the time, DAVIS was working with [redacted] in Eastern Euriope. [redacted] DERIPASKA was the largest business owner in Montenegro. He owned power and aluminum plants.

[redacted] DERIPASKA, [redacted] wanted to invest in Montenegro. They bought a navy base on the coast and converted it to super yacht port. They asked DAVIS to get involved in Montenegro's independence referendum. DAVIS and MANAFORT worked on the election and referendum campaign which occurred in early 2006. DAVIS was more involved than MANAFORT. [redacted] was in Eastern Europe at the time. [redacted] hired DAVIS to be a political "risk adjuster." He wanted information on first generation election countries. [redacted] was making investments in Eastern Europe and wanted DAVIS to meet with politicians and corporate heads and look at assets.

This work occurred around 2004 to 2006. [redacted] DAVIS sometimes met with politicians and sometimes took surveys. DAVIS made the phone calls, set up the meetings, gave advice, did some research on stability and government, and political climate. [redacted] firm in London was a client of DMP.

DAVIS met [redacted] via a friend in early 2004. DAVIS could not recall who the friend was. The friend had called DAVIS and said he had a client who wanted to meet him in New York the next day. DAVIS went to Atticus Capital, a hedge fund in New York, and met [redacted] who explained what he wanted. [redacted] said he had found DAVIS on Google. DAVIS started working with [redacted] one month later.

DAVIS first met DERIPASKA in London at lunch. DAVIS believed it was around the end of 2004. [redacted] introduced DERIPASKA as his friend and board member doing business together in Russia and Eastern Europe. DERIPASKA seemed to have an interesting background. DAVIS learned DERIPASKA was [redacted] DERIPASKA was an aluminum magnate, bigger than Alcoa. He was on an acquisition binge.

DAVIS mostly met DERIPASKA at meetings in Moscow. He met with him about four times. DERIPASKA's business focus was aluminum. He bought aluminum plants all over the world. [redacted] was investing in various real estate. One example was an old Bulgarian train station. DERIPASKA and [redacted] had some shared business, including power companies.

MANAFORT was not involved with [redacted] and DERIPASKA until late 2005 or 2006. DAVIS introduced DERIPASKA to MANAFORT. They did some work together. DERIPASKA became a client of DMP. They were paid by for work in Montenegro. DAVIS was not clear how they divided up payments. He knew wires were coming in. For example, they would send an invoice to [redacted] or DERIPASKA, and then a wire would come in from overseas to a DMP account in US, and they had to figure out from whom. b6 b7C

DAVIS said there was an account set up in the Seychelles many years earlier, but it was shut down and they were not using it.

In Montenegro, they were just paid for the independence referendum. They were paid by [redacted] and DERIPASKA. b6 b7C

In Georgia, [redacted] originally wanted to look at assets and assess political environment and ability to invest. [redacted] DAVIS got to know the President of Georgia who wanted [redacted] investment. There was minimal commercial growth in the country and still Russian influence and recovering from revolution. [redacted] was considering buying [redacted] The President had an issue with [redacted] ended up not buying it [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] DAVIS did not do any political consulting work in Georgia. DAVIS got to know the many people in the Georgian government who was made up mostly of Georgia ex-expats, but he did not work on campaign there. b6 b7C

DAVIS did not work in Uzbekistan, but he believed MANAFORT worked in one of the "stans." DAVIS did not think DMP worked in the "stans." They only worked in Montenegro and Ukraine.

DAVIS's work in the Ukraine began prior to the 2006 election. [redacted] and DAVIS fly to Kiev for the election of Yanukovych versus Yuschenko. They had meetings with people associated with KUCHMA, the existing b6 b7C

president of Ukraine. [redacted] b6 b7C [redacted] so he wanted to get a sense of the election. His people were friends of Kuchma.

DAVIS learned about the split dynamic between the east and the west in Ukrainian politics. DAVIS read through surveys and polls and got a sense for what was happening in elections. There was an assumption that YANUKOVYCH would get the job and be KUCHMA's successor. KUCHMA was leaving office, but he was coy regarding his support for YANUKOVYCH. At the time, the Ukrainian economy was doing well and the country was more unified. DAVIS met with legislators who were members of the Party of Regions. DAVIS' s assessment was that it "smelled bad." People wanted change. That was clear from polling data. Everyone was saying YANUKOVYCH was going to win. DAVIS didn't think so because people wanted change. DAVIS told [redacted] b6 b7C that there was instability and YANUKOVYCH may not win. DAVIS left without plans to do future work in Ukraine. After DAVIS left Kiev, around the time of the election, there were new polls, and [redacted] was alarmed by the results. DAVIS sent [redacted] to Ukraine to monitor the elections. This was when the Orange Revolution happened. YANUKOVYCH claimed the win, but the validity of the elections were challenged and the results overturned.

DAVIS did not do any more work in Ukraine and never went back to Ukraine. Beginning in late 2006, DAVIS started working with MCCAIN more. MANAFORT got together with [redacted] b6 b7C and DERIPASKA and was introduced to Rinat AKHMETOV (AHKMETOV). This was the beginning of DMP's relationship with AHKMETOV.

DAVIS said the work for AHKMETOV was a different kind of work, meaning not political consulting work. [redacted] b4

[redacted]

When asked how DMP got involved in political work for the Party of Regions, DAVIS stated that AHKMETOV funded the Party of Regions. DMP got involved in political work for the Party of Regions branching from work done for AHKMETOV. After the Orange Revolution, the Party of Regions was not really active or doing anything. AHKMETOV and MANAFORT orchestrated a Party of Regions come back. During this time period, DAVIS was doing Montenegro and MCCAIN work, and was not in the Ukraine.

Konstantin Kilimnik

The first time that DAVIS met Konstantin Kilimnik (KILIMNIK) was in Moscow He was introduced by [redacted] This was probably around the time [redacted] b6 b7C went to Ukraine.

When asked about DMP's Moscow office, DAVIS said Black MANAFORT Stone and Kelly had a Moscow office back in 1992, but DMP did not have an office there. DAVIS only went to Moscow to meet with DERIPASKA.

DAVIS tried to put KILIMNIK in Montenegro but ended up not hiring him. He learned KILIMNIK was working for DMP in Ukraine from [redacted] DAVIS described KILIMNIK as the "IRI guy." KILIMNIK was referred as a potential hire because he spoke Russian and had political experience. DAVIS later learned in the media that KILIMNIK was Army Intelligence. DAVIS did not particularly like KILIMNIK. [redacted] b6 b7C

Cyprus

When asked about work in Cyprus, DAVIS stated he did not work there. MANAFORT may have been involved in a campaign when DERIPASKA's lawyer was running for Prime Minister, but DAVIS was not involved. DAVIS did not know the name of DERIPASKA's lawyer. DAVIS never met with the lawyer and never went to Cyprus.

DAVIS also did political work in Panama and Argentina in the early 2000s.

Foreign Agent Registration Act (FARA)

When asked about lobbying in the US, DAVIS stated he used [redacted] as a lawyer to look into FARA issues. He did not lobby much. Lobbying was not part of DAVIS's business. b6 b7C

DAVIS stated he did not do US outreach for Montenegro.

DAVIS did have conversations with MANAFORT about FARA. They had frequent conversations regarding FARA when clients wanted to lobby in the US. DMP did not do lobbying in the US, but would hired firms to the work.

DERISASKA and MCCAIN

MCCAIN and DERIPASKA met on two occasions. The first time was in Davos around January 2006. They happened to be in the same place at the same time. During this first meeting, MCCAIN and DAVIS were in Davos together. DERIPASKA had a big dinner. [redacted] also had a big dinner at Cloisters, and DERIPASKA was there. DAVIS introduced DERIPASKA to MCCAIN at that dinner. They engaged in small talk. b6 b7C

The second time MCCAIN and DERIPASKA met was in Montenegro around August 2006. MCCAIN was traveling in Eastern Europe with eight other US Senators. The Senators went to Georgia and then Montenegro. MCCAIN had been invited to Montenegro by the Prime Minister. While there, the President of

Montenegro threw a big party with government officials and others. When DERIPASKA and [redacted] learned the delegation was coming, they decided to bring their yachts to the port in Montenegro, and they met MCCAIN after the dinner party. [redacted] It was a social meeting. DERIPASKA had a close relationship with and investments in Montenegro. There were no requests by Montenegro to reach out to US. They did not need US influence for the Montenegro referendum. b6 b7C

Eurasia 21

Eurasia 21 was a DMP project. At the time, there was no easy way to know about current events in the news in Eastern Europe. They wanted to set up a web portal for Eastern Europe press reporting, translated to English and put online in order to aggregate news in one place. [redacted] funded the project but ultimately, it shut down. The website was set up by a woman named [redacted] and a think tank in DC was hired to run the content. DERIPASKA was also involved in Eurasia 21. He knew about the project but did not fund it. The Eurasia Heritage Fund was something different. b6 b7C

DERIPASKA was practical with his relationship with Russia and PUTIN. He knew PUTIN could give and take away and PUTIN's favor was practical to DERIPASKA's business.

Basel (Basic Element) was DERIPASKA's holding company. DAVIS did not recall exactly but believed there were Basel offices in Moscow and London. DAVIS attended a Basel board meeting in London one time.

DERIPASKA's involvement in other countries

When asked if DERIPASKA funded anything other than Montenegro, DAVIS said he may have funded Georgia work as well as various activities, such as polling, in other countries. It was hard to determine who was paying what bill because overseas wires came from entities. It was unclear who the sender was and the description of work was not always listed on wires.

Loans from DERIPASKA

DAVIS was not aware of loans from DERIPASKA. MANAFORT talked about receiving loan, but DAVIS did not think any of the money coming in was actually a loan. MANAFORT said they were going to treat money as a loan from DERIPASKA, but DAVIS was concerned regarding this. DAVIS understood the purpose of treating the incoming funds as a loan was to shield income; however this was not explicitly said. DAVIS never saw a loan agreement. DAVIS stated DAVIS MANAFORT/DMP made a lot of money from DERIPASKA in the form of income, but they had never received a "loan" from Deripaska before.

DERIPASKA did not loan money for Trump Tower. At the time, DERIPASKA and [redacted] were paying DMP for work DMP had done. b6 b7C

DAVIS was referred to an email chain dated September 13, 2007 with the subject of "JOHN HANNAH." (Exhibit 1) The email chain included a thread between MANAFORT AND [redacted] copying DAVIS, [redacted] and [redacted] asked for more details about the loans from the Ukrainian/Russian lender. MANAFORT responds stating "this was a loan to JHI for investment purposes. They NY apt was such an investment." DAVIS did not think it was a loan. DAVIS never saw the loan documents, was not aware of any loan terms and the loan was not repaid. Money received by DMP from DERIPASKA was for services. b6 b7C

DAVIS's last communication with DERIPASKA was around October 2006.

When MANAFORT and DAVIS were winding down their business together, there were discussions regarding the "loans" to JOHN HANNAH and from a Russian lender. [redacted] handled this because MANAFORT and DAVIS did not communicate with each other very much at this time. DAVIS told [redacted] he did not think they were loans and if there were any loans on the books, DAVIS was suspicious of them. DAVIS told [redacted] that MANAFORT could keep any of the assets derived from the "loans". b6 b7C

Other Loans

When asked if he was aware of other loans used to purchase assets, DAVIS stated that he did not know if the Traxys investment had been purchased with a loan, but it was bought by JOHN HANNAH. In the winding down, TII Holdings and JOHN HANNAH went to MANAFORT and Traxys went to DAVIS.

DAVIS was not aware of promissory notes where he owed money to the business. DAVIS was shown promissory notes from 2005 and 2007 from DMP to DAVIS (Exhibit 2). DAVIS did not recall executing promissory notes and did not know why he would have a promissory note. He does not recall receiving the money or the promissory note. The amount of the promissory note in 2005, [redacted] was close to annual income from DMP. The amount of the promissory note in 2007, [redacted] was more than he believed he had received in income that year. Funds received by DAVIS from DMP were income not loans. b6 b7C

DAVIS would have seen ledgers for DMP and JOHN HANNAH prior to 2007. DAVIS used KWC to prepare his taxes. He does not ever recall seeing loans on the books of the company. DAVIS could not recall if he received distributions in 2008, but it was possible.

DMP Income

When DMP was winding down, [redacted] did not ask about the promissory notes, or funds "Due from DAVIS". Funds were divided 50/50 between MANAFORT and DAVIS. During the years 2006 through 2008, DAVIS had quit taking salary from DMP. His distribution from DMP was from previous activity, not from new client funds. b6 b7C

Some funds received would have gone directly to JOHN HANNAH instead of DMP. DAVIS was not aware of money going to LOAV unless MANAFORT would have directed that.

[redacted] b6 b7C

DAVIS's last contact with [redacted] was in New York. DAVIS ran into him six months ago. [redacted] was still in contact with [redacted] worked in [redacted] for DAVIS. [redacted] might have also done a little work in [redacted]

Funds received by Foreign Entities

DAVIS was asked about $14 million to DMP from Vega Holdings in 2005, of which DAVIS received approximately [redacted] DAVIS did not know for sure, but thought it might have been for work done for Akhmetov. b6 b7C

When asked whether there were written contracts, DAVIS stated that it was routine to have contracts with corporate clients, but this was difficult with governments. DMP likely had a contract with AKHMETOV because it was a corporate project and they hired an accountant/law firms and needed to pay them.

Political consulting contracts were divided into phase, but DAVIS did not know specifics on contracts with Ukraine as he did not work on Ukraine.

When asked about ANTES MANAGEMENT, DAVIS did not recall why DMP was paid by the company. When asked about SCM, DAVIS said it could have related to AKHMETOV. When asked about NEOCOM SYSTEMS and ALGEMES SOLUTIONS, DAVIS did not recall why they were being paid by these entities.

PERICLES

PERICLES was an outgrowth of activities in Eastern Europe. [redacted] was not that interested in investing in the venture because he had his own hedge fund. DAVIS and MANAFORT did not know much about private equity so they reached out to [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b7A They launched the fund, documents were executed and opportunities were looked at.

DAVIS did not go to Ukraine or Poland to look for investments because he left to work for the MCCAIN campaign. By the time DAVIS had finished working for MCCAIN, MANAFORT said PERICLES was done. MANAFORT said [redacted] DAVIS did not know about [redacted] b7A [redacted] DAVIS was not aware that investments were made. He learned of the investments through the Cayman Islands lawsuit. DAVIS did not have discussions with MANAFORT regarding the lawsuit or the deposition in connection with the lawsuit.

MANAFORT had told DAVIS that around November 2008, [redacted] DAVIS did not speak with [redacted] regarding the investments. DAVIS has not spoken with [redacted] since around 2006. When asked if he spoke with [redacted] regarding the matter, DAVIS said [redacted] had pulled out. DAVIS had spoken with him in the spring of 2009. b6 b7A b7C

Cyprus Bank Accounts

DAVIS was not aware of the Cypriot bank accounts. DAVIS was not aware of any accounts set up in the Cayman Islands. When DAVIS left, there were no Cayman accounts set up.

Other Contacts

DAVIS did not know who [redacted] was. b6 b7C

[redacted] sounded familiar, but DAVIS did not know him.

[redacted] was a [redacted] who had worked with MANAFORT on Ukraine stuff. DAVIS has not had contact with [redacted] in about a decade. b6 b7C

[redacted] was [redacted] DAVIS was not aware of any work she did for DMP. b6 b7C

A few years ago, DAVIS became aware that MANAFORT was using DAVIS's name after he left the company. MANAFORT did not ask permission. DAVIS called RICK GATES and told him not to use his name or his initials.

[redacted] worked for DMP and had previously worked for DAVIS as an intern for MCCAIN work in 2000. [redacted] was involved in Montenegro, the Panama Presidential Campaign, and Ukraine. [redacted] left DMP to work on MCCAIN campaign. b6 b7C

[redacted] b6 b4 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] and MANAFORT had a relationship as very close friends. They were involved in some business together. There was a project involving insurance in Virginia. b6 b7A b7C

DAVIS did not know who [redacted] was. b6 b7C

DAVIS said he had not met [redacted] and had no business with him. b6 b7A b7C

DAVIS did not meet SERHIY LYVOCHKIN, VICTOR YANUKOVYCH, or RINAT AKHMETOV. DAVIS knew MANAFORT worked for AKHMETOV as the Party of Regions. AKHMETOV was the Party of Regions post-Yuschenko election and the Orange Revolution.

Memo dated July 1, 2005 from MANAFORT and DAVIS to DERIPASKA regarding "Work Plan" (Exhibit 3)

When shown the memo, DAVIS did not specifically recall the document, but he had no reason to believe it was not sent to him. The purpose of the memo was to line up projects. Funding was project by project.

DERIPASKA, MANAFORT and DAVIS met in Moscow probably three times. Some things in the memo materialized. Georgia and Ukraine materialized. DAVIS was not aware if Tajikistan materialized. MANAFORT possibly did some work there.

DERIPASKA never retained DMP to do lobbying in the US. He was not looking for this service.

When asked if DMP hired Akin Gump, DAVIS did not know of this. When asked if they hired Project Associates, DAVIS stated they were hired for communications and public relations work in Montenegro but not in the US. It was an EU centric campaign.

DAVIS said there never was a Moscow DMP office. When asked why the Moscow office was referenced, DAVIS stated that KILIMNIK worked for DMP, and he was in Moscow.

Memo dated July 1, 2006 from MANAFORT to DERIPASKA regarding "Work Plan and Model" (Exhibit 4)

DAVIS was shown a memo from July 2006 from MANAFORT and DAVIS to DERIPASKA. DAVIS generally recalled the document, but not the specifics. DAVIS commented it looked like a draft because the work was not completed. The document was likely written by MANAFORT. Generally, MANAFORT would write proposals and plans. DAVIS did not know who the "Basel Officials" were. DAVIS met with DERIPASKA directly when met with Basel. MANAFORT may have met with other officials at Basel.

When asked about the reference to Ukraine, DAVIS said Ukraine was the economic driver in the region, but DERIPASKA was not that interested in Ukraine. DERIPASKA was friends with people associated with the Party of Regions such as AKHMETOV and YANUKOVYCH, but DERIPASKA was not actively involved in Ukraine politics. That was AKHMETOVs' turf.

When asked about work in Georgia and "-stan" countries, DAVIS stated that by the time of this memo, DAVIS was done in Georgia. The work in the "stans" did not come to fruition.

When asked why foreign politicians and businessmen were hiring DMP, DAVIS stated that they thought DMP was smarter.

When asked about the reference to the Eurasia Heritage Fund, DAVIS did not know exactly what this was referring to. This was not the Eurasia 21 website. It may have been an NGO or a think tank. DAVIS said it was not a fund or a charitable entity. There were no conversations regarding this type of entity being used for this work.

Russian NGO

BLACK, MANAFORT, STONE AND KELLY, had a rich history in Russia. They helped set up the stock exchange and cabinet. In the early 1980s, the post-

Soviet era, there were conversations about the development of institutions and NGO development because Russia did not have any. DAVIS did not know if anything ever materialized.

DAVIS also recalled conversations about public policy and social responsibility by the Russian elite. Relations with Russia were different in those times. It was more friendly.

Oguster

DAVIS did not recall who Oguster was. He was not familiar with the entity.

Email dated August 29, 2016 from DAVIS to [redacted] of KWC with subject "Re: RKD Partners pending questions" (Exhibit 5)

In the email, [redacted] asked DAVIS about the status of [redacted]

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When asked if had ever been paid via stock or shares, DAVIS stated that he asked for this but never received it. DAVIS wanted equity position, but was not offered one.

T-II Holdings and IGPS were part of the Traxys portfolio of Pegasus. JOHN HANNAH invested in these companies. When JOHN HANNAH wound down, DAVIS ended up with T-II, and DAVIS and MANAFORT split IGPS 50/50.

Executed Termination Document of JOHN HANNAH (Exhibit 6)

DAVIS was shown an executed termination document of JOHN HANNAH. DAVIS stated it was his signature on the document. He did not recall the document specifically, but he had no reason to believe it was not the actual document.

DAVIS did not recall the assumption of the Russian lender debt of [redacted] Although, DAVIS did not recall the debt, he signed the document saying he was assuming the debt. DAVIS stated that this did sound familiar, but the goal was to get MANAFORT to take on the Russian lender debt.

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When asked if this put on DAVIS's books, DAVIS assumed so because [redacted] When asked why he agreed to assume the debt, DAVIS said MANAFORT told him DERIPASKA had loaned them money. DAVIS questioned this. DAVIS stated that there was no loan. DERIPASKA paid them fees; he did not lend money. When asked how he

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ended up with the debt, DAVIS said he did not know. DAVIS thought this was irrelevant because he did not believe there was a loan and did not believe they owed any money.

YIAKORA VENTURES

DAVIS had not heard of YIAKORA.

JOHN HANNAH

DAVIS believes JOHN HANNAH was re-incorporated by MANAFORT in Florida after they separated. DAVIS learned this from the indictment.

Memo from MANAFORT to AKHMETOV dated June 2, 2005 with the subject "Re: Major Development in US Government Position on Ukraine Re-Privatization"

DAVIS did not recall MANAFORT contacting the National Security Council (NSC) about the re-privatization issue. MANAFORT did not ever lobby directly for anyone. He had relationships. DAVIS was not sure if MANAFORT had a point of contact on the NSC at the time. It was not unlike MANAFORT to ask someone to ask someone for him. DAVIS did not know specifically who his contacts were because MANAFORT had been out of domestic business for a long time.

Additional Contacts

When asked about [redacted] DAVIS stated he knew them well. b6 b7C

When asked about ROHRABACHER, DAVIS said MANAFORT knew ROHRABACHER from the 1980s during freedom fighter days of the Angolan war. DAVIS did not know if MANAFORT and ROHRABACHER maintained their acquaintance.

DAVIS did not know of a relationship between AKHMETOV and Russia.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 01/24/2018

DIANA DESTINE DENMAN, date of birth (DOB) [redacted] social security account number [redacted] was interviewed at the FBI Special Counsel's Office, 395 E Street SW, Washington, D.C. on December 4, 2017. Present for the interview were Supervisory Special Agent [redacted] Special Counsel Attorney Aaron Zelinsky, and DENMAN's attorney, [redacted] After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agent and the nature of the interview, DENMAN provided the following information: b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

Investigation on 12/04/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 12/04/2017 b6 b7C

by [redacted] b7E

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FBI(19cv1278)-2272

When DENMAN proposed her amendment, J.D. GORDON approached the chairmen. MATTHEW MILLER may have gone with GORDON. b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

DENMAN then confirmed GORDON told her he was on the phone with TRUMP.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

She recalled GORDON telling her he had to clear it and he was "talking to New York."

DENMAN explained that her amendment came up again later in the committee meeting b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

[redacted] there was more discussion about changing the wording of her amendment. She recalled discussion of the use of "lethal force", likely from the chairmen. b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Diana Denman on 12/04/2017, On 12/04/2017, Page 5 of 5

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 06/13/2017

(U//~~FOUO~~) Diana Destine DENMAN, date of birth (DOB) [redacted] social security account number [redacted] was interviewed by SAs [redacted] at the FBI San Antonio Field Office on June 7, 2017. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agents and the nature of the interview, DENMAN provided the following information: b6 b7C

(U//~~FOUO~~) DENMAN was a Republican delegate for the state of Texas at the 2016 Republican National Convention (RNC) in Cleveland, Ohio. DENMAN was a delegate for Senator Ted Cruz. Although first a Cruz delegate, DENMAN stated she nevertheless supported Trump due to her duty to her country and the Republican Party. DENMAN first participated in a Republican National Convention 1980 in Detroit, Michigan, but she wasn't officially a delegate until the 1984 Republican National Convention in Dallas, Texas. DENMAN noted she foolishly did not run for the Platform Committee in 1984 but she wishes she had. DENMAN did not participate in subsequent national conventions until the 2016 RNC.

(U//~~FOUO~~) DENMAN noted this 2016 RNC was personally important to her due to her belief of the poor current state of US national security policy. DENMAN informed the interviewing agents she "worked her contacts" to make certain she was on a subcommittee that mattered to her. Therefore DENMAN landed on the national security and defense subcommittee, officially named America Resurgent.

(U//~~FOUO~~) DENMAN advised approximately one to two weeks before the RNC she received a phone call from Matthew Miller. According to DENMAN, Miller stated he was hired by the Trump Campaign and wanted to touch base regarding the national security and defense subcommittee and he offered to help in her in any way he could. DENMAN stated she was gracious during the phone call but told Miller she didn't need any help.

(U//~~FOUO~~) According to DENMAN, she received an email when arriving in Cleveland for the RNC from Washington, DC delegate Rachel HOFF. DENMAN

Investigation on 06/07/2017 at San Antonio, Texas, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 06/07/2017 b3 b6 b7C b7E

by [redacted]

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FBI(19cv1278)-2277

informed the interviewing agents she did not reply to Hoff's email but Hoff proposed discussing with DENMAN LGBTQ and women issues regarding the military and national security.

(U//~~FOUO~~) DENMAN discussed her long-standing involvement in emerging democracies around the world which started for her during the Reagan Administration. DENMAN stated she traveled to Honduras and Nicaragua in the 1980's and then became an election observer in the Ukraine in 1998. The trip to the Ukraine for DENMAN took place between March and April 1998 on behalf of the US government but sent by the International Republican Institute. It was this experience in the Ukraine that formulated DENMAN's desire to assist the Ukrainian people after being "invaded by the Russians".

(U//~~FOUO~~) DENMAN recalled she didn't know most of the other "players" in the subcommittee room. During the subcommittee meeting DENMAN offered an amendment, referred to by DENMAN as her "plank". DENMAN stated, due to her experience in the Ukraine in 1998 she was adamant about inserting language concerning US support to Ukrainian defense against Russia. DENMAN never expected this amendment to become an issue, as she stated she believed all Republicans would support it.

(U//~~FOUO~~) DENMAN noted the national security and defense subcommittee was chaired by three chairmen who DENMAN referred to as the "Tri-Chairs". The Tri-Chairs consisted of delegates [redacted] b6 b7C DENMAN recalled when she raised her amendment, there were two men sitting on the side of the room who stood up and walked over to the Tri-Chairs. The five men then talked together and reviewed some documents. DENMAN recalled [redacted] seemed to be the "stronger one" of the Tri-Chairs. The five men then said they will table her amendment. DENMAN believes it was a consensus between the five men. At the time DENMAN didn't know why the five men would have a problem with her amendment. After the amendment was tabled, the issue didn't come back around during the remainder of the subcommittee meeting. DENMAN did walk over to the two men who introduced themselves as Matthew Miller and J.D. Gordon (Gordon). DENMAN recalled Matthew Miller was gracious and reminded her he called her to see if he could help. DENMAN recalled Gordon informed her he was hired by the Trump campaign. DENMAN recalled, she believes she saw Gordon on his cellular telephone often once she had raised her amendment. When DENMAN and Gordon spoke, Gordon informed DENMAN he had to clear her amendment "with New York." DENMAN then asked Gordon the name of his person in New York and Gordon told her it was Donald Trump. DENMAN noted she only shared Trump's name as the guy in New York with the interviewing agents and refused to tell it to reporters when asked prior. DENMAN informed interviewing

[redacted] b3 b7E

agents, she is not sure if she believes him Gordon about speaking with Donald Trump. When asked why by the interviewing agents, DENMAN stated she can't understand how Trump would have the time to be on the phone with Gordon, especially during this period of the RNC.

(U//~~FOUO~~) According to DENMAN, Gordon's specific issue with her amendment was with the inclusion of the "lethal defensive weapons to Ukraine" language in the amendment. DENMAN was adamant to have that language included as, based on her experience, the Ukrainians needed appropriate weaponry to counter the Russian aggression. DENMAN believed not putting in the lethal defensive weapons language would dramatically reduce the effectiveness of the US assistance provided to Ukraine.

(U//~~FOUO~~) DENMAN made note it was mostly Gordon, not Miller, who pushed for her amendment to be tabled. DENMAN recalled she believes Gordon may have worked with Paul Manafort in the Ukraine, but she was not certain. DENMAN informed the interviewing agents she met Paul Manafort once in 1976 during his work in the Gerald Ford Campaign while she worked in the Ronald Reagan Campaign and doesn't recall seeing him since.

(U//~~FOUO~~) DENMAN stated she preferred not to remove the "lethal defensive weapons" language but would agree to do so if the rest of the language in her amendment stayed intact.

(U//~~FOUO~~) DENMAN stated that at the meeting for the full Platform Committee, which she could not recall was later that afternoon or the next day, DENMAN told one of the Tri-Chairs that she didn't want anything to happen to her Ukraine Amendment. DENMAN then recalled discussion on the final platform happened behind an actual curtain with the Platform Committee leadership. The Platform Committee did insert DENMAN's Amendment, but removed the lethal defensive weapons language, "washed it down" according to DENMAN. DENMAN ended up voting for this final language.

(U//~~FOUO~~) When asked why she thinks Miller called her prior to the RNC, DENMAN responded she did not know.

(U//~~FOUO~~) When asked who else she think the FBI should interview, DENMAN stated Rachel Hoff.

(U//~~FOUO~~) When asked if Miller or Gordon approached her at other times during the RNC, DENMAN replied "no and you can bet I wouldn't look out for them."

(U//~~FOUO~~) When asked to reiterate that Gordon said he was on the telephone

[redacted] b3 b7E

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Diana Destine Denman, On 06/07/2017, Page 4 of 4

with Trump, DENMAN replied "yes". According to DENMAN, she asked Gordon three times who he was on the phone with and he stated "Mr. Trump" all three times. DENMAN reiterated she can't understand how Trump would have the time to talk to Gordon on the phone.

(U//~~FOUO~~) When asked if she recalled a transcriber or "court reporter-type" in the room, DENMAN replied she had no recollection, but she might not have noticed a transcriber due to where her seat was located.

(U//~~FOUO~~) DENMAN informed the interviewing agents, she did not initiate any contact with the media. DENMAN also stated the media reports that she reached out to reporters were false.

(U//~~FOUO~~) DENMAN maintains a list of every interview she does related to the RNC which she provided to the interviewing agents following the interview.

(U//~~FOUO~~) DENMAN received the following appointments under President Ronald Reagan:
1) Co-Chair Peace Corps. Advisory Council; and
2) National Museum Board.

(U//~~FOUO~~) {Agents Note: Enclosed in a 1A Package are documents provided to agents by DENMAN].

FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

Official Record

UNCLASSIFIED/~~LES~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 07/18/2018

On Friday, July 6, 2018, Thomas "Tad" Devine was interviewed at the Office of the Special Counsel by Senior Assistant Special Counsel Greg D. Andres, DOJ Senior Financial Investigator [redacted] and FBI Forensic Accountant [redacted] Also present was Devine's attorney, [redacted] Garvey Schubert Barer, P.C., telephone number [redacted] After being advised the identities of the interviewing parties, Devine furnished the following information:

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Background:

Devine has been a political media consultant/advisor since approximately 1980 when he worked on the President Jimmy Carter campaign. In addition to working on the Presidential campaigns for Walter Mondale, Michael Dukakis and John Kerry, Devine served as the Chief of Staff for former Providence Mayor Joseph Paolino and was an Assistant to Boston University President [redacted] Devine also provided services for approximately 20 presidential elections outside of the United States. Most recently, Devine worked for Bernie Sanders.

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[redacted]

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Since 1983, Devine has been a partner in several political media consulting firms. In or around 2007, Devine formed Devine & Mulvey [redacted] In or around 2013 [redacted] to form Devine Mulvey and Longabauch.

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Ukraine:

In or around 2005, [redacted] of Davis Manafort reached out to Devine's [redacted] at D&D Media Inc. [redacted] to inquire about their interest in working in Ukraine. After speaking with Manafort on the telephone, Devine traveled to Ukraine and met with Manafort and the Party of Regions (POR). Devine recalled being impressed with the campaign team,

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Investigation on 07/06/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 07/11/2018

by [redacted]

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to include [redacted] an outside election observer. He subsequently agreed to join the team to manage the media campaign for Manafort and the POR. b6 b7C

Devine and his team initially signed up to work on the 2005-06 parliamentary elections, but also worked on subsequent parliamentary elections as well as the 2010 Presidential election.

Other individuals who provided services for Manafort and the POR include his [redacted] (media), [redacted] (media), [redacted] [redacted] Pollster - [redacted] and [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

Devine stopped working for Manafort and the POR after former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko was imprisoned in or around late 2011. However, a few people who worked for and with Devine, such as [redacted] [redacted] continued to work for Manafort and the POR. b6 b7C

Devine only met Yanukovych at one of the media photo/video shoots.

Devine never met Rinat Akhemetov, but knew from conversations with Manafort that Akhemetov was one of the principal fundraisers for the POR. Manafort told Devine that Akhemetov was funding the POR for [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted]

Manafort's staff in the Ukraine included [redacted] and Konstantin Kilimnik. [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted]

Approximately 95% of Devine's work in the Ukraine involved producing media ads, to include short 30-second ads and a few half-hour pieces. Devine also wrote several speeches for Yanukovych, to include an economic speech and his 2010 political convention speech.

For the 2010 Presidential election, Devine and his team were paid [redacted] plus a [redacted] win bonus. b6 b7C

After the 2014 Ukrainian Revolution and the exile of President Viktor Yanukovych, Manafort's partner Rick Gates asked Devine to come back and meet with the new opposition block party. Devine stated he went back to Ukraine and did work for Manafort and Gates for one week. He was paid a total of [redacted] b6 b7C

Paul Manfort:

Devine had a very good professional relationship with Manafort, but never really socialized with him. He described Manafort as [redacted] b6 b7C was good to/with Devine. Devine's impression of Manafort while in the Ukraine was a positive one. While very demanding, he had an enormous challenge and worked very hard, day and night.

While working in the Ukraine, Devine would see Manafort at breakfast and meetings at Manafort's office in Kiev. They might have also had a few dinners together.

Manafort met regularly with Yanukovych and other POR Officials. Devine knew this from his conversations with Manafort.

Devine described both Manafort and [redacted] b6 b7C as his peers while in the Ukraine.

Rick Gates:

Rick Gates was Manafort's business guy who and was involved in all the campaigns, but more in a business aspect.

Documents:

Devine was shown the following documents:

1. Consulting Agreements between Devine related entities and Paul Manafort. Devine stated these were standard contracts where there would have been schedules attached hereto. Document 009 would have been the contract for the 2010 Ukraine Presidential Campaign.

2. Various memos regarding the media campaign in the Ukraine during 2005. Devine could tell from the memo structure that these were memos he authored. For memos written "from" both Devine and Manafort, Devine would author and Manafort would modify. Devine recalled Manafort liked Akhmethov.

3. Various Invoices from Devine/Mulvey/Longabaugh to Davis Manafort. Devine stated these were routine invoices that in the end got paid. Manafort never discussed "loans" with Devine. Gates would often tell Devine they (Davis Manafort) were expecting a new "traunche" and would be sending payment to Devine.

4. January 13, 2006, email conversation between Devine, [redacted] b6 b7C Devine recalled this email was written after receiving [redacted] polling data. Devine identified [redacted] as an employee of Davis Manafort in Ukraine.

5. February 3, 2010, email conversation between Devine and Manafort regarding **Election Night Speech.** Devine recalled Manafort asked Devine to draft an election night speech for Yanukovych. Devine confirmed this the speech he drafted.

6. February 16, 2010, email conversation between Devine and Manafort regarding **FYI.** Devine stated this was a conversation about an agreed to bonus between Devine and Manafort for Yanukovych's victory.

7. August 12, 2010, Media Strategy and Presentation of Message Memo from PJM (Manafort) to Yanukovych with cc's to [redacted] and bcc's to [redacted] b6 b7C Devine confirmed this was a memo he authored and Manafort adopted. Devine was unsure of all the individuals identified by initials; however, [redacted] might have been a reference to [redacted] It was Manafort's practice refer to everyone by their initials.

8. September 1, 2010, email conversation between Devine, Manafort, [redacted] Gates, [redacted] regarding **Talking Points.** b6 b7C Devine recalled these talking points were drafted for Yanukovych's convention speech.

9. August 15, 2011, email conversation between Devine, Gates, [redacted] b6 b7C and [redacted] regarding **Meeting.** Devine recalled Gates reached out to Devine to see if he could arrange a tour/meeting of the White House press office. Devine could not recall if he reached out to anyone.

10. September 20, 2011, email from [redacted] to [redacted] and [redacted] b6 b7C regarding **Ukraine - First Draft.** Devine recalled this was drafted in response to the attached polling data forwarded by [redacted] of the Tarrance Group.

11. February 8, 2012, email conversation between Devine and [redacted] b6 b7C [redacted] regarding **Updating Website.** As previously mentioned, Devine stopped working for Manafort and the POR after the imprisonment Tymoshenko. [redacted] was asking Devine if he wanted to keep the reference to past work in Ukraine on their website.

Devine further recalled being told by Gates that Manafort and the POR hired an outside law firm to conduct and independent review of the Tymoshenko's imprisonment.

12. April 2, 2012, email conversation between Devine, [redacted] Gates and [redacted] regarding **Ukraine.** Devine recalled Gates reached out to Devine and [redacted] regarding additional work in the Ukraine. As previously stated, Devine and [redacted] decided to stop doing work in Ukraine following the imprisonment of Tymoshenko. b6 b7C

13. August 6, 2012, email conversation between TAD (Devine) and Manafort at [redacted] regarding **Memo.** Devine recalled that although they were no longer working for Manafort and the POR, Manafort wanted to pick his brain and Devine also wanted to maintain his good relationship with Manafort. b6 b7C

14. November 27, 2013, email conversation between Devine and [redacted] regarding **Ukraine.** [redacted] was a [redacted] in the firm and Devine wanted to include him in the decision making process. b6 b7C

15. March 31, 2014, email conversation between TAD (Devine), [redacted] regarding **Call - Important.** This was after Yanukovych fled and Poroshenko took over. Nothing came out of this business proposal and a contract was never executed. b6 b7C

16. April 1, 2014 email conversation between TAD (Devine), [redacted] regarding [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

17. June 9, 2014, email conversation between TAD (Devine), Gates, [redacted] regarding **Kyiv.** This was a conversation regarding Devine's last project in Ukraine. b6 b7C

18. June 16, 2014, email conversation between Devine, [redacted] Devine identified [redacted] as his [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

19. June 19, 2014, email conversation between TAD (Devine) and [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

20. August 16, 2015 email conversation between Manafort and Devine regarding **Meet the Press.** Manafort reached out to compliment Devine after a Bernie Sanders appearance on Meet the Press.

21. May 26, 2016, email conversation between [redacted] Devine and [redacted] regarding **Manafort's cell:** [redacted] Devine recalled then Presidential Candidate Trump appeared on TV and when asked if he would debate Sanders he said he would. They wanted to reach out to Manafort about setting up the debate.

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22. September 21, 2017, email conversation between Devine and [redacted] Devine stated the date as noted appears to be an error.

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Miscellaneous:

Devine recalled being surprised when he read the Manafort indictments.

Administrative:

A copy of the above-referenced documents and interview notes have been attached for the file.

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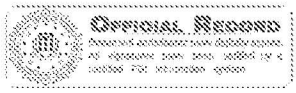

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 03/13/2018

Richard William Gates III, previously identified, was interviewed by FBI Special Agent [redacted] Supervisory Special Agent [redacted] Forensic Accountant [redacted] and Special Counsel Prosecutors Andrew Weissmann and Greg Andres. Present for Gates were Thomas Green, [redacted] of Sidley Austin LLP. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing parties and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

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Gates signed and acknowledged understanding the proffer agreement and was reminded that the interview was voluntary, but if he chose to answer questions he needed to be truthful in his responses.

[redacted]

Gates [redacted]

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Gates stated [redacted]

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Gates stated that there are things he cannot recall clearly. For example, Gates could not keep all [redacted]

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In general, [redacted] with Gates. Gates may [redacted]

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Kilimnik Visits

Investigation on 01/30/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 01/31/2018

by [redacted]

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Gates was asked if he was sure the meeting he attended with Konstantin Kilimnik was at the Havana restaurant in New York on 5th Avenue. Gates stated he was sure that's where the meeting took place.

Gates was told that the meeting with Manafort and Kilimnik at the Havana restaurant actually took place on August 2, 2016. Gates stated he was sure he was at this meeting and when he previously said the meeting was in May, he may have gotten his dates confused. Gates recalled that earlier that same day, Manafort asked Gates to join the meeting. Manafort either texted or emailed Gates saying Kilimnik was in New York and they were meeting for dinner. Manafort asked Gates to join for part of their meeting.

Gates arrived at the Havana restaurant after Manafort and Kilimnik had already sat down to eat in the dining room. Gates estimated he was present for approximately 45 minutes of the meeting. Gates was not sure of the time he arrived, but believed it was sometime between 8:00 and 9:00 PM and he left sometime close to 9:45 PM.

When Gates joined the meeting, Manafort asked Kilimnik to bring Gates up to speed. Kilimnik told Manafort Viktor Yanukovych had reached out to Kilimnik through an intermediary to say he wanted Manafort to run his come-back campaign in Ukraine. Manafort laughed and declined the offer. Manafort said it was not the right time given the media focus on his work in Ukraine.

At this time, Yanukovych was still in Russia. Gates was not sure who the intermediary was. Gates knew Yanukovych had two circles of people: the "Family Faction" and the "Political Faction". The Family Faction consisted of the Donetsk Clan and the Political Faction consisted of [redacted] Rinat Akhmetov and others who had been with Yanukovych since the beginning of his political career. Gates speculated that the intermediary was Sergiy Lyovochkin, but he was not sure.

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Kilimnik told Manafort he was required to deliver Yanukovych's message to Manafort in person and he was also tasked with relaying Manafort's response in person. Kilimnik asked Manafort if he could meet with Yanukovych in Europe, but Manafort said he could not because of the Trump Campaign.

Manafort was somewhat upset with Yanukovych after Yanukovych fled Ukraine. Manafort had worked very hard to get Yanukovych accepted by the west and he was frustrated at how things developed. Additionally, Yanukovych never reached out to Manafort after he fled. [redacted]

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Gates [redacted]

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[redacted]

Gates, Kilimnik and Manafort also talked about the Trump Campaign. Specifically, they talked about Manafort's plan for the primaries. Gates was reminded that this meeting was in August 2016. Gates stated they must have talked about the delegate issue and Manafort's plan to get Trump enough delegates to win the nomination. There were many states which were refusing the give their delegates to Trump even though he had won the primary. Gates was reminded again that the meeting was in August 2016 and Trump had already secured the nomination.

Gates corrected himself and stated that he, Kilimnik and Manafort discussed the battleground states. Specifically, they discussed Manafort's strategy for winning certain battleground states. Manafort told Kilimnik he was focusing on blue collar states which had traditionally been Democratic. Manafort walked Kilimnik through his strategy to win these states and their electoral votes by focusing on labor and immigration issues. The states Manafort highlighted were Michigan, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania and Minnesota.

Gates, Kilimnik and Manafort also talked about the Oleg Deripaska lawsuit and how it had been dismissed. Kilimnik said he was trying to obtain documentation showing the dismissal. Gates did not know why such a long period of time lapsed between the end of Manafort and Deripaska's deal in 2008 and the lawsuit which was filed in 2014. Gates thought Manafort and Deripaska resolved the issue in 2009. Manafort and Deripaska did not have much contact between 2009 and 2014 that Gates is aware of. Gates heard Manafort had sporadic meetings with Deripaska between 2009 and 2014 about things unrelated to the investment deal, but Gates was not sure.

Gates was asked why the battleground states and campaign strategy were discussed with Kilimnik. Gates stated Manafort and Kilimnik had a "close relationship". Gates believed Manafort was bragging a bit and doing a "victory lap" because Trump had won the nomination. Manafort was bragging about his strategy.

By way of background, Steve Bannon and Kellyanne Conway had different strategies on how to obtain sufficient electoral votes. Neither of their strategies involved flipping the battleground states Manafort identified.

Gates believed Manafort was telling Kilimnik about his strategy as a way of showing how successful he was in US politics. Manafort saw this as a way to get more international clients after the election. Manafort believed if he could get Trump elected, foreign politicians would hire him for their campaigns. Manafort never specifically said this to Gates, but Gates was aware that this was Manafort's strategy to make a lot of money like he had before. Manafort had said if Trump wins, "we're going to make a lot of money". Gates then said that Manafort never said this as overtly as that statement, but this was generally what Manafort said over time in various discussions.

Gates was asked why Manafort would brag to Kilimnik about this. Gates believed Manafort was bragging to Kilimnik because Manafort was trying to get Lyovochkin and Akhmetov to pay DMP what they owed. Gates believed this because Manafort sent an email to Gates and Kilimnik specifically saying he was going to use his potential success with the Trump Campaign as a means to get repaid by OB.

Gates explained that Manafort was using the "perception of his position" to get paid. Success in the US election would translate to success in Manafort's business ventures. Manafort had no desire to work in the Trump Administration. Rather, Manafort wanted to use his success to make money with future business. Success in the Trump Campaign would improve Manafort's image. In addition, Manafort's connections to the Trump Administration would "open doors" for Manafort's potential future clients.

Gates [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted]

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

Gates did not consider himself close to Manafort. Manafort was difficult to be close with. Manafort treated Gates and Kilimnik like they were below him.

Gates was asked [redacted] b6 b7C

Kilimnik and Manafort also talked about polling data as well as trends related to the Trump Campaign and the battleground states. Gates did not recall Kilimnik and Manafort discussing any opposition research or negative campaigning during the meeting.

Gates [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

Kilimnik never said he came at Deripaska's direction or to deliver a message to Manafort from Deripaska.

When the meeting at the Havana restaurant ended, Gates and Manafort left together and Kilimnik left separately. The reason for this was that Politico and other media outlets were focusing on Manafort's connection to Kilimnik and Manafort did not want to be seen with Kilimnik. Gates believed Kilimnik left first.

Gates did not talk to Manafort about the meeting after the meeting ended. Gates and Manafort did talk about some campaign issues.

Gates was asked why Kilimnik would travel all the way to the US for a dinner with Manafort to ask if Manafort would work for Yanukovych on an election which was 4 years away. Gates was also asked why Kilimnik would need an immediate response to such a question. Gates stated this did not seem strange to him. Gates characterized Eastern Europeans as not trusting and Gates did not think it unlikely that Yanukovych would want the message delivered in person.

Gates, Manafort and Kilimnik used various nick names for Yanukovych, to include "big guy", "VFY" and "Yank".

Opposition Research

At some point during the Trump Campaign, many people claimed to have leads on negative information pertaining to Hilary Clinton. Donald Trump Jr., Flynn and Sam Clovis all claimed to have leads on the missing Hilary Clinton emails.

Trump had also read a book by Peter Schwartz which claimed Hilary Clinton had connections to Russia as it related to the Clinton Foundation.

Flynn

Flynn claimed to have a lead of how to obtain the missing Hilary Clinton emails. Flynn was flying on the campaign plane with Gates and Trump and said that one of his contacts in the "intel world" could obtain the missing emails. Gates did not recall Trump reacting to this claim or giving any direction to Flynn about this topic.

Gates was not sure how the topic came up, but he believed there was something on the news that sparked the conversation. Gates recalled Trump was "pissed" abut the emails and the fact that they were deleted.

Gates assumed Flynn would have had contacts who may have been able to obtain the missing emails. Flynn's claim seemed credible to Gates.

Flynn had a data consultant in Houston, Texas to whom he paid $200,000. Gates was not sure, but thought that data consultant may have been the source in the "intel world" to whom Flynn was referring. Flynn did not specifically say who his source was.

Gates did not follow up with Flynn about this topic and was not aware of any follow up Flynn may have had with Trump.

Trump Jr.

Donald Trump Jr. claimed to have a lead on negative information about the Clinton Foundation. Donald Trump Jr. brought this up at the Monday morning Family Meeting Gates described earlier. The Family Meeting took place at Donald Trump Jr.'s office.

Donald Trump Jr. said the lead came from a group in Kyrgistan. Donald Trump Jr. did not say the lead came from Russians. Donald Trump Jr. had not done any due diligence on the potential information and he was being introduced to the group by a friend.

After the fact, Gates learned Manafort attended the June 2016 meeting at Trump Tower with Donald Trump Jr. When the meeting came out in the press, Manafort asked Gates to look at the campaign calendar and see where he was that day. Gates found that Manafort had a meeting with Reince Preibus on the same day and in the same room at Trump Tower as the Donald Trump Jr. meeting. Gates believed the reason Manafort ended up at the Donald Trump Jr. meeting with the Russians was because he had a meeting with Preibus afterward in the same room.

Gates did not know why Sessions did not attend the June 2016 meeting if Sessions was designated to handle the foreign contacts. Gates speculated that Sessions only dealt with high level foreign officials and the June 2016 meeting was not considered important enough for him to be present.

There were many requests from foreign officials to meet with Trump during the campaign, but most were ignored.

Sam Clovis

Clovis told Manafort that he had a lead on how to obtain the missing Hilary Clinton emails. Gates did not have any specifics on this lead. Clovis was close to Lewandowski and therefore not close to Gates or Manafort.

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Gates' only information on was from new articles.

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John Podesta

In or around May 2016, information came out in the media that John Podesta

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Gates heard John Podesta John Podesta's The campaign did not have the bandwidth to handle opposition research so it was run through the committee.

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at the Republican National Committee was in charge of Opposition Research. is the person who uncovered information on Fusion GPS. told Gates that most of his information was from open sources.

John Podesta's emails were leaked and there was conversation as to how this occurred. Gates recalled implications that the Russians hacked his emails or they were released by someone inside the Democratic National Committee. The main focus for the Trump Campaign was the content of the emails, not were they came from. Negative information on Hilary Clinton and her campaign were gleaned from the hacked emails and used. Gates recalled one of the pieces of negative information was that Hilary Clinton had access to debate questions prior to the debate. Other negative pieces of information were related to Fusion GPS and UraniumOne.

Gates did not know who hacked John Podesta's emails. Gates stated the Trump Campaign was not sophisticated enough to accomplish this. There were also reporters and people on the outside doing their own research.

Gates was not aware of anyone offering the hacked emails to the Trump Campaign. Gates did recall one person who claimed to have a lot of negative information on Hilary Clinton, but Gates never saw any follow through from this guy. No one ever offered the Trump Campaign to hack into John Podesta, or anyone else's emails.

Gates heard stories about the Clinton Foundation and allegations of "pay to play", but he had no further information on this matter.

Gates was not aware of any foreign government offering to provide assistance on opposition research to the Trump Campaign.

Campaign Financing

Gates was not aware of any foreign contributions to the the Trump Campaign. Gates knew that some foreign officials wanted to attend the Inauguration, but Gates' understanding was that they could not attend. However, if someone who had tickets brought a foreign official as a guest, or gave them their tickets, that was fine.

After the primaries, Trump thought he could still self-finance his campaign. Trump was told he would not be able to compete if he did so. As a result, a "low dollar", digital donor campaign was initiated to generate funding. At this time, Trump had minimal large dollar donor support. Trump relied on small donations in high volume. Gates believed the average donation was around $75.

There were some political action committees (PACs) and 501(c)4 entities which contributed to the Trump Campaign. Gates recalled the [redacted] and [redacted] donated. Most of the large dollar support was donated to Congressional campaigns and not Trump's campaign. b6 b7C

Inauguration

Gates did not have contact with Kilimnik during the inaugural period. Gates was not aware of Kilimnik attending the Inauguration. Manafort was looking for tickets to the Inauguration, but he did not say the tickets were for Kilimnik.

Gates recalled a few emails with Manafort and [redacted] Gates believed the officials were the Election Committee Chairman and one other. Gates did not believe the Ukrainian officials attended. b6 b7A b7C

Gates was aware that a Russian national who purchased Trump's house in Florida had reached out [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

Gates told many donors that tickets to the Inauguration could not be given to foreign government officials.

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted]

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

(A break was taken from approximately 3:50 PM until 4:00 PM.)

Gates was not aware of any [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] Gates did not begin

[redacted]

Gates and [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted]

Gates was not aware of any financial support obtained [redacted] for the Trump Campaign. Gates never had any conversations with [redacted] on this topic. All of Gates' conversations with [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

Gates was asked if he was aware of any direct or indirect foreign contributions to the Trump Campaign. Gates did not know about any foreign contributions to the Trump Campaign either directly or indirectly.

Gates stated that [redacted] b7A

[redacted]

The Republican National Committee handled fundraising after Trump won the nomination. The low dollar digital campaign was run by Brad Parscale.

Gates was asked if he knew about any gifts in kind, or offer to pay for services by foreign entities.

Gates stated Cambridge Analytica had its roots in the UK and there were allegations about possible foreign connections. Specifically, Gates heard questions about Bannon's role in Cambridge Analytica and his financial stake in the Cayman Islands.

Data Trust was a separate company which performed the same function as Cambridge Analytica. Cambridge Analytica's model captured large groups of people who were "on the fence" or undecided about their vote. Data Trust captured smaller groups, but had more detail on their views.

Bank Fraud

Gates was asked about the purchase of Manafort's property at 377 Union St., Brooklyn. Gates believed Manafort asked him to initiate a wire transfer from the Actinet Trading account for the purchase of this property. Gates believed he wired the money to a title company. Gates understood these funds were being used to buy property.

Gates was asked about the purchase of Manafort's property at 29 Howard St., New York. Gates did not believe he wired the funds from Peranova or Yiakora for this property's purchase. Gates said it was possible Manafort asked him to initiate these wires, but he did not recall it.

Gates [redacted]

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Gates did not start managing the Cyprus accounts until 2008. Gates opened the accounts in August 2007, but he wasn't transacting on Manafort's behalf until 2008. [redacted]

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Gates [redacted]

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Gates

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Gates most likely used his email accounts to communicate Gates may also have used his account until 2014 when that account was closed. Gates thought it was possible he used his account on occasion as well. Gates' other email accounts were and

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Gates, Manafort, Kilimnik and two "private equity people" located in Ukraine had email accounts. These accounts were obtained from

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Genesis Capital

Gates was shown an email from Manafort to Gates, dated December 22, 2015 with the subject line,

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Gates believed this email was a request for and Gates

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Manafort had previously [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] Manafort tasked Gates with helping manage

[redacted]

In late 2015 and 2016, [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted]

[redacted] b6 b7C

Gates did not have much information regarding [redacted]

[redacted] Manafort told

Gates he was [redacted] who b6 b7C

[redacted]

[redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted]

[redacted] asked Manafort for help with b6 b7C

[redacted]

[redacted] b6 b7C

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Gates did not believe he ever spoke with [redacted]

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[redacted]

Gates did reach out to [redacted] Gates explained

[redacted]

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Manafort and [redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

Gates was shown a series of emails related to his communication with

b6
b7C

[redacted]

Gates stated that he knew he [redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

Gates was asked if he recalled his conversation with [redacted] Gates initially stated that he did not recall a conversation with [redacted] but the emails show he relayed Manafort's instructions to [redacted] Gates then stated he recalled asking [redacted] to provide documentation for [redacted] Gates did not think this was [redacted]

b6
b7C

Gates was asked why he sent [redacted] but he did not understand exactly why. Manafort did not always give Gates the full picture. Manafort asked Gates to do certain things, but he did not always explain why. Gates gave the example of Manafort asking Gates to get [redacted] on board, asking Gates to obtain old insurance declarations from [redacted] or asking Gates to [redacted]

b6
b7C

Gates [redacted]

b6
b7C

Gates then stated he knew [redacted]

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b7C

Gates was asked again about his communication with [redacted] Gates [redacted]

b6
b7C

Gates was asked to explain what he meant by "side agreement loans". Gates stated that [redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

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b7C

Gates was asked [redacted]

[redacted]

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b7C

Gates was asked why [redacted]

[redacted] Gates stated [redacted]

[redacted]

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b7E

FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

Official Record

UNCLASSIFIED/~~FOUO~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 11/21/2018

On 10/29/2018, SA [redacted] and Special Counsel Prosecutor Andrew Weissmann interviewed RICHARD GATES III at the offices of GATES' counsel. GATES' counsel, Tom Greene was present for the interview. GATES provided the following information: b6 b7C

MANAFORT's China Efforts

MANAFORT worked with [redacted] on a telephone project in China that never materialized. [redacted] technology guy was [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] b7A

MANAFORT had tried to get some Chinese nationals into the inauguration, but GATES said no. GATES informed [redacted] of the situation but did not know what happened after that. GATES was not aware of any Chinese money making its way into the PIC. b6 b7A b7C

MANAFORT Ukraine Work

In 2010, DMP hired a number of people to assist with work in Ukraine, including [redacted] was a [redacted] who was brought in as a [redacted] to do Party of Regions groundwork. b6 b7A b7C

After the US Presidential election, GATES never heard any plans regarding Eastern Ukraine. MANAFORT asked GATES to connect [redacted] with the Ukrainian Ambassador to open a line of dialogue between DONALD TRUMP and PETRO POROSHENKO. b6 b7C

MANAFORT told GATES that [redacted] GATES was not aware of a relationship between PATTEN and KILIMNIK. b6 b7C

Investigation on 10/29/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 11/14/2018

by [redacted]

b6 b7A b7C b7E

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FBI(19cv1278)-2322

(U/~~FOUO~~) Interview of RICHARD GATES III

Continuation of FD-302 of 10/29/2018 SCO , On 10/29/2018 , Page 2 of 3

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b6
b7A
b7C

GATES believed KILIMNIK may have had a direct line to OLEG DERIPASKA.

VIKTOR BOYARKIN and DERIPASKA

VIKTOR BOYARKIN did a lot of work for DERIPASKA.

BOYARKIN spoke good English.

Miscellaneous

had sent an email regarding a Clinton Foundation pay-to-play scheme. [This document, attached as a 1A, was provided later the same day by GATES' counsel].

Official Record

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 11/28/2018

Richard Gates III was contacted at Sidley Austin, 1501 K Street, Washington, D.C., in the presence of his attorney, Tom Green. Present for the interview was Senior Assistant Special Counsel (SASC) Zainab Ahmad, SASC Andrew Weissman, Forensic Accountant [redacted] Assistant Special Agent in Charge (ASAC) [redacted] and Special Agent [redacted] After being informed of the official identities of all present, Gates provided the following information: b6 b7C

Gates stated that at the outset of his and Paul Manafort's work with the Trump campaign (in March 2016) the two had no control of budget or finances. Following the April 2016 primaries in which Trump took control of the Republican race, he (Trump) directed Manafort to develop state budgets. The amounts in the state budgets were minimal at first (approximately [redacted] to start, mostly to finance direct mailings). Larger budgets varied between [redacted] typically spent on media. Gradually, Gates and Manafort took more and more control of budgets as a strategy to win delegates took shape. Gates stated that the budgets (and duties) were divided during this time between Manafort and Corey Lewandowski. b6 b7C

The de facto campaign "CFO" during this time was [redacted] would track projects expending funds, and served as the first check on such expenses. [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

Gates stated that Trump self-financed his campaign prior to April/May 2016. Gates stated that prior to his and Manafort's arrival on the campaign, Trump loaned his campaign [redacted] Gates added that [redacted] Manafort explained to Gates that [redacted] b6 b7C

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Investigation on 10/29/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 11/07/2018

by [redacted] b6 b7A b7C b7E

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FBI(19cv1278)-2325

[redacted]

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Following his success in the primaries, which all but assured he would win the party's nomination, Trump stated to his team that he wished to continue self-financing his campaign. Gates stated that, due to the large amounts required, this was simply not realistic. He held multiple discussions on this topic with Jared Kushner, Steve Mnuchin, and others. Among Trump's plans was to win New York and California. Once shown the sheer amounts of funding needed to be competitive in those states, he became convinced that outside funding would be needed. The campaign's narrative became that following the primaries, Trump's campaign would take general financing like everyone else. Gates explained to Trump that outside financing would come from two 'buckets.' The first was money raised in conjunction with the Republican National Committee (RNC) and was in large amounts. The second was small donations stemming from direct mail and telephone calls.

Red Curve was a company hired by the campaign prior to Gates' and Manafort's arrival. The company had previously worked on Mitt Romney's campaign for President in 2012. Gates was told by Don McGahn that he (McGahn) was familiar with Red Curve's work and that the company was well aware of all FEC requirements. Starting in May of 2016, Red Curve largely ran the financing of the Trump campaign (always with the pre-approval of [redacted] The company utilized a software application in which Lewandowski, Manafort, or Gates could go on-line to approve budget requests. Gates worked closely with [redacted] and his partner, [redacted] to discuss the breakdown of budget expenditures. Once Lewandowski left the Trump campaign in mid-June of 2016, Manafort took over the bulk of the on-line approvals via Red Curve. Steve Mnuchin, the campaign finance chairman and long-time contact of Trump's, also had budget oversight.

b6
b7C

Once Trump was the official Republican nominee for president, bickering started between the campaign and the RNC. The principal argument centered on dividing the incoming fundraising amounts between the RNC and the candidate/campaign. The RNC's issue focused on what the Trump campaign's budget should be, and predicated their assistance with Trump hitting milestones such as a set number of pictures with contributors, drawing a target number to events, etc. Slowly, however, Trump took charge of such fundraising. Additional arguments centered on the use of RNC office space by the Trump campaign.

The campaign's use of direct mailings, spearheaded by Brad Parscale (and Kushner) kept the campaign from direct oversight by the RNC. It was, per Gates, the lifeline of Trump's campaign. In the 1st quarter alone, for instance, the campaign raised $275 million through direct mail proceeds, paying its own steep costs in the process.

Throughout the summer of 2016, the campaign bought up media in [redacted] increments paid in advance. Gates believed Trump may have [redacted] b6 b7C

Gates was asked about a $10 million influx into the campaign in October of 2016. He stated that he was out of the 'inner circle' by that time. After Manafort left the campaign in August 2016, Gates himself had less responsibility. The day-to-day oversight of the campaign was handled at that time by Steve Bannon and Kellyanne Conway. The two were constantly at odds with the Trump family, who had control over budget by that point. Kushner, in particular, oversaw the budget, with Parscale handling the approvals.

Gates stated he saw no evidence of any budget 'kickbacks' per se by the campaign. However, in the media buys (led by [redacted] as the [redacted] buyer) an escrow fund was set up in which 2% of any budget amount would be funneled. Manafort himself tried setting up a 10% commission for himself on any and all media buys but Kushner stopped this. [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

Around the time that Steve Bannon started with the Trump campaign, [redacted] introduced Jared Kushner to CA. b6 b7C

Gates, Manafort and Parscale met with [redacted] from Cambridge Analytica (CA) in New York [redacted] promoted his company's psychological model as better than micro-targeting to assess potential voters. CA pitched their ability to identify voters who may be on the fence between candidates on a city-by-city basis [redacted] told Gates that they had a proprietary database with 5,000 fields.

Gates reached out to the Ted Cruz and Ben Carson campaigns for feedback on how CA had worked for them. CA was broken into two discreet units: data analytics, and communications. The Cruz campaign said that CA's analytics were great, but that communications left something to be desired.

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

At the end of the Republican National Convention, there was a meeting and the campaign decided to put CA to the test. RNC and CA each received a pool of people to audit. CA returned with slightly more, but more "undecideds".

The RNC did not want to use CA. Parscale was reluctant to bring a new company into the campaign. Kushner wanted to use CA and negotiated a package with payment being delivered at the end of the campaign. Kellyanne Conway had planned to bring in her favored companies when she joined the campaign, but was unable because of Kushner's control.

[redacted] and [redacted] worked with [redacted] at CA and were embedded in the Trump campaign. b6 b7C

CA had told Gates that they were US-based, and indeed the company had several US components. Gates later learned that the data was run in the UK. This was a concern for Gates at the time because of the time difference between the UK and the US East Coast.

[redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

After the election, Steve Mnuchin was not on the finance committee. Mnuchin was angling for a cabinet position.

[redacted] was [redacted] deputy and was responsible for handling day-to-day budgets. Gates would check things with [redacted] before [redacted] also worked on the campaign. b6 b7C

[redacted] was a [redacted] donor to the Trump campaign and raised a ton of money for the [redacted] Gates opined that [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] was called in to help out with the Gold Star issue arose. [redacted] were also brought in to help with that issue.

Gates and others would review Trump's call logs on a daily basis. These were produced by Rhona for Trump's landlines and cell phone. When Conway took over, Trump became harder to reach, and people started calling Melania Trump's cell phone to reach him.

Exhibit

The [redacted] per month pay schedule possibly included [redacted]

At some point in time, [redacted]

At some point in time, Gates asked Parscale for the Brushfire polls.

b7A
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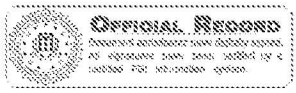
FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)



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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 11/19/2018

On 10/9/2018, SA [redacted] and Special Counsel Prosecutor Andrew Weissmann interviewed RICHARD "RICK" GATES III at the offices of GATES' counsel. Present for the interview was GATES' counsel, Tom Green. GATES provided the following information:

b6
b7C

[redacted] was trying to get on TRUMP's campaign. [redacted] had set up a meeting between PAUL MANAFORT and [redacted] to get MANAFORT to sell PSY Group's services to the campaign. [redacted] received the proposal, but GATES did not. GATES never discussed using front people as part of the plan. GATES did not recall any further information related to PSY Group [redacted]

b6
b7C

Investigation on 10/09/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 10/22/2018

by [redacted]

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FBI(19cv1278)-2330

Official Record

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 11/19/2018

On 11/14/2018, SA [redacted] IA [redacted] and Special Counsel Prosecutor Andrew Weissmann interviewed RICHARD "RICK" GATES III telephonically. After being advised of the identities of the individuals on the call, GATES provided the following information: b6 b7C

[redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] was a colleague of [redacted] from [redacted] was a [redacted] GATES had met [redacted]

A long time ago, [redacted] had said he was helping [redacted] with a project investigating a money laundering scheme.

At one point in time, [redacted] was working on a project that involved tracking black money in Afghanistan. This project involved a United Nations AID corollary and was trying to get support from the US government. b6 b7C

[redacted] wanted to bring [redacted] in to help PAUL MANAFORT by showing [redacted]

[redacted] brought [redacted] into a group with some [redacted] people in [redacted] asked GATES about it.

GATES last spoke to [redacted] b6 b7C

**Following the telephonic interview, GATES provided email communications with [redacted] [attached as a 1A].*

EX1

GATES was read a Viber exchange between himself and MANAFORT in which GATES asks about MANAFORT's meeting with "DJT". MANAFORT had told GATES that he was meeting with TRUMP to determine whether or not he could attend inauguration events.

Investigation on 11/14/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (Phone) b6 b7A b7C b7E

File # [redacted] Date drafted 11/19/2018

by [redacted]

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FBI(19cv1278)-2331

GATES had heard that MANAFORT went to Spain at some point with [redacted] but GATES was not aware of MANAFORT's travel schedule in January and February 2017.

b6
b7C

In January 2017, MANAFORT claimed he was using intermediaries, including JARED KUSHNER, to get people appointed. Additionally, MANAFORT said he had other people helping him, including RUDY GIULIANI. MANAFORT claimed he was talking to KUSHNER all the way leading up to GATES' plea.

[redacted]

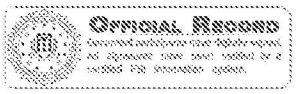
b6
b7A
b7C

[redacted]

b6
b7A
b7C

[redacted]

FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)



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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 01/17/2019

On 11/7/2018, SA [redacted] SA [redacted] FOA [redacted] b6 b7C Senior Assistant Special Counsel (SASC) Jeannie Rhee, SASC Andrew Weissmann, and SASC Greg Andres interviewed Rick Gates at the Offices of the Special Counsel. GATES' counsel was not present for the interview. Gates provided the following information:

**** Gates was shown an email to Melania Trump on 12/30/2016 ****

During the 2016 Presidential campaign, Donald Trump's (Trump) Friends & Family list (the list) for people attending campaign events was broken down by Trump family member. Lists would come from each of Trump's children. Rhona Graff (Graff) handled the list from Trump himself. Melania Trump would check and add names. If a name was associated with a specific person, it would be put under their name on the list.

Graff was the gatekeeper of the list. People associated with the Trump family sometimes added names.

The circle of people who were able to add names to the list were immediate family members, close friends of immediate family members, and staffers of immediate family members. For example, [redacted] b6 b7C added people to the list. In some cases, Gates would send the lists back to the kids for review and the kids would say they didn't add a particular name on their own list.

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

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Investigation on 11/07/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 11/13/2018 b3 b6 b7A b7C b7E

by [redacted]

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b6
b7A
b7C
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(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of RICK GATES 11/7

b6
b7A
b7C

For this reason, sometimes the kids would add their own invitees to Trump's list. For example, during the Republican National Convention, Ivanka asked Graff to add to Trump's list. In some instances, a name would appear twice. In this event, Gates would call Graff and de-duplicate.

Trump never personally reviewed the list, instead, Trump relied on Graff. Several supporters added names to the list. Trump would only take interest if a friend of his said they hadn't been invited.

By inauguration time, the list had been substantially expanded.

b6
b7C

LNU was with the campaign. She became the point-of-contact for people on the Friends and Family list.

[redacted] b7A b7E

FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 11/13/2018

On 11/7/2018, SA [redacted] Special Counsel Prosecutor (SCP) Greg Andres and SCP Andrew Weissmann interviewed RICK GATES at the Offices of the Special Counsel. GATES' counsel was not present for the interview. GATES provided the following information: b6 b7C

Great America

Great America was a PAC run by COREY LEWANDOWSKI. Great America had been started with a donation of [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b7A

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] had offices in the [redacted] DC; his DC offices were based out of the [redacted] offices. [redacted] was [redacted]

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Investigation on 11/07/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 11/12/2018

by [redacted] b6 b7A b7C b7E

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[redacted] was hired by [redacted] to help with [redacted] corporate activities [redacted] was doing marketing and Public Relations (PR) with [redacted] b6 b7C

In approximately 2010, GATES met with [redacted] in New York to discuss work expanding the Party of Regions (POR).

[redacted] helped set up a foundation for [redacted] in the [redacted] b6 b7C
introduced MANAFORT to [redacted] in hopes that MANAFORT could assist with [redacted] PR goals. GATES was not sure if MANAFORT knew [redacted] personally.

In 2013, [redacted] reached out regarding payment.

[redacted] b6 b7C
[redacted] firm was never big enough to handle a large slate of business. [redacted] seemed to [redacted]

Campaign's Knowledge of MANAFORT's Ukraine Work

According to MANAFORT, he had mentioned his work in Ukraine in his first meeting with DONALD TRUMP. TRUMP told MANAFORT that it was no big deal. Later in the campaign, HOPE HICKS would forward MANAFORT questions that she was receiving from the press about his work in Ukraine. MANAFORT had also met with KUSHNER regarding the details of his work in Ukraine.

MANAFORT informed GATES that in early August while on the plane with TRUMP, TRUMP had told MANAFORT that he needed to know any additional damaging information that could come out. There was no discussion of MANAFORT fronting his frauds with TRUMP or with the campaign.

Miscellaneous

[redacted] had approached GATES about having [redacted] do a fundraiser for GATES. GATES never met [redacted] GATES never received money from [redacted] b6 b7C

GATES was aware that JARED KUSHNER was holding the purse strings on the campaign. KUSHNER allowed a 1-1.5% margin on media buys plus production costs. KUSHNER drove money to be spent on digital.

MANAFORT had told GATES of 2 defense funds: one at the Whitehouse and one outside.

EX 1 Memo RE: Creation of a Vehicle to Promote and Protect Trump For President Delegates

MANAFORT drafted the memo in preparation for a meeting with TRUMP. [redacted] b6 b7A b7C MANAFORT's primary goal was to protect TRUMP's delegates at the Republican National Convention.

The 527 vehicle had started out as an idea when MANAFORT was on the campaign. The main question for MANAFORT was whether or not a 527 could receive foreign contributions. At MANAFORT's request, GATES reached out to DON MCGAHN to discuss the advantages of a 527 versus a 501c.

GATES opined that [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

EX 2 Email from Thursday March 24, 2016

GATES wrote the 527 Entities Summary document. This document memorialized GATES' discussion with MCGAHN. MANAFORT wished to create an entity for which he would not be required to disclose donors. A 527 could take foreign contributions, but the recipient would have to disclose donors. This plan was never executed. Instead campaign funds were used.

EX 3 Segment from a Translated Email

KILIMNIK came to the US in May of 2016 [redacted] During that trip, KILIMNIK met with MANAFORT to share information about Ukraine. [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

After KILIMNIK's meeting with MANAFORT, MANAFORT directed GATES to send KILIMNIK polling data. The Internal FABRIZIO polling data that was shared with KILIMNIK [redacted] b7A

GATES believed that "Boy" could have referred to YURI BOYKO, who had been an emissary between YANUKOVYCH and VLADIMIR PUTIN. "Tsar" was likely PUTIN since BOYKO was a go-between for PUTIN.

"PP" was a reference to PETRO POROSHENKO.

It was widely known that there was infighting amongst contingents of Opposition Bloc and at one point in time, BOYKO became the party face.

EX 4 Email from March 30, 2016

[redacted] while [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] was referred to as [redacted]

b7A
b7E

FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

Official Record

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 11/19/2018

On 11/7/2018, SA [redacted] Senior Financial Investigator [redacted] Special Counsel Prosecutor (SCP) Greg D Andres, SCP Andrew A Weissmann, and DOJ Money Laundering and Asset Recovery Section Attorney Ann Brickley interviewed RICK GATES III at the Office of the Special Counsel. GATES' counsel was not present for the interview. GATES provided the following information:

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GATES had learned about how Ukrainian politics worked from PAUL MANAFORT, [redacted] Ukrainian oligarchs generated wealth from the assets that they owned. Public officials were always on the take. This was consistent with GATES' experience in Ukraine.

b6
b7A
b7C

GATES believed that MICHAEL OKANOSKY was one of the few Ukrainian officials who seemed above-board, but OKANOSKY [redacted]

b6
b7C

YANUKOVYCH's "Family"

[redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

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Investigation on 11/07/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 11/12/2018

by [redacted]

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[redacted] b6 b7C

GATES could not recall specifically, [redacted]

[redacted]

BOYKO

[redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted]

[redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted]

[redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted]

[redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted]

Additional Individuals

[redacted] previously had worked for [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] had talked about acquiring [redacted]

[redacted]

b7A b7E

GATES had heard rumors that had been involved in b6 b7C

b6 b7C

were doing work in the US (NFI). b6 b7C

ALEX VAN DER ZWAAN had told GATES

After POR Fled

When POR fled, b6 b7C

Many of those who fled

GATES had heard rumors that YANUKOVYCH had to pay price of for his home.

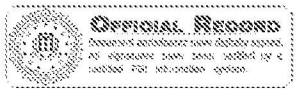
a lower level person in Party of Regions (POR), had looked at a property in b6 b7C

AKHMETOV

had looked at property in (NFI).

b7A
b7E

FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 03/23/2018

Richard William Gates III, previously identified, was interviewed by FBI Special Agent [redacted] Supervisory Special Agent [redacted] and Special Counsel Prosecutors Andrew Weissmann and Greg Andres. Present for Gates were Thomas Green, [redacted] of Sidley Austin LLP. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing parties and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

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b7C

Gates signed and acknowledged understanding the proffer agreement and was reminded that the interview was voluntary, but if he chose to answer questions he needed to be truthful in his responses.

Other Crimes

Gates was asked about any other criminal offenses he had committed.

Insider Trading

The only insider trading and/or securities fraud offenses in which Gates had been involved was related to ID Watchdog (IDW).

[redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

b6
b7C

Investigation on 02/12/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 02/13/2018

by [redacted]

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Gates did not believe any of the investments or entities he participated in with involved any fraud.

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had an associate named and Manafort invested in this business. Manafort's portion of that investment came from Cypriot funds. Gates did not think was involved in any fraud or illegal activity.

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Bank Fraud

When Gates was applying for his mortgage refinance loans through , he asked Manafort Gates clarified that

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Gates also lied about the purpose and use of BADE LLC (BADE) when he was applying for his mortgage refinance loans. Gates did not want to disclose that he used BADE to receive income. Gates said he received income from into BADE.

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Gates knew that his net worth was listed as on documentation sent to . This number was based upon the value of Energy Today's stock. Gates' told Gates he could use this to support his net worth.

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Gates was responsible for opening bank accounts for DMP. Gates knew that banks scrutinized account more if they thought the businesses were related to politics. For this reason, Gates listed "business consulting", rather than "political consulting" to avoid any such scrutiny. Gates specifically recalled doing this on the account opening documents.

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In addition to mis-characterizing the type of business DMP did, Gates also altered some of the operating agreements provided to banks. For example, Gates changed DMP's operating agreement when opening the account. Gates changed the EIN number and the managing member from Gates to Manafort.

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Bribery

Gates never paid, or was offered a bribe while working in Ukraine. Manafort received a blackmail and extortion threat via email once. Manafort told the FBI about this in 2014. Gates thought [redacted] was behind the blackmail. The email threatened to release hacked information if Manafort did not pay. Gates did not believe Manafort did anything in response. b6 b7C

Gates was aware of bribery in Ukraine, but he did not have specifics.

DMP paid their employees in Ukraine partially under the table. Ukrainian tax law required businesses to pay taxes based upon the amount of their payroll. For that reason, DMP reported to the tax authorities that they paid their employees somewhere between 25-30% of what they were actual paid. The difference between the reported amount and the actual amount was usually paid in cash.

DMP did not pay bribes to any government officials. However, Manafort told Gates about two expensive watches he gave to Akhmetov and another oligarch.

Gates was aware that local officials [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

DMP never paid bribes any government officials in the US.

Lack of Candor Under Oath

Gates lied during his deposition in the winding up agreement [redacted] b7A

Gates, Manafort and [redacted] met before their depositions without lawyers present to pull together relevant documents and discuss the "chronology of events". Gates later clarified that [redacted] and was not a party to Manafort and Gates' agreement to lie in the deposition. Gates met with Manafort 3-4 times for this purpose. b6 b7A b7C

Gates mostly told the truth during his testimony, but lied about how the bank accounts in Cyprus were held. Manafort told Gates to lie about [redacted] Specifically, Manafort told Gates to say b6 b7A b7C

that [redacted]

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The reason for this lie was to make it appear that [redacted]

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FBI Interview 2014

Prior to the FBI's interviews of Manafort and Gates in 2014, Manafort and Gates met to discuss the pending interviews. These meetings were with an attorney.

Gates stated he did not lie during the 2014 interview with the FBI. Gates noted some inaccuracies in the written report of his interview. Specifically, the written report inaccurately described which oligarchs were involved in which events. Additionally, there was one event in which the report indicated [redacted] was not involved when in actuality, he was involved.

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[redacted] and Skadden Report

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Gates did not recall submitting any written statement or declaration as it pertained to [redacted]

Gates knew the information regarding [redacted] in the Skadden Report was misleading, but he never signed any document, or testified to anything related to this.

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The Skadden Report referenced material which Gates thought had been [redacted]

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Gates explained that the purpose of the Skadden Report was to

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Gates had insight into the Skadden Report throughout the process. and Manafort were in frequent contact. Additionally, Gates and were in frequent contact with a Skadden associate, Alexander van der Zwaan, who worked with Through these channels, Gates was given details about Skadden's investigation into the matter.

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With respect to the public relations and lobbying campaigns involving Project Hapsburg and the Skadden Report,

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Campaign Fraud

Gates was not aware of any foreign contributions to the Trump Campaign. Trump self-financed the campaign through the primaries. After Trump won the nomination, additional financing came from Super PACs and the Republican National Committee (RNC).

The RNC was largely running the finance operation through the Victory Fund. All vetting of donations came from the RNC. Gates was not aware of any foreign contributions into the Victory Fund.

Gates helped write a memorandum explaining the prohibition of foreign contributions which was provided to the Super PACs early on. Gates knew some of the people involved in the Super PACs were high net worth individuals with high net worth contacts in foreign countries such as, Russia and China. Other than the memorandum Gates help write, he was not involved in the Super PACs and was not aware of any foreign contributions to them.

The individuals with foreign contacts were Anthony Scaramucci, Tom Barrack, contributions were mostly to the Inauguration. Gates was not aware of any foreign contributions to the Trump Campaign through these individuals.

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Gates explained that foreign contributions could be accepted for "issue advocacy". Gates was not aware of any such contributions for specific policy issues. For the most part, the Super PACs were not policy oriented.

Gates was not aware of any foreign contributions used to promote Trump outside the US. Gates was not aware of any foreign contributions paid directly to Trump.

As for vendor payments from the campaign, Gates thought payments made to [redacted] were highly scrutinized. Gates already discussed the vendor payments related to Corey Lewandowski. Other than this, Gates was aware that Red Curve was paid a percentage of the money they raised. Gates thought there may have been "over payments" to vendors, but no outright fraud.

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Gates stated he needed to go through his emails related to the campaign. Gates recalled a donation of $2 million which came in. The maximum allowed was $1 million. Gates thought the overage was returned to the donor, but it may not have been. Gates said he would look through his emails and provide any relevant documents to his counsel. Gates was not sure he turned over his campaign folder to his previous counsel, [redacted]

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[redacted]

Obstruction of Justice

Special Counsel Investigation

Gates did not destroy any documents related to the Special Counsel's investigation. Gates provided everything he had to his attorneys.

FARA Unit Investigation

Gates deleted documents related to the FARA Unit's investigation as previously described. Manafort and Gates coordinated to make sure they cleaned out any documents. Manafort told Gates to get rid of any incriminating documents.

Gates spoke with [redacted] a few times in 2016 as it related to the FARA Unit's request for information. Gates was trying to determine how the ECFMU was really funded. [redacted] told Gates she did not know. Gates initially said he did not try to coordinate answers with [redacted] Gates later stated that he, [redacted] had all received a list of questions from a reporter at the Associated Press (AP). Among those questions was how the ECFMU was funded and who was behind the ECFMU. Gates and [redacted]

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[redacted] b6 b7C

In or around July 2016, Gates spoke with [redacted] about the AP reporter's questions as well. Gates and [redacted] b6 b7C Gates and [redacted] Manafort was involved in this coordination with [redacted] as well.

Gates contacted [redacted] another time to find out who from the DNC was doing a "hit piece" on Manafort's lobbying in Ukraine. Gates told [redacted] b6 b7C the reporting would negatively affect [redacted] too and he needed to have the person "back off".

Gates did not speak with [redacted] about the FARA reporting. Manafort and [redacted] b6 b7C Gates did not know if Manafort and [redacted] talked about the AP article or the FARA Unit inquiry.

Gates did talk to [redacted] b6 b7C worked on the Trump Campaign with Gates. Gates and [redacted] talked about the FARA Unit inquiry and how they needed to figure out what they were going to say.

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The Skadden Report

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Gates noted that at the time of the Skadden Report, [redacted]

[redacted]

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Other

Gates has not lied in any other statements to law enforcement. Gates has not been arrested. [redacted]

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Gates did not make any misrepresentations on his bail package to the court in this matter.

[redacted]

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[redacted]

Gates tried to start a wine import business called "Got Woke" which would import wine from France and Italy. Gates applied for the license to import wine, but nothing more.

[redacted]

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Gates did not claim these funds on his tax returns.

DMP falsified their financial records to avoid paying taxes in Cyprus. Cyprus requires businesses to file annual audits. Gates was tasked with creating documents to support a series of "loans" for funds transferred in and out of the Cypriot accounts. Gates created loan agreements and invoices to support the transfers of funds. Manafort was aware of some of the documents, but not all. Gates had to create documents to support the funds he had taken from the Cypriot accounts without Manafort's knowledge as well.

Gates submitted expense reimbursement requests to Barrack, the Inauguration and America First Policies. Gates had these expense reimbursements deposited into BADE. Gates would request reimbursement for expenses which were not actually business expenses. By way of example, Gates would request reimbursements for dinners which were personal and not business related.

Most of Gates' illegitimate expense reimbursements were submitted to Barrack. Gates only submitted one expense reimbursement while at America First Policies. Gates submitted two invoices for payment for his services, but neither of these were paid.

A break was taken from approximately 11:50 AM to approximately 11:55 AM.

Kilimnik

On August 2, 2016, Gates arrived late to the dinner meeting between Manafort and Kilimnik. There may have been topics discussed prior to Gates' arrival.

When Gates arrived, [redacted]

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Kilimnik and Manafort also discussed the Deripaska lawsuit status, payment due to DMP by Rinat Akhmetov and Sergei Lyovochkin and the battleground states.

Manafort wanted to know if the Deripaska lawsuit was dismissed. Kilimnik told Manafort that Deripaska was not pursuing it. Kilimnik said, per Viktor Boyarkin, Deripaska didn't even know about the lawsuit.

As described previously, Manafort and Kilimnik discussed the strategy for the battleground states. This was a "broad" and "high level" conversation. Manafort also asked Gates to continue providing Kilimnik with polling data.

Gates thought the polling information he was providing Kilimnik was going to Lyovochkin, or other Ukrainians as a way of showcasing what Manafort was doing. Manafort wanted to get repaid what he was owed, but also wanted to open doors to jobs after the Trump Campaign ended.

Gates was asked why Kilimnik referred to Manafort's "clever plan to defeat" Hilary Clinton in an email. Gates believed this referred to Manafort's strategy to attack Clinton's credibility. Gates was asked what was "clever" about this. Gates agreed that it was not clever and he did not know why Kilimnik characterized it as clever.

Gates did not trust Kilimnik. Gates did not know why Manafort was sharing internal polling data with Kilimnik. Gates said Kilimnik could have given the information to anyone.

At the end of the meeting, Kilimnik left first. Manafort and Gates were concerned about being seen with Kilimnik and that's why they left separately. Gates thought meeting with Kilimnik was "bold".

After leaving, Manafort made a joke about Yanukovych and then he and Gates started talking about a campaign meeting they had the next morning. That night, Gates stayed at [redacted] b6 b7C b7A

With regards to the "Black Caviar" email discussed previously, Gates believed this was a reference to Akhmetov. Gates could not explain why Kilimnik said the person who gave Manafort the black caviar was in Moscow. Gates speculated that Akhmetov could have been in Moscow. Akhmetov traveled to Moscow frequently.

Manafort and Kilimnik did not discuss the topic of sanctions against Ukraine or Russia, or any other policy issues at the meeting.

[redacted]. Gates explained that in 2004, Vladimir Putin was angry with Yanukovych for the overturn of the election. Putin gave [redacted] and nothing to Yanukovych at that time. b6 b7C b7A

Gates did not know what Yanukovych's relationship with Russia was more recently and did not know if they were backing him in 2020. Gates noted that if Russia did back Yanukovych, Yanukovych would be indebted to Russia. Gates gave the example of how Akhmetov was indebted to Russian banks.

In Gates' opinion, Yanukovych's proposal was "crazy" and "impossible". Gates did not think Yanukovych could unify Ukraine after what happened at Maidan. Gates did not think the message from Yanukovych was "odd" timing as Manafort was working for Trump at the time. Gates characterized [redacted] This had been brought up in media reporting for years, mostly by pro-Russians who claimed Yanukovych had been "illegally removed". b6 b7C b7A

After the August 2, 2016 meeting with Kilimnik, Gates sent Kilimnik polling data less frequently. In August, September and October, Gates did not have much time and only sent Kilimnik this information sporadically. The information Gates sent during this time period was more publically available information and less internal data. When Manafort

left the campaign, Gates' access to polling data was limited as Fabrizio was distanced from the campaign.

Gates used Whatsapp and text messaging from his DMP cell to communicate with Kilimnik. Manafort used Viber and DMP email to communicate with Kilimnik. Gates did not believe he ever communicated with Kilimnik via his campaign email.

Gates was asked what plans the campaign had in motion in August 2016. Gates stated there were multiple plans, but minimal resources to make those plans happen. The RNC had not signed off on Trump yet. The campaign did not have the resources to set up offices in each state and Trump was having trouble getting the Republican officials in each state to support him. The main issue in August 2016 was where to put the limited resources.

At that time, the Trump Campaign was receiving donations through the small dollar digital campaign run by Brad Parscale and the Victory Fund run by the RNC. It was decided that money should be spent on traditional and digital media advertising in specific states.

Pennsylvania, Michigan, Wisconsin, Florida, North Carolina, Arizona, Colorado and Nevada were selected to receive the most resources. These states were chosen from a pool of states generated from Fabrizio's polls: Florida, Ohio, North Carolina, Virginia, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Wisconsin, Maine, Minnesota, Arizona, Colorado, Nevada and Georgia.

Gates explained that when the Billy Bush tape came out, the campaign had to change their resource focus as they had lost the moderate female vote. Similarly, when FBI Director Comey announced the FBI was reopening the Clinton investigation, resources were reallocated to Colorado, Nevada and Arizona. Other changes were made periodically based upon which states were "early ballot states".

A break was taken from approximately 12:40 AM to 12:45 AM.

After the election, Gates did not have much contact with Kilimnik. Kilimnik may have sent Gates a congratulatory note. Gates was [redacted] Gates did not initiate any contact with Kilimnik after the election. Other than a congratulatory message, Gates could not recall if Kilimnik reached out.

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Someone reached out to Gates requesting tickets to the Inauguration for the Ukrainian Central Election Committee chairman. Kilimnik may have followed up with Gates on this request. Gates did not provide the tickets.

Gates did not know if Manafort and Kilimnik were communicating after the election because Gates and Manafort were not communicating very often.

Gates did not have any contact with Kilimnik after the Inauguration. Gates talked to Manafort multiple times about Kilimnik. Manafort said he was trying to see Kilimnik on one of his trips. Gates wasn't sure which trip. Manafort traveled to China at one point, but Gates did not know when.

Gates and Manafort also discussed some media reporting on Kilimnik which described him as a Russian operative and Manafort's "guy". Manafort said the reporting was "bs". When the email from Manafort to Kilimnik about "private briefings" came out in the news, Manafort said it was "bs" too and that he did not trust Kilimnik.

Gates did not know if Kilimnik was actually Russian intelligence, but he suspected he was. Gates had no evidence of this, but Kilimnik was always gathering information about everything.

[redacted] b7A

Sam Patten

Sam Patten was brought on by Kilimnik in 2014 to do opposition research for OB in Ukraine. Patten was in and out of Ukraine during this time. Gates met Patten a few times. Gates wasn't sure how Kilimnik knew Patten. [redacted] a media consultant in D.C. used by DMP, was good friends with Patten. b6 b7C

Gates had not heard of Bergamont Ventures.

Manafort and Policy

Gates was asked if Manafort ever advocated for any foreign power as it related to US policy. Gates stated that Manafort asked Gates about US policy on Cuba.

Manafort had work in Cuba which related to the privatization of healthcare. Manafort was traveling to Cuba and meeting with Raul Castro. Manafort wanted to know what Trump's position on Cuba was. Manafort called Gates about this two times after the Inauguration. Gates told Manafort he would find out and get back to him, but he didn't because two days later, Trump's position on Cuba was reported in the news.

Barrack and Policy

The largest investor in Colony Northstar was a [redacted] Barrack and [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] Also, in the summer of 2017, Barrack met with [redacted] in Europe. Gates clarified that Barrack and [redacted] had a meeting scheduled, but Gates did not know if it actually took place. b6 b7C b7A

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] Gates did not know what happened.

At this point in the interview, at approximately 1:05 PM, the writer and Special Counsel Attorney Greg Andres departed. SSA [redacted] and Special Counsel Attorney Andrew Weissmann continued the interview. b6 b7C

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Roger Stone

Gates joined the lobbying firm of Black, Manafort, Stone and Kelly Gates worked on the firm's media/campaign strategies. Gates worked mainly for and rarely worked with Stone. Lee Atwater worked at the firm and was close to Stone. Stone and Manafort worked together a lot with Stone working for the Republicans and Manafort working with international clients. During President Regan's term, the firm became established. The firm did extremely well in the 1980s. In 1994 the firm was acquired Berson which fractured the partnership and led to Manafot and Stone starting their own lobbying firm. Stone also left the firm because of .

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After Gates left Black, Manafort, Stone and Kelly , he attended annual lunches that the firm held. Stone would attend these annual lunches approximately every three years.

In 1995, Gates was recruited by In 1997, Gates worked as Gates main role was to sell lottery systems to foreign countries. In 2000, Gates returned to the U.S. and worked for was close friends with Stone.

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Stone's relationship with Donald Trump began when Trump hired Stone to lobby on behalf of his casinos.

and Manafort had disagreements and they usually revolved around monetary disputes. was hired by a competing Ukrainian politician to provide election consulting and this created a rift between and Manafort. However, it was not a big falling out.

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Stone was an advocate for Trump hiring Manafort to work on the campaign. Trump had a personal relationship with Stone for decades. After Trump's debate with Megan Kelly on Fox News,

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During the Trump campaign, had a practice of copying Gates on emails that he sent to Manafort. If could not locate Manafort

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himself, he would often call Gates. At Manafort's direction, Gates would sometimes call and Manafort directly communicated with each other a lot during the campaign but Gates was not involved in those communications. Sometimes Manafort would advise Gates that but Manafort often did not provide anymore detail.

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Sometimes, Manafort would have Gates follow up on strategic recommendations provided by

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Hacking

Gates described and Gates was not sure if he actually had information related to the hacked emails. Gates had a conversation with Manafort where Gates told Manafort he was shocked that actually got the hacked information because usually he's usually just Gates asked Manafort where

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Manafort told Gates that

Gates stated that

Prior to the DCCC hacked emails were released publicly, Gates was at Manafort's Trump Tower apartment and Manafort stated that

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After the public release of the hacked emails, Gates was with Trump on his plane on the tarmac. The plane was delayed for thirty minutes so Trump could work the information into his speech. Gates did not know if had already provided the information contained in the hacked emails to Trump. Once the hacked emails were publicly released, the discussion on the campaign was how to use the information in the emails to show that the Democrats were dysfunctional. The RNC had a research team reading through the hacked emails after they were publicly released. were the people at the RNC who ran the rapid response team to decide what say about the emails. Gates was not involved in this process; rather, and Manafort made those decisions.

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Gates stated that nobody on the campaign was sophisticated enough to be able to hack into computer systems. Nobody on the campaign was concerned about how or who hacked the DCCC. The campaign tried to put out excerpts from the DCCC hacked emails as quickly as possible. There was no media strategy developed regarding the hacked emails.

Steve Bannon joined the campaign on August 15, 2016. Subsequently, Gates found out that Bannon had a relationship with Gates was in Bannon's office numerous times when called Bannon. Gates does not recall any conversations with Bannon regarding hacked emails.

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Gates stated that Michael Flynn was the individual on the campaign who came up with the "lock her up" slogan in reference to Hillary Clinton.

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[redacted]

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After the election, Gates did not have any contact with [redacted] cut off contact with Gates because he did not provide him the voting list. [redacted] and Manafort were attempting to get Trump to pick Rudy Guiliani for Secretary of State. Trump was going to pick Guiliani for Attorney General but Guiliani thought he deserved a more important cabinet position. Gates stated Guiliani overplayed his hand with Trump and was not picked for any position with the administration.

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Gates did not think that [redacted] and Thomas Barrack had a significant relationship. If Barrack needed something from [redacted] he would have gone through Manafort.

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[redacted], but Manafort did not hire this individual. [redacted] believed that Lewandowski did not do anything related to [redacted] believed this was an important vehicle.

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Manafort took over the [redacted] had a strong relationship with Pericles Capital and eventually went to work for Pericles. In 2010, [redacted] Subsequently, Manafort formed a new company called DMP [redacted] for branding purposes.

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Foreign Money to the Campaign

There was speculation that foreign individuals wanted to donate to the campaign and used a pass through to mask the foreign donation, but Gates was unaware of any specific situations. Gates stated he believed foreign governments did donate to the Presidential Inaugural Committee (PIC)

through U.S. based based companies but he did not remember any specifics. Gates stated he would look at his holdings to see if he could find any specifics.

Uncoordinated Rallies and Media Campaigns

Gates stated that the campaign controlled all the rallies that Trump attended. Regarding uncoordinated rallies, the campaign did not focus or track them, and did not have any system to identify where people were organizing these uncoordinated rallies. The campaign utilized the resources of the RNC when they utilized Trump surrogates. The campaign only tracked social/digital media adds that were organized by Brad Parscale. Digital media was controlled by Parscale and was hard to figure out. Parscale had a relationship with Facebook, Twitter and Google. [redacted] had the main relationship with Google. Parscale developed the digital add buy strategy for the campaign which targeted areas Clinton was campaigning; thus, most of the digital adds people were seeing in those specific areas were for Trump. Another strategy was to buy all add time for a specific date ahead of Clinton arriving in that location with the purpose of dominating the digital market in that area.

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The campaign attempted to figure out where the money that funded the anti-Trump/pro-Clinton digital media came from.

Other

Gates worked for Barrack when Comey was fired and he had no information about the firing. Barrack and Gates were in Wasington, D.C. when Comey was fired. Gates stated that he and Barrack discussed Comey being fired and that it was a typical Trump behavior to react without waiting for all the facts. Gates does not recall if he spoke to Manafort about Comey being fired. Gates spoke to [redacted] about it in general terms and they discussed how this was typical Trump behavior. Gates speculated that Trump fired Comey because of the Russia investigation based on his knowledge of Trump's personality, but Gates did not have any actual insight.

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Gates had no information regarding why Flynn was fired. Gates spoke to McFarland after Flynn was fired and she was very upset and concerned about how it would effect her role in the administration. However, Gates never discussed with McFarland what Flynn knew regarding Russia.

After Manafort left the campaign, Mike Pence would occasionally ask Gates how Manafort was doing.

Based on Gates work on the campaign, he knew that if Trump won the election he would try to build a relationship with Russia because Trump believed it was better to have a friend than an enemy, and his goal was to repair the relationship. Trump was not pleased when Congress passed sanctions against Russia.

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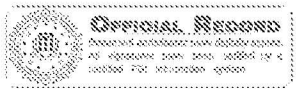

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 03/28/2018

Richard William Gates III, previously identified, was interviewed by FBI Special Agent [redacted] Supervisory Special Agent [redacted] and Senior Special Counsel Attorneys Andrew Weissmann and Greg Andres. Present for Gates were Thomas Green, [redacted] After being advised of the identities of the interviewing parties and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

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Senior Special Counsel Attorney Greg Andres presented Gates with a copy of the original proffer agreement and was initialed and dated by Andres, Gates, and Gates' attorney [redacted] Senior Special Counsel Attorney Andrew Weissmann then advised Gates of the terms and conditions regarding providing information to the government under the signed proffer agreement. Weissmann advised that under the terms of the agreement Gates has agreed to provide information to the government, and to respond to questions truthfully and completely. Weissmann advised that only being 90 percent truthful would violate the terms of the agreement and that it was only in Gates' interest to be 100 percent truthful. Weissmann advised that should the government and Gates not proceed with a cooperation agreement and be prosecuted, under the terms of the proffer agreement no statement made by Gates during the meeting could be used against him in the government's case-in-chief at trial except the government may use any statement made or information provided by Gates in a prosecution for false statements, perjury, or obstruction of justice, premised on statements or actions during the meeting. Moreover, the government may also use any such statement or information at sentencing in support of an argument that Gates failed to provide truthful or complete information during the meeting. The government may make derivative use of any statements made or other information provided by Gates during the meeting. Gates advised that he understood the terms and agreed to the terms.

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Deripaska Lawsuit in New York

In January 2018, Manafort told Gates that Oleg Deripaska sued Manafort and Gates in New York state court in an effort to demonstrate that he was willing to help the government's investigation by being a witness against them in exchange for being granted a visa. Gates believed that this was

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FBI(19cv1278)-2385

pure speculation by Manafort. Gates and Manafort became aware of the lawsuit via the press reports.

Roger Stone

Gates joined the lobbying firm of Black, Manafort, Stone and Kelly after [redacted] b6 b7C Gates worked on the firm's media/campaign strategies. Gates worked mainly for [redacted] and rarely worked with Stone. Gates worked on [redacted] During Gates time at this firm, he did not work directly for Manafort.

[redacted] worked at the firm and was close to Stone. During President Regan's term, the firm became established. Subsequently, [redacted] b6 b7C The firm did extremely well in the 1980s. Stone and Manafort worked together a lot. Stone worked with the Republican clients and Manafort worked with the international clients. [redacted] which fractured the partnership and led to Manafot and Stone starting their own lobbying firm. Stone left this new firm because of a monetary dispute and Stone started his own lobbying firm.

After Gates left the lobbying firm, he attended annual lunches that the firm held. Stone attended these annual lunches approximately every three years.

In 1995, Gates was recruited by [redacted] b6 b7A b7C In 1997, Gates worked as [redacted] Gates main role was to sell lottery systems to foreign countries. In 2000, Gates returned to the U.S. and worked for [redacted] was close friends with Stone. [redacted]

Stone's relationship with Donald Trump began when Trump hired Stone to lobby on behalf of his casinos.

[redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] b6 b7C had a strong relationship with Pericles Capital and eventually went to work for Pericles. In 2010, [redacted]

[redacted] b6 b7C

Opposition Block

Gates advised that in 2014 DMP's Ukrainian work started to "fizzle out". This was a result of the Ukrainian President, Viktor Yanukovych, fleeing to Russia in February 2014 as a result of the Euromaidan protests. As a result, the Party of Regions (PoR) lost power. In approximately May 2014, the Opposition Bloc (OB) was formed by mostly former PoR members. Manafort via DMP acted as a political consultant for OB and helped create and formulate the OB. Manafort helped pick the candidates and developed the campaign strategy to include how to rebrand the OB and distance it from the PoR. In the October 2014 parliamentary elections, the first elections the OB participated in, based on Manafort's strategy, the OB won 10% of the vote which equated to approximately 29 seats in parliament. According to Ukrainian law, any elected parliament member automatically received immunity and this was important to former PoR politicians because it would preclude them from being arrested because of their work for the PoR. Subsequently, the OB never materialized as a dominant party like the PoR.

[redacted] was hired and paid by two Ukrainian oligarchs, Serhiy Lyovochkin and Rinat Akhmetov, [redacted] Yuriy Boyko, who worked with Lyovochkin, and [redacted] who worked with Akhmetov, also worked with [redacted] Lyvochkin and Akhmetov were supposed b6 b7C

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Lyovochkin appointed and Gates worked with Gates worked on micro-targeting projects.

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Gates believed

DMP

DMP had an office in Kiev and Other individuals who worked at DMP were two translators (Gates could only remember the name of one translator,

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DMP Post Ukraine

Gates worked for Manafort/DMP after Yanukovych fled to Russia. [redacted]

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[redacted] During this time period, Gates realized that he needed to reign in his lifestyle because DMP was not generating any income.

[redacted] was trying to generate new political consulting business for DMP but no new contracts materialized. For instance, [redacted]

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[redacted] Gates was not aware of [redacted]

[redacted]

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Gates worked for Initially, b6 b7C were shareholders in via a company called originally established the business. brought in as the A/COO and then was ousted from the company. Gates provided some consulting services to team by assisting with business development; specifically targeting U.S. government agencies.

I.D. Watchdog

In 2011, invested in I.D. Watchdog and took an active role within the company. I.D. Watchdog was a publicly traded company. When the company discovered that they asked to remove himself from the company because this would look bad to shareholders. At this time, Gates was on the board of directors and recommended that they hire Gates initially invested approximately in I.D. Watchdog. Subsequently, Gates bought out some other investors for approximately From one of their investments in I.D. Watchdog, Gates and had convertible notes. In 2016, Gates and b6 b7C

I.D. Watchdog. Gates stated that the company had an outside law firm that worked on the convertible notes and the buyout of previous investors. Gates was not aware of any illegality related to these transactions. b6 b7C

In October or November 2016, GATES was asked by to step down from the board of directors because of his work on the Trump campaign. Gates subsequently agreed to step down. b6 b7C

I.D. Watchdog was bought out in 2017 and Gates had to answer an SEC questionnaire.

had a falling out during the John McCain campaign. Manafort b6 b7C

wanted [redacted] to appoint him to be in charge of the RNC Convention for McCain. However, McCain did not want to hire Manafort. As a result, Manafort felt that [redacted] "didn't go to bat for him". b6 b7C

Trump Campaign

In March 2016, Manafort was hired by Trump to work for the campaign. Prior to being hired, Manafort worked on a presentation to convince Trump to appoint him to be in charge of the delegate process for the campaign. Manafort directed Gates to help him with this presentation and Gates began to collect various documents to assist with the presentation. Both Roger Stone and Tom Barrack were lobbying Trump to hire Manafort for this role. In mid-March 2016, Manafort met with Trump in Mar-a-Lago and made his presentation. The day after Easter, Manafort was hired by the campaign. Manafort brought Gates to work with him on the campaign. During the campaign, DMP/Manafort was still paying Gates a salary even though he was not doing any work for DMP.

Initially, Gates' role was to conduct research on each state's delegation process. Manafort developed the strategy for how to address each state's delegate process and Gates was in charge of implementing the strategy. As Manafort got more involved in the day-to-day operations of the campaign and worked closer with Trump, Trump began to realize that the delegation process was more complicated than he realized and that Manafort knew what he was doing. As a result, Manafort started to take over the role of developing and implementing a strategy for the primaries. Manafort provided Trump with a strategy on how he would win the nomination. Manafort told Trump that if he could win the primaries in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, West Virginia, Indiana, and the mid-east states there was a path to victory. Manafort advised Trump that if he focused on and won the five early primaries, then candidates would quickly start dropping out of the race and this would enable Trump to save money because he would not have to spend a lot of money on the other primaries. At this point in the campaign, Trump was self-funding the campaign and not taking any public money.

Gates' role continued to expand during the campaign to include coordinating grassroots targeting, media targeting, and he was in charge of controlling the campaign's schedule. Once Trump's family saw that Manafort understood how to develop a professional strategy for the campaign, they realized how valuable he was and that they needed him. It was at this point that Manafort's role in the campaign significantly expanded and Corey Lewandowski's role diminished. Lewandowski maintained the title of campaign manager but Manafort was the de facto campaign manager who was responsible for building relationships with the RNC.

Lewandowski still traveled to most of the events with Trump but he did not have a significant role in campaign strategy.

When Gates first began working for the campaign it had no organization and very little money. Manafort advocated for a traditional campaign model that required spending money and funding. [redacted] b6 b7C

Manafort had a body guard during the campaign. Initially, his body guard was [redacted] b6 b7C Another bodyguard was hired, [redacted] Gates thinks that Manafort's [redacted] to be the bodyguard. When Manafort was fired from the campaign, [redacted] was also let go.

Manafort and Gates started attending the Trump family meeting in April 2016 because they were providing the family briefings on the RNC convention. When Manafort's role increased, he started attending the family meetings frequently and provided input on who they should contact to increase support for the campaign and what media they should engage with.

Subsequently, Trump's kids advocated to Trump that if you want to build a team to win he needed to make Manafort the campaign manager. Manafort called Gates on June 19, 2016 and told Gates to meet him first thing in the morning at his apartment in Trump Tower. That morning, June 20, 2016, Manafort told Gates that Lewandowski was going to be fired. At the family meeting that morning, it was announced that Lewandowski was fired and Manafort was appointed campaign manager. Donald Trump Jr. personally told Lewandowski that he was fired. Gates stated he knew this because Ivanka Trump told them. Gates stated that Trump was somewhat against firing Lewandowski. Gates stated Rhona Graff, Trump's personal assistant, told him that Ivanka told Trump that it's either Lewandowski or me and if you want me to stay, Lewandowski has to go.

International Monitors at the RNC

[redacted] called Gates during the election and offered his services to the campaign. [redacted] specifically, to assist with organizing and assisting with the international monitor delegation at the convention. Gates explained that it is standard practice to have international monitors come to U.S. political conventions to observe how the U.S. conducts conventions. Generally, foreign delegations reach out to the campaign or RNC and request approval to monitor the b6 b7C

convention. Gates did not contact any foreign individuals to participate as a monitor. He does not know if Manafort contacted anyone. Gates stated that the Ukrainian Ambassador to the U.S. might have been a monitor. Gates advised that provided Manafort and Gates with updates regarding the international monitor delegation. The RNC did not pay for the international monitors so they needed sponsors to pay for their expenses. Gates recalled that the

Campaign Money

In July 2016, there was a change in the campaign regarding paying people who worked for the campaign. Kushner stated that either consultants and/or employees of the Trump for President Campaign should be paid; thus, the Campaign would need to start obtaining public funding. Kushner told Gates that he should be put on the payroll for the Campaign. Gates was Gates assumes Manafort went to Steve Mnuchin, who was in charge of the campaign's financing, for approval but does not know that for a fact. After Manafort left the campaign, Gates did

Initially, Gates had a significant role in handling the campaign's budget. Subsequently, Kushner advised Gates that he needed to focus his time on political issues and that Jeff Dewit, the State Treasurer of Arizona, would be responsible for budgeting. Dewit was specifically hired to fill this role. Initially, Gates worked with Dewit on budgeting but he was removed from this process shortly thereafter.

wanted to be a speaker at the RNC but both Gates and Manafort declined the request. Instead a female Arizona state senator was chosen to speak at the RNC. was upset that they picked her over him. Gates advised during the Arizona Republican Primary, As a result, he was viewed as someone who should not speak at the RNC. Gates also stated that he personally saw

super PAC

Manafort attempted to establish a series of super PACs that would support Trump, but Trump initially did not support this initiative. However, once Manafort became the official campaign manager he was able to get Trump to support the idea of creating a super PAC. Gates drafted a paper to explain to Trump the benefits of a super PAC and why it was

important. Gates highlighted that the super PAC could use the money it raised to develop and pay for ads supporting Trump and this would result in a direct positive outcome. Subsequently, Trump eventually saw the strategic value and supported the idea. Eventually, [redacted]

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[redacted]

Change in RNC Platform (Ukraine)

The RNC ran the convention and they organized committee meetings before the week of the actual convention. Rick Dearborn ran the committees. J.D. Gordon and Matt Miller ran the foreign policy committee. The foreign policy committee had three prongs: Ukraine policy change; release of Saudi 9/11; and one other foreign policy issue. Manafort was not at the committee meetings and asked Gates how the Ukrainian platform changed. Gates advised that he did not know because he was not at the meeting. Gates found out about the change from Dearborn after the fact. Dearborn told Gates that the platform change on Ukraine was the same position taken by the Obama administration regarding lethal weapons. Dearborn advised that the change was a result of a proposal by a female delegate from Texas. However, Gates never obtained corroboration. Gates stated as a substantive matter, the RNC's policy position regarding Ukraine did not matter because the presidential nominee was not bound by their policy positions. Personally, Gates thought it was a good idea not to escalate issues between Russia and Ukraine. Gates advised that the change in the platform was never discussed at the Trump family meeting.

Gates stated that in principal, Manafort could have tried to monetize the change in the platform but he did not. Nevertheless, if Trump was elected as president then Manafort could really monetize Trump's election.

During the week of the RNC, Manafort [redacted]

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[redacted] Manafort told Gates that he could not make it to the RNC because [redacted]

[redacted] Manafort advised that Reince Priebus would run the RNC and Manafort instructed Gates to focus on the Trump family. Manafort arrived to the RNC the same day Trump arrived.

Manafort Removed as Campaign Manager

On the morning of 03/19/216, Manafort called Gates a couple of times and instructs Gates to meet him at Trump Tower. Kushner advised Manafort that he needed to resign from the campaign and that he talked Trump into letting Manafort resign instead of being fired. Five minutes later, a press release was issued by the campaign announcing Manafort's resignation. Initially, Manafort suggested to Kushner that he take a leave of absence rather than resign. Kushner rejected this idea and advised that Trump wanted Manafort to leave. Kushner told Manafort and Gates that they were bringing in Steve Bannon and Kellyanne Conway to run the campaign.

The reason Manafort was forced to leave the campaign was based on a series of factors to include the negative news articles related to Manafort's work in the Ukraine and a series of disagreements with Trump on how to handle various campaign related issues: Trump hated pollsters and Manafort wanted to bring on a pollster named Tony Fabrizio. Trump had reached out to Fabrizio in 2012 to conduct polling for him but Fabrizio never returned his call which resulted in Trump not wanting to hire Fabrizio; Manafort was not very savoy when it came to social media and did not have a good understanding of how to handle the news media. Manafort told Trump not to do media and Trump did not like this approach; Trump viewed Manafort as instrumental in the delegate process, but was not interested in Manafort's political strategy on how Trump should disseminate his message. Manfaort wanted a big role in this aspect of the campaign but Trump did not agree with Manafort's positions; and Trump did not want to prepare for debates and Manafort thought it was crucial to prepare Trump for debates. Tump and Manfort fought about prepping for debates and Trump once said that Manafort is "treating me like a baby".

After Manafort departed the campaign, Manafort asked Gates what he wanted to do. Gates advised Manafort that he probably would also leave the Campaign. Gates stated [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] Gates stated he had built a strong rapport with Trump and the Trump family.

After Manafort departed, Gates briefed Bannon and Conway on what they were doing and what needed to still be accomplished. Once Manafort departed from the campaign, the morning Trump family meetings stopped. Bannon brought in Dave Bossie to the campaign which signaled to Gates that we was being pushed out by Bannon. Subsequently, Gates gravitated to Brad

Parscale who was brought on to the campaign by Manafort to conduct digital media strategy and was still working on the campaign. Gates worked with Parscale on political strategy and what states the campaign should focus their efforts on. Sometime at the end of September or early October 2016, Gates was assigned to be the campaign's liaison to the RNC. Gates believed this happened because Bossie and others told Trump that Gates was too close to Manafort and Left Hand Enterprises. Bannon advised Gates that Trump did not want him on the campaign anymore.

Parscale was an instrumental component of the campaign's digital media strategy. [redacted] The strategy was that in order to build a path to victory, the campaign looked at demographics in key states which paved a path to victory.

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Gates stated that the liaison to the RNC was a dead end job where they stuck people who they did not want anymore. Because there was not much to do in this role, Gates continued to work with Parscale. Gates also helped Bannon with special projects such as assisting with setting up the National Security Council. Manafort had initially started the process of building a National Security Council and Gates briefed Bannon about the project. Gates attended two National Security Council meetings. The first was led by Rudy Giuliani and the second was led by Michael Flynn or Keith Kellogg.

Gates stated that there was always concern by people at the campaign that he was providing inside information to Manafort. However, Gates purposefully distanced himself from Manafort to avoid this perception.

Manafort told Gates that he still spoke to Kushner, Bannon and Trump sometimes, and it related to Manafort's strategy to win states by targeting labor. Manafort's theory was that there was a large swath of blue collar Democrats that Trump could sway to vote for him and the best way to accomplish this was by targeting the labor unions and convincing them not to provide money to the Democrat candidate, and focusing on a get the vote out campaign. Manafort recommended Trump be more inclusive of labor and align with their policy positions to court their votes. To accomplish this strategy, Trump would not take a position on the right to work issue (a majority of the Republican candidates did not support right to work issues) and conduct significant outreach to the labor leaders /groups.

Manafort continued to provide polling advice after he left the campaign to include writing a memorandum to Kushner outlining his advice. Manafort's advice was to focus the limited resources the campaign had to Michigan and Wisconsin. Gates did not view this as a unique strategy. Pennsylvania

was also on the list but it was concluded that the Republicans always think they can win this state but never do. Newt Gingrich wanted to include Minnesota on the list of states. Maine was also considered. The strategy regarding Maine was that if you can win one congressional district, that vote could be important to get the Electoral College votes needed to win. Manafort motivation was to enhance his relationship with Trump.

After Manafort left the campaign, somebody told the Trump children that Gates was responsible for leaks to the press. However, the Trump children did not believe those rumors. Gates stated that he never leaked information to the press and "I hate the press". Gates stated he did respect and had contacts with two reporters: [redacted]

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[redacted]

Manafort also communicated with Kushner regarding debate preparations for the first debate between Trump and Hillary Clinton.

Gates stated that Trump thought Manafort was weak because Manafort did not fight back against the press regarding the allegations against him after he left the campaign.

When Dearborn was selected to be the head of the Trump transition, Gates new he would not be involved with the transition because Dearborn did not like Manafort. Initially, Chris Christie was going to head the transition but Christie "overstepped his bounds" by promising Ambassadorship positions to people without Trump's approval or input. When t Trump and his children found out, they replaced Christie with Dearborn.

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Post Inauguration

Gates was interested in working for the White House after the inauguration. Gates told that his hope was to secure a job with the White House. Specifically, Gates wanted to work for Pence. Gates became close to Mike Pence during the campaign and was the staff member who went with Trump to meet Pence in Indiana. Gates believed Pence would have a significant impact on future administration jobs. Gates' second choice was to work for White House's Office of Cabinet Affairs. However, Gates was never offered a position within the White House because the press was writing negative articles about Manafort and Gates, and this negative publicity insured he would not obtain a position. questioned why Gates would want to be part of the new administration because it was so hectic. told Gates that he

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Part of Gates' role was to facilitate meetings between

Gates

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Gates advised [redacted] Gates worked at Colony Capital. [redacted] did not object. While working for [redacted] Gates met with [redacted] and Johnny Destefano at the White House.

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Official Record

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 02/17/2019

On 02/15/2019 Special Agent [redacted] Intelligence Analyst [redacted] Senior Assistant Special Counsels Greg Andres, Jeannie Rhee, and Andrew Weissman interviewed RICHARD GATES (GATES) at the Special Counsel's Office. Present for the interview was GATES's counsel, Tom Greene. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agent and the nature of the interview, GATES provided the following information: b6 b7C

GATES has never seen FD-302s written related to his interviews with the Special Counsel's Office.

Polling Data Sent to KONSTANTIN KILIMNIK

MANAFORT directed GATES to send internal polling data from the DONALD J. TRUMP CAMPAIGN to KONSTANTIN KILIMNIK (KILIMNIK), and GATES did so. The internal polling data was provided by TONY FABRIZIO (FABRIZIO). GATES utilized WHATSAPP to forward the "top line" internal polling data to KILIMNIK. [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

GATES understood KILIMNIK would send the internal polling data on to Ukrainian oligarchs at MANAFORT's request [redacted] MANAFORT wanted to show Ukrainian oligarchs that he was doing "wonders" with the TRUMP Campaign in securing the nomination. OLEG DERIPASKA was also in the mix. GATES recalled, however, that the letter to DERIPASKA was related to MANAFORT's and DERIPASKA's legal dispute. GATES does not specifically know if MANAFORT sent internal polling data to DERIPASKA. b6 b7C

[redacted] The majority of polling was done in battleground states. [redacted] GATES recalled there would be a list of five or six states per poll. b6 b7A b7C

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As an example, GATES recalled that some in the campaign were concerned if TRUMP could have won Georgia. So, though not a battleground state, Georgia would appear on the list of polled states and drop off periodically. Additionally, the campaign strategy did not rely solely on the polling data. TRUMP felt he would win Virgina without the need for polling.

GATES deleted the WHATSAPP messages as soon as they were sent to KILIMNIK. MANAFORT did not ask GATES to do this. GATES deleted the messages because he was concerned about KUSHNER finding out GATES had sent the data.

[GATES was shown Document ID 0.7.4249.179465 (Document 1)]

GATES recalled Document 1 and did not believe it was "polling data" as viewed in campaign terms, but a media market document instead. MANAFORT wanted to put MIKE PENCE (PENCE) in areas where the media market was borderline on TRUMP. This is different than a "poll." Document 1 did, however, identify polling data to show states that were pro or anti TRUMP to assist the campaign in scheduling PENCE's appearances.

[GATES was shown Document ID 0.7.4730.110442 (Memo)]

[redacted]

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[redacted]

[redacted]

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GATES specifically recalled seeing the data based on the cities identified in Document 1. GATES was asked if he recalled the subject of an email "VP DMA list." GATES recalled Document 1 by the cities and because it was the one time they discussed PENCE's travel scheduling. PENCE's team came back to them a couple weeks later and said the devised schedule was not working for them.

MANAFORT, GATES, had access to the Document 1. GATES recalled using it to create the master schedule with GATES printed the top copy of the Document 1.

Document 1 contained relevant campaign information because it informed decision making as to where PENCE was to travel. GATES recalled the Document 1 had value to the internal strategy of the campaign. MANAFORT's strategic decision of where to send PENCE was based on that document.

Meeting with KONSTANTIN KILIMNIK

GATES did not recall bringing Document 1 to the meeting, or any other documents. GATES does not know if documents were passed to KILIMNIK at the 08/02/2016 meeting with MANAFORT and KILIMNIK. GATES arrived late and did not see any documents passed during the portion at which he was present. When GATES arrived he received a brief recap of topics previously discussed including the legal issues with DERIPASKA. GATES does not know if everything discussed prior to his arrival was recapped.

At the 08/02/2016 meeting with GATES, MANAFORT, and KILIMNIK there was a much more detailed discussion of internal polling data compared to the data GATES sent to KILIMNIK via WHATSAPP. At the dinner meeting, GATES, MANAFORT, and KILIMNIK discussed internal polling from FABRIZIO which included battleground states. GATES recalled Pennsylvania, Wisconsin,

Minnesota, and Michigan as states MANAFORT discussed. [redacted] GATES recalled MANAFORT discussed internal polling from other sources including CAMBRIDGE ANALYTICA. The information provided in this meeting by MANAFORT to KILIMNIK was based on internal information and polls; it was a synthesis that included internal polling data.

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GATES stated they did not discuss the PENCE scheduling information with KILIMNIK. GATES said that Vice Presidential Candidates did not win elections, so there was no point in discussing PENCE's scheduling with KILIMNIK.

Official Record

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 03/09/2018

RICHARD GATES III (GATES) was proffered at the Office of the Special Counsel, Washington, D.C. Present for the proffer were FBI Special Agent [redacted], DOJ Senior Financial Investigator [redacted], and Special Counsel Attorney Andrew Weissmann. Also present was GATES' attorney Tom Green with the law firm Sidley Austin LLP. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agent and the nature of the proffer, GATES provided the following information: b6 b7C

GATES initially discussed the hiccup of signing the plea agreement over the past few days. GATES explained the prior five days have been very difficult for him and his family. He spoke at length to [redacted] about the ramifications of pleading guilty to the charged offenses. b6 b7C

Over the past several days, GATES spoke to a number of other individuals about whether to sign the plea agreement. He first spoke to [redacted] who GATES considered a mentor. GATES asked [redacted] for advice about what to do. b6 b7C

GATES also spoke to PAUL MANAFORT (MANAFORT) three times. He spoke to MANAFORT on the phone. On Tuesday February 20, 2018, GATES told MANAFORT he was not going forward with the plea agreement. They also spoke about getting their lawyers together to talk; however, their lawyers never spoke to each other. GATES also asked MANAFORT about tapping into the Legal Defense Fund resources to help pay for some of his mounting legal expenses. MANAFORT told him to apply for the funding.

GATES also had two calls with MANAFORT on Wednesday February 21, 2018, both concerning the Legal Defense Fund. GATES told MANAFORT the Legal Defense Fund would receive his application by the end of the week. GATES was hopeful to get money from the fund before signing the plea agreement. To date, GATES had not submitted the application. GATES also contended there was nothing said between he and MANAFORT about GATES not cooperating with the Special Counsel because GATES could not afford it. MANAFORT did not know GATES intended to sign the plea agreement.

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GATES stated he would like to tell MANAFORT he would be signing the plea agreement. GATES would also have his attorney with him when he called MANAFORT.

In the past couple days, GATES stated the only person he has spoken to associated with President DONALD TRUMP's (TRUMP) Administration was [redacted]. In particular, GATES and [redacted] discussed past inauguration activities and the filing of IRS tax form 990, Return of Organization Exempt from Income Tax. [redacted] was specifically soliciting GATES' historical knowledge with the PRESIDENTIAL INAUGURAL COMMITTEE (PIC). b6 b7C

GATES also spoke to [redacted]. [redacted] was with the [redacted] and worked with GATES on [redacted] They discussed GATES' situation generally. b6 b7C

On Tuesday February 20, 2018, GATES spoke to [redacted] about [redacted] At the time, GATES had departed ways with his attorney so he and [redacted] also spoke about hiring another defense attorney. b6 b7C b7A

GATES spoke with [redacted], who he described as a business partner and someone he shared an apartment with. Together, he and [redacted] made up a white board with pros and cons for him signing the plea agreement. He and [redacted] have also spoken in the past, generally, about the possibility of a Presidential Pardon. b6 b7C

GATES also stated he and MANAFORT have spoken in the past about the possibility of receiving a Presidential Pardon. MANAFORT told GATES of his relationship with TRUMP's personal attorney, JOHN DOWD (DOWD). DOWD suggested an opinion that TRUMP was watching the case closely.

He also spoke to [redacted] and [redacted] about a Presidential Pardon. GATES stated no one has told him he would be pardoned by TRUMP. b6 b7C

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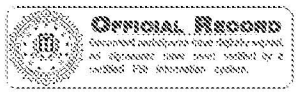
FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 02/25/2019

On 02/22/2019 Special Agent [redacted] Intelligence Analyst [redacted] Senior Assistant Special Counsels Greg Andres and Andrew Weissmann interviewed RICHARD GATES (GATES) via telephone. GATES's counsel THOMAS GREEN (GREEN) was not present on the call, however, the attached email communication indicated Green approved the direct contact. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Special Agent and the nature of the interview, GATES provided the following information:

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[SASC Weissmann admonished GATES that any questions were not intended to reveal any communications with GREEN or anyone from GREEN's office. Weissmann further admonished GATES to not discuss any attorney-client privileged information of any kind during the interview; which included any information from which GATES's sole knowledge came through GREEN or GREEN's office.]

[GATES was admonished to not discuss communications between GATES and [redacted]

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When asked if since it had become publicly known that the U.S. Government was alleging that [redacted] had GATES had any conversations, excluding privileged, with anyone regarding the substance of the suspected violation, including the topics of [redacted]

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GATES recalled [redacted] alerted GATES to the allegation discussed above, as well, but their communication had no substance.

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GATES was not contacted by, nor did he have any substantive discussions regarding the allegation with, [redacted] or anyone in [redacted] GATES did not receive any messages from these people.

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GATES stated that his counsel GREEN had been mistaken in indicating to the Special Counsel's Office that GATES [redacted]

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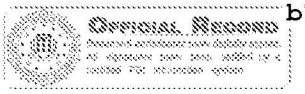

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 05/24/2018

Richard William Gates III, previous identified, was interviewed by FBI Special Agents [redacted] and [redacted] Supervisory Special Agent [redacted] Assistant Special Agent in Charge [redacted] and Special Counsel Prosecutors Andrew Weissmann, Greg Andres and Brian Richardson. Present during the interview was counsel for Gates, Tom Green from Sidley Austin LLP. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing parties and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

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Gates was advised that the interview was voluntary and the terms of his plea agreement, any responses he provided must truthful.

Communications Accounts

Email

Gates provided the following email accounts as those used by him currently, or in the past:

[redacted]

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Investigation on 02/27/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 02/28/2018

by [redacted]

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The account was used by Paul Manafort and Gates to exchange draft messages. Manafort and used another Hushmail account for their communication. Gates was not sure, but believed the name was Manafort wanted communication with Gates would not have access. Manafort compartmentalized information in this manner often.

Manafort and also communicated via Viber extensively. Gates was not involved in their Viber communications.

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Gates thought Manafort communicated with apart from Gates because had to translate documents and there was no need for Gates to be on communications related to translation. Manafort sent docs via Hushmail drafts, Viber or email.

Gates did not maintain email accounts in any alias names. Gates did not install any encryption software other than that which was already included with encrypted applications, such as Hushmail.

Telephone

Gates used [redacted] as his primary cell phone. Gates' previous cell phone number was [redacted] Gates had a "bat phone" provided to him by Manafort. Gates could not recall the phone number. Gates had another phone with a [redacted] phone number, but he could not recall the rest of the number. Gates did not use the [redacted] phone very often. Gates provided a list of all phone numbers for him, [redacted] and Manafort to his former counsel, [redacted]

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Gates had an international phone for a period of time in 2010. The phone number was a United Kingdom (UK) [redacted] number and the provider was Vodaphone.

Gates had a Ukrainian SIM card in 2008-2010, but he did not recall the associated phone number.

Manafort referred to his bat phone as "channel 3", but Gates did not know why.

Applications

Gates used a series of encrypted applications (apps) to communicate. All of the apps he downloaded would likely be associated with the same iTunes account. Gates never backed up his phones to a computer and when he obtained a new phone, he would selectively transfer some information and wipe everything else.

Some of the encrypted apps were associated with Gates' phone number [redacted] and some were associated with Gates' email, [redacted] Each app had a different encryption key and the encryption keys would change if Gates changed devices.

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Gates used encrypted apps to communicate because he was afraid of being hacked. Many of the apps used were recommended by [redacted] When Gates and Manafort changed which encryped app they were using it was often because [redacted] told them the app they were using had been compromised. b6 b7C b7A

During the Trump Campaign, texting was a common means of communication, which Gates did not like. Then people began using Confide, Whatsapp and Signal to communicate. These apps allow for messages to disappear. Some disappear automatically and others can be set to disappear or be preserved depending on the settings.

Gates believed some people on the Trump Campaign were using encrypted apps to leak information.

Computers

Gates did not backup his computer to an external hard drive. When Gates purchased a new computer, he would have the information on his previous computer transferred to his new computer and then have the old computer wiped. Gates gave a number of his old laptops to his children. Gates allowed his former counsel, [redacted] to image his computer onto a hard drive.

Gates tried to use "My Cloud" to backup information, but it did not work. Gates previously used "Time Machine", but has since moved all of this information to Dropbox. b6 b7C

Gates uses Dropbox as his cloud storage. [redacted] imaged Gates' Dropbox as well. Gates only has one Dropbox account, but that account has multiple folders. Gates shared some of his Dropbox folders and not others. Gates had the following shared folders: [redacted] Gates had the following unshared folders [redacted]

A break was taken from approximately 1:17 PM to approximately 1:43 PM.

Gates was asked for consent to search and image his current laptop. Gates provided such consent along with the password for his laptop: [redacted] Gates also agreed to allow the FBI to search his iPhone, with [redacted] his old laptops and phones; and his hard drive (s). b6 b7C

A break was taken from approximately 1:52 PM to approximately 2:08 PM. At this point in the interview, Special Agent [redacted] and Special Counsel Prosecutor Brian Richardson left the interview.

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Pre/Post Plea

Gates was asked who he spoke with about his decision to plead guilty.

Gates was in Richmond and Washington, D.C. during the two weeks prior to his plea hearing. Gates communicated with [redacted] and Paul Manafort.

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[redacted]

Manafort reached out to Gates multiple times through the app Signal during the week prior to his plea hearing and on the morning of his plea hearing. Gates only answered one of Manafort's calls on the morning on his plea hearing. The last communication from Manafort was a text on the day of the hearing which said something to the effect of, "Call me. I'm your friend. We can work through this."

The call Gates had with Manafort on the day of the hearing was witnessed by [redacted] who were with Gates. Manafort did not know that [redacted] were present for the call. Manafort was trying to convince Gates not to plead guilty. Manafort said they could fight the charges and detailed some potential defenses. Manafort referenced "several avenues" that could be used to fight the charges, specifically as they related to the money laundering and bank fraud charges. Manafort told Gates not to give in.

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In previous calls and texts with Manafort that same week, Manafort told Gates "our friends are behind us". Gates understood this to mean people within the Trump Administration were supporting him and Manafort. Manafort said a legal defense fund had been set up for Gates and Manafort. Manafort referenced speaking with someone at the Republican National Committee (RNC) about this, but Gates was not sure who. Manafort referenced talking to John Dowd, but Gates wasn't sure if this is who told Manafort about the fund.

Manafort did not reach out to Gates after the plea hearing.

[redacted] has not reached out to Gates since the indictment in October.

Gates has not spoke with [redacted] since August 2016, or possibly via Whatsapp in November 2016.

[redacted]

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Gates spoke with [redacted] about how the Nunes Memo could impact the Special Counsel's investigation.

After the plea hearing, Gates was "bombarded" with texts and emails. Gates responded to some of them and not to others.

Gates did not have any communication with Manafort, President Trump, anyone from the Trump Campaign, or anyone from the RNC after his plea. Gates did speak to [redacted] both of whom working with Gates on the Campaign and who currently work in the Trump Administration after his plea. Both expressed their support.

Only Manafort and [redacted] tried to persuade Gates to not plead guilty. Others with whom Gates spoke were mostly supportive and encouraged Gates to separate from Manafort and get his life back on track.

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The only offer of material value Gates received in exchange for not pleading guilty was the offer of a legal defense fund. Gates "back channeled" to see if the legal defense fund was a reality. [redacted] called someone at the RNC to find information on the fund, but he could not determine if it even existed. Gates did not know with whom [redacted] spoke.

Gates had not heard that the legal defense fund was only for unindicted parties. Gates thought there was one fund for those within the Trump Administration and one fund for Gates and Manafort specifically. Gates asked Manafort who the financial backers were for this fund, but Manafort only said Dowd and RNC donors.

The advice Gates received on why not to plead guilty centered on the OIG Investigation and the Nunes Memo. Gates spoke with [redacted] and Manafort about how these would impact the Special Counsel's investigation.

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Manafort had conversations with Sean Hannity at Fox News about what the Nunes Memo would contain. Hannity had insight into what was contained in the Nunes Memo prior to it being released. Hannity and Manafort had a

good relationship. Hannity was a Trump supporter who publically applauded Manafort's hiring by the Trump Campaign. Hannity said, "Finally, we have an adult in the room" when Manafort was hired. During the campaign, Hannity tailored his shows to the agenda Manafort suggested. Hannity called himself a "pundit", not a journalist.

With regards to the OIG report, Manafort and Gates discussed how OIG charges against DOJ or FBI might impact the Special Counsel's investigation as well. Specifically, if the OIG found misdeeds by DOJ or FBI as it related to the Clinton Email investigation, [redacted] b7E or the Clinton Foundation investigation, that might impact Gates and Manafort's case.

Gates stated the public "hysteria" surrounding many of the investigations was not necessarily based in fact. By way of example, when John Podesta's emails were hacked and [redacted] b6 b7C this made Hilary Clinton look dirty. When it was discovered that the Steele Dossier was paid for by Democrats, it was ignored that it had been partially paid for by Republicans too. In Gates' opinion, the "hype" was based upon narratives people created using selective information.

Gates ultimately decided to plead guilty and cooperate because it gave him the opportunity to have a clean slate. Gates had to get past a lot of voices telling him to "fight it", "you'll get pardoned" and other things. In the end, Gates was not happy with what he did up to this point. Gates wanted his children to look up to him, not down. Gates can't worry about "what ifs", like "what if Manafort gets pardoned", or "what if I get more time than I expected". Gates had to make a decision for him and his family. Gates wanted to make that decision and move on. Gates understood he may get more time than expected. Gates had to make peace that he did the right thing, no matter what the outcome will be.

Gates hoped for a light sentence and to minimize his jail time, but ultimately, he understood he might not get that. Gates had to make the right decision for his family despite not knowing what will happen. Gates made bad decisions in the past. Gates realized he needed to tell the truth and give himself a clean slate. Gates understood cooperating meant telling the truth.

Gates felt like Manafort used him, but Gates was still fully responsible for the bad decisions he made with Manafort.

Konik Madison

Gates is currently working with [redacted] at Konik Madison, a company Gates and [redacted] started previously. Gates removed himself as a partner of the company and is participating mostly behind the scenes. [redacted] hired [redacted] to be a partner.

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Mostly, Gates is working on FEMA and DOL procurements. Gates helps bring in clients and looks for potential contracts, but does not interface with any of the government clients.

Gates and [redacted] rented an apartment in D.C. at [redacted] Washington, D.C.

Legal Fees

When Gates first received letters from the House and Senate Intelligence Committees to testify, [redacted]

When Gates received the subpoena from the Special Counsel's office and especially when Gates was indicted, [redacted] legal bills were exorbitant and [redacted] backed out. Gates did not believe [redacted] made any payments to [redacted] Gates paid [redacted]

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[redacted] was aware of some of the legal fees. However, since [redacted] bills went through [redacted] attorney, he was not aware of all the reasons [redacted] was billing. Gates thought [redacted] billing practices were egregious.

Post Indictment, Gates has been paying his legal fees with withdrawals from his stock portfolio. No third parties have contributed to Gates' legal fees.

IDW

Gates was asked about the 2017 acquisition of ID Watchdog (IDW) by Equifax. Gates explained in May 2017, he was contacted by IDW CEO, [redacted] and offered to purchase warrant options which had, or were about to expire. Gates filled out some paperwork and was supposed to wire funds to pay for the warrant options.

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Then in late May 2017, or early June 2017, [redacted] contact Gates to tell him about the pending acquisition by Equifax. [redacted] wanted Gates and [redacted] representatives to sign a non-disclosure agreement (NDA) to receive the information.

sent Gates a number of emails saying the funds had to be in by that date.

On June 16, 2017, the acquisition of IDW by Equifax was made public.

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Gates could not recall if told him his wire had to be in before the announcement. Gates knew the wire had to be in by a certain day, but he did not know if that was why. Gates was told by that the announcement was supposed to happen on June 14, 2017, but it was delayed because of some paperwork issues.

Gates was asked when he spoke with and what he told about the acquisition. Gates said he needed to look through his communications to determine if he spoke with Gates thought he met with in person. Gates thought he did not meet with or speak to about the acquisition until it was publically announced.

Gates had told that he hoped IDW would sell. Over the course of a few months leading up to the acquisition, Gates had told that there was a potential purchase.

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had shares in IDW from 2011. had shares as well. Gates did not know had shares in IDW until he received a letter from the SEC.

Gates did not talk to about the pending acquisition. Gates had one conversation with early on. Gates thought and talked about IDW.

Gates "definitely had several conversations" with about "positive things happening" with IDW. Gates did not know if he told specifically about the acquisition by Equifax before it was publically announced.

Gates then stated if he met with after he learned of the Equifax acquisition and before the public announcement, he "definitely" would have spoken with about the news. Gates stated he would look at his calendar to determine if they met during the end of May or first two weeks of June 2017.

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Gates received two letters from the SEC about the IDW matter. The first letter contained a list of people and asked the recipient to identify any people on the list who they knew. Gates responded that he knew Gates received a second letter

from the SEC asking for the nature of Gates' interaction with [redacted]

Gates stated he did not know [redacted] invested until the letter. Gates thought [redacted] "must have told them something". b6 b7C

Gates did not speak with [redacted] about this issue. Gates did speak with [redacted] approximately two months ago. Gates told [redacted] name was on the list. [redacted] said she was unaware of this specific investment, but she knew [redacted] had done some investments together.

Gates did not receive any money from [redacted] after the acquisition.

[redacted] b6 b7C

A break was taken from approximately 3:37 PM until approximately 3:39 PM.

Akhmetov, [redacted]

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[redacted]

Akhmetov owned US Coal. US Coal was used to try and lobby Senator Manchin in 2012/2013.

Ukraine's natural resources are in the Donetsk region. The reason Russia invaded the Crimea was to acquire the assets in the industrial and resource rich part of Ukraine. Gates' understanding was that the invasion of Crimea "bled Akhmetov" of his resources.

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Manafort told Gates he was going to relay the above information to [redacted] but Gates did not believe Manafort ever did this. Gates never relayed the information either.

United Kingdom

Gates lived in London from [redacted] when he worked for G-Tech. Gates also lived in London from [redacted] while he was working on the Pericles deal. It was easier to commute to Ukraine from London than from the US. [redacted]

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[redacted]

Foreign Campaign Contributions

Gates helped set up the various 501(c)(4) entities for the Trump Campaign. Gates wrote a memo which said foreign contributions could be

accepted if the funds went toward policy issues and not directly to the campaign. Gates clarified that his memo said at least 51% of the foreign funds had to go toward policy issues.

[redacted]

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Gates explained that most of the large donations to Trump came into the Inaugural fund. Many of the donors had ties to foreign countries. For example, Anthony Scaramucci had ties to China, Citgo was owned by Venezuela and [redacted] had ties to Ukraine. Other donors had connections to the Middle East, Eastern Europe, China and elsewhere. Gates was not specifically aware of any donors being proxies for foreign donations.

Manafort Criminal Activity

In 2007 and 2008, Gates believed Manafort and [redacted] orchestrated a donation from [redacted] to John McCain's Presidential Campaign. Gates believed the money went from LOAV's account to a 501(c)(4). Gates believed Manafort and [redacted] worked on this with [redacted] last name unrecalled (LNU), who worked on the McCain campaign.

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Troll Farms

Gates was aware of the "troll farms", but he referred to them as "avatars". When Gates worked on Ukrainian campaigns, it was common for the Russians to use avatars to influence social media. Gates believed this was used on both sides of the elections in Ukraine.

Neither Gates, nor DMP were involved in the social media aspect of campaigns in Ukraine and did not get involved with avatars.

During the Trump Campaign, Gates was not aware of the use of avatars. However, there was discussion of how to get the message out into social media and create a buzz on Facebook, Twitter and Google. Cambridge Analytica's polling data identified target groups and then social media outreach was done to target those groups specifically. Gates was not aware of any targeting done by Russians.

Other

Gates thought other areas which may be of interest to the Special Counsel's Office are: debate preparation on topics of Russia, China and National Security issues; and the digital and polling campaigns run by Brad Parscale, Data Trust and Cambridge Analytica.

Official Record

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 06/13/2018

Richard William Gates III was interviewed by Supervisory Special Agent (SSA) [redacted] ASAC [redacted] Senior Special Counsel Attorney Andrew Weissmann and Senior Special Counsel Attorney Greg Andres. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing parties and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

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Bank Contacts:

Gates stated that [redacted] and [redacted] had relationships with many banks. [redacted] was another contact at the banks tied to [redacted] Paul Manafort's (Gates didn't recall the name). According to Gates, business transactions went through [redacted]

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Gates stated that [redacted] had relationships with [redacted]

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Gates was asked about [redacted] He was not aware of [redacted] misleading documents or DMP P&Ls.

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{At this point Forensic Accountant [redacted] entered the room.}

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Campaign:

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[redacted] Gates stated that Reince Priebus was aware of this, [redacted]

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Investigation on 02/28/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 06/11/2018

by [redacted]

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[redacted] Gates was directed by Jared Kushner to try to clear all payments. Gates estimated he last spoke to [redacted] in either [redacted] b6 b7C

Gates stated that Manafort had asked for a 'Defensive Paper," as a journalist was looking into certain allegations at the time. The goal, Gates stated, was to show there were 'no links.'

Gates added that as of December 2016, Manafort was still speaking to people in the Trump team, such as [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

Gates stated that he was contacted 1 ½ weeks ago by [redacted] close with [redacted] told Gates that [redacted] passes on his best." b6 b7C

The day Gates pleaded guilty, [redacted] contacted him and stated that [redacted] asking about you." Gates stated that [redacted] was the [redacted] for the Trump Inauguration who now works at [redacted] The two had spoken a few weeks ago to discuss the Inauguration. b6 b7C

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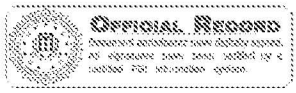
FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 03/22/2018

Richard William Gates III, previously identified, was interviewed by FBI Special Agent [redacted] Supervisory Special Agent [redacted] and Special Counsel Prosecutors Andrew Weissmann and Greg Andres. Present for Gates were Thomas Green, [redacted] of Sidley Austin LLP. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing parties and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

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Gates signed and acknowledged understanding the proffer agreement and was reminded that the interview was voluntary, but if he chose to answer questions he needed to be truthful in his responses.

Congressman Dana Rohrabacher

Gates was reminded about the memorandum from Manafort to "SL" dated March 23, 2013 with the subject line, "US Consultants Activity - Weekly Update" which was shown to him in a previous proffer. Gates was reminded that the metadata from this memorandum showed that Gates was the author of the document. The relevant portion of the memorandum read as follows:

"Meeting with Congressman Dana Rohrabacher (Chairman, House Subcommittee on Europe, Eurasia and Emerging Threats).

The meeting with Cong Rohrabacher went well. He and I are building a plan to create a framework to promote positive interactions between the Govt of Ukraine and Rohrabachers' [sic] Subcommittee.

Cong Rohrabacher is open minded on Ukraine. He is prepared to visit Ukr to gain more understanding. He is opposed to sanctions and said he would not let the Subcommtitee on Eurasia entertain any proposed legislation regarding sanctions for Ukraine."

Gates was asked why he previously said the meeting between Manafort, [redacted] and Rohrabacher in March 2013 did not relate to Ukraine.

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Investigation on 02/09/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 02/13/2018

by [redacted]

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Gates stated he "made a mistake" in representing his conversation with . Gates explained that in 2016, when Manafort and Gates were working to respond to the FARA Unit, Manafort told Gates the meeting with Rohrabacher did not involve conversations about Ukraine. Manafort said he was going to tell that he and Rohrabacher did not talk about Ukraine. Gates knew this was not true.

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In 2013, after the meeting with Rohrabacher, both Manafort and told Gates the meeting "went fine". At that time, neither Manafort, nor told Gates that Ukraine was not discussed during the meeting.

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Energy Today

Gates acquired 1,750,000 shares of Energy Today stock from granted Gates and these shares as compensation for government relations (GR) and public relations (PR) work Gates and were doing for one of companies. Gates clarified that was an investor in Energy Today and the shares granted to Gates and were a portion of block of shares given to him by the owner. Gates could not recall the name of Energy Today's owner.

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Gates met through met

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Gates knew Energy Today was a publically traded company, but he did not think the shares would amount to anything. Shortly after acquiring the shares, the stock certificates were recalled due to a merger, or some kind of change in the company. The stock certificates were supposed to be reissued, but Gates never received them back and did not know what happened to them. Later, Gates learned there were issues on Energy Today's management team.

The GR/PR campaign done by Gates and for Energy Today was part government outreach and part media strategy. Energy Today had a series of companies in the oil and technology industry and they hired and

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Gates to lobby in California, New Mexico and Arizona. Specifically, [redacted] and Gates were tasked with targeting these states' energy contracts. b6 b7C

Gates did not know Energy Today was a Cyprus based entity. Gates thought Energy Today was located in the US.

Gates and [redacted] did not do much work for Energy Today. Gates recalled looking up some information on who ran the energy regulatory departments in California and Texas, but nothing beyond that. b6 b7C

The stock certificates given to Gates and [redacted] were issued to the name [redacted] b6 b7C

Gates deposited the certificates in or around June 2013. Gates did not know exactly how long prior to this he received the certificates, but he believed it was not long.

Gates was asked why he and [redacted] up front. Gates explained that the stock was not really worth that amount because there was no trading activity, therefore, Gates would not have been able to sell the stock because there was no buyer. There was no trading of the stock outside the four owners. The goal was to take Energy Today to a different level so the stock would have value. Gates and [redacted] understood that they could not sell the stock and they were expected to hold on to it for a period of time. b6 b7C

When the stocks were recalled, they were supposed to be reissued to GB Consulting, however they never were. [redacted] told Gates he had a falling out with the new owner of Energy Today and that's why the stocks were never reissued. [redacted] said he would take care of it, but he never did. Gates never followed up with Energy Today. b6 b7C

Gates recalled [redacted] saying the new owner of Energy Today was "cash strapped". [redacted] was supposed to invest more in the company, but did not do so. Gates believed this was the cause of the falling out. b6 b7C

Gates and [redacted] did not have a written contract for the work done with [redacted] or Energy Today. This work was separate from anything Gates or [redacted] did for DMP. Manafort was not involved in GB Consulting or Energy Today. b6 b7C

Gates initially said he did not do any outreach to any foreign countries for Energy Today. Gates then stated that he was asked to reach out to oligarchs in Ukraine. Gates thought he may have reached out to a few mid-level oligarchs. [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted]

Gates may have reached out to Konstantin Kilimnik to connect him to some oligarchs, but he could not recall. Gates stated that Ukrainian oligarchs were not interested in investing in the US.

[redacted] b6 b7C

Gates did not know of any connection between Energy Today and Ukrainian oil contracts or Russian oil and gas companies.

Gates never told his CPA or accountant that he had received stock and /or shares in lieu of payment for services.

[redacted] b6 b7C

Gates had no knowledge of [redacted] lobbying any government official. [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] had foreign partners in their businesses, but Gates was not aware of any foreign contributions to US political campaigns through the [redacted] or their companies. b6 b7C

Navitas LLC.

Gates and [redacted] incorporated Navitas LLC. for the purpose of a joint venture agreement (JVA) with [redacted] The JVA was supposed to identify domestic investments for [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted]

[redacted] was supposed to invest capital for the JVA, but he did not do so. As a result, this business never materialized. b6 b7C

[redacted] FARA

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[redacted] was brought on to target both Republican and Democrat members of Congress in Nevada, Illinois, California, and the District of Columbia (D. C.) with regards to labor contracts. b6 b7C

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Gates did not recall having a conversation with [redacted] about FARA. [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] b6 b7C

Payment with Stock

Gates was asked if he had ever received stock, or shares in a company in lieu of payment other that described above. Gates stated he was offered [redacted] companies, but that deal never materialized. This deal morphed into the Navitas LLC. JVA. b6 b7C

Gates was asked if he, Manafort or DMP had ever received stock, or shares in a company in lieu of payment for services. Gates explained that John Hannah LLC. had a stake in one of [redacted] companies called [redacted] ended up becoming Eyelock. Manafort and [redacted] were early investors in [redacted] received a percentage of the company.

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ID Watchdog

IDW created identity theft software, monitoring and resolution products.

Gates was asked what the connection between [redacted] and ID Watchdog (IDW) was. Gates stated that [redacted] recommended Gates for the board of IDW when [redacted] left. Beyond [redacted] and Gates sitting on IDW's board, Gates did not know of any other connection between the two companies. b6 b7C

Cohen was on IDW's board from 2012-2013 and Gates was on IDW's board from 2011 until 2016 when Gates was asked to resign because of his work on the Trump Campaign. Gates explained he was asked to step down because of the "spectacle of Trump" and also because of negative news stories related to Gates' work in Ukraine and alleged ties to Russia. Gates' resignation from IDW's board was effective November 2016.

Laidlaw & Co., a broker with which Cohen worked, identified the opportunity to invest in IDW. Laidlaw & Co. had brought in 12-13 other investors in addition to Gates and Cohen. The total amount of the first investment was approximately $900,000. Gates put in $250,000, Cohen put in $250,000 and the other investors brought in the balance. At some point, Gates and Cohen bought out most of the other investors.

Gates and Cohen created Jupiter Venture Holdings (JVH) and Jupiter Venture Partners (JVP) for the purpose of this investment. JVH was the holding company controlled by Gates and Cohen. JVP was the investing vehicle which included not only Gates and Cohen's investments, but also the investments of the 12-13 other investors.

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Initially, IDW stock was trading at approximately $.10 per share. At one point, it went up to $.24 per share and then it went down again. Some of the investors wanted out of the deal. "Based upon projections", Gates stayed in. Gates and Cohen purchased the shares of the investors who wanted to exit the deal at between $.13 to $.15 per share.

Cohen put up the funds to buy out the other investors. Gates issued Cohen a promissory note for his half of the purchase price. Gates ultimately repaid Cohen. Gates believed he repaid Cohen with transfers from Gates' US based accounts into Cohen's Ginger Holdings account.

Gates was asked on what "projections" he was basing his decision to stay in the company. Gates believed the "strategic plan of the company" was moving to a more stable model which included identity theft protection and resolution. IDW was also moving into the employee benefit and pension space and offering identity theft protection services to those industries.

[redacted] and Gates were on the board of IDW and had access to information about IDW's strategic plans. Gates did not know if this information was also communicated to the other investors.

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Sometime between 2012 and 2014, Gates and [redacted] purchased outstanding warrants in IDW. These warrants were from investors who had pulled out. [redacted]

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At one point, some of the warrants Gates had purchased expired, but since the company was not solvent at that time, Gates lost money. There was a point when IDW stock was $.03 to $.05 per share.

Gates and [redacted] initial investment was in the form of a convertible rate note of Series A Preferred Shares at an interest rate of 15%. The note matured in 2015. IDW asked for an extension because they were "under water" in 2015. Gates and those representing [redacted] agreed to extend the note to 2016. The extension agreement involved interest payments above those already due from the original note. b6 b7C

[redacted] Gates did not report his portion of this payment on his original 2016 tax returns. Gates had no intention of claiming these funds on his taxes, but when he learned of the Special Counsel's investigation, he amended his returns to include these funds. b6 b7C

After leaving IDW's board, Gates maintained contact with [redacted] to present. In or around May or June 2017, [redacted] called Gates and [redacted] representative to inform them of a potential acquisition of IDW. [redacted] told Gates they were moving toward an acquisition by Equifax and needed to know how Gates would vote as a shareholder in the company. [redacted] told Gates in order to consummate the deal, they needed to represent to Equifax that a majority of their shareholders would vote in favor of the acquisition. [redacted] said he was reaching out to all shareholders to understand their position on the acquisition. b6 b7C

[redacted] told Gates a range that they expected the purchase price to be in, but stated the final number had not yet been determined. Gates and [redacted] representatives submitted proxy forms allowing IDW to vote their shares. [redacted] b6 b7C

In August 2016, the acquisition by Equifax finalized and Gates cashed out his shares. Gates had some shares which were his alone and some which were shared with [redacted]

b6 b7C

Prior to the acquisition by Equifax, IDW's stock was trading at $.05 to $.12 per share. When Equifax's purchase was complete, [redacted] b6 b7C

Gates used his between [redacted] b6 b7C

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b6
b7C

Gates was asked if he notified anyone of the pending acquisition of IDW by Equifax before the information was made public. Gates initially said no. Gates was asked this question again. Gates stated that he may have notified his brother and his dad.

Gates had originally acquired shares in IDW in 2011. Gates did not know if still had those shares in 2017.

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Gates did not tell anyone else about the Equifax purchase.

Gates received two letters from the Securities & Exchange Commission (SEC). The first was in November 2017 and the second in December 2017. Gates believed the letters were sent to all IDW board members. The first letter asked IDW board members if they knew anyone on a list of 25-30 people. Gates identified two people he knew from the list: . The second letter asked Gates for his relationship to .

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Gates stated was the only person he told about the pending acquisition of IDW. When Gates learned about the acquisition from . Gates could not recall for sure if he told that Equifax was the purchaser.

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Gates and had discussed IDW throughout the years. In 2011, had shares in IDW. Gates did not know maintained those shares.

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Gates did not tell [redacted] when he received the list of names from the SEC. Gates has not talked to [redacted] about IDW. b6 b7C

In Gates' response to the SEC's second letter, Gates said he knew [redacted] Gates said he knew [redacted] but had not had any contact with him during the relevant time frame. Gates did not tell the SEC that both [redacted] were connected to [redacted]. Gates did not tell the SEC that he told [redacted] about the acquisition before it was public. b6 b7C

Gates did not know if [redacted] acquired shares in IDW before the acquisition. Gates did not know how much [redacted] had made off any shares they may have purchased. Gates has not spoken with either [redacted] about this matter. b6 b7C

Gates was asked if he acquired any new shares in IDW after learning of the acquisition. Gates stated he did not.

Gates was shown an email dated June 14, 2017 between Gates and [redacted] Gates' [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] contacted Gates several days in advance of this email and told him that his warrants were about to expire. [redacted] said Gates needed to exercise his right to purchase the warrants prior to the acquisition by Equifax, but he had a limited time to do that. [redacted] said the window for Gates to exercise his right to purchase had been extended. b6 b7C

At the time of the call with [redacted] Gates was no longer a board member, but he had warrant options from previous years, some dating back to 2011. Some of the warrant options were about to expire and some had expired in 2016. [redacted] told Gates he was allowed to purchase his director shares even though he was no longer on the board. b6 b7C

[redacted] b6 b7C

Gates thought [redacted] contacted Gates after the warrant options had expired. Gates recalled [redacted] saying the board was allowing him to exercise his options even though they were expired. [redacted] said another b6 b7C

board member, [redacted] had complained because his warrant options expired without notice. For that reason, IDW was allowing all board members to exercise expired options. b6 b7C

Gates did not know why [redacted] and the IDW board were allowing Gates to exercise his warrant options knowing that the acquisition was about to be made public. Gates said the "probably shouldn't" have let him. b6 b7C

Gates was asked why he did not purchase the warrants when [redacted] first called him. Gates claimed he did not have the money to do so. [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted]

Gates had planned to purchase the warrants earlier, but he didn't. Gates had actually signed the paperwork, but he had not wired the funds. Gates could not recall for sure, but believed the date on the paperwork was backdated to make it seem like he had exercised his warrant options at an earlier date.

Gates was asked why he waited until June 14, 2017 to purchase his warrants. Gates stated he knew the Equifax acquisition was going to be announced.

[redacted] b6 b7C

Official Record

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 05/11/2018

Richard William Gates III was interviewed by Assistant Special Agent in Charge [redacted] and Special Counsel Senior Attorneys Andrew Weissmann and Greg Andres. Gates' attorney, [redacted] of Sidley Austin LLP, was present. After being advised of the identity of the interviewers and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information: b6 b7C

Gates stated that he has had his present mobile telephone since December 2017. He gave his previous mobile telephone to [redacted] His phone prior to that was provided to [redacted] b6 b7C

August 2016 Meeting at the Havana Club:

Gates stated that he hadn't previously read the 6/19/2017 Washington Post article, which contained a statement from Konstantin Kilimnik regarding a meeting held in New York on 8/2/2016. Gates stated that following the 8/2/2016 meeting (which was held at New York's Havana Club), Gates spoke to Paul Manafort regarding a subsequent Politico story about it. The author of the Politico article, Kenneth Vogel, had emailed a list of questions to Manafort. Manafort forwarded these questions to Gates, who answered "no" to all the questions. Gates admitted that he lied to Vogel with these responses. He had been assured no one would find out about this meeting. Gates stated that Jared Kushner became angry following the Politico article, unsure as to why Manafort would have such a meeting.

While Gates claims he can't recall many conversations with Manafort regarding the 8/2/2016 meeting, he did recall that Manafort asked him if he (Gates) had received any telephone calls about the meeting. [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] Gates did not recall whether he or Manafort reached out to Kilimnik once news articles of the meeting surfaced.

Gates noted that the 6/19/2017 Washington Post article quoted Kilimnik that he and Manafort spoke merely about unpaid bills, a general update on the political situation in Ukraine, and general news. Kilimnik insisted

Investigation on 03/01/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 04/05/2018

by [redacted] b6 b7A b7C b7E

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FBI(19cv1278)-2439

[redacted]

that there was no discussion regarding politics in the U.S. or the upcoming election. Gates disagreed with this, stating that a path to victory involving four battleground states was, in fact, discussed in the meeting. Gates believed that Manafort assumed he (Gates) would not say anything about the meeting due to their history together.

[redacted]

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DNC Hack [redacted]

Gates was shown his telephone toll records and stated that the majority of his telephone calls with [redacted] pertained to electoral databases.

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Gates stated that he had been told (including by Rhonda Graff) that [redacted] remained in frequent contact with Donald Trump, even after [redacted] officially left the campaign. Gates himself was present on several occasions in a vehicle with Trump when he (Trump) would telephone [redacted] In April or May of 2016, Gates accompanied Manafort to a meeting with [redacted]

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The issue of Hillary Clinton's emails was discussed frequently amongst the campaign. The campaign considered how to make the issue of Clinton's emails a testament to her character or lack of trustworthiness. [redacted] There was always a suspicion that someone or some entity had Clinton's missing 33,000 emails. In a conversation with Mike Flynn, Flynn stated that he knew some old operatives who might be able to get their hands on the missing emails.

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[redacted] Approximately two or three days later, it was announced that John Podesta's emails had been hacked. Gates, in a conversation with either Jason Miller or Manafort, expressed surprise that [redacted] had been correct. Gates noted that, a few days prior to the announcement, rumors swirled that both the RNC and DNC servers had been hacked.

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Following news of the hack, Gates spoke with [redacted]

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[redacted] Manafort himself had past ties with [redacted] A Ukrainian consultant tied to the DNC had previously held a round-table discussion regarding Manafort. Gates had emailed [redacted] about this, to which he replied that he had "put out the fire for now." b6 b7A b7C

As to the DNC email hacks, Gates and the team decided to run with a story that a DNC insider had assisted the hack of the DNC servers. [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

{NOTE: Supervisory Special Agent [redacted] entered the room.} b6 b7C

Gates stated that there was a fear that the RNC had been hacked as well. A two-tier strategy was developed. In the event a hack of the RNC had in fact occurred, the Trump campaign would seek to separate itself from the RNC. Gates had telephoned [redacted] at the RNC, who stated that, while he had no details, he believed the RNC had been hacked. However, they had successfully 'contained it." Gates believed the IT staff at the RNC had successfully limited the leak. In the event the RNC had not been leaked, Gates stated the campaign would start 'ramping up" to get various surrogates talking about the DNC emails. In fact, a Rapid Response Team (RRT) was established to get the message out. Such surrogates as Rudy Giuliani (who Gates believed got the 'go ahead' from Trump himself) started getting the message out. Jared Kushner, meanwhile, had a more measured response, [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

Throughout the entire matter, Manafort told the campaign that [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

Departure of Manafort:

Following Manafort's exit from the Trump campaign, many within the campaign advised Gates to distance himself from him. Following the election, Gates worked for Tom Barrack. Manafort would call and ask about topics such as a proposed Cuba policy, inauguration tickets, and letters regarding FARA filings.

June 9 2016 Meeting At Trump Tower:

The morning of 6/19/2016, a 'family meeting' was held at Trump Tower

[redacted]

with Donald Trump Jr., Eric Trump, Manafort, Gates, and Hope Hicks to discuss an upcoming meeting. Kushner and Ivanka Trump joined the meeting late. Manafort warned the group that the meeting did not likely pertain to vital information and they should be careful.

Gates later recounted that Manafort was asked about the meeting by a House Committee, which asked merely 5 or 6 broad questions as to the topic of collusion. Manafort was not asked about the 6/9/2016 meeting. An article subsequently came out about the meeting. Manafort believed that Kushner had leaked the meeting to the press. Manafort asked Gates to determine if he (Manafort) was, in fact, at the meeting. Gates checked Manafort's calendar and confirmed that he was at it. Manafort stated that he took some notes, but largely ignored it due to an upcoming meeting he had scheduled afterwards with Reince Preibus.

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FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 07/19/2018

On or around 3/12/2018, Special Agents [redacted] and [redacted] and Special Counsel Prosecutor Greg Andres interviewed RICHARD "RICK" GATES III. Also present for portions of the interview was Special Agent [redacted] and Forensic Accountant [redacted] After being advised of the identity of the interviewing team and the nature of the interview, GATES provided the following information:

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Personal Background

[redacted]

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[redacted]

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[redacted]

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[redacted]

b6
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[redacted]

b6
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[redacted]

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Investigation on 03/12/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 03/14/2018

by [redacted]

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[redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] b6 b7C

GATES' and MANAFORT'S Relationship

GATES was strictly on business terms with MANAFORT, whereas people like [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

GATES was invited one time to MANAFORT's Hampton home but had been unable to go. GATES visited MANAFORT's Florida home twice, including one trip that occurred on his way to Ukraine. GATES had visited MANAFORT's Virginia home and his Trump Tower apartment.

MANAFORT and GATES would go out to dinner in Ukraine, but there was otherwise very little socializing between the two.

[redacted] b6 b7C

GATES had been to MANAFORT's Alexandria home for a company Christmas party.

MANAFORT did not enjoy celebrating birthdays.

Work in Ukraine

GATES went to Ukraine with MANAFORT for Pericles-related business sometime in 2007 or 2008 (07/08).

GATES would go to Ukraine for serious meetings, but MANAFORT went to Ukraine often. No US carriers flew direct out of Ukraine so GATES returned most often through London or Vienna.

Typically before a campaign, Party of Regions (POR) would hold a party congress where they would agree to a budget and determine who paid for what. Different factions within POR would pay for different services and it was not uncommon for one member who owned a television station to pay

himself to produce and exhibit television ads. Often the ads that were produced in this manner were poor so MANAFORT brought in US consultants to do this work.

In 2007, Party of Regions won 35-40% of the parliamentary elections vote and VIKTOR YANUKOVYCH became the prime minister.

GATES spent 2.5 months in Ukraine from 2009 to 2010 to support the presidential election.

MANAFORT shut down their Alexandria offices in 2012 at which point GATES started receiving calls from vendors.

In 2013, DMP hired Obama's pollsters.

The Ukrainian work continued with Opposition Bloc (OB) through 2014. OB received 10% of the vote in 2014.

MANAFORT advised PETRO POROSHENKO in May of 2014, but POROSHENKO backed out.

LYOVOCHKIN paid DMP $1.5 million in 2015 and no money in 2016.

MANAFORT and GATES would see the money come in generally but not in granular detail. LYOVOCHKIN had a Western attorney and was relatively easy to deal with.

Multiple US companies including Cargill, Microsoft, Pepsi, and Delta did business in Ukraine and some had considered hiring MANAFORT as a lobbyist

in that country. MANAFORT did not want to lobby the Ukrainian government on behalf of US companies because it would not be appropriate to lobby the people for whom you were working.

For much of his time working there, Ukraine was MANAFORT's only source of income. MANAFORT's investment funds were saved for retirement.

MANAFORT Entities

For the most part, MANAFORT did not distinguish between his business entities. There was no rhyme or reason behind which account would be used to pay a bill. MANAFORT would make payments from whichever account had funds available.

Early on, MANAFORT would monitor his business accounts, but this gradually diminished. MANAFORT's spending accelerated through the years as he took on greater risks. [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted]

LOAV was an entity for real estate and was associated [redacted]

[redacted] b6 b7C

Fairfax Partners was a venture related to [redacted]

MANAFORT attempted to become involved in real estate with CMZ, but the company was sued by its employees and subsequently dissolved.

In 2014, MANAFORT tried to keep GATES on the payroll despite no longer having the lucrative Ukraine contract. GATES found additional income through various enterprises. MANAFORT was aware of some but not all of GATES' sources of income.

GATES and [redacted] worked together on GB Consulting and MAP Holdings. b6 b7C

GATES set up Stradella and other companies. [redacted] set up a large number of others.

MC Soho and MC Brooklyn were set up by [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] or GATES set up [redacted] businesses.

Pompolo was set up as a UK entity in 2012 as a vehicle to get money out of Cyprus. It was set up in the UK because it was easier to get money into the UK than into the US.

Pericles

Pericles was working with Pegasus on setting up an opportunistic fund with DERIPASKA as the primary investor. The company went active in April 2007. DERIPASKA wanted Pericles to meet with his company, B Invest, so GATES traveled to Moscow. GATES investigated target industries for Pericles. DERIPASKA was the final decision-maker, [redacted] b7A b6 b7C

DERIPASKA's lawsuit in 2014 came as a total surprise. [redacted] came back with multiple answers about what had happened, but after the deposition, nothing happened. [redacted] later said that something was filed in the Caymans to discontinue the lawsuit. b6 b7C

Vendor Payments

Any payments made to Mallet Antiques were for the purchase of a painting or paintings.

New Leaf was a landscaper.

J&J was a rug company.

Big Picture Solutions was a home audio vendor.

Alan Couture payments were made to purchase clothes.

Cyprus

GATES went to Cyprus six to eight times to meet with [redacted] Sometimes GATES and [redacted] would meet elsewhere in Europe to conduct business. GATES' travel to Cyprus always coincided with a trip somewhere else nearby. [redacted] would make reservations for GATES in Cyprus. GATES paid for the travel with his DMP American Express or Chase credit card. b6 b7C

GATES and MANAFORT went to Cyprus together one or two times. In 2007, MANAFORT and GATES went to Cyprus to set up bank accounts. They set up 4 companies for political work. These included Yiakora, LOAV and Global Highway, all of which listed MANAFORT as the beneficial owner. [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted]

In late 2015, MANAFORT started working on loans with multiple US banks. MANAFORT told GATES he was taking out loans to help [redacted] with his business. At one point in time, MANAFORT put up his Bridgehampton property as collateral to help with [redacted] business. [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted]

MANAFORT Accountants and Bookkeepers

In 2010, GATES was a lot more involved in MANAFORT's taxes. He would provide tracking information and answer questions from [redacted] of KWC. At one point in time, GATES met [redacted] and [redacted] at 211 N Union Street. b6 b7C

KWC also did [redacted] returns. b6 b7C

[redacted] and [redacted] were later replaced by [redacted] and [redacted]

There was an issue for the Citizens Bank loan that MANAFORT's income needed to be close to the prior year in order for MANAFORT to qualify for the loan. At this time, MANAFORT had no money coming in.

GATES backdated at least one letter to the banks for MANAFORT. GATES opined that [redacted] knew about MANAFORT's fraudulent loans, but that [redacted] may not have had direct knowledge of MANAFORT's fraud. b6 b7C

MANAFORT worked with [redacted] and [redacted] on real estate-related work. [redacted] was a real estate attorney and had been close to MANAFORT for a long time. GATES never met [redacted] in person. b6 b7C

[redacted] kept MANAFORT's books at First Republic Bank. b6 b7C

[redacted] did not have much awareness of DMP's work in Ukraine (NFI).

EX 1 Email 5/2/2014 4:27 AM from [redacted] to GATES

[redacted] ran a law firm in Cyprus that also had an accountancy arm. According to Cyprus law, businesses were required to conduct an annual audit of their account in addition to their tax filing. [redacted] was the point-person for this work. Outside of [redacted] GATES dealt most with [redacted] b6 b7C

In 2011 or 2012, [redacted] switched his audit firm. b6 b7C

Ukrainians were always concerned about who else was part of an entity, and so they maintained multiple entities.

GATES provided information about the following companies from the email:

Telmar Investments Limited

Telmar Investments contracted DMP. Telmar was a clean, stand-alone entity owned by LYOVOCHKIN. LYOVOCHKIN never provided loans to MANAFORT, and MANAFORT never spoke to him about loans. Any money received from Telmar would have been income.

The paperwork behind the Telmar loan was based on a template provided by DAMIANOU. [redacted] signed the contract for the loan between Telmar and DMP. b6 b7C

Novirex Sales LLP

[redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted]

The Novirex transfer referenced "computers" in the transfer details because Ukrainians could avoid paying VAT by calling something a "good" instead of a "service". This reference was false - DMP never sold computers to Novirex. [redacted] had flagged this payment for review (NFI). The Novirex invoice that was found in the safe at DMP's Ukraine office was a fiction (NFI). b6 b7C

Mistaro Ventures Limited

Mistaro was a [redacted] company. [redacted] provided a loan template and [redacted] and GATES assembled the documents. GATES and [redacted] would change dates and amounts as needed. This was not the only time they had done something similar. b6 b7C

Cyprus did not consistently enforce taxes until in or around 2012. All taxes for Cyprus were paid through 2015 except Jeunet.

Sea Chaika Corporation

GATES did not recall this company.

Taunton Business Limited

LYOVOCHKIN owned Taunton before Telmar.

Miller Chevalier Chartered

Miller paid money into DMP's Cypriot companies. GATES did not know why.

View Point Trade, LLP

GATES did not recall View Point Trade, but believed it may have been something that MANAFORT had done related to Sovereign Wealth Funds.

Other Entities

Bedel and Dresler were companies [redacted] or another person. [redacted] was [redacted] Interpipe. Plymouth was a [redacted] entity and was used to pay for the Skadden report. b6 b7C

[redacted]

AKHMETOV Work

When MANAFORT had a contract with [redacted] MANAFORT took the payments on the contract over time. Nearly all the work was done in a single year, but in some cases there would be bleed-over work for subsequent years. b6 b7C

There had been a contract for the initial work that consisted mostly of a scope of services. Following that, however, most work was done based on a handshake. Typically, payment was split into 3 tranches: some money before the work started, some during, and some at the conclusion. The bank always required an invoice and a contract for work performed.

DERIPASKA

GATES was not privy to details about the money received from DERIPASKA. GATES was aware of lobbying and public relations work that MANAFORT and [redacted] were doing to get DERIPASKA a Visa to the United States. [redacted] b7A b6 b7C

[redacted] worked on the Visa project and did public relations work for DERIPASKA.

DERIPASKA was affiliated with Eurasia21 (NFI).

DERIPASKA tried to get into the US aluminum business and had specifically targeted Alcoa.

The deals that DERIPASKA brought to MANAFORT were always a mix of business and politics. DERIPASKA was more interested in politics. [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted]

DERIPASKA never asked MANAFORT to do anything significant with regards to Ukraine.

MANAFORT's outreach to DERIPASKA in 2016 was related to MANAFORT's plans to return to political consulting after the campaign.

EX 2 Email 3/2/2012 5:47 from MANAFORT to GATES

MANAFORT was emailing GATES to have GATES send the attached contract to [redacted] Once received, [redacted] would sign the contract. b6 b7C

All wires went through [redacted] To transfer money from one Cypriot account to another, GATES would email the amount of the transfer, the name of the company, the name of the bank and the purpose of the transfer. GATES would often go back after the payment was made to create an invoice for the client.

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

Money arrived to the banks as both USD and Euros. MANAFORT was happy to receive payments in Euros due to the favorable exchange rate.

[redacted] helped set up accounts in the Grenadines. b6 b7C

EX 3 Email 3/16/2015 11:01 AM from GATES to [redacted] and others

Twice per year, NKFSB would send DMP's books to [redacted] who would assemble a list of questions for MANAFORT.

[redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] b6 b7C

GATES had to deal with payments from some vendors including SP&C. GATES believed that MANAFORT and [redacted] were close. Payments made to SP&C were classified as investments.

[redacted] treated all accounts associated with MANAFORT as MANAFORT's own accounts regardless of who was listed as the beneficial owner. [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] had written letters saying that the account belonged to MANAFORT.

In or around 2012, [redacted] sued MANAFORT in New York. The same attorney who represented DMP in that case had represented Pericles.

At the time of the interview, Pericles was represented by [redacted] b6 b7C of the law firm, Schlam, Stone & Dolan, with an address of 26 Broadway, New York, NY. MANAFORT's attorney, [redacted]

[redacted] and MANAFORT split club seats for the Washington Redskins and box seats for the Washington Nationals. MANAFORT had season tickets for the Knicks and the Yankees. b6 b7C

At some point in time, banks started closing MANAFORT's accounts because of money coming in from Cyprus [redacted] had contacts at other banks and referred MANAFOT to UBS and Citibank. UBS accepted MANAFORT's application and he moved all of his accounts there. UBS also agreed to accept payments directly from Cyprus. b6 b7C

[redacted]

Smythson was created in order to move money from Cyprus into the US.

DMP and MANAFORT Associates

[redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted]

[redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] b7A b7E

[redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of RICK GATES 3/12/2018

[redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] and LYOVOCHKIN came to Florida sometime between 2013 and 2014 (NFI).

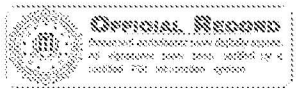
[redacted] b6 b7C

Other

[redacted] b6 b7C

b7A
b7E

FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)



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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 04/18/2018

Richard William Gates III was interviewed by Assistant Special Agent in Charge [redacted] and Special Counsel Senior Attorney Greg Andres. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agent and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

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Overseas Travel:

{NOTE: Gates provided three expired passports of his for review.}

Gates stated that he had travelled to Germany on multiple occasions, often transiting through the country. He did meet on at least one occasion with representatives of Ukraine's Opposition Bloc in Germany.

Gates recalled two trips he made to Russia to meet with representatives of Oleg Deripaska's Pericles Fund. The two representatives [redacted]

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b7C

Gates stated that his travel to Zurich may have been a trip to the World Economic Forum in Davos, at which he met Deripaska in 2007. It may also have been a meeting with [redacted]

b6
b7C

Ukraine:

Gates stated that he and Manafort had a number of Ukrainian 'paymasters," to include Rinat Akhmetov, [redacted] Among the items the group worked on was brokering a truce between Viktor Yanukovich and [redacted] for the 2020 elections in the country.

b6
b7C

Gates stated that in the 2010 elections in Ukraine, Manafort had brought in election observers and had provided polling data to [redacted]

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Serhiy Lyovochkin was viewed as a centrist who had conducted business deals with [redacted]

b6
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Investigation on 03/16/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 03/31/2018

by [redacted]

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Jared Kushner:

Gates stated that he had first met Jared Kushner in late March of 2016. At the time, Gates and Kushner were on a flight with candidate Trump. Gates noted that Trump teased Kushner. Kushner soon became the de facto campaign manager, with an ability to get Trump's ear.

Gates described his relationship with Kushner during the campaign as "friendly" and "a close working relationship." Gates noted that he had been warned by Tom Barrack to be careful, [redacted] b6 b7C [redacted] Barrack provided examples to Gates of past instances when Kushner had screwed over business partners.

Kushner spent a lot of time at the campaign offices, and seemed to get along well at first with Manafort. While the relationship was strong at first, eventually Kushner determined that Manafort couldn't keep up with the fast pace of the campaign, and had not done well in his television appearances. Moreover, Trump and Manafort could never seem to 'gel.'

Gates stated that when Chris Christie was brought onto the Trump campaign, Kushner never publicly commented on it. Given the past history between Christie and [redacted] b6 b7C Gates stated that Trump and Kushner agreed that Christie would never serve in the administration.

In August of 2016, when Manafort left the campaign, Gates believed that Kushner had, in fact, "put the knife in him." Gates believed that Kushner had some sort of conversation with Manafort in which he strongly suggested he (Manafort) should step aside. Following Manafort's departure, Gates believed he still enjoyed Kushner's support.

Gates last saw Kushner in October 2017 at Café Milano in Georgetown. The two discussed Tom Barrack. He has had no contact with Kushner since that day.

Deripaska's Visa:

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

b7A
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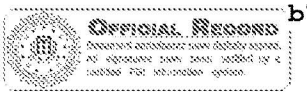
FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 04/25/2018

Richard William Gates III, previously identified, was interviewed by Supervisory Special Agent (SSA) [redacted] ASAC [redacted] Senior Special Counsel Attorney Andrew Weissmann and Senior Special Counsel Attorney Greg Andres. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing parties and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

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Pericles Fund

The first time Gates traveled to Russia was in late 2007 or early 2008. Gates traveled from the U.S. to Moscow and stayed there for approximately two days. At Paul Manafort's direction, Gates traveled to meet [redacted] and B-Invest employees in Moscow regarding the Pericles investment. This meeting was scheduled soon after Oleg Deripaska and Manafort decided to create and fund Pericles. [redacted] was responsible for organizing logistics related to Gates' meeting with B-Invest. However, [redacted] did not attend the meeting. Manafort purposefully excluded [redacted] from the meeting because [redacted] was not aware of the amount of money which was invested in the Pericles, and Manafort wanted a wall between his political work portfolio and his financial work portfolio.

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Gates met with the following B-Invest employees at their Moscow office: [redacted] The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the Pericles investment strategy. The following investment sectors were considered: (1) telecom; (2) real estate – focus on Odessa; (3) pharmaceuticals; (4) agriculture; and (5) media companies.

Approximately two to three month later, a second meeting was held in Moscow which Gates attended. Gates speculated that he traveled from Ukraine to Moscow for this meeting. The purpose of this meeting was to finalize their investment strategy, pick the top five investment targets and agree on funding for Pericles. The same people from B-Invest who attended the first meeting attended this meeting. Gates did not meet [redacted] during this trip.

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At approximately the end of 2008, Manafort directed Gates to attend a third meeting with B-Invest representatives in Moscow. At this meeting, Gates was advised by B-Invest that the Perciles was being put on hold and that no capital contributions were going to be made by Deripaska. Gates assumed Manafort had already heard this from Deripaska.

Ukraine

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When Manafort met with it was usually at a hotel in Kiev, and usually nobody else attended these meetings.

After the November 2016 Election

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Gates sent talking points to on how to respond to media inquiries regarding Manafort/Gates/DMP's work in Ukraine,

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had business interests in Malaysia and a preexisting relationship with the Malaysian Prime Minister.

Gates understood that had business interests in Malaysia and that he had a relationship with the Malaysia Prime Minister which dated back to at least 2012 when Trump played golf with the Malaysian Prime Minister.

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In 2012, the Malaysian Prime Minister played golf with Donald Trump. In late January 2018 or February 2018, had a conversation with Trump where Trump stated that maybe he would play golf with the Prime Minister in the summer of 2018.

Gates advised that asked Gates to help him resolve the 1MDB issue between the Malaysian government and the U.S. government. stated that he was going to be meeting with President Trump, on various topics including 1MDB, and asked for Gates' advice on the best way to deal with Trump. was concerned that he might not have an opportunity to discuss the 1MDB issue with Trump because of the other topics he was going to be discussing with him.

After the election,, met with Trump and discussed the 1MDB issue with him. Trump told that the issue would be resolved. Gates stated that Trump did not expound on what that meant. However, based on Gates' experience working with Trump he assessed that indicated that Trump was aware and understood the

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issue. The [redacted] Trump meeting lasted approximately 20 minutes and it was part of a larger meeting. Gates recalled that General Kelly attended the meeting and the first issue discussed at the meeting was whether Secretary of State Tillerson should be fired. b6 b7C

Gates was shown an email between him and [redacted] dated 01/05/2018 which had talking points regarding 1MDB. Gates first learned about the 1MDB issue from [redacted] in September 2017. At the time, Gates was working with [redacted] on other business interests. Later, [redacted] told Gates that the Malaysian Prime Minister was coming to Washington, D.C. and that that the Prime Minister and [redacted] were supposed to meet with Trump. [redacted] asked Gates to help him resolve the 1MDB case because of Gates' history and knowledge of how to deal with Trump and he wanted Gates' advice on who else within the Trump administration they should talk to regarding the 1MDB case. [redacted] suggested meeting with the National Security Advisor, H.R. McMaster, but Gates did not think [redacted] could get a meeting with McMaster prior to [redacted] meeting with President Trump. [redacted] also suggested meeting with the Secretary of State, Rex Tillerson, but Gates advised that it would be a waste of time to talk to Tillerson because Trump did not include him in foreign delegation meetings. b6 b7C

Gates was shown an email from [redacted] dated 07/08/2017, subject "Malaysia Talking Points *Final*". Gates stated he has never seen this email before. Regarding bullet point 4, Gates stated he was not aware of any attempt by [redacted] to communicate with Secretary Wilbur Ross. Gates stated that Ross had a strong relationship with Trump from their previous business relationship. Ross served and played a prominent role on the Campaign's Business Advisory Council. Gates was not aware that Ross was [redacted] Gates was not aware of any relationship between Ross and Manafort. b6 b7C

Gates was shown an email dated 01/05/18 tilted "PM: Rick Gates: Talking Points". Gates advised that [redacted] wanted to understand the Department of Justice (DOJ) interest in the 1MDB case now that there was a new administration. Gates first learned of the issue between 1MDB and the DOJ from [redacted] in September 2017. During this time period, Gates was working with [redacted] on other business interests and [redacted] told him that the Malaysian Prime Minister was in town to meet with Trump. [redacted] wanted Gates' advice on how they should deal with Trump and whether they should talk to anyone else in the administration, such as H.R. McMaster. Gates advised [redacted] that he did not think he would be able to meet with McMaster prior to the meeting with Trump. [redacted] asked if he should try to schedule a meeting with Rex Tillerson. Gates advised that it would be a waste of time because Tillerson was not involved in foreign delegation meetings. Gates stated he did not have any specific knowledge of DOJ's, or any other department or person in the Trump administration, position regarding 1MDB. Rather, this was Gates' assessment based on internet research he conducted on 1MDB. Gates never spoke to anyone in the administration or even attempted to reach out to anyone in the administration about 1MDB. [redacted] was the person Gates reached out to obtain information about DOJ . b6 b7C

Regarding the "Talking Points" in the 01/05/18 email, Gates stated he drafted the talking points in consultation with [redacted] Regarding bullet point number 1, Gates stated he was not actually working with anyone at DOJ or the NSC, and that the entirety of this bullet was false.

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[At 13:13, SSA [redacted] and Special Counsel Attorney Zainab Ahmad joined the interview. At this point, SSA [redacted] took notes of the interview and it will be documented in a separate 302. At 14:40, SSA [redacted] and Ahmad left the interview and SSA [redacted] resumed taking notes.]

Gates advised that contrary to the statement in bullet number 1, there was no real strategy in place to contact parties at the DOJ or the NSC to find a resolution. [redacted] told Gates that the National Security Division (NSD) of DOJ was responsible for handling this issue. Regarding the "NSC" statement in the email, [redacted] advised that McMaster attended the meeting between Trump and the Malaysian Prime Minister and they assumed that he would be the contact at the NSC.

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Regarding the statement in bullet point 2 " meeting with the assistant attorney general", this was a reference to Rachel Brand. Gates stated he never really had access to Brand and never contacted her.

Regarding bullet point 3, Gates stated that it was accurate that he had discussions with the president about 1MDB and the president stated he was committed to getting the issue resolved.

Regarding bullet point 4, Gates stated that [redacted] told him that the president told the Malaysian Prime Minister that he wanted to see him re-elected and wanted the 1MDB issue resolved. Gates advised that if the 1MDB issue was not resolved it could pose a problem for the Prime Minister's re-election. Gates stated that he understood that the Prime Minister reached out to [redacted] for assistance with the 1MDB issue. Gates did not know if [redacted] was being paid by the Prime Minister for his assistance with the 1MDB issue.

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Regarding the reference to [redacted] in bullet point 5, Gates stated that was a reference to [redacted] general counsel, [redacted] had a contact at [redacted] who potentially had access to [redacted] but the statement [redacted] was an overstatement.

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[redacted]

Gates advised that [redacted] was a big fundraiser for Trump and that is why he was able to schedule personal meetings with Trump. [redacted] was also close to [redacted] who helped [redacted] obtain access to Trump. [redacted] was [redacted] Vice Chairman on the Republican National Committee (RNC).

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In approximately February 2018, [redacted] told Gates that he was no longer pursuing the 1MDB issue with Trump or the "Talking Points" plan that he and Gates

drafted. [redacted] stated that he never heard anything more from Trump on the 1MDB issue and gave up on pursuing it any further.

Gates did not know if [redacted] had any discussions with Attorney General Sessions regarding 1MDB.

Gates has an agreement with [redacted] whereby [redacted] pays Gates a monthly retainer for his services. Gates is providing [redacted] with advice on how "things work within the Trump administration." The advice Gates provided [redacted] related to 1MDB was part of the services he provided [redacted]

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Gates stated he never had any conversations with [redacted] regarding FARA or its requirements.

Gates knew that [redacted] had previously plead guilty in a criminal case but he did not obtain or discuss any specifics with [redacted] about his criminal acts or how [redacted] did provide Gates with advice on how he would be able to recover professionally from pleading guilty in a criminal case.

[redacted]

FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 05/29/2018

Richard Gates, was interviewed at 395 E Street SW, Washington, D.C. Present for the interview were SA [redacted] Senior Assistant Special Counsel (SASC) Jeannie Rhee, SASC Andrew Weissmann, IA [redacted] and SSA [redacted]. After being advised of the official identities of the interviewing parties and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

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Gates first joined the Trump campaign team on or about March 26, 2016. Gates said his assignment was in North Dakota.

Roger Stone helped bring Paul Manafort onto the Trump campaign team. Stone specialized in media strategy, while Manafort was the "man on the ground" focusing on things like primaries. Manafort did not know Trump that well [redacted]

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Gates was asked to provide context to [redacted] sent from Stone to Gates. [redacted]

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[redacted]

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[redacted]

b6
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Investigation on 03/21/2018 at District of Columbia, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 04/18/2018

by [redacted]

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Gates indicated Corey Lewandowski was not a fan of Stone.

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

JEROME CORSI

Gates said Jerome Corsi [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted]. Trump had read Corsi's book and expressed an interest in meeting Corsi. Gates said he got similar offers for meetings everyday. Gates opined the aforementioned meeting request occurred prior to the Republican National Convention [Note: the 2016 Republican National Convention occurred July 18, 2016 - July 21, 2016]. [redacted]

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

MICHAEL COHEN

Gates advised Stone and Michael Cohen did not have a good relationship which was further poisoned by [redacted] relationship with Cohen. Gates said despite his desire to have a formal role in the Trump campaign, Cohen was never given a position. Cohen's work with the Trump Organization largely prevented him from working with the campaign due to time constraints. Cohen thought he'd be Trump's eventual Chief of Staff. Cohen was disappointed to not be offered the position, however, Cohen thought he could still obtain a role in Trump's administration. Gates advised Cohen left the Trump Organization to become Trump's personal lawyer. b6 b7C

CAMBRIDGE ANALYTICA

[redacted] Gates, Manafort, Parscale, and [redacted] met to discuss the modeling Cambridge Analytica (CA) did for the Ted Cruz campaign. Kellyanne Conway and Kushner were pushing for CA's services. [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] b4 b6 b7C

[redacted] Gates thought the use of psychological profiles was, "bullshit."

[redacted] b4 b6 b7C

Gates said it was ultimately Kushner's decision to use CA but the decision was supported by Ivanka Trump, [redacted] and Conway. Fabrizio opposed CA. Parscale and Gates did not trust CA but were overruled by Kushner. b6 b7C

[redacted] b4 b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b7A b7E

[redacted] b4 b6 b7A b7C

COREY LEWANDOWSKI

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted]

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

MICHAEL FLYNN

Gates was shown an email dated [redacted] and provided additional detail. [redacted]

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

ROGER STONE PROJECTS

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted]

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[redacted]

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Gates said he never interfaced with anyone who worked under Stone, nor did he have a relationship with [redacted]

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FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 04/18/2018

Richard William Gates III was interviewed by FBI Supervisory Special Agent [redacted], Assistant Special Agent in Charge [redacted] and Senior Special Counsel Attorneys Andrew Weissmann and Greg Andres. After being advised of the official identities of the interviewing parties and the nature of the interviewing parties and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information: b6 b7C

Gates indicated that [redacted] had worked with Paul Manafort and [redacted] on the [redacted] project. [redacted] b6 b7C

In 2014, Davis Manafort Partners (DMP) started winding down, having unsuccessfully sought to assist Opposition Block efforts in Ukraine. [redacted] b6 b7C

Throughout their dealings [redacted] asked Gates to seek additional investors throughout Europe. Gates, utilized his contacts in Europe, as well as the lure of tax credits for film investments, to find investors in Ukraine and Great Britain. b6 b7C

Gates understood that [redacted] had additional separate projects he was not familiar with. He did at some point meet [redacted] a former [redacted] b6 b7C

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Investigation on 03/27/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 03/31/2018 b7A b7E

by [redacted] b6 b7C

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who partnered with Gates stated that he last spoke to approximately 3 years ago.

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{NOTE: Gates was shown a one page letter dated 2/12/2014 from Gates to The letter is marked with an "A."}

Gates wrote the referenced letter (A) regarding

b6
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{NOTE: Gates was shown a one page email dated 2/27/2014. The letter is marked with a "B."}

Gates stated that there was "no good purpose" for this email and letter, which he described as "clearly fraudulent."

{NOTE: Gates was shown

b6
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b7E

{NOTE: Weissmann and Andres departed the room briefly.}

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{NOTE: Weissmann and Andres return to the room and the interview concluded.}

[redacted]

b7A
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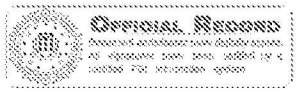
FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)



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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 04/23/2018

On 03/18/2018, Richard GATES was interviewed, which was documented in an FD-302, Serial 445 of captioned investigation. [redacted]

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[redacted]

Investigation on 04/17/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 04/17/2018

by [redacted]

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[redacted]

b7A
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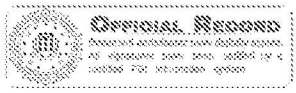

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 05/01/2018

Richard William Gates III was interviewed by FBI Supervisory Special Agent [redacted] and Senior Special Counsel Attorneys Greg Andres. After being advised of the official identities of the interviewing parties and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

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[redacted]

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Gates stated that Paul Manafort had [redacted]

[redacted]

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[redacted]

[redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

Investigation on 04/17/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 04/24/2018

by [redacted]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 06/22/2018

(U) On 04/17/2018 Special Agents [redacted] b6 b7C and Assistant Special Counsels Greg Andres and Aaron Zelinksy interviewed RICHARD GATES (GATES) at the Special Counsel's Office. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agent and the nature of the interview, GATES provided the following information:

(U) GATES was shown a photograph of Theodore Malloch. GATES did not believe he knew the person or had met the person in the DONALD J. TRUMP (TRUMP) campaign or at TRUMP campaign headquarters. GATES recognized the person in the photograph from recent appearances in the news.

(U) GATES recalled BOB MCLAUGHLIN (ph), a tall Congressman from the State of Georgia. GATES' recollection involved JEROME CORSI (CORSI). GATES [redacted] They met related to CPAC and b6 b7C MCLAUGHLIN was on a subcommittee of CPAC which GATES said he could find by looking at open sources related to CORSI. [redacted] They had no discussions related to the hack of DNC emails or Wikileaks.

(U) GATES was sure there was an opposition document related to TRUMP but did not recall any specifics. He did not recall anyone, [redacted] b6 b7A b7C talking about an opposition document. GATES did not think it was a single codified document, but more a collection of opposition research. The discussions would have been about TRUMP needing to worry about this or that as opposed to an exact document.

(U) They heard lots of things about DNC opposition research, but again not a document. It was information held by specific people like [redacted] b6 b7C

(U) The TRUMP campaign did not receive a lot of assistance from the RNC until TRUMP became the nominee. Before then, they experienced opposition from both the left and the right.

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[redacted] Nobody in the TRUMP campaign urged the procurement of the emails but someone else out there had them. b6 b7A b7C

(U) Voter registration data came from the RNC, except for the separate data collected online related to the TRUMP campaign rallies. 4 million people's data was collected outside the RNC data. However, both the TRUMP campaign and the DNC used the RNC created data. The TRUMP campaign also got large data sets from Haystack and i360. The campaign looked at the i360 data, but it was associated to the [redacted] so did not use it. b6 b7C

(U) There were arguments about using the Cambridge Analytica data sets and RNC data sets. Up until the end of the Primaries the RNC did not provide data to any candidate, they only gave it to the candidate in the general election. The campaign used DataTrust and Cambridge Analytica.

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

(U) TRUMP did not want to spend money on data, but the campaign had to do it. In the early primaries in April the campaign had to build their own modeling larger than Haystack. They looked to outside vendors which was handled by BRAD PARSCALE. They looked at FaceBook and Google, but some were too expensive. There was no free data, even in the general election, nothing was free.

(U) There were some people in San Antonio assisting with data who only reported to Jared Kushner. PARSCALE was the main campaign POC.

[redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] The campaign was largely relying on media reports at the time. [redacted] saw the reports and the source was mainly public information. They did not use private investigators. [redacted] to the campaign. The campaign made the decision to use the RNC to go after Wikileaks. The RNC had a different relationship with different people than the campaign. It appeared the RNC would reach out to Superpacs and other b6 b7A b7C

organizations. The TRUMP campaign was not hiring externally for assistance, except in those publicly reported instances. The campaign was never in a position to tell the RNC to hire a person. [redacted]

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[redacted]

(U) Third party companies like Fusion GPS had suspect sources. [redacted] was clear that all the information they recieved was public. GATES does not know how much they paid. The RNC was putting money and research into the House and Senate races more than the Presidential election.

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[redacted]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 04/30/2018

RICHARD GATES, was interviewed at 395 E Street SW, Washington, D.C. Also present in the interview were SSA [redacted], Senior Assistant Special Counsel (SASC) Greg Andres, and Assistant Special Counsel (ASC) Aaron Zelinsky. After being advised of the official identities of the interviewing parties and the nature of the interview, GATES provided the following information: b6 b7C

GATES was shown a photograph (enclosed) of [redacted] and asked if he recognized the person shown. GATES advised he did not recognize the individual in the photograph. GATES was then asked if [redacted] GATES said it was not uncommon for people seeking meetings to contact RHONA GRAFF directly. Most often, GRAFF would forward these requests to GATES. b6 b7A b7C

GATES advised JARED KUSHNER and JASON GREENBLATT took the lead on campaign matters related to the Jewish community and wanted GATES to set up a Jewish coalition to support the campaign. GATES said KUSHNER mentioned Israelis quite often. GATES recalled hearing the name WALID PHARES. GATES further advised [redacted] had numerous private conversations with DONALD TRUMP and KUSHNER. b6 b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

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[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

GATES said the campaign team would formulate strategic messaging based on what they thought the email releases would contain, however, GATES said the timing of the releases were unknown to the team. GATES said strategy meetings involving KUSHNER, REINCE PRIEBUS, [redacted] STEPHEN BANNON, KELLYANNE CONWAY, and JASON MILLER in early October 2016 involved discussions regarding optimal timing for an October surprise. GATES said traditionally an October surprise should take place at least three weeks out from an election. GATES said there were broad conversations about who may possess compromising information on candidate TRUMP. GATES said the TRUMP campaign team thought a tape in the possession of MARK BURNETT, from the show 'The Apprentice', was going to be the Democrat's October surprise. According to GATES, the tape contained a segment in which TRUMP used the 'N' word. GATES said there was no indication a foreign country was in possession of the BURNETT tape. GATES said it was difficult to formulate a defensive strategy to potential attacks because TRUMP would deny any accusation against him right away. b6 b7C

GATES said the hacked emails were the TRUMP campaign's October surprise. GATES said the campaign took a "wait and see" approach and decided that whenever they got the emails, they would use them. [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted]

b7A
b7E

[redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Richard Gates Interview 04/19/2018

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[redacted] GATES recalled BRAD PARSCALE telling GATES the campaign wanted to know how much more was coming.

[redacted]

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FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

Official Record

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 05/04/2018

Richard William Gates III was interviewed by FBI Supervisory Special Agent [redacted] and Senior Special Counsel Attorney Greg Andres. After being advised of the official identities of the interviewing parties and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information: b6 b7C

[redacted]

In 2017, at the direction of [redacted], Gates and [redacted], formed an entity called [redacted]. This entity was formed as a vehicle for [redacted] to invest in [redacted] b7A b6 b7C

[redacted]

[redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] b6 b7C

Investigation on 04/19/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 04/24/2018 b7A b7E

by [redacted] b6 b7C

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FBI(19cv1278)-2478

[redacted]

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[redacted]

Gates did not brief [redacted] about the 08/02/2016 between Konstantine Kilimnik, Manafort and Gates.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 06/05/2018

Richard William Gates III was interviewed by Assistant Special Agent in Charge [redacted] and Special Counsel Attorney Greg Andres. b6 b7C After being advised of the identity of the interviewers and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

Ledgers/Accounts:

Gates stated that he met [redacted] on one occasion at Paul Manafort's home. Gates believed that [redacted] was on the company's health care plan, possibly listed as an employee. b6 b7C

[redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] b6 b7C

Work with Poroshenko:

In 2014, following the departure of Viktor Yanukovych from Ukraine, there was a chaotic interval (from March 2014 until December 2014) in which Manafort was retained by Petro Poroshenko. The two eventually split over a financial dispute.

[redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] b6 b7C

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Investigation on 05/24/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person) b7A

File # [redacted] Date drafted 06/04/2018 b7E

by [redacted] b6 b7C

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In June or July of 2016, the Associated Press ran an article discussing Manafort's lobbying activities in Ukraine.

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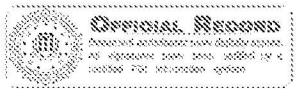
FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)



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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 05/11/2018

Richard William Gates III was interviewed by Assistant Special Agent in Charge [redacted] Special Counsel Attorney Greg Andres, and Forensic Accountant [redacted] After being advised of the identity of the interviewers and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

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Gates stated that Paul Manafort divided up funds amongst [redacted] These fiscal moves were typically done by either Gates or [redacted]

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[redacted] that, upon receiving bank statements, would prepare financial statements to justify money movements. Gates and Manafort worked with [redacted] in 2009 to 2010, though no engagement letter was signed with that company. [redacted] had accounts in St. Vincent & Grenadines.

[redacted]

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[redacted]

b6
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Gates stated that following the election of Viktor Yanukovych in Ukraine, Davis Manafort Partners (DMP) entered into a $1 million per quarter consulting agreement with the administration. This agreement was forwarded to DMP by [redacted] for Sergey Lyovochkin who is based in Cyprus.

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In their dealings with Ukrainian clients in creating new contracts, Manafort would initially forward the terms of the contract to Gates. Gates would draft a contract, which would then be sent to Konstantin Kilimnik for translation prior to being sent to the other party.

Investigation on 05/03/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 05/09/2018

by [redacted]

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Gates stated that Cyprus was selected for the bulk of their off-shore banking ahead of Latvia, which had increased its investigations into money laundering, and Luxembourg, which had recently created new administrative requirements for opening bank accounts.

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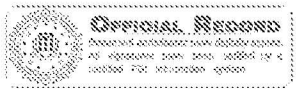
FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)



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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 05/23/2018

Richard William Gates III was interviewed by Assistant Special Agent in Charge [redacted] and Special Counsel Attorneys Greg Andres and Brandon Van Grack. After being advised of the identity of the interviewers and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

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Throughout the spring of 2016, the Trump campaign sought surrogates to speak on its behalf on various topics. By mid-April 2016 principal among these were Jeff Sessions, Larry Kudlow, Rudolph Giuliani, and Mike Flynn. Gates described Flynn as the "chief surrogate" of Trump who traveled with the candidate often, including to several rallies in the South.

Gates could not recall anything about a 6/30/2016 meeting between Paul Manafort and Flynn in New York. Gates first met Flynn in person on the campaign plane. Gates had previously emailed and telephoned Flynn and [redacted] [redacted] regarding campaign logistics.

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Gates could not recall a specific telephone call with Flynn on 6/23/2016. Gates was shown an email dated 6/23/2018 between Flynn and [redacted] [redacted] arranging a telephone call. Gates opined the call may have taken place to coordinate logistics. Gates recalled that Flynn had discussed contacting consultants on matters such as opposition research, and sought to identify additional surrogates. He was unsure whether Flynn discussed social media matters.

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Upon being shown a one page document titled "The MediaMeter," a business proposal on social media, Gates stated he "vaguely" recalled the document, but added that everyone was trying to bring their own contacts and proposals to the campaign. Gates stated that Brad Parscales handled the bulk of social media work for the campaign. Gates stated he did not recall meeting with a company at the request of Flynn.

Gates was present on the campaign plane when Flynn spoke to Trump regarding his views on the weakness of the U.S. intelligence agencies. Gates believed Flynn was personally bitter for having been fired from his

Investigation on 05/03/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 05/07/2018

by [redacted]

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FBI(19cv1278)-2484

position at DIA during the Obama Administration, while Trump had a negative view on intelligence capabilities following the attacks of 9/11 /2001.

Gates stated that there was talk amongst the campaign of foreign interference, and was certain that Flynn had influence upon Trump's thinking. Multiple times, Gates recalled, Trump would respond to a question on security or foreign policy by stating that "I talked to Mike." [redacted] also spoke about the issue of foreign influence. A business entitled Cambridge Analytica pitched working on such matters in some capacity. Gates added that there was an idea among the campaign that the hack of candidate Hillary Clinton's emails was orchestrated by Russia.

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Gates recalled a trip on the campaign plane prior a 7/27/2016 rally in Miami in which Trump was watching television when the issue of Russian interference was raised in the program. Flynn spoke up, stating one couldn't necessarily believe the intelligence services. Flynn advised Trump to wait before taking any action or follow-up comment. Flynn stated that he "had people" who could identify how to get the missing Clinton emails. Gates noted that [redacted] Flynn, Keith Kellogg, and KT McFarland all opined that among the actors who may have the missing Clinton emails included North Korea, Russia, China, and possibly even some U.S. sources. Gates added that [redacted] as a transition was subsequently set up following the election, believed Russia had the emails. Gates added that not one piece of evidence on this topic was ever produced by any of the individuals claiming to have knowledge. Gates stated that Trump, while not giving a direct tasking to seek the emails, did indicate "fire." Gates stated that the question of Clinton emails came up on additional plane trips. One of the conversations also included the advent of the phrase "lock her up."

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Gates had no interaction with [redacted] during the campaign or the lead up to the inauguration. Their first interaction was post-inauguration, [redacted]

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Gates stated that at some point between the campaign and subsequent transition, a bill was paid to a Flynn-affiliated company (possibly Colt).

{NOTE: The documents shown to Gates were placed in a 1A.}

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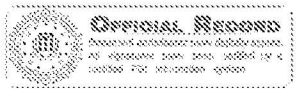

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 06/08/2018

Richard William Gates III was interviewed by Assistant Special Agent in Charge [redacted] and Special Counsel Attorney Greg Andres. After being advised of the identity of the interviewers and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

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July 2014 Interview:

Gates stated that he was previously interviewed by the FBI in July 2014. At the time, the U.S. DOJ was working with Ukrainian authorities examining the movement of assets by Viktor Yanukovych. Gates was interviewed first, followed by Paul Manafort. Gates stated that he provided the interviewers with names of accounts and individuals he dealt with in Ukraine.

DMP:

Gates reiterated that the principals of Davis Manafort Partners (DMP) were [redacted] and Paul Manafort. [redacted] held no equity in the firm. Gates described himself as an employee of DMP. He received W2s from the company during his time there.

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Ukraine:

[redacted] was DMP's principal when they first entered into business in Ukraine. Eventually, when [redacted] Manafort remained to handle Ukrainian matters.

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Gates stated that the Party of Regions was a successful political party in Ukraine for a five year stretch. Sergey Lyovochkin, Chief of Staff for Yanukovych, was among the party's leaders. [redacted] was considered a "#2" in the party handling nationwide campaigns.

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Gates met [redacted] a few times while working on the campaign of [redacted] Gates met [redacted] a few times as well.

Gates stated that Kilimnik worked in the Moscow office of the International Republican Institute (IRI), whose stated goal was to foster democracy as a NGO which enjoyed bi-partisan support. John McCain was a Chairman of the IRI.

Investigation on 05/03/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 06/06/2018

by [redacted]

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[redacted] On other occasions Gates sent invoices directly to the Party of Regions on DMP letterhead. These typically included [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

Actinet was a DMP company in Cyprus. Badel was owned by [redacted] b6 b7C Plymouth by [redacted]

[redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7C

Conversation with Paul Manafort:

Gates stated that following their indictment, he had a telephone call with Manafort. Manafort stated he had no idea they would be charged and told Gates that the DMP accounts were "my accounts."

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FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 06/12/2018

Richard William Gates III was interviewed by Assistant Special Agent in Charge [redacted]. After being advised of the identity of the interviewer and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

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Gates stated that Donald Trump 'hated' Nikki Haley. Gates stated that it was known among Trump's advisors that [redacted]

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Vice President Mike Pence has all the ties in Congress amongst the administration. Gates pointed out that President Trump and Senator Mitch McConnell hated each other.

Gates believes that Treasury Secretary Steve Mnuchin, as well as several other cabinet members, merely accepted their roles to obtain a divestment tax credit for their portfolios.

Gates stated that he had discussed two deals with Timur Sapir in the past.

[redacted]

b6
b7C

Investigation on 05/03/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 06/11/2018

by [redacted]

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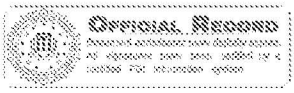

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 06/13/2018

Richard William Gates III was interviewed by Assistant Special Agent in Charge [redacted] and Special Counsel Attorney Greg Andres. After being advised of the identity of the interviewers and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

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Contacts:

Since last being interviewed, Gates spoke to [redacted] three times (once alone and twice in the presence of [redacted] Gates has also had one conversation with [redacted] and two conversations with Maggie Haberman.

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[redacted]

Last week, Gates exchanged a text message with Brad Parscale over being named in a lawsuit filed by the Democratic National Committee (DNC).

PIC:

[redacted] and Wiley-Rein were the legal representatives for the Presidential Inauguration Committee.

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Antes:

Gates identified Antes as a Bahamian entity tied to Paul Manafort.

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Investigation on 05/03/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 06/08/2018

by [redacted]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 06/04/2018

Richard William Gates III was interviewed by Assistant Special Agent in Charge [redacted] and Special Counsel Attorney Greg Andres. After being advised of the identity of the interviewers and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

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[redacted] The job was previously held [redacted] Gates stated that [redacted]

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Gates stated that [redacted]. That job, he believed, was done by [redacted] if needed.

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Investigation on 05/31/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 06/01/2018

by [redacted]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 06/26/2018

On Wednesday, June 13, 2018, Richard Gates appeared at the Office of the Special Counsel [redacted] Also present were Senior Assistant Special Counsel Greg D. Andres and Gates' attorney, Tom Green. The following information was furnished:

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Since his last meeting with the Office of the Special Counsel, Gates has been in contact with [redacted]

Gates could not recall the name and/or ever meeting [redacted]

Gates acknowledged he was aware of [redacted]

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Investigation on 06/13/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 06/18/2018

by [redacted]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 07/03/2018

On Wednesday, June 20, 2018, Richard Gates appeared at the Office of the Special Counsel in preparation for [redacted] Also present were Senior Assistant Special Counsel Greg D. Andres and Gates' attorney, Tom Green. The following information was furnished:

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Prior to pleading guilty, [redacted] Paul Manafort [redacted] told Gates he had to be careful with his new attorney, Tom Green, because [redacted]

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Manafort and Gates were both [redacted]

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As far as Gates was aware, DMP International was 100% owned by Paul Manafort.

Gates stated [redacted]

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[redacted]

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Investigation on 06/20/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 06/28/2018

by [redacted]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 07/03/2018

On Wednesday, June 27, 2018, Richard Gates appeared at the Office of the Special Counsel [redacted] Also present were Senior Assistant Special Counsel Greg D. Andres and Gates' attorney, Tom Green. The following information was furnished:

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[redacted] (

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[redacted]

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[redacted]

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[redacted]

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Investigation on 06/27/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 06/28/2018

by [redacted]

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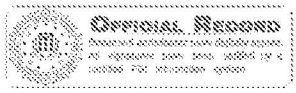

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 07/18/2018

On Thursday, July 5, 2018, Richard Gates appeared at the Office of the Special Counsel [redacted] Also present were Senior Assistant Special Counsel Greg D. Andres, FBI Special Agent [redacted] and [redacted]. The following information was furnished:

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Since his last meeting with the Office of the Special Counsel on July 5, 2018, Gates has been in contact with [redacted] regarding a potential news article about Gates, [redacted] in the NY Times.

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Note: After approximately two hours SA [redacted] left and [redacted] took over.

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[redacted]

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[redacted]

Investigation on 07/12/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 07/14/2018

by [redacted]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 09/12/2018

Richard W. Gates III, previously identified, was interviewing telephonically by FBI Special Agent [redacted] FBI Contractor [redacted] and Special Counsel Prosecutors Andrew Weissman and Greg Andres. Present on the call during the interview was Gates' counsel, Tom Green. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing agents and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

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Gates was not involved in the distribution of funds as it related to the Presidential Inaugural Committee (PIC). Gates was not involved in the financial/budget decisions for the PIC either. [redacted]

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While testifying at Paul Manafort's trial in the Eastern District of Virginia (EDVA), Gates said it was "possible" that he submitted a false expense report to the PIC [redacted]

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[redacted]

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[redacted]

b6
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Gates did not like or get along with [redacted] When [redacted] initially joined the PIC, she got mad at Gates because Gates did not [redacted] Gates also did not like [redacted]

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Investigation on 08/18/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (Phone)

File [redacted] Date drafted 09/10/2018

by [redacted]

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[redacted]

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[redacted]

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[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

Subsequent to this call, Gates sent the writer an email with a series of attachments. That email and the attachments have been attached to this FD302.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 10/23/2018

On or around 9/27/2018, SA [redacted] Special Counsel Prosecutors (SCP) Greg Andres and Andrew Weissmann interviewed RICHARD GATES III at the offices of GATES' counsel, Thomas C Green. Green was present for the interview. After being advised of the identity of the interview team, GATES provided the following information:

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Black Caviar Email

GATES was shown the above-referenced email (attached as a 1A).

"V" was a reference to VICTOR BOYARKIN. GATES understood BOYARKIN to be OLEG DERIPASKA's security person.

Fine caviar and fine vodka were common gifts in Ukraine. The only time GATES recalled any of DMP's clients giving PAUL MANAFORT caviar was a story that [redacted]

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[redacted]

b6
b7C

The largest payments that DMP had received for its Ukraine work had come from [redacted]

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[redacted]

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[redacted]

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[redacted]

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[redacted]

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Investigation on 09/27/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 10/01/2018

by [redacted]

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[redacted] b6 b7C

YANUKOVYCH was considering reentering politics and running for election.

YANUKOVYCH had not reached out to MANAFORT after he fled Ukraine, and this was hurtful to MANAFORT.

Polling Data

GATES understood that the polling data he was sending to KILIMNIK would be given to LYOVOCHKIN and DERIPASKA. GATES believed MANAFORT would have sent the polling data to LYOVOCHKIN as part of his efforts to get money out of Ukraine. GATES believed MANAFORT would have sent the polling data to DERIPASKA [redacted] b6 b7C GATES opined that MANAFORT believed that Trump's strength in the polls would be advantageous to him.

GATES provided KILIMNIK a mix of public polls and the campaign's Fabrizio polling data based on what MANAFORT thought looked good. The Fabrizio polls were more reliable because they used cell phone polling data.

GATES provided certain weekly data automatically to KILIMNIK. MANAFORT and GATES would send additional polling data on an ad hoc basis. On multiple occassions, GATES and MANAFORT would receive a poll and MANAFORT would tell GATES to send it to KILIMNIK based on the poll's content.

Trump Presidential Campaign

STEVEN MNUCHIN handled money for the campaign and tightly controlled the campaign's finances with the exception of direct mail.

[redacted] b6 b7C

The Middle East and Israel came up, specifically in context of what a Trump administration would look like regarding Israel and the Middle East.

GATES believed it would have been unfathomable if MANAFORT had [redacted] while on the campaign. GATES was surprised when MANAFORT traveled overseas so quickly after leaving the campaign. b6 b7A b7C

MANAFORT told GATES that he would not join the administration. MANAFORT said that he and [redacted]

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FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 10/26/2018

On or around 9/27/2018, SA [redacted] SA [redacted] Special Counsel Prosecutor (SCP) Greg Andres, Assistant US Attorneys [redacted] and Trial Attorney [redacted] from DOJ's Counterintelligence and Export Control Section interviewed RICHARD GATES III at the offices of GATES' counsel, Tom Green. Green was present for the interview. After being advised of the identity of the interview team, GATES provided the following information:

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Genesis of MANAFORT lobbying for Party of Regions

PAUL MANAFORT had tried to pitch a lobbying campaign to VICTOR YANUKOVYCH and SERGEI LYOVOCHKIN in advance of the elections in 2007 or 2008, but was unsuccessful. MANAFORT had pitched. GATES had helped draft a memo on this topic that had then been given to KONSTANTIN KILIMNIK for translation.

In 2011 or 2012, YANUKOVYCH signed off on a lobbying campaign. GATES opined that at this time, YANUKOVYCH was in a financially better position and that he had more trust in MANAFORT from their work together.

[redacted]

[redacted]

b6
b7A
b7C

b3
b6
b7A
b7C
b7E

Investigation on 09/27/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 10/01/2018

by [redacted]

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FBI(19cv1278)-2521

YANUKOVYCH and

told GATES

GATES learned of

did not understand US politics and so deferred to for any decisions related to the US. very rarely if ever received direction from

b7A b7E
b6 b7A b7C
b6 b7A b7C
b6 b7A b7C
b6 b7A b7C
b6 b7A b7C
b6 b7A b7C
b6 b7C
b6 b7C

[redacted] met with [redacted] in Ukraine and mentioned the US consultants. [redacted] did not understand how things operated in the US and would defer to MANAFORT and GATES on anything related to the US consultants. b6 b7C

[redacted] ran point on the [redacted] ran point on the [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted]

GATES [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

GATES [redacted] b7A

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

In the initial meetings, MANAFORT and GATES told [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted]

MANAFORT controlled the US lobbying effort.

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

GATES always reported to MANAFORT. On some occasions, MANAFORT would tell GATES not to share certain information with [redacted] b6 b7C

Had there been a disagreement, [redacted] and [redacted] would have followed the direction of MANAFORT over that of [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

b7A
b7E

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] MANAFORT had recently run a successful YANUKOVYCH campaign in Ukraine. GATES told the participants of the meeting that [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] GATES told the participants that [redacted]

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b7A

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

b7A
b7E

b6
b7A
b7C

Initially b7A

As time b7A
went on, the US was seen as a more valuable target of influence and took more of a driver's seat role.

b6
b7A
b7C

At one point in time, GATES, along with and others, spoke to on the telephone from b6
b7A
At this point in time, was far along b7C
with the legal analysis of the situation.

b6
b7A
b7C

b6
b7A
b7C

b7A

b7A
b7E

EX 2

GATES did not recall whether or not had been involved until the proposal process.

b6
b7A
b7C

b6
b7A
b7C

EX 3

b6
b7A
b7C

EX 154

b6
b7A
b7C

did not communicate clearly so MANAFORT did not want involved in the US.

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

EX 4

b3
b6
b7A
b7C

b7A
b7E

b3
b7A

EX 5

b7A

b7A

b6
b7A
b7C

b6
b7A
b7C

Items 8 and 9 both seemed accurate.

EX 7

b7A

At the time of

b7A

b6
b7A
b7C

Around this time, GATES had told

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b7A
b7C

b6
b7A
b7C

b6
b7A
b7C

EX 120

b7A

b7A

At this point in time [redacted] GATES spoke to MANAFORT about how to handle.

At this time, [redacted] and GATES were [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] was briefing [redacted] on the discussions. b6 b7C

GATES was disseminating information from MANAFORT. GATES would usually get [redacted] on the phone at the same time. b6 b7C

[redacted] was in the office more often. b6 b7C

EX 9 [redacted] b7A

GATES' [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 03/12/2018

Robert Ian Goldstone, DOB: [redacted] 1500 Washington Street, 2W, Hoboken, New Jersey 07030, 917 743-1438, was interviewed at the Special Counsel's Office, Washington D.C. Also present were attorneys [redacted] of Gage, Spencer and Fleming, Assistant Special Counsel L. Rush Atkinson, Special Agents [redacted] and [redacted] Intelligence Analysts [redacted] and [redacted] and Staff Operations Specialist [redacted] After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agents and the nature of the interview, GOLDSTONE provided the following information: b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

Some of GOLDSTONE'S clients include [redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] EMIN AGALAROV [redacted]

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] In 2012 GOLDSTONE started working for EMIN AGALAROV. [redacted]

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

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Investigation on 02/08/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 02/09/2018 b6 b7C b7E

by [redacted]

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FBI(19cv1278)-2529

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7C

[redacted] b6
b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

GOLDSTONE stopped working with EMIN AGALAROV in October 2016 [redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

GOLDSTONE got a call from EMIN AGALAROV on June 3, 2016 [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] When GOLDSTONE learned that PAUL MANAFORT and JARED KUSHNER would be at the June 2016 Trump Tower meeting, GOLDSTONE was surprised. [redacted]

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

The meeting lasted no more than 20 minutes. [redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] a gift for TRUMP from EMIN AGALAROV and ARAS AGALAROV. [redacted]

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6

b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] KAVELADZE reached back out to GOLDSTONE about setting up another meeting for VESELNETSKAYA and the Trumps. [redacted]

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

GOLDSTONE received a voicemail from with the Trump Organization

b6
b7C

the attorney with the Trump Organization.

asked GOLDSTONE for his memory of the June 2016 Trump Tower meeting.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 03/01/2019

Jeffrey Duane GORDON, date of birth (DOB) [redacted] cellular telephone number [redacted] email address of [redacted] was interviewed at the FBI Washington Field Office, 601 4th St NW, Washington D.C. GORDON was accompanied by his attorney, [redacted] Present for the interview were Special Agent [redacted] Supervisory Intelligence Analyst [redacted] Senior Assistant Special Counsel Jeannie Rhee, and Assistant Special Counsel Aaron Zelinsky. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agents and the nature of the interview, GORDON provided the following information: b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

During the March 31, 2016 foreign policy meeting TRUMP had said that he didn't want to have World War III over Ukraine and that he wanted better relations with Russia. [redacted]

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

Investigation on 02/14/2019 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 02/14/2019 b6 b7C

by [redacted] b7E

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FBI(19cv1278)-2543

[redacted] TRUMP had said that he wanted better relations with Russia, not World War III over Ukraine.

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

2016 Republican Platform

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] In that meeting, TRUMP said the Europeans should do more about the situation in Ukraine. TRUMP had also said he wanted better relations with Russia and he didn't want World War III over Ukraine. [redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] GORDON believed that between TRUMP's statements at the March 31, 2016 foreign policy meeting, his campaign statements at rallies and his speech at the Mayflower Hotel on April 27, 2016, there were enough public comments by TRUMP for GORDON, [redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] The amendment by DENMAN was the only one that resulted in an intervention. [redacted] DENMAN's amendment was the only one GORDON thought was important enough to not be included. GORDON told MASHBURN, when GORDON had called him that day, [redacted] language was inconsistent with TRUMP's statements at the March 31, 2016 foreign policy meeting, his campaign statements and at his rallies. Both MASHBURN and DEARBORN came into the room and GORDON told them that the [redacted] language was inconsistent with TRUMP's view. MASHBURN and DEARBORN didn't disagree, [redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] From what GORDON could recall, he might have said to DENMAN that he had talked to TRUMP about these issues it in the past. [redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP [redacted] At no point did GORDON say he was on the phone with TRUMP.

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

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[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

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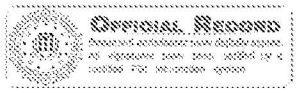
[redacted]

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 11/28/2017

JEFFERY D. GORDON (GORDON), date of birth (DOB) [redacted] was interviewed at the FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION (FBI), Washington Field Office (WFO), 601 4th Street NW, Washington, DC 20535 on August 29, 2017. GORDON's telephone number is [redacted] and his email address is [redacted] GORDON was advised that the nature of the interview was to discuss activities related to Russia and the 2016 Presidential campaign. GORDON was advised that false statements to the FBI were a violation of federal law and that his statements must be true and accurate to the best of his knowledge. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing Agents and the nature of the interview, GORDON provided the following information:

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GORDON was glad the interviewing Agents were speaking with him as he believed there were a lot of shenanigans happening at the highest levels. Specifically, GORDON was upset that the administration had not been truthful in the media with regards to contact with Russians. GORDON has kept apprised of the information about Russia in the news and relayed his willingness to fully cooperate with the Special Counsel investigation.

Background

GORDON served as a Commander in the Navy and formerly held the position of spokesperson for the US DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE (DOD) at the Pentagon. During his prior service and employment, GORDON interacted with many foreign governments on an official capacity. Upon his departure from the US DOD, three separate governments held going away parties in GORDON's honor; Finland, Yemen, and Canada. GORDON received approval to attend those events and coordinated with U.S. Government agencies for the event held at the Yemeni consulate. All of the events were held at their respective foreign consulates or embassies.

GORDON now operates his own consulting business, called J.D. GORDON COMMUNICATIONS, LLC. GORDON has been a political guest speaker on a variety of media outlets, such as FOX NEWS and the WASHINGTON TIMES.

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FBI(19cv1278)-2554

GORDON was an adviser for the DONALD J. TRUMP (TRUMP) campaign in 2016. He was offered that position by Senator JEFF SESSIONS (SESSIONS), who is a good friend of his.

GORDON was an adviser for U.S. Congress in 2009. That is when he first met Senator SESSIONS and RICK DEARBORN (DEARBORN). In 2010, GORDON was an adviser for Governor SARAH PALIN (PALIN). In 2011, GORDON worked for the HERMAN CAIN (CAIN) campaign and received a full-time salary as did the other members of the campaign staff.

GORDON was part of the first Presidential campaign for TRUMP in 2011. In January of 2011, GORDON was approached by TRUMP's attorney, MICHAEL D. COHEN (COHEN), who acts as a functional Chief of Staff for TRUMP. COHEN advised GORDON that the members of the campaign would receive a monthly salary of [redacted] but the payments to the campaign staff would not begin until June of 2011. GORDON disapproved with the delay of payments and voiced his opinion to COHEN. COHEN then told GORDON that it would be good for GORDON's brand to continue supporting TRUMP without being paid. Since that time, GORDON has had a colloquial relationship with COHEN. b6 b7C

In 2012, GORDON began working for think tanks. GORDON relayed that the think tanks he works with only conduct business in the United States, and not with any foreign governments.

In the Summer of 2015, [redacted] reached out to GORDON to be part of the MIKE HUCKABEE (HUCKABEE) campaign. [redacted] was the [redacted] for the campaign. GORDON worked there for approximately four months, free of charge. GORDON was responsible for preparing weekly briefing cards for HUCKABEE on recent news articles. GORDON worked alongside HUCKABEE's daughter, SARAH HUCKABEE SANDERS (HUCKABEE SANDERS), who was the campaign manager for the HUCKABEE campaign. HUCKABEE SANDERS hired [redacted] who eventually obtained a position in the TRUMP administration. GORDON relayed that [redacted] Prior to the campaign, [redacted] b6 b7C

Campaign

GORDON described the TRUMP campaign as being disorganized and chaotic at times and stated it was important for the Agents to understand that concept when conducting this investigation.

GORDON and HUCKABEE SANDERS remained in contact while on the TRUMP campaign but after a Washington Post article in March about SESSIONS, HUCKABEE SANDERS no longer speaks to GORDON. The article described a meeting that SESSIONS had with Russian Ambassador SERGEY KISLYAK (KISLYAK). GORDON was also listed as meeting with KISLYAK.

GORDON does not think these meetings would have been an issue if the TRUMP campaign had not denied meeting with Russians but HOPE HICKS (HICKS) made untrue statements saying that the campaign never met with Russia.

HUCKABEE SANDERS started working for the TRUMP campaign in February 2016, a week before GORDON joined. In March 2016, GORDON met with DEARBORN and STEPHEN MILLER (S. MILLER), and met privately with SESSIONS. GORDON provided SESSIONS with the vision statement GORDON had drafted for their Foreign Policy. SESSIONS decided they should get SAM CLOVIS (CLOVIS) on the phone to discuss the National Security advisory committee.

GORDON talked to CLOVIS, who said he already came up with a team and later gave a list of names of people on the National Security advisory committee to COREY LEWANDOWSKI (LEWANDOWSKI) during the first week of March. The list included CARTER PAGE (PAGE), GEORGE PAPADOPOULOS (PAPADOPOULOS), WALID PHARES (PHARES), [redacted] and KEITH KELLOGG (KELLOGG). A week later, [redacted] were added to the team, resulting in a team of eight for the National Security advisory team. The release of the names got negative press. b6 b7C

S. MILLER was given the task of writing the foreign policy speech that took place at the Mayflower on April 27. GORDON tried to invite everyone to the speech the day before, hoping to setup interviews after. JARED KUSHNER (KUSHNER) delegated the event setup to DEARBORN. KUSHNER had been involved with DIMITRI SIMES (SIMES) in setting up the event. GORDON referred to the event as a "CNI-TRUMP wedding" where they were inviting guests for each side. KISLYAK was at the speech and SESSIONS was there but GORDON did not notice the two meeting during the event. DEARBORN would know if SESSIONS met with KISLYAK. KISLYAK was also present for a back room reception.

GORDON was working for SESSIONS who had his own team of people working on the campaign. GORDON, PHARES, and [redacted] worked in the campaign office in Alexandria, VA. DEARBORN worked for the campaign 50% of the time and for the Senate 50% of the time. PHARES quit after two weeks [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] About 15 people worked from b6 b7C the Alexandria office.

GORDON explained that the last person to speak to TRUMP has the most influence on his decisions. KUSHNER had a lot of say with TRUMP. GORDON described the foreign policy team as being run like a 6th grade student council with no real authority or power.

PHARES had been in the news. GORDON explained that PHARES won't get a position in the administration because of KUSHNER. PHARES quit the campaign in early May and went to work as a surrogate for the campaign. GORDON hired PHARES to work on the campaign.

PHARES had come up with a list of ambassadors to meet with and when KUSHNER found out, KUSHNER said only he would be meeting with ambassadors. KUSHNER came up with an idea, which GORDON jokingly referred to as "win a call with KUSHNER," where campaign members were asked to write bios on various ambassadors and KUSHNER would have a phone call with whoever wrote the best ambassador bios about those particular ambassadors. GORDON and [redacted] got stuck writing the bios. KUSHNER ended up meeting with the b6 b7C ambassadors for the UAE and SAUDI. PHARES quit after DEARBORN told them they couldn't meet with ambassadors. Then PHARES got a deal as a surrogate on TV for the campaign. Russia was not included in the list of ambassadors PHARES attempted to meet with.

At one point, [redacted] sent DEARBORN a note about KUSHNER's outreaches after b6 b7C finding out [redacted] tried to setup a meeting with the Saudi prince. GORDON had [redacted] talk to DEARBORN about going through the embassies to setup meetings because back channels are always about money. In reference to public news reporting about a person or group referred to as [redacted] GORDON explained that when the [redacted] asked for a meeting between the campaign and Russia DEARBORN directed them to go through the State Department. GORDON explained this was a nothing story reported by the news and nothing came of it.

GORDON left the campaign in August 2016, but in December [redacted] b6 b7C [redacted] from the campaign asked GORDON for a wish list regarding working in the White House administration. [redacted]

GORDON explained that [redacted] sent in a package for [redacted] b6 b7C to be TRUMP's running mate at one point.

GORDON tried to setup monthly dinners for the foreign policy advisers and did so from approximately May through August. The dinners were intended to keep the team informed about campaign events and information.

GORDON's first contact with PAGE was in April 2016 while PAGE was in Dubai. GORDON contacted him regarding invitations to the foreign policy speech. GORDON usually had contact with PAGE via phone or email. GORDON first met PAGE face-to-face in early June at a monthly dinner at Portofinos in Crystal City. DEARBORN required a request form for any press involvement after PAPADOPOULOS got in trouble with the British press. PAGE completed one of these forms requesting to go to Russia for a speech at the New Economic School. GORDON thought the speech in Russia was a bad idea and it had no attachment to the campaign. PAGE tried to sell it by explaining that BARACK OBAMA was one of the previous speakers at this event. GORDON never forwarded the request to DEARBORN and eventually PAGE went to LEWANDOWSKI who approved PAGE to go but only in PAGE's private capacity.

In late June or early July, the team had a dinner at the Capitol Hill Club. SESSIONS, PAGE, PAPADOPOULOS and GORDON were all there. They did not discuss Russia during this meeting and SESSIONS paid. The next time GORDON saw PAGE was at the Convention shortly after PAGE returned from Russia.

[redacted] was constantly calling GORDON. PAPADOPOULOS, PAGE and [redacted] were GORDON's problem children but GORDON had no authority over them. When PAPADOPOULOS got in trouble, CLOVIS had to have a conversation with PAPADOPOULOS. CLOVIS was blamed for PAPADOPOULOS and put the fear of God into PAPADOPOULOS. GORDON explained how sometimes these guys [redacted] b6 b7C

In March 2016, PAPADOPOULOS spoke to the press and told GORDON and PHARES about it. After that PAPADOPOULOS was told to stop talking to the press. GORDON explained that he shouldn't have brought up the PUTIN thing either. Eventually CLOVIS was pushed out of his role. CLOVIS had brought on PAPADOPOULOS and PAGE who were bad news for the campaign. [redacted] b6 b7C

GORDON was asked about a phone call he and PHARES were scheduled to have with PAPADOPOULOS in May 2016. GORDON explained that they were calling PAPADOPOULOS to fire him after a story broke about his statements to the British press. They were also considering firing PHARES over comments he

made in a BBC interview. CLOVIS wanted to give PAPADOPOULOS a second chance. They were worried that if they fired PAPADOPOULOS he would go to the press and tell them that the foreign policy advisor team was a scam.

Initially SESSIONS wanted to talk to PAPADOPOULOS directly but DEARBORN talked him out of it. So GORDON called CLOVIS who talked to PAPADOPOULOS. GORDON was upset to find out from the recent articles that later PAPADOPOULOS approached PAUL MANAFORT (MANAFORT) trying to do the same thing he had been told not to do. PAPADOPOULOS seemed pretty quiet after CLOVIS talked to him. PAPADOPOULOS was also wanting to be on a panel at the RNC convention. At one point, PHARES and GORDON told PAPADOPOULOS to quit talking to the press in Israel.

GORDON did research and developed talking points for DEARBORN, SESSIONS and S. MILLER. GORDON explained that he was also a dumping ground for things no one else wanted to work on. JOHN MASHBURN (MASHBURN) was the Policy Director and is now a Cabinet Secretary. GORDON reported to DEARBORN who reported to MICHAEL GLASSNER (GLASSNER) for approvals. DEARBORN had a big ego and was difficult. SESSIONS was not. So DEARBORN was the heavy when need be but also pushed people out of the campaign including [redacted] DEARBORN insulted [redacted] and was disrespectful to him causing [redacted] to leave. DEARBORN also pushed people out with his outrageous demands and by forcing the team to work long hours. Around August 3 to 5, 2016, DEARBORN made the office work long hours to prepare a matrix for TRUMP's upcoming debate. Eventually MANAFORT said to forget about the matrix. So GORDON was upset they spent so much time working on something that was never used. GORDON quit on August 10 [redacted] b6 b7C

PHARES invited MICHAEL FLYNN (FLYNN) to join the National Security team but FLYNN declined, probably because he already had direct access to TRUMP and didn't need the structure of the team. [redacted] GORDON never met FLYNN. [redacted] b6 b7C

PHARES left the office but still remained part of the team. [redacted] DEARBORN was upset with PHARES leaving so GORDON had to call to un-invite PHARES from an event on the hill. GORDON explained that the campaign treated people as badly as the White House does now. b6 b7C

GORDON brought in [redacted] who ended up working in the New York office. [redacted] PHARES worked in the Alexandria office. b6 b7C

GORDON didn't know anything about DONALD TRUMP JR.'s (TRUMP JR.'s) meeting.

GORDON met PAUL MANAFORT in April 2016 when MANAFORT became the head of the Alexandria office. GORDON described him as the boss of the office and further advised SESSIONS was head of the National Security advisors and MANAFORT was head of the campaign. GORDON also met him in June 2016 at Trump Tower during a business leadership conference hosted there. GORDON wasn't aware of MANAFORT having any Russian contacts and explained that MANAFORT would have worked with FLYNN who GORDON never met in person. Most of GORDON's exposure to MANAFORT was through group emails. GORDON explained KUSHNER and MANAFORT were the managers who decided the staff wouldn't get paid.

GORDON never met ROGER STONE.

MASHBURN was the Policy Director from April to August 2016. MASHBURN kept people working long hours until 2 a.m. GORDON explained that MASHBURN [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] Now MASHBURN is the new Deputy Cabinet Secretary.

[redacted] joined the National Security Council (NSC) after GORDON introduced [redacted] to KELLOGG. They didn't want her doing diplomatic research anymore. She had given a speech about [redacted] GORDON talked to [redacted] while he was in Hungary. She was being targeted by the Soros Group. [redacted] spoke at [redacted] event in [redacted] that PHARES also spoke at. [redacted] often spoke about National Security issues. b6 b7C

GORDON was in Hungary in November 2013 to give a speech at the Antall Jozsef Knowledge Center where he spoke about NATO and National Security. The moderator was named [redacted] GORDON returned in November 2016 to speak again for the topic of "How the White House was won". [redacted] also spoke there. [redacted] GORDON said [redacted] was anti-TRUMP and tried targeting GORDON. It was at the university where [redacted] and the Czech president were the first foreign leaders to endorse TRUMP. They were both upset they weren't able to setup a personal meeting with TRUMP and fired their ambassadors when they couldn't get a meeting. b6 b7C

GORDON's trips to Hungary were distorted by the press. He was asked how many times he had been there. The news said he was there 6 times during

the campaign but he was never there during the campaign and had visited three times since 2013 when he went with a think tank. GORDON was also called out for meeting with Russian secret service members during the campaign, which he didn't. In December 2014, GORDON was in Hungary for a two-day conference where he had meetings with two different Russians. One of the Russians was [redacted] who gave GORDON a gift box that had a Hungarian flag, and another was a [redacted] who worked for PUTIN [redacted] GORDON met them both at the conference and does not maintain contact with them. GORDON did not give any gifts to the Russians and didn't think they appeared to have any affiliation with Russian intel services. Nothing substantive came from GORDON's meetings with these Russians. [redacted] was also a guest speaker at this conference. b6 b7C

GORDON stated he didn't realize PAGE had been in Hungary during approximately September 2016 until he was told when GORDON was in Hungary during November 2016.

GORDON explained how he has been working with a group to sue the people who have been alleging that he worked with the Russians or the hackers. GORDON needs to show that he lost income as a result.

GORDON does not recall the campaign ever talking about the hacking events. GORDON was too busy doing research though. They researched every speech TRUMP gave and GORDON helped S. MILLER with the research because all the researchers GORDON brought in were stolen by other members of the team. GORDON described it as thankless work that he was not paid for.

GORDON said he hoped the Russian investigation was very thorough. GORDON thinks TRUMP must be guilty of something. He is constantly ripping people off. TRUMP lies all the time and surrounds himself with people who don't tell the truth. GORDON explained HICKS had lied about contact with Russians. GORDON thinks she probably lied to protect TRUMP whether she knew anything or not. [redacted] b6 b7C
GORDON suggested that [redacted]

[redacted] b6 b7C

GORDON remembers news reports about a meeting between TRUMP JR. and a Russian attorney being held at Trump Tower. GORDON was at Trump Tower around that same time but doesn't recall seeing that meeting at all. It would have been closer to the leadership level. HICKS was close to TRUMP and would likely know if there was any Russian collusion. KEITH SCHILLER, TRUMP's bodyguard, would also know a lot about him. LEWANDOWSKI would also

have a lot of insight for activity occurring while he was involved in the campaign.

GORDON quit working for the campaign on August 10, 2016 because he was tired of working so hard for free and they would not pay him like they had promised they would. GORDON was offered a position with the Presidential Transition Team but said he wouldn't show up until he got a check and he never received payment. DEARBORN had been getting [redacted] month since April. The campaign was shady and dishonest. b6 b7C

Both GORDON and PHARES have been invited to Rome for EPP talks.

Convention

During the Republican National Convention (Convention), there was a separate four-day event going on at Case Western Reserve University that involved 80 ambassadors called the Global Partners of Diplomacy (GDP). Both the Convention and the GDP were in Cleveland about 15 to 20 minutes apart from each other. The ambassadors were in Cleveland for the GDP at the same time as the Convention and then they would go on to a conference in Philadelphia. Both SESSIONS and GORDON spoke at the GDP event which was scheduled for July 18 to 21. The GDP event is a standard event that is hosted by the State Department.

During his stay in Cleveland, GORDON spent one week at the Westin which was essentially the Trump HQ location for the event. Prior to that week, GORDON stayed at a different hotel the week of July 11 for the GOP Platform committee meetings. GORDON arrived in Cleveland on Saturday, July 9 for the meetings that started on July 10. The travel wasn't paid for. So GORDON drove to Cleveland and never even got reimbursement for the rental car.

GORDON and SESSIONS met KISLYAK on July 20 at the GDP event when they both spoke in front of the delegation of foreign ambassadors. After their speech, a line of ambassadors lined up to shake hands with the speakers so SESSIONS could easily have shaken KISLYAK's hand and not remembered it. It could be called a meeting or an encounter depending on your definition. GORDON remembers shaking KISLYAK's hand at the event. GORDON had discussed how the U.S. should have better relations with Russia in his speech. So when he met KISLYAK he mentioned he was serious about what he said.

There was a reception hosted the same night GORDON and SESSIONS shook hands with KISLYAK after their speaking events. There were a lot of ambassadors at this reception which provided eating and drinking for those attending the event. It was a networking event. GORDON was at the chicken

satay tray when KISLYAK also came up to the same tray to get chicken satays. They then decided to step aside to eat and landed at a table. The ambassadors for Kazakhstan and Azerbaijan joined them too. GORDON knew the Kazakh ambassador prior to this event. CARTER PAGE was also there and briefly spoke with KISLYAK and the Azerbaijan ambassador. At one point, GORDON again mentioned he meant what he said about improving U.S.-Russia relations. They talked about Russia's attempt to warn the U.S. about the Boston bomber. They maybe spoke for 3 to 5 minutes. GORDON described these events as a two-part encounter with KISLYAK and explained that the media created a more nefarious narrative.

Platform

GORDON explained he didn't change the platform. He said DIANE DENMAN was hell-bent on arming Ukraine. GORDON had been told DENMAN had been to Ukraine and was involved in elections monitoring there. DENMAN was a CRUZ delegate and a protagonist.

During the committee meetings, there were four TRUMP representatives per each committee room and there were a total of six rooms. There were two Jones Day attorneys and a political whip. GORDON had an attorney named [redacted] in his room and MATTHEW MILLER was the political whip for his room. GORDON does not recall the other TRUMP rep in the room. GORDON explained it's customary for the campaign to give input in the platform meetings. Essentially the Republican National Committee (RNC) starts with the 2012 platform and then votes on any changes or modifications. The RNC is in charge of the platform. b6 b7C

In May, the team started reviewing the 2012 platform to see what areas conflicted with TRUMP's stance. [redacted] MASHBURN, [redacted] worked on that. [redacted] did lots of research, which was shared by the team to put together possible platform edits. They didn't discuss arming Ukraine because it hadn't been in the 2012 platform but they did discuss toning down language from the 2012 platform that identified Russia as the country's number one threat. b6 b7C

On July 10, 2016, the night before the GOP platform committee meetings, they got a draft of platform changes that had been submitted. There were 55 total amendments and GORDON started marking up a copy. Most of the amendments were passed at the meetings. Senator BARRASSO was in charge of the whole platform. GORDON's job was to identify any significant deviations in the platform. The edits to the platform were not done by the campaign but by others at the meetings.

GORDON identified DENMAN's amendment that included arming Ukraine and several other amendments that didn't line up with TRUMP's policy. GORDON flagged DENMAN's amendment because TRUMP had mentioned not wanting to start World War III over Ukraine. TRUMP had mentioned this both in public and in private, including at the campaign meeting on March 31, 2016. This was not GORDON's stance but TRUMP's stance on Ukraine. GORDON wanted DENMAN to withdraw the whole amendment and she was upset.

GORDON got the whip, MATTHEW MILLER's (M. MILLER's), attention and discussed it with him. Then GORDON tried calling DEARBORN to talk to him about the Ukraine amendment and spent a lot of time on hold waiting to talk to him. DENMAN [redacted] and asked GORDON what he had against the free people. GORDON explained TRUMP's statements regarding World War III to her. She asked why they were there and who GORDON was on the phone with. GORDON told her he was on the phone with his colleagues but didn't provide names. b6 b7C

GORDON tried to get ahold of both DEARBORN and MASHBURN who were located elsewhere in the meetings. [redacted] the National Security Advisor platform, ended up tabling the amendment until the end of the day. Eventually DEARBORN and MASHBURN showed up. GORDON, [redacted] DEARBORN and MASHBURN discussed the Ukraine amendment wording and eventually arrived at "appropriate assistance" as the wording in DENMAN's amendment. GORDON does not recall who came up with that wording and explained the campaign could provide informal advice to the delegates but could not change the platform. b6 b7C

GORDON also mentioned a RUBIO delegate, RACHEL HOFF, [redacted] HOFF is the one who got DENMAN to talk to the media. DENMAN accused GORDON of altering the platform and authorizing the defeat of her amendment. DENMAN also accused GORDON of talking to TRUMP on the phone even though he wasn't and never told her he was. She also accused him of getting out of his seat to speak with delegates which the RNC has rules against. GORDON indicated DENMAN lied to the press about GORDON being on the phone with TRUMP and about GORDON being out of his seat. b6 b7C

GORDON explained how TRUMP and MANAFORT exacerbated the issue by lying about the platform in the news on July 31. In two separate interviews, both TRUMP and MANAFORT made misstatements. MANAFORT denied the campaign's involvement in changing the platform in an interview with CHUCK TODD. GORDON explained that the campaign was involved in legitimately changing the amendment through debate. TRUMP doesn't pay attention and ended up

saying the same thing in an interview with GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS. TRUMP said he had heard the campaign was involved in the change but he had nothing to do with the platform change. GORDON explained that this was TRUMP's campaign not GORDON's and that's why the amendment was flagged by GORDON, because it didn't align with TRUMP's policy.

GORDON said he drafted a memo explaining the events. GORDON was shown an email from [redacted] to himself that had a memo attached which indicated it was drafted by GORDON. GORDON acknowledged that he wrote the memo and was asked why [redacted] emailed it to him if GORDON wrote it. GORDON explained that [redacted] so it was likely drafted by GORDON on [redacted] computer and GORDON emailed it to himself from there. b6 b7C

MASHBURN decided who would go to the committee meetings. [redacted] were also in committee meetings but GORDON was appointed to sit in the national security committee room. GORDON explained that in 2015 he wrote an article that supports arming Ukraine. GORDON pointed out that MARCO RUBIO has some suspicious Ukraine connections. b6 b7C

GORDON does not recall texting or emailing anyone during the committee meeting. MANAFORT was there for the Convention. DEARBORN wrote a memo to REINCE PRIEBUS and MANAFORT about the platform meetings, highlighting the significant events including defeating items related to arming Ukraine. So MANAFORT knew about their involvement on July 10 but may have forgotten by the time he was interviewed on July 31. GORDON did not have any vote on the platform but as a delegate DENMAN did get a vote.

GORDON explained the platform wasn't changed. It was partially defeated and there was already wording on Ukraine in the platform outside of DENMAN's amendment. Most of the amendment was incorporated and only some of it was removed. GORDON said the platform was actually changed to be tougher on Russia not easier. TRUMP campaign members were there as advisors only but the RNC delegates voted on the actual changes.

GORDON explained [redacted] an ambassador, approached GORDON at the convention because she disagreed with him. She asked him about the platform amendment in front of everyone. b6 b7C

GORDON explained statements made by former FBI director, JAMES COMEY, set GORDON up as a media target because COMEY indicated that the Russia

investigation was a larger investigation [redacted] b3 b7E Because of this, GORDON was accused and attacked by the press.

March 31, 2016 Meeting

SESSIONS suggested to TRUMP they should have a meeting on March 31, 2016 at the Old Post Office which was to be the Trump Hotel in D.C. The meeting was supposed to be one hour but turned out to be two hours.

At the request of the Agents, GORDON hand wrote who was in attendance at the meeting and where they sat utilizing a photograph taken at the meeting. GORDON included a list of participants in the photo and participants not included in the photo.

The following participants were in the photograph: SESSIONS, GORDON, PAPADOPOULOS, [redacted] TRUMP, PHARES, KELLOGG, [redacted] and JIM CARAFANO. b6 b7C

GORDON also listed the following participants not featured in the photo: DAN SCAVINO, DEARBORN, LEWANDOWSKI, S. MILLER, HICKS, CLOVIS, and KEITH SCHILLER.

GORDON explained [redacted] was [redacted] CARAFANO was from the Heritage Foundation and was part of the Presidential Transition Team (PTT) and spoke on defense budgets. CARAFANO handled DHS matters for the PTT. [redacted] spoke about Veterans Affairs. [redacted] was an intelligence expert. SESSIONS invited [redacted] and CARAFANO. b6 b7C

GORDON explained that everyone went around the table and had about five minutes to discuss their expertise, including Q&A. PAPADOPOULOS brought up the idea of meeting with PUTIN and discussed it for a few minutes. SESSIONS said no to this idea and asked that it never be mentioned again. GORDON does not recall anyone saying that the meeting with PUTIN was a good idea.

GORDON found out from the Washington Post article that PAPADOPOULOS continued pursuing this by reaching out to PAUL MANAFORT and others. ROSALIND HELDERMAN of the Washington Post contacted GORDON about this meeting and he did not talk to her about it. She also asked GORDON about RIAC (known to investigators as the Russian Internations Affairs Council). The Daily Caller also asked GORDON if statements about this meeting were

true, including PAPADOPOULOS bringing up a meeting with PUTIN and SESSIONS shooting down the idea. GORDON didn't give an account but confirmed the previous account to be true.

GORDON described PAPADOPOULOS as acting on his own and wheeling and dealing. PAPADOPOULOS said he was working with the ambassador in the United Kingdom and PUTIN was interested in meeting with TRUMP, working through the ambassador to make it happen. SESSIONS said it was a bad idea and shut it down. Apparently PAPADOPOULOS kept doing it, repeatedly going around GORDON. PAPADOPOULOS didn't even have a [redacted] email account. They were all just volunteers. GORDON was supposed to be in charge of the group even though he had no authority. GORDON explained TRUMP probably would have gone through with the meeting if others had been agreeable to it but SESSIONS put his foot down. GORDON also recalled discussions about how setting up a meeting with PUTIN could be considered a violation of the Logan Act. [redacted] probably mentioned the Logan Act and made a comment about how nobody should outrun their headlights. b6 b7C

There were other discussions at the meeting about Russia and NATO. GORDON brought up a lot of topics. GORDON talked about how NATO was focused on the wrong priorities and wasn't doing their fair share. Russia was not as big a threat as Islamic terrorism and Iran. SESSIONS also mentioned the need to improve U.S.-Russia relations. TRUMP explained he didn't want World War III over the Ukraine and explained Europe should be responsible for protecting Ukraine.

GORDON does not recall ever hearing anyone talk about setting up a meeting with Russia after that meeting. GORDON recalls DEARBORN sending out an email about meeting with foreign ambassadors, including Russia and China, in regards to winning a phone call with KUSHNER. But GORDON is not aware of anyone pursuing these meetings.

Trump and Sessions

[redacted] TRUMP was involved in inappropriate activity. GORDON made this statement based on 3500 lawsuits TRUMP is involved in, business deals with Russia, not paying his policy office. The investigators could likely find something illegal TRUMP was involved in but GORDON is not aware of any election meddling that TRUMP was involved in. b6 b7C

GORDON said SESSIONS was not inappropriate. GORDON is not aware of SESSIONS doing anything other than making a mistake regarding his handshake with the ambassador. ROD ROSENSTEIN threw SESSIONS under the bus the way GORDON had been thrown under the bus.

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FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

Official Record

UNCLASSIFIED//~~LES~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 02/16/2018

On Tuesday, January 9, 2018, JONATHAN HAWKER (HAWKER) was interviewed at the Office of the Special Counsel in Washington, D.C. Present for the interview were FBI Special Agent [redacted] DOJ Senior Financial Investigator [redacted] Senior Assistant Special Counsels Andrew A. Weissmann and Greg D. Andres and Assistant Special Counsel Brian M. Richardson. Also present were HAWKER's attorneys, [redacted] Hunton & Williams LLP, 2200 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington DC, telephone number (202) 955-1500. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing parties and the nature of the interview, HAWKER provided the following information:

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NOTE: Special Agent [redacted] and Senior Assistant Special Counsel Andres were only present for the morning portion of the interview of HAWKER.

Prior to the interview commencing, Attorney [redacted] advised he represented both HAWKER and HAWKER's former employer, FTI Consulting.

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Special Counsel Attorney Andrew Weissmann advised HAWKER that his participation in the interview was voluntary. HAWKER was also advised that he needed to be truthful in his answers and lying to a Federal agent could constitute a Federal crime. HAWKER verbally acknowledged that he understood.

HAWKER BACKGROUND

[redacted]

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[redacted]

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Investigation on 01/09/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 01/10/2018

by [redacted]

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This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

[redacted] HAWKER left because of his experience in the Ukraine and not being paid in full for his work on behalf of Paul Manafort and Rick Gates.

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UKRAINE INVOLVEMENT BACKGROUND

In or around April 2012, HAWKER was contacted by [redacted] of Skadden and Arps LLP (Skadden) to discuss his interest in working for the Government of Ukraine. [redacted]

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[redacted]

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CLIENT

After speaking with Rick Gates [redacted]

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[redacted]

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[redacted]

b7A

PAYMENT

[redacted] b7A

[redacted] b7A

SKADDEN REPORT

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[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

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[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

HAWKER was shown an email [redacted] an email [redacted] from Gates to HAWKER and [redacted] HAWKER identified [redacted] part of the Manafort Team. HAWKER described [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

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HAWKER was shown an email from HAWKER to Gates regarding This document was a paired down version of something HAWKER previously shared with Gates. As referenced in paragraph two, HAWKER stated

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RG was a reference to Rick Gates and

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As referenced in paragraph five,

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HAWKER was shown an email from Gates to Manafort, HAWKER and The document sent by Gates was a revised version of something HAWKER previously shared with Gates for his review /comments.

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This was something HAWKER included because Manafort and Gates were working with other PR firms, HAWKER recalled

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HAWKER was shown an email from Gates to HAWKER regarding

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[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

HAWKER was shown an email [redacted] from HAWKER to Gates regarding [redacted] b7A

[redacted] b7A

[redacted] b7A

HAWKER never participated in coordination calls [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

As previously stated, the overall project coordinator was Gates.

HAWKER was shown an email [redacted] from Gates to HAWKER regarding [redacted] b7A

HAWKER described [redacted]

HAWKER was shown an email [redacted] from [redacted] to HAWKER. HAWKER identified [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

HAWKER was questioned about [redacted] While it looked like his formatting style, HAWKER could not not recall if he drafted this section. HAWKER later acknowledged he probably did.

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HAWKER was questioned about [redacted]

[redacted]

HAWKER's primary main contacts at Skadden were [redacted] b6 b7C

HAWKER was shown an email [redacted] from HAWKER to Manafort, Gates and [redacted] HAWKER did not have much direct contact with Manafort. b6 b7A b7C

As referenced on the top of [redacted] HAWKER wrote that [redacted] b6 b7C b7A

As referenced in [redacted] HAWKER wrote [redacted] While HAWKER did not have a specific memory of the conversation, he said [redacted] must have told him this. b6 b7A b7C

HAWKER was shown an email [redacted] from Manafort to HAWKER, Gates and [redacted] HAWKER could not recall what Manafort meant by [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

HAWKER was shown an email [redacted] from [redacted] to HAWKER. As referenced in the email, [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

HAWKER was shown an email [redacted] from Gates to HAWKER regarding [redacted] HAWKER stated [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

HAWKER was shown an email [redacted] from [redacted] to HAWKER regarding [redacted] HAWKER [redacted] HAWKER described the hotel room as more of a suite and quite modern. It had a b6 b7A b7C

large bedroom, living room and also a big conference/meeting table. HAWKER also recalled seeing computer equipment in the suite, to include a laptop that located in the middle of the conference/meeting table.

HAWKER described the [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b7A

HAWKER, who stated he doesn't drink alcohol, described Gates as having quite the active nightlife while in the Ukraine. Gates often partied with Van Der Zwaan (Skadden - London) and Van Der Zwaan told HAWKER they [redacted] b6 b7C

HAWKER was shown an email with Bates Stamp SAU-038000-038005, dated 12/11/2012, from Gates to Van Der Zwaan and forwarded to HAWKER and [redacted] HAWKER did not have a specific memory of the conversation, but believes the information was needed to help populate [redacted] by Skadden. HAWKER never had contact with any US Government Official. b6 b7A b7C

HAWKER was shown an email with Bates Stamp SAU-159911, dated 12/11/2012, from HAWKER to David Sanger, a reporter for the NY Times. In the email, HAWKER told Sanger [redacted] HAWKER emailed Sanger rather than call him because he didn't know Sanger. When Sanger responded, he mentioned having discussed this a month or so ago ealier. HAWKER wasn't aware of any previous contact and presumed [redacted] must have spoken with Sanger; however he never spoke with [redacted] about it. b6 b7C b7A

At some point after this email, HAWKER suspected he had a telephone conversation with Sanger. While he did not have a specific memory of the conversation, the purpose was to share/discuss the [redacted] b7A [redacted].

HAWKER was shown an email with Bates Stamp SAU-159908, dated 12/11/2012, from [redacted] to Sanger regarding [redacted] b6 b7A b7C HAWKER wasn't aware of this email and believes his email to Sanger was sent first. HAWKER stated the reference to speak with the "Post" if [redacted] didn't hear back from Sanger, meant Washington Post.

In HAWKER's response to [redacted] he wrote, "They are pressuring me for reassurance here so any update would be very welcome". HAWKER stated "they" meant Manafort and Gates because they wanted to know if the "seeding" was working. b6 b7C

HAWKER was shown an email with Bates Stamp SAU-007672, dated 12/13/2012, from HAWKER to [redacted] Van Der Zwaan and Gates regarding an article being written by Associated Press reporter Maria Danilova. HAWKER recalled being told [redacted] HAWKER didn't think the allegations had any credibility and said there were never any discussions of under the table payments. HAWKER just wanted to address Danilova's questions to move this away and turn down the noise. b6 b7A b7C

HAWKER was shown a document with Bates Stamp SAU-006877. The document

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

HAWKER had no idea how much Skadden was paid and never asked. As a PR person, it was HAWKER's role not to include all the facts, but rather just control the message to the media.

HAWKER was shown a document with Bates Stamp SAU-006878. The document

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[redacted] HAWKER has not read the actual Manafort/Gates Indictment and [redacted]

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In early 2013, HAWKER was introduced to by Manafort and Gates. The meeting was held in Manafort's condo in NY with a follow-up meeting at a restaurant. During the meeting

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All HAWKER's communications with Gates and were done on hushmail.

HAWKER was introduced to by Gates. The client was looking for litigation PR assistance. HAWKER did not end up working the client and was later told by that it was garbage.

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[redacted] b6 b7C

LAST CONTACT WITH GATES

HAWKER would talk to and/or meet with Gates on a regular basis up until he started working on the Trump Campaign. Gates asked HAWKER to help on the campaign, but he passed. HAWKER [redacted] b6 b7C While likable, HAWKER described [redacted]

LAST CONTACT WITH MANAFORT

HAWKER's last contact with Manafort was way before the 2016 election. HAWKER recalled Manafort was in the UK and asked for his assistance regarding a photo-shoot for [redacted] b6 b7C

LAST CONTACT WITH KILIMNIK

In or around late 2015 and after the Russian invasion of Ukraine, Kilimnik reached out to HAWKER regarding a PR opportunity in Russia. Kilimnik wanted HAWKER to meet with an individual from the Russian Foreign Ministry. According to HAWKER, he traveled to Russia to meet and discuss the proposed business opportunity. HAWKER stated he had no doubt the person he met with was a Russian operative. While HAWKER agreed to submit a business proposal, he submitted it at such an outrageously high price so that not to be selected.

[redacted] b6 b7C

MISCELLANEOUS

HAWKER was shown an email [redacted] from [redacted] to HAWKER. In the email, [redacted] told HAWKER to check his Yahoo mail. HAWKER said Gates set up a Yahoo account for him. Gates had several email addresses to include an ICloud account. [redacted] also had an Apple ICloud account. b6 b7A b7C

[redacted]

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HAWKER agreed to search for telephone numbers and email accounts associated with his work with Gates, Manafort, [redacted] This follow-up information will be furnished to the Office of the Special Counsel by his attorney, [redacted]

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Prior to the interview ending, HAWKER was questioned that if in connection with this investigation has he purposely gone back and deleted any emails. HAWKER stated he did not because he has nothing to hide.

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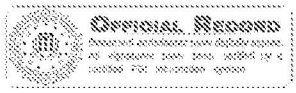

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 03/22/2018

(U) On 02/01/2018 Special Agents [redacted] Intelligence Analyst [redacted] and Assistant Special Counsel Aaron Zelinksy interviewed JACOB HEILBRUNN (HEILBRUNN) at The Special Counsel's Office in Washington, DC. Present for the interview were Heilbrunn's counsel, [redacted]. The interview was pursuant to a proffer agreement. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agents and the nature of the interview, HEILBRUNN provided the following information:

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[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

Investigation on 02/01/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 02/05/2018

by [redacted]

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(U) HEILBRUNN was not aware of any side meetings; he did not see KISLYA and SESSIONS interact;

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

HEILBRUNN did not remember if any Ambassadors including KISLYAK were at this lunch.

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

(U) HEILBRUNN attended the May 23rd CNI awards dinner.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

HEILBRUNN was unsure if he saw KISLYAK.

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HEILBRUNN has no knowledge of any interactions between SESSIONS and KISLYAK at this event or otherwise.

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FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

Official Record

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 05/30/2017

(U//~~FOUO~~) Rachel Mary HOFF, date of birth (DOB) [redacted] social security number [redacted] residence [redacted] was interviewed by SAs [redacted] at the FBI Washington Field Office on May 26, 2017. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agents and the nature of the interview, HOFF provided the following information: b6 b7C

(U//~~FOUO~~) HOFF was a delegate for the District of Columbia at the 2016 Republican National Convention (RNC). HOFF explained her first time being a delegate at the RNC was in the 2012 election cycle. The 2016 RNC was HOFF's first time on a Platform Committee. HOFF worked on the National Security and Defense Platform Committee. Her full-time employment was working [redacted] where she was employed during the time of the RNC up until approximately [redacted] HOFF informed the interviewing agents she began employment with [redacted] b6 b7C

(U//~~FOUO~~) HOFF explained the National Security and Defense Platform Committee worked for approximately two days. According to HOFF the room was filled with delegates to the RNC, certain members of the media or VIP staff, one RNC paid transcriber, two volunteers from the Republican National Committee, and two members from the 2016 Trump Campaign. However, HOFF stated only delegates were permitted to take part in the formal discussions on what the platform should state. HOFF believed the non-delegates in the room may interject their opinions or ideas informally to delegates during breaks or outside of the official Platform Committee meeting room. According to HOFF the two Republican National Committee staffers were [redacted] and the Trump Campaign members were JD Gordon and an individual who's name was unknown to her. According to HOFF, [redacted] works on Capitol Hill as a staffer for an unknown congressman or senator. b6 b7C

(U//~~FOUO~~) HOFF informed the interviewing agents she had met JD Gordon previously but still is unaware who the other Trump Campaign staffer is. According to HOFF, she had limited interaction with JD Gordon during

Investigation on 05/26/2017 at Washington , District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 05/26/2017 b3 b6

by [redacted] b7C b7E

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the RNC which she referred to as nothing more than "exchanging pleasantries".

(U//~~FOUO~~) HOFF explained the platform drafting process to the interviewing agents. She stated the platform draft comes to the Platform Committee from the Republican National Committee. According to HOFF, the subcommittees can amend the drafts provided by proposing amendments to the writing. According to HOFF, those amendments to the draft are then voted on by the full committee. HOFF recalled the original draft contained strong language against Russia but minimal language on Ukraine.

(U//~~FOUO~~) HOFF noted a delegate from Texas, Diana Denman, provided draft language regarding Ukraine. When the Platform Committee got to the point to discuss Denman's draft language on Ukraine, one of the three co-chairs of the Platform Committee proposed a motion to table Denman's amendment. HOFF noted this was the first and only amendment to be tabled. According to HOFF, one of the co-chairs stated the purpose for tabling Denman's amendment was for the Trump Campaign staff to work on the language with Denman personally. The delegates in the committee then voted to table Denman's Ukraine-related amendment.

(U//~~FOUO~~) HOFF noted she did see Diana Denman speaking on the side directly with the two Trump Campaign staff members, which included JD Gordon.

(U//~~FOUO~~) HOFF informed the interviewing agents she had a private conversation with Diana Denman regarding her discussions with the Trump Campaign staff members. Denman informed HOFF, the Trump Campaign staff members requested Denman alter her amendment by striking the "lethal defense weapons" to Ukraine statement in her amendment. Denman informed HOFF she told JD Gordon and the other Trump Campaign staff member she would not strike that language from her amendment.

(U//~~FOUO~~) As the deadline for the Platform Committee approached, HOFF stated the tabled Ukraine amendment language was discussed again. Denman then provided a revised draft of her amendment however, according to HOFF, her revision still included the "lethal defense weapons" language. Following Denman's revisit of her "tough" language in the amendment, another delegate offered another amendment. HOFF believed the other delegate may have been subcommittee chairman [redacted] delegate from [redacted] HOFF explained [redacted] amendment change struck the "lethal defense weapons" language and replaced it with "appropriate assistance". HOFF noted, following the new language from subcommittee chair [redacted] the entire National Security and Defense Platform subcommittee approved the "appropriate assistance" language to be added to

b6 b7C

Denman's amendment, therefore striking the "lethal defense weapons" language.

(U//~~FOUO~~) HOFF stated she believed the Trump Campaign staffers sought another delegate to offer the "appropriate assistance" language when Denman refused to change her amendment.

(U//~~FOUO~~) When asked if HOFF noticed what the two Trump Campaign staffers were doing during the Platform subcommittee meetings, she stated she was too involved in the language before the committee to notice the campaign staffers.

(U//~~FOUO~~) HOFF stated she did not speak with any Trump Campaign officials following the RNC. Therefore, HOFF noted she did not speak with any Trump Campaign officials regarding the Ukraine language in the platform.

(U//~~FOUO~~) HOFF noted this intervention by JD Gordon and the unknown campaign official was a "rare intervention". It was HOFF's belief the Trump Campaign did not want to intervene on other issues before the Platform Committee. HOFF noted to the interviewing agents she voted for Denman's "tougher" language in the amendment. It was explained by HOFF the approved amendment was not "watered down" language as she stated her heard in the media. It was HOFF's belief the approved language was still strong against Russia.

(U//~~FOUO~~) HOFF stated she believed JD Gordon left the campaign in late August 2016 due to, what she heard from others, many campaign staff members not being paid salaries for months. HOFF also stated she would be available to the interviewing agents at a later date if more questions arose.

Official Record

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 12/15/2017

JAMES M. HOSKINS JR., date of birth (DOB) [redacted] social security account number (SSAN) [redacted] was interviewed at his residence, [redacted] HOSKINS was advised the nature of the interview was to discuss a foreign policy meeting he attended for the DONALD J. TRUMP campaign on March 31, 2016. HOSKINS was further advised intentionally providing false statements to the interviewing Agents would be a violation of federal law. After being advised of the nature of the interview and the identities of the interviewing Agents, HOSKINS provided the following information: b6 b7C

HOSKINS acknowledged his presence at the meeting on March 31, 2016. The agents showed HOSKINS a photograph which was taken at the meeting. The Agents then advised of a recent Washington Post article which alleged GEORGE PAPADOPOULOS had introduced the concept of arranging a meeting between then-Candidate TRUMP and Russian president, VLADIMIR PUTIN.

HOSKINS immediately identified PAPADOPOULOS in the photograph and stated to the best of his recollection, he remembered everyone at the meeting went around the table and introduced themselves. When it was PAPADOPOULOS' turn, he said something to the effect of "Mr. PUTIN would like to meet you," which was almost immediately met with a response of "no you shouldn't" from the others in the room. HOSKINS remembered the response happened microseconds after PAPADOPOULOS proposed the idea. HOSKINS couldn't recall who had spoke first but surmised it was likely JEFF SESSIONS who was the first to say no to PAPADOPOULOS. That was the first and last time HOSKINS saw PAPADOPOULOS.

HOSKINS further identified SESSIONS, [redacted] J.D. GORDON, [redacted] and KEITH KELLOGG in the photograph. SESSIONS invited HOSKINS to the meeting to discuss topics related to intelligence and cyber activities. During the meeting, HOSKINS expressed that Russia, China, terrorism in the Middle East, and North Korea would all be continued threats in the immediate future. HOSKINS spoke after PAPADOPOULOS. b6 b7C

HOSKINS did not remember the topic of the Ukraine being brought up at any time. He rather recalled the focus of the meeting was on the nuclear

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weapon inventory and their associated dangers. HOSKINS explained the meeting had generated a large misconception in the media, where the press reported TRUMP to be enamored with nuclear weapons and anxious to use them. HOSKINS stated that was not the case as TRUMP merely questioned the large amount of spending on nuclear weapons if there is no intent to use them. HOSKINS further recalled the topic of cyber being brought up during the meeting as well.

In addition to those in the photograph, HOSKINS recalled [redacted] b6 b7C SAM CLOVIS, COREY LEWANDOWSKI, and a big guy who is TRUMP's security guard, being at the meeting. HOSKINS did not take notes during the meeting and did not remember if any other attendee had.

HOSKINS attended a few more campaign meetings over the next coming months. Those meetings were primarily held for specific purposes and were more low key. HOSKINS was retired at the time and SESSIONS only called him for his expertise and experience in the intelligence community. HOSKINS remembered attending a meeting held at the TRUMP TOWER in New York, which consisted of approximately 12 to 15 people. In that instance, the meeting was held to prepare for an upcoming debate.

HOSKINS recalled another instance where the members of the foreign policy team got together, at a social event held at KELLOGG's home. HOSKINS recalled PAGE being at that event, which was the only time he had met him.

Approximately one month before the election, HOSKINS was asked to assist with the Presidential Transition Team (PTT). He joined the PTT after the election and attended regular meetings held near 1700 H Street in Washington, D.C. He was a staff person on the intelligence team. HOSKINS remained on the PTT through the inauguration. HOSKINS brought his experience to the PTT, which was focused on automated vehicles and drones. [redacted] led the intelligence national security group which was b6 b7C separate from the National Security Council, led by KELLOGG. HOSKINS had a laptop and a phone which he used during his time on the PTT. Those devices were turned in after the inauguration.

MICHAEL FLYNN was involved in the National Security Council. HOSKINS saw him almost every day but did not speak with him. HOSKINS recalled FLYNN being on the phone with [redacted] during a debate meeting but b6 b7C did not provide any further details about the nature of the call. PAUL MANAFORT was no longer in the campaign when HOSKINS joined. HOSKINS spoke with him on a couple of occasions but only in the context of what the government should look like in the future. HOSKINS relayed that the

majority of his service to the TRUMP campaign was performed during the transition period. HOSKINS recalled reviewing STEPHEN MILLER's draft of the Mayflower speech but did not attend the event.

HOSKINS did not recall any further conversations about Russia after the meeting on March 31st. He did not remember having any discussions about the hack of the DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE and was not aware of anything related to Russian collusion.

HOSKINS viewed PAPADOPOULOS as being a young guy who offered up a meeting outside of his scope. He related the event at the March 31st to that of older sages who told PAPADOPOULOS he was a young pup, that's a bad idea and it will look like you're playing favorites. HOSKINS added that when PAPADOPOULOS offered up the meeting with PUTIN, TRUMP did not act like he already knew him. HOSKINS sees TRUMP as being the type of person who would've said I already know him if he had. Instead, he took the information from one of his advisers and never brought it up again.

HOSKINS was not aware of any other campaign members attempting to arrange meetings with foreign officials.

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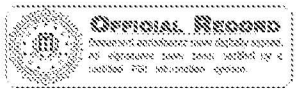

FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

CLASSIFIED BY: NSICG [redacted]
REASON: 1.4 (C)
DECLASSIFY ON: 12-31-2042
DATE: 02-11-2020

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 10/05/2017

Jason James Miller, date of birth [redacted] was interviewed at the law offices of Greenberg Traurig, at 2101 L. Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037. Miller was accompanied by his personal counsel, [redacted] and email address [redacted] from the law offices of Greenberg Traurig. Participating in the interview were FBI Special Agents (SA) [redacted] and Special Counsel's Office attorneys Brandon VanGrack and Zainab Ahmad. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing team and the purpose of the interview, Miller provided the following information:

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[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

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Investigation on 08/31/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 08/31/2017

by [redacted]

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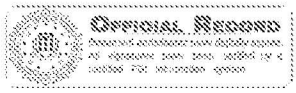

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 06/01/2018

Olga Kalashnikova, date of birth (DOB) [redacted] was interviewed at the Office of Special Counsel in Washington, D.C. SSA [redacted] IA [redacted] and Special Prosecutor Brian Richardson were present for the interview. Kalashnikova was represented by [redacted] of the law firm Bryan Cave Leighton Paisner. Kalashnikova was presented with a proffer agreement which she and her attorney, [redacted] signed and dated. Special Prosecutor Richardson explained the proffer agreement to Kalashnikova and her and her attorney advised they had no questions regarding the agreement. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agent and the nature of the interview, Kalashnikova provided the following information:

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Kalashnikova was born in [redacted] She lived in [redacted] until [redacted] when she moved to [redacted] to attend [redacted] She graduated with a degree in [redacted]

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Investigation on 05/17/2018 at Washingtong, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 05/21/2018

by [redacted]

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Kalashnikova provided the following email addresses for herself:

- [redacted] – work email [redacted]
- [redacted] – personal;
- [redacted] – personal;
- [redacted] – personal;

[redacted]

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Kalashinkova provided the following list of people who worked for Deripaska:

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- George Oganov [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

  - Kalashnikova thinks Oganov reports directly to Deripaska.

[redacted]

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

Kalashnikova advised she was not familiar with the following names [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] (other than via press reports); [redacted]

[redacted](other than via press reports); [redacted]

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Official Record

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 01/23/2018

ZALMAY KHALILZAD, former United States (U.S.) Ambassador and current Board of Directors member of CENTER FOR THE NATIONAL INTEREST (CNI), was interviewed pursuant to a proffer agreement at Baker & Hostetler, LLP, 1050 Connecticut Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20036 by Special Agent (SA) [redacted] SA [redacted] Intelligence Analyst (IA) [redacted] b6 b7C [redacted] Assistant Special Counsel (ASC) Aaron Zelinsky, and ASC Andrew Goldstein. Accompanying KHALILZAD was CNI's outside counsel attorneys [redacted] from Baker & Hostetler, LLP. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing officials and after reviewing the proffer agreement, in the presence of his attorneys, KHALILZAD executed the proffer agreement, whereupon he provided the following information:

From 2003 to 2005, KHALILZAD was the U.S. Ambassador to Afghanistan. b5 per DOJ/OIP From 2005 to 2007, KHALILZAD was the U.S. Ambassador to Iraq. From 2007 to 2009, KHALILZAD was the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations (UN). b6 b7C [redacted]

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

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Investigation on 01/09/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 01/09/2018 b6 b7C

by SA [redacted] b7E

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SIMES asked KHALILZAD to introduce TRUMP at the event.

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[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

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KHALILZAD had some discussions with SESSIONS

KHALILZAD had in-person meetings with SESSIONS.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

KHALILZAD also spoke to SESSIONS on the telephone on at least one occasion.

KHALILZAD and SESSIONS discussed Russia generally

b5 per DOJ/OIP

KHALILZAD described his discussions with SESSIONS

b5 per DOJ/OIP

specifically the idea of nation-building.

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

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FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

Official Record

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 09/11/2018

(U) On 08/30/2018 Special Agents (SA) [redacted] and [redacted] interviewed DAVID N. KLEIN (KLEIN) at the French Press Coffee Roasters Uptown at 95 E Kennedy Blvd, Lakewood, NJ 08701. The interview was establish via a telephone call to [redacted] During the phone call, KLEIN stated he was willing to talk with the FBI, had concerns about speaking to the FBI without an attorney present, but he could not afford an attorney. KLEIN stated he would meet with the SAs but reserved the right to not answer any questions or could stop the interview to consult with an attorney. In person and prior to the interview, SA [redacted] reiterated to KLEIN the interview was entirely voluntary and KLEIN could stop the interview at any time. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing SAs and the purpose of the interview, KLEIN provided the following information: b6 b7C

(U) During the 2016 Presidential Election, DONALD J. TRUMP (TRUMP) had a lot of support from people in Lakewood, NJ. KLEIN is from Los Angeles, CA and had a [redacted] with JASON GREENBLATT (GREENBLATT), TRUMP's one-time attorney. KLEIN reached out to GREENBLATT offering assistance to the TRUMP CAMPAIGN, but GREENBLATT never followed up with KLEIN. b6 b7C

(U) KLEIN felt he could represent the people of Lakewood's interests to the TRUMP CAMPAIGN because KLEIN knows the players in Lakewood, NJ. [redacted] b6 b7C

(U) KLEIN recalled that before and during the run-up to the 2016 election there was interest in improving relations between Russia and the United States (U.S.) unlike today. KLEIN felt it made sense to have a friendly relationship with Russia. KLEIN recalled SECRETARY HILLARY CLINTON's "reset" with Russia.

(U) KLEIN is Orthodox Jewish and thought he could reach out to assist in improving U.S.-Russian relations through that community. KLEIN searched online and found RABBI BEREL LAZAR (LAZAR), the Chief Rabbi of Russia. KLEIN found LAZAR's email address online and contacted LAZAR. LAZAR's office reached out to KLEIN that LAZAR was planning a trip to the U.S.

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KLEIN contacted the TRUMP CAMPAIGN and scheduled a meeting at TRUMP TOWER in New York, NY.

(U) This meeting at TRUMP TOWER included LAZAR, GREENBLATT, KLEIN, and a PR person, whose name KLEIN could not recall. At the meeting they discussed improving U.S.-Russian relations. LAZAR wanted to invite GREENBLATT or another TRUMP CAMPAIGN representative to a celebration in Russia centered around the anniversary of Israel. KLEIN reached out to LAZAR one or two times for feedback on the relationship but did not hear much back. GREENBLATT said nothing came out of the relationship.

[redacted]

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(U) KLEIN contacted COREY LEWANDOWSKI via LinkedIn around June 2015, after TRUMP's candidacy was announced. KLEIN offered support and assistance to the campaign. LEWANDOWSKI responded to him saying the campaign needed volunteers in New York, NY at the time and not in Lakewood, NJ. KLEIN did not think the commute to New York, NY made sense so he did not directly assist the campaign.

(U) As the potential for a TRUMP victory increased, KLEIN reached out to the campaign regarding the saboteur in the government with the idea to eventually put downward pressure on the individual and hope to open opportunities for his company. KLEIN reached out to LEWANDOWSKI again, but did not hear a response. KLEIN followed up with another email and CC'd [redacted] KLEIN thought putting [redacted] on the CC line made him appear legitimate to LEWANDOWSKI. After [redacted] email, LEWANDOWSKI told KLEIN to get in touch with SAM CLOVIS (CLOVIS).

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(U) CLOVIS contacted KLEIN and they set up a meeting in Washington, DC to discuss [redacted]

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(U) KLEIN was shown document Bates DJTFP00011547 [Bates removed from shown copy]. KLEIN recalled he told CLOVIS he knew LAZAR but CLOVIS did not

respond and showed no interest. KLEIN then went to GREENBLATT to coordinate the meeting. KLEIN recalled the meeting at TRUMP TOWER took place after the email.

(U) In reference to the line "You may remember back in February..." from the email, KLEIN recalled he met CLOVIS in January 2016 regarding [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted]

(U) KLEIN has been out of touch with CLOVIS for about a year. They had some contact during the campaign and the administration where CLOVIS had a position at the Department of Agriculture. CLOVIS left the Department of Agriculture and KLEIN has had no contact with CLOVIS.

(U) KLEIN had no prior relationship with LAZAR prior to reaching out to LAZAR's secretary in advance of contacting him regarding U.S.-Russian relations. KLEIN said the email was proof of no prior relationship. Additionally, the email used the word "possibility" showing the TRUMP-Putin meeting was not previously established and only conceptual.

(U) As mentioned in the email, the concept of a TRUMP-Putin meeting was KLEIN's idea. The idea for that potential meeting did not come up in the TRUMP TOWER meeting with LAZAR and GREENBLATT. KLEIN had no further communication with CLOVIS regarding the set up of a Russia meeting.

(U) The TRUMP-Putin meeting idea was only conceptual when KLEIN had the meeting at TRUMP TOWER. KLEIN did not believe he discussed the idea of the TRUMP-Putin meeting with LAZAR in coordinating for the TRUMP TOWER meeting.

[redacted] b6 b7C

(U) KLEIN had no knowledge of if LAZAR reached out to other Presidential Campaigns.

(U) KLEIN communicated with LAZAR with a follow-up email after the TRUMP TOWER meeting. Communications were in the nature of helping out and improving relations.

(U) The phone number listed in the email, [redacted] is no longer active. KLEIN was on a group plan with a former boss and lost the number when he left the plan. KLEIN's email [redacted] is still active. KLEIN did not want to give the interviewing SAs his other email address. b6 b7C

Official Record

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 03/22/2018

(U) On 02/27/2018 Special Agents [redacted] and [redacted] with Assistant Special Counsel Aaron Zelinksy interviewed LENDWOOD LANDRUM AKA PETE LANDRUM (LANDRUM) at the Special Counsel's Office in Washington, DC. LANDRUM's counsel, [redacted] and [redacted] were also present. ASC Zelinksy admonished LANDRUM that it is a crime to lie to the FBI, that this interview was voluntary, and that any questions asked were not intended to elicit information discussed with LANDRUM's counsel. [redacted] stated that LANDRUM was prepped on the documents perviously provided. [redacted] stated that LANDRUM would be happy to research any other information and provide it. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Special Agents and the nature of the interview, LANDRUM provided the following information:

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[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b6 b7C

Investigation on 02/27/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 03/01/2018

by [redacted] SA [redacted]

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SESSIONS was concerned that Russia was selling S-300 Air Defense Systems to Iran. SESSIONS was concerned about Russian planes buzzing US Military Assets in the region. SESSIONS was concerned about the emerging democracies, like Moldova and Ukraine, which felt Russia is conducting threatening actions against them. KISLYAK attempted to explain. KISLYAK offered for SESSIONS to come to a lunch at the Embassy so that KISLYAK can share the Russian side of the events. SESSIONS gave no answer. LANDRUM was not aware of any follow-up to the offer.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

(U) KISLYAK mentioned it was an interesting campaign. b5 per DOJ/OIP There was no indication KISLYAK asked for any conveyance of information to or from the TRUMP CAMPAIGN from SESSIONS. LANDRUM did not recall if election meddling was discussed. SESSIONS brought up his concern for Eastern European countries that were uncomfortable with the threatening actions of Russia, KISLYAK mentioned NATO and the status of permanent Western forces in the Eastern European countries bordering Russia. KISLYAK said that NATO should not have permanent forces in place.

(U) The meeting lasted 15-20 minutes, b5 per DOJ/OIP

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(U) SESSIONS met with Ambassadors from the Ukraine, Bulgaria, Japan, India, Egypt, Israel, United Kingdom, China, Baltics, and Georgia, among

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[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

Official Record

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 12/22/2017

COREY LEWANDOWSKI, date of birth [redacted] Social Security Account Number (SSAN) [redacted] was interviewed on November 8, 2017 at the Federal Bureau of Investigation - Special Counsel's office, 395 E Street SW, Washington, D.C. Present during the interview were LEWANDOWSKI's Attorney [redacted] FBI Special Agent (SA) [redacted] SA [redacted] Special Counsel Attorney JEANNIE RHEE, Special Counsel Attorney AARON ZELINSKY, and Special Counsel Attorney ANDREW GOLDSTEIN. b6 b7C

Prior to the interview, LEWANDOWSKI and his attorney were provided with the attached show documents to review for approximately two hours at the interview location. They were allowed to review the documents at the FBI office but did not receive a copy of the documents. At the beginning of the interview, LEWANDOWSKI signed the attached agreement and was informed that making intentional false statements to the SAs could result in federal charges. LEWANDOWSKI then provided the following information:

LEWANDOWSKI initially became involved in the DONALD J. TRUMP (TRUMP) presidential campaign when he was the National Director for Voter Registration in Manchester, NH. In April 2014, he was involved in an event for 2016 presidential candidates and DAVID BOSSIE of CITIZENS UNITED asked LEWANDOWSKI about joining the TRUMP campaign.

LEWANDOWSKI met with TRUMP in January 2015 and then became the Senior Political Advisor working with the TRUMP ORGANIZATION until the official campaign was stood up. Then LEWANDOWSKI became the Campaign Manager for the TRUMP presidential campaign. LEWANDOWSKI was paid approximately [redacted] base salary with the opportunity for bonuses. The bonuses were [redacted] for each state if TRUMP won the primaries for Iowa, New Hampshire, or South Carolina. The bonus was [redacted] if TRUMP placed second in those states. These payments were negotiated with TRUMP prior to the campaign being stood up. b6 b7C

At the time LEWANDOWSKI was brought on, he and [redacted] were the only paid campaign team members. [redacted] was involved in the campaign b6 b7C

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prior to LEWANDOWSKI being hired. [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted]

Although there was no additional campaign staff at that time, MICHAEL COHEN, Executive Vice President of TRUMP ORGANIZATION, was involved in the campaign through his position with TRUMP ORGANIZATION but not directly with the campaign. LEWANDOWSKI worked with [redacted] b6 b7C for TRUMP ORGANIZATION, and [redacted] for TRUMP ORGANIZATION, for logistics and payments but did not engage in political activities with them.

HOPE HICKS and AMANDA MILLER were TRUMP ORGANIZATION employees at the time who eventually transitioned over to work on the campaign. KEITH SCHILLER, TRUMP's "body guy", traveled with the team. They were not compensated by the campaign at that time and were loosely considered part of the team.

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

LEWANDOWSKI was physically separated from TRUMP, HICKS, and COHEN prior to the campaign office standing up. LEWANDOWSKI was on a separate floor of TRUMP ORGANIZATION. LEWANDOWSKI thinks the campaign office was stood up in August or September 2015, or possibly as early as June 2015.

LEWANDOWSKI was referred to the show document marked 1 and asked about [redacted] was hired by LEWANDOWSKI in [redacted] to be the [redacted] and was compensated by the campaign. [redacted] served as a [redacted] for the campaign and had some political experience. LEWANDOWSKI also named several other state directors working for the campaign. b6 b7C

LEWANDOWSKI provided his background and experience related to politics and campaigns. LEWANDOWSKI attended grad school in [redacted] and then worked as [redacted] on the hill for BOB NEY, a congressman from Ohio, for [redacted] LEWANDOWSKI also worked for BOB SMITH, a senator from New Hampshire. He then worked for [redacted] b6 b7C

LEWANDOWSKI advised DON McGAHN was the campaign counsel early on and JONES DAY was the legal firm representing the campaign.

COHEN had some political experience having run for a city council position in New York. COHEN initially took a keen interest in LEWANDOWSKI and helped LEWANDOWSKI get acclimated. Eventually, COHEN spent less and less time with LEWANDOWSKI [redacted] b6 b7C By the time the campaign officially launched, LEWANDOWSKI would not spend time in COHEN's office. [redacted]

COHEN had close to unlimited access to TRUMP and his kids. COHEN worked alongside DONALD TRUMP JR. (JUNIOR), ERIC TRUMP (ERIC), and IVANKA TRUMP (IVANKA) every day. LEWANDOWSKI is not sure what COHEN's role was at TRUMP ORGANIZATION. LEWANDOWSKI does not think COHEN has good political instincts. So eventually LEWANDOWSKI would disregard COHEN's recommendations. COHEN would talk directly to TRUMP about the campaign. LEWANDOWSKI never talked to TRUMP or his kids about COHEN's lack of political instincts or COHEN's attempts to discredit LEWANDOWSKI in the media.

LEWANDOWSKI was asked who would be considered COHEN's advocates and detractors in the office. LEWANDOWSKI suggested JASON GREENBLATT, [redacted] b6 b7C and joked that maybe the elevator operators in the office may have been COHEN's only advocates, and GRAFF, ALAN GARTEN and the TRUMP children may have been detractors.

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] was fired by TRUMP [redacted] and rehired prior to LEWANDOWSKI joining the team. In January 2014, [redacted] TRUMP and a Buzzfeed reporter [redacted] vouched for were on a plane and got stuck in Florida when they couldn't deplane. The reporter, McKAY COPPINS, then wrote a derogatory piece about TRUMP's presidential aspirations. TRUMP ended up firing [redacted] since he had vouched for the reporter. LEWANDOWSKI came in as [redacted] supervisor. [redacted] was terminated [redacted] because of [redacted] TRUMP hired him again because he is a nice man with a strong sense of loyalty. The [redacted] b6 b7C

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[redacted] was a result of [redacted]

[redacted]

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Hiring for the campaign was pretty small. In 2015, there were approximately 40 employees making up a small headquarters and keeping most employees in their own states.

LEWANDOWSKI was referred to the show document marked 2 and asked about STEVE BANNON. LEWANDOWSKI said BANNON didn't have any formal role in the campaign but he fundamentally liked TRUMP's message. He was the Chairman for BREITBART at the time. LEWANDOWSKI knew BANNON prior to LEWANDOWSKI's involvement in the campaign. BANNON would communicate his ideas to the campaign. The Super PAC was headed by BANNON and [redacted] at the time, so BANNON's campaign involvement was limited. BANNON introduced MICHAEL FLYNN to LEWANDOWSKI. BANNON also introduced SEBASTIAN GORKA to the campaign.

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LEWANDOWSKI received a brief from FLYNN and asked TRUMP if he was interested in meeting FLYNN. TRUMP told LEWANDOWSKI to go ahead and setup a meeting. In September 2015, FLYNN and TRUMP met and discussed foreign policy for about an hour. LEWANDOWSKI arranged the meeting and walked FLYNN up to their headquarters where FLYNN and TRUMP spoke alone. LEWANDOWSKI does not recall if he engaged in any conversations with TRUMP after about the content of the meeting. FLYNN came back for at least one more meeting and may have come back for a third. LEWANDOWSKI wasn't present for their conversations and doesn't know if Russia was discussed.

LEWANDOWSKI acknowledged FLYNN was pushing his ideas about Russia but LEWANDOWSKI mentioned it wasn't necessarily because the campaign was interested in FLYNN's ideas but because the campaign needed an endorsement from someone like FLYNN. LEWANDOWSKI explained FLYNN had "the look" they needed to represent the campaign. LEWANDOWSKI actively pursued FLYNN's endorsement throughout the primary process through multiple phone conversations and two face-to-face meetings in Trump Tower. LEWANDOWSKI is not aware of any foreign policy stances requested by FLYNN in exchange for his endorsement. LEWANDOWSKI does not recall conversations about Russia with regard to FLYNN. FLYNN took on a much bigger role in the campaign after LEWANDOWSKI left.

In reference to show document marked 2, LEWANDOWSKI was asked about [redacted] and [redacted] who were copied on an email from

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[redacted] that eventually went to BANNON and then to LEWANDOWSKI. LEWANDOWSKI explained he doesn't know [redacted] or [redacted] but believes [redacted] and a colleague of BANNON but was not officially on the campaign. b6 b7C

LEWANDOWSKI was asked about TRUMP's stance on foreign policy and how the campaign's foreign policy team was developed. LEWANDOWSKI explained he didn't believe foreign policy would play a dominant role in the campaign. LEWANDOWSKI did not have experience in foreign policy and had no significant foreign travel.

In Fall 2015, Dr. SAM CLOVIS was brought on to the campaign because he was a PhD and had experience. CLOVIS reported to LEWANDOWSKI. The campaign needed to quell the idea in the media that TRUMP had no foreign policy team. The media harped on the idea that TRUMP took his foreign policy advice from himself. CLOVIS was charged with validating the individuals on the team. They did not engage in lengthy foreign policy discussions. TRUMP's policy was more U.S.-centric, focused on domestic policy issues.

During LEWANDOWSKI's time on the campaign, TRUMP went to Scotland. There was talk of other foreign travel. It was the desire of the family, specifically KUSHNER, to bring TRUMP to Israel. KUSHNER had a long-standing relationship with the Prime Minister of Israel. TRUMP tweeted that he wouldn't go to Israel. LEWANDOSKI said "Bibi" (a known alias for Prime Minister BENJAMIN NETANYAHU) made a public comment about TRUMP and the trip was called off. LEWANDOWSKI noted it was common for Republican candidates to travel to Israel.

LEWANDOWSKI knew TRUMP did not want to leave the country. TRUMP almost didn't want to go to Scotland. LEWANDOWSKI does not recall plans to travel to Russia. He recalled an inquiry about a trip to Germany, Israel and Russia but does not recall any plans to go. LEWANDOWSKI [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

LEWANDOWSKI was asked why COHEN would want TRUMP to travel to Russia. LEWANDOWSKI explained the TRUMP ORGANIZATION pays money to those who get new business. Maybe COHEN thought there was new business in Russia. Early in LEWANDOWSKI's involvement with the campaign, approximately Spring 2015, COHEN received money for setting up a video teleconference between TRUMP and a former soviet republic country. LEWANDOWSKI explained he couldn't stop this event from taking place and wasn't able to perform any due diligence on it since TRUMP was

doing it as part of the business. LEWANDOWSKI wouldn't have wanted any fallout from this conference. A wealthy person overseas had asked for one hour of TRUMP on camera and TRUMP received [redacted] for it. COHEN received money from it as well. b6 b7C

LEWANDOWSKI had no knowledge of a project for Trump Tower in Moscow. LEWANDOWSKI was not privy to discussion about the business because they were physically separated. LEWANDOWSKI does not recall any discussions about Russia in 2015.

LEWANDOWSKI was shown document 4 which is an email from September 2015 in which a reporter asks about plans for TRUMP and PUTIN to meet during the United Nations meeting. LEWANDOWSKI explained COHEN raised this with the press without consulting with the campaign or TRUMP. LEWANDOWSKI never heard any conversations about setting up a meeting with PUTIN. LEWANDOSKI said MAGGIE HABERMAN is one of COHEN's media contacts. COHEN wanted to stay relevant with the media. LEWANDOWSKI said COHEN made the decision not to join the campaign early on because he didn't think it would be a success.

LEWANDOWSKI tried not to interact with COHEN. LEWANDOWSKI would ask HICKS, who had a better relationship with COHEN, to approach COHEN and ask if COHEN was initiating these false news stories. COHEN told her he wasn't.

It was widely known among senior staff that COHEN's financial situation was strenuous due to his high leverage of taxi medallions. TRUMP spoke with [redacted] in front of LEWANDOWSKI about [redacted] TRUMP asked [redacted] about [redacted] as if they had previous discussions about [redacted] TRUMP asked if [redacted] LEWANDOWSKI thinks these conversations occurred in Spring 2016. b6 b7C

LEWANDOWSKI is not aware of COHEN having any interests in Russia other than the deal he arranged for the TRUMP teleconference previously mentioned and public reporting of his conversations with FELIX SATER.

LEWANDOWSKI does not know if COHEN brought business in for TRUMP ORGANIZATION or if he had any attorney responsibilities for the company. LEWANDOWSKI doesn't believe COHEN represented TRUMP in any legal capacity. TRUMP never called COHEN his personal attorney. When TRUMP ORGANIZATION needed to replace the engine in their 747, COHEN worked with the vendor to bring the cost of the engine down. Sometimes COHEN would

deliver messages to the media. COHEN's role with TRUMP ORGANIZATION was minimized when TRUMP became president which is probably why COHEN left TRUMP ORGANIZATION.

COHEN went to work as a [redacted] with a law firm working out of [redacted] in New York trying to stay relevant. b6 b7C

TRUMP told LEWANDOWSKI that TRUMP has no business in Russia. TRUMP is a loyal person, sometimes to a fault. LEWANDOWSKI provided [redacted] and COHEN as examples of this. b6 b7A b7C

LEWANDOWSKI was referred to show document 3, which was an email dated September 8, 2015 from BANNON to LEWANDOWSKI indicating ERIC PRINCE worked up some talking points for the campaign. LEWANDOSKI explained BANNON recommended PRINCE but PRINCE had no formal role in the campaign and didn't have any time with senior campaign members. CLOVIS or LEWANDOWSKI would have known if PRINCE was involved with the campaign and LEWANDOWSKI does not recall PRINCE being involved with the campaign.

LEWANDOWSKI recalls they assembled a foreign policy team to roll out at a public event, the Washington Post editorial board meeting in March 2016. LEWANDOWSKI does not recall any discussions about what the campaign was looking for in its foreign policy team. CLOVIS led this effort and was assigned to select the team.

SESSIONS' involvement in the foreign policy team was important to the campaign because of an event in Mobile, Alabama in August 2015 where SESSIONS supported TRUMP. STEPHEN MILLER had been a SESSIONS staffer and was hired by LEWANDOWSKI to work for the campaign in January 2016. STEPHEN MILLER and SESSIONS had a close relationship. RICK DEARBORN was also involved in getting SESSIONS' endorsement. TRUMP reached out to SESSIONS personally to request his involvement. LEWANDOWSKI and STEPHEN MILLER spoke with SESSIONS often and it was determined STEPHEN MILLER would have the lead role in the substance of foreign policy and domestic policy. STEPHEN MILLER would work with CLOVIS on foreign policy issues, including immigration and national security.

LEWANDOWSKI gave CLOVIS a deadline of March 21, 2016 to recommend a foreign policy team. SESSIONS was the only priority member of the team LEWANDOWSKI was aware of. CLOVIS recommended all the members of the foreign policy team and LEWANDOWSKI gave the list a cursory glance. Around this time, KUSHNER exerted himself into a more aggressive role with the campaign, along with IVANKA. KUSHNER and IVANKA thought their should be specialty teams for the campaign to be credible. The foreign policy team would handle putting together foreign policy

papers. TRUMP had almost no involvement in the day-to-day operations of the campaign.

LEWANDOWSKI was referred to show document 9, which was an email from September 2015 with subject line "Re: Invoice / Funding for Russia Photo Spot" in which LEWANDOSWKI stated "DJT wants to change this ad. Doesn't think Putin works right now." LEWANDOWSKI explained this was in reference to a tongue-in-cheek ad the campaign wanted to shoot at TRUMP's Mar-a-Lago estate which would show a senior Russian official in his office becoming outraged as he watched a news report that TRUMP won the presidency. The Russian official would express that he was outraged because now the U.S. would be tough on Russia. LEWANDOWSKI said TRUMP decided to table this ad idea because he didn't think it would be helpful or harmful with the approaching Iowa caucus, so he didn't want to spend money on it.

TRUMP is really cheap. He never denied a funding request by LEWANDOWSKI because TRUMP knew LEWANDOWSKI was responsible with spending. LEWANDOWSKI compiled monthly spreadsheets of expenses detailed by category. The expenses were reviewed by [redacted] and brought to TRUMP for final approval. TRUMP would decide on a final spending amount to be wired to the campaign by [redacted] The campaign was self-funded along with small dollar website donations. LEWANDOWSKI estimates the funding to be 25 million dollars for the first three primaries. TRUMP would occasionally direct LEWANDOWSKI to spend more money on ads in certain locations and have the money wired to the campaign. These decisions were made based on TRUMP's gut and publicly available polling information. b6 b7C

TRUMP's children became more involved in the campaign around the time of the Iowa caucus, in approximately March 2016. During the period from February to June 2016, the polls improved and they became more involved. JUNIOR and ERIC, including ERIC's [redacted] would travel wherever they were asked to meet with fishers, golfers, and outdoors men but they were not traveling with the campaign team. b6 b7C

IVANKA was hesitant to get involved with the campaign unless it was good for her brand. For example, when TRUMP hosted SNL she joined him. IVANKA was separated from TRUMP ORGANIZATION with her own line.

KUSHNER just showed up regularly and was always at Trump Tower. He didn't appear to have any day-to-day responsibilities at KUSHNER COMPANIES since he was never there. During his first trip with the campaign in November 2015 to Michigan, KUSHNER said he was going to Michigan for business and then started to interject himself in the campaign and became involved in most major decisions.

On Monday mornings, there would be family meetings with KUSHNER, LEWANDOWSKI, HICKS, MANAFORT, GATES and TRUMP's grown children. They would meet in ERIC's office. LEWANDOWSKI does not recall any comments about a trip to Russia during these meetings and doesn't recall KUSHNER making any statements in regards to Russia.

LEWANDOWSKI was referred to show document 6, which was an email from CLOVIS in September 2015 regarding notes for a USS Iowa presentation in which "Deal with Russia and Vladimir Putin directly" was listed as a bullet under the Foreign Policy topic. LEWANDOWSKI was asked about CLOVIS' stance on Russia and said he was not sure what CLOVIS' stance was. LEWANDOWSKI does not recall discussing Russia with CLOVIS.

LEWANDOWSKI was referred to show document 10, which was an email from HICKS to CLOVIS and LEWANDOWSKI in December 2015 with a quote from TRUMP about PUTIN and cooperation with Russia. LEWANDOWSKI explained this email was in response to a forward-facing request from media about comments from PUTIN. LEWANDOWSKI explained the quote was a result of a conversation he heard between TRUMP and HICKS about responding to PUTIN's comments. LEWANDOWSKI explained that TRUMP respected strong leadership personalities such as PUTIN. TRUMP's respect of PUTIN eminates from the type of leader PUTIN is in Russia, stemming from the fact that Russia thinks the way PUTIN wants Russia to think. TRUMP believes a world leader demands respect. TRUMP talked about the benefit of working with Russia on issues like ISIL by promoting respect between the two country leaders.

LEWANDOWSKI was asked who would be helping to inform TRUMP's views on Russia. He explained that very few had direct contact to engage TRUMP on this. HICKS, STEPHEN MILLER, SCHILLER and DAN SCAVINO would all have a first person account of TRUMP's views and were involved in articulating TRUMP's messaging. TRUMP's children were not largely involved in shaping policy. LEWANDOWSKI described the one exception being JUNIOR and the second amendment, which he strongly advocated for.

[redacted] KUSHNER liked to make statements with maximum impact when few people were around. He would be silent in a meeting and then make a comment after everyone had left. During the transition team, KUSHNER had a strong interest in international affairs but not necessarily foreign policy. [redacted]

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KUSHNER was designated to meet with foreign leaders instead of CHRISTIE. Other than what has been publicly reported, LEWANDOWSKI does not know what foreign leaders KUSHNER met with. LEWANDOWSKI was briefed by BRAD PARSCALE on online and digital marketing comercials KUSHNER was

involved in when advertising money was available. KUSHNER became more involved as the campaign progressed.

KUSHNER ran point for the first foreign policy speech on April 27, 2016. KUSHNER handled the who, what, when and where. KUSHNER was involved in finding a sponsor for the speech, developing the guest list, reviewing the draft by reaching out to HENRY KISSINGER and working on digital media for the event.

LEWANDOWSKI does not think KUSHNER became involved in the foreign policy speech planning because of the March 31, 2016 foreign policy meeting. LEWANDOWSKI thinks KUSHNER was just filling a gap because CLOVIS was not a strong leader. LEWANDOWSKI knows the speech was sponsored by DIMITRI SIMES of a Washington think tank but did not know how KUSHNER came to know SIMES. LEWANDOWSKI had not heard of SIMES before and LEWANDOWSKI's only role in the speech was to make sure TRUMP read it ahead of time, which he did in the car ride to the speech. LEWANDOWSKI explained the speech the FBI has included in their documents is not the final speech because TRUMP made changes to the speech in the car.

By the time of the speech, LEWANDOWSKI knew MANAFORT, GATES and DEARBORN were going to be taking over the campaign and LEWANDOWSKI and MANAFORT were already in open disagreement about the campaign. MANAFORT brought GATES onto the campaign. LEWANDOWSKI and his associates cared about TRUMP, not themselves, but MANAFORT and his associates were interested in what was best for MANAFORT. LEWANDOWSKI grouped SCAVINO in with LEWANDOWSKI's associates.

LEWANDOWSKI physically attended the speech but didn't listen to it. During the speech, LEWANDOWSKI was in the back the whole time dealing with a campaign crisis. [redacted] b6 b7A b7C [redacted] LEWANDOWSKI explained the story was "bullshit" and there was no audit. LEWANDOWSKI thinks he and TRUMP may have gone to the Republican National Committee (RNC) for a meeting and possibly Indiana that same day.

LEWANDOWSKI was referred to show document 17, which was an email in January 2016 from EDWARD COX introducing CARTER PAGE to LEWANDOWSKI listing PAGE's Russian business experience and an article PAGE wrote regarding PUTIN. LEWANDOWSKI explained this was the first time he heard of PAGE. TRUMP had instructed LEWANDOWSKI to build a relationship with COX, who was well known to the campaign as the former RNC chair.

LEWANDOWSKI explained PAGE had an office in the building next to Trump Tower. LEWANDOWSKI recalls setting up a meeting but doesn't recall meeting PAGE or the details of their conversation. LEWANDOWSKI does not think he would have met PAGE alone. HICKS, STEPHEN MILLER, CLOVIS or MICHAEL GLASSNER would likely have been there too. It is possible LEWANDOWSKI introduced PAGE to CLOVIS as PAGE indicated in his testimony on the Hill. Based on his lack of recollection, LEWANDOWSKI believes the meeting would have been short and insignificant.

LEWANDOWSKI hired GLASSNER in July 2015 as the National Field Director for the campaign. LEWANDOWSKI promoted GLASSNER. GLASSNER and LEWANDOWSKI had a good working relationship. GLASSNER was reliable. He was tasked with staff hiring at the state base level. GLASSNER was only involved in foreign policy when no one else was handling it.

LEWANDOWSKI was referred to show document 28, which was an email in April 2016 from NEWT GINGRICH expressing concerns about PAGE's ties to PUTIN and Russian investment activities. LEWANDOWSKI does not believe he responded to this email. LEWANDOWSKI explained there was nothing actionable in the email for him. LEWANDOWSKI wouldn't have remembered this. He and GINGRICH largely talked on the phone. GINGRICH was well known and trusted by LEWANDOWSKI but by April LEWANDOWSKI bequeathed a significant part of foreign policy to CLOVIS. STEPHEN MILLER was also on the email and handling policy, so LEWANDOWSKI left it to STEPHEN MILLER. LEWANDOWSKI didn't have daily interactions with PAGE. PAGE was asked to serve on the board but didn't even show up. CLOVIS should have been supervising and performing due dilligence. LEWANDOWSKI did not recognize the name [redacted] from the email chain. b6 b7C

LEWANDOWSKI was referred to show document 14, which was an email in January 2016 from PAGE to CLOVIS and GLASSNER that LEWANDOWSKI is copied on, in which PAGE discusses high level Russian contacts he has that can arrange a meeting with PUTIN. LEWANDOWSKI explained that due to his short attention span and the high volume of emails he got, he would not have read an email this long when he is not on the To: line. LEWANDOWSKI explained he didn't even know what GAZPROM was. LEWANDOWSKI didn't know these guys. If DEARBORN or SESSIONS emailed LEWANDOWSKI, he would respond. PAGE didn't have that level of respect from LEWANDOWSKI. LEWANDOWSKI distinguished the team by whether someone was paid or had a donaldtrump.com email account. LEWANDOWSKI would pay attention to someone like KELLYANNE CONWAY, for example, because she was a known entity for him.

LEWANDOWSKI was asked about the fact that he approved PAGE's travel to Russia in June 2016 on the day before he was fired from the

campaign. LEWANDOWSKI explained he told PAGE he could do whatever he wanted because he didn't speak for TRUMP.

The whole foreign policy team was a scam to get something on paper for the Washington Post editorial board meeting. LEWANDOWSKI had regular interactions with the good people, like [redacted] and KEITH KELLOGG. LEWANDOWSKI would proactively reach out to them for speech input because he respected their experience. b6 b7C

LEWANDOWSKI was asked about whether this caused greater concern about letting PAGE go to Russia, since he was seen as a loose cannon. LEWANDOWSKI figured the event PAGE was speaking at was legitimate since a previous president spoke there, so LEWANDOWSKI didn't have concerns.

LEWANDOWSKI had 100% control of the campaign before MANAFORT came on. LEWANDOWSKI knew he was about to lose his job. TRUMP talked to LEWANDOWSKI three times on the day before LEWANDOWSKI was fired. LEWANDOWSKI was fired on Father's Day and remembers TRUMP telling him, "They hate me because they hate you." The family had already met that weekend before in Bedminster. LEWANDOWSKI was pissed TRUMP wouldn't save LEWANDOWSKI because TRUMP should have saved him. LEWANDOWSKI explained "family is family" and the line between family and staff was very clear.

LEWANDOWSKI was asked about whether maybe he approved PAGE's travel as a kick in the pants for being fired. LEWANDOWSKI said PAGE wasn't a priority and LEWANDOWSKI gave up once he knew he was getting fired. He was upset HICKS, SCAVINO and SCHILLER didn't stand up for him either since they were his friends. CHRISTY is the only one who stood up to TRUMP for LEWANDOWSKI. BANNON and PRIEBUS also learned family wins. General JOHN KELLY will too. PAGE wouldn't have been involved in the campaign if LEWANDOWSKI still had full control.

LEWANDOWSKI was asked if he recalled the campaign discussing the Logan Act. He said he doesn't know what that is and doesn't recall discussing it.

LEWANDOWSKI was referred to show document 42, which was an email in May 2016 from CLOVIS to LEWANDOWSKI providing updates on several items including the statement, "I will pursue the Russia issue tomorrow. I want to make sure we can do it before reaching out to the Russians to see what they might have in mind." LEWANDOWSKI said there were no actionable items in the email for him. LEWANDOWSKI was informed there was other correspondence between LEWANDOWSKI and CLOVIS about this matter in which LEWANDOWSKI tasked CLOVIS with tracking down information. LEWANDOWSKI

said he and CLOVIS had a conversation during which CLOVIS raised the idea of a trip to Russia. LEWANDOWSKI told CLOVIS to track it down and figure out the legality and logistics and he would present it to TRUMP. LEWANDOWSKI never received a resolution, so he never went to the candidate with it.

LEWANDOWSKI does not remember who raised the idea of a trip to Russia first but LEWANDOWSKI would not have raised it out of the blue. Knowing TRUMP desired not to leave the country, LEWANDOWSKI thought it could be a logistical and political nightmare. LEWANDOWSKI thinks CLOVIS brought the idea to him in approximately February 2016 but doesn't know for certain. LEWANDOWSKI does not recall the topic coming up at the March 31, 2016 foreign policy team meeting. He does not recall GEORGE PAPADOPOULOS mentioning a meeting with PUTIN.

LEWANDOWSKI doesn't recall meeting PAPADOPOULOS but thinks he first met PAPADOPOULOS at that foreign policy meeting. There were several other meetings going on that day. It's possible LEWANDOWSKI had a call with him but he doesn't remember any calls. LEWANDOWSKI thought his communications with PAPADOPOULOS were limited to one face-to-face meeting and an email. LEWANDOWSKI does not recall CLOVIS attending the March 31, 2016 meeting but LEWANDOWSKI would have directed any such requests from PAPADOPOULOS regarding a trip to CLOVIS. LEWANDOWSKI did not sit at the table during that meeting but he was there along with HICKS, STEPHEN MILLER, SCHILLER, and SCAVINO. LEWANDOWSKI does not recall a reaction from SESSIONS or any conversations about a visit after that meeting. LEWANDOWSKI does not know if SESSIONS was in the room during those conversations.

LEWANDOWSKI was asked if anyone was pushing for a campaign trip to Russia. CLOVIS had previous Russia ties due to his military experience. People were encouraging a trip to Russia which is why LEWANDOWSKI asked CLOVIS to run down the details. When asked who was encouraging a trip to Russia, LEWANDOWSKI explained MANAFORT, GATES and a woman LEWANDOWSKI thought was named [redacted] or [redacted] who served as MANAFORT's [redacted] LEWANDOWSKI does not believe MANAFORT traveled to Russia for the campaign. LEWANDOWSKI was very adamant TRUMP had no interest in traveling overseas. LEWANDOWSKI does not believe he spoke directly to TRUMP about a trip to Russia.

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LEWANDOWSKI said that his interactions with CLOVIS about planning a Russia visit could have happened in person or over the phone. During July, August and September 2015, CLOVIS helped prepare for the presidential debates in New York. At that time, the campaign was a flat organization.

LEWANDOWSKI said the campaign did not have an official policy about foreign travel and wasn't aware of any one taking foreign trips. The family left if they wanted to leave. CLOVIS could have shared info about foreign travel directly with KUSHNER if he wanted to. If KUSHNER wanted to setup a foreign trip, he likely would have worked directly with TRUMP to arrange it.

LEWANDOWSKI was not aware of any foreign government holding derogatory information on HILLARY CLINTON. LEWANDOWSKI was not aware of other campaign members having such information. He did not solicit any opposition research work, other than from the RNC, and only utilized publicly available information. The campaign never paid for opposition research. They talked about CLINTON's 33,000 emails based on public reporting but TRUMP didn't use email and didn't understand how emails could go missing. LEWANDOWSKI saw reporting about Cambridge Analytica reaching out to JULIAN ASSANGE but LEWANDOWSKI wasn't aware of that prior to the reporting.

The campaign received a large flash drive from RNC with CLINTON derogratory information. SEAN SPICER gave the drive to LEWANDOWSKI in March 2016 but LEWANDOWSKI never saw it used to attack CLINTON. LEWANDOWSKI doesn't know what it contained. It was a 400 page document, which was too long for LEWANDOWSKI to read. LEWANDOWSKI never attempted to solicit or access CLINTON's emails and doesn't recall anyone having advance knowledge of access to those emails. LEWANDOWSKI is not aware of anyone trying to get those emails from an outside source. LEWANDOWSKI said [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted]

LEWANDOWSKI explained that TOM BARRACK of Colony Capital is a long time business associate of TRUMP's. BARRACK helped TRUMP raise money. BARRACK emailed IVANKA and KUSHNER about TRUMP heading into a new phase of the campaign and suggested MANAFORT's experience with political struggles made him a good candidate. LEWANDOWSKI guesses MANAFORT and BARRACK have financial ties. In March 2016, LEWANDOWSKI was asked to setup a meeting between MANAFORT and TRUMP which is when LEWANDOWSKI first met MANAFORT. MANAFORT didn't need money and would probably work for free, lived in Trump Tower and was referred by BARRACK, all of which made him very attractive to TRUMP. They setup a dinner meeting in Mar-a-lago during March 2016.

TRUMP's relationship with MANAFORT was transactional. They needed each other for something for a period of time. MANAFORT needed TRUMP for relevance because Washington, D.C. hadn't heard of him in thirty years. MANAFORT was very involved in public announcements and press for

the campaign. MANAFORT gave the campaign some political establishment. DEARBORN reported to MANAFORT when DEARBORN was in the Washington, D.C. policy shop. KUSHNER still thinks MANAFORT is a good guy.

The purpose of the Washington, D.C. shop was to establish a presence in D.C. where lobbyists could meet with the campaign. After MANAFORT was fired, the D.C. shop was closed and moved to New York. [redacted] who was close to [redacted] and GATES, came over as the [redacted] [redacted] PRIEBUS was close to MANAFORT and decided to negotiate with MANAFORT rather than LEWANDOWSKI regarding RNC matters. b6 b7A b7C

LEWANDOWSKI served as chairman for the state of New Hampshire at the Convention, which was only an organizational role. LEWANDOWSKI did not serve on a committee or attend the Convention. In regards to platform changes related to arming Ukraine, LEWANDOWSKI said people told him it was the will and desire of TRUMP to change that particular issue and not a specific person pushing for it. LEWANDOWSKI had no visibility on TRUMP's will regarding this and there was no specific person designated to have that knowledge. LEWANDOWSKI heard it was a consensus to change the platform language based on the nominee's stance. LEWANDOWSKI said the committee chair would know who recommended the change but it was customary to defer to the the nominee. LEWANDOWSKI thought there was likely more than one campaign person in the room.

LEWANDOWSKI had daily interaction with the campaign after leaving. LEWANDOWSKI's primary contacts on the campaign were [redacted] [redacted] SCHILLER, HICKS, SCAVINO and TRUMP. b6 b7C

LEWANDOWSKI spent a fair amount of time with the transition team, including BANNON, BOSSIE, PRIEBUS, KUSHNER and TRUMP. LEWANDOWSKI didn't deal with the foreign policy team at all.

LEWANDOWSKI never met or spoke to BOB FORESMAN. FORESMAN was recommended to the campaign through MARK BURNETT, co-producer of The Apprentice. The recommendation came in through GRAFF and LEWANDOWSKI does not know if the meeting with FORESMAN ever happened.

LEWANDOWSKI believes TRUMP met with DANA ROHRABACHER early in the campaign because ROHRABACHER had family in New York and asked to visit TRUMP. TRUMP was hoping to get an endorsement but that didn't happen. LEWANDOWSKI was not in attendance for the meeting. LEWANDOWSKI knew CURT WELDON was a former congressman, but LEWANDOWSKI is not aware of any interaction he or TRUMP had with WELDON. LEWANDOWSKI described [redacted] [redacted] as needy, like a bad penny who keeps showing up, but harmless. [redacted] would fly people around the world to have their attention. b6 b7C

LEWANDOWSKI recognized PETER SMITH from public reporting as the GOP operative who is now dead and claimed he interacted with the campaign. LEWANDOWSKI doesn't recall interacting with him or hearing about him from the campaign. LEWANDOWSKI does not recall meeting with [redacted] DAVID KLEIN, [redacted] or [redacted] Any foreign outreach would have been coordinated through MANAFORT or DEARBORN.

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In February 2016, KUSHNER wanted to hire his own person, [redacted] to be [redacted] the week before the New Hampshire primaries. LEWANDOWSKI convinced TRUMP not to do this and KUSHNER was mad about TRUMP siding with LEWANDOWSKI. That was the only time TRUMP didn't listen to KUSHNER. [redacted] joined the campaign in October 2016 and now works in the White House. TRUMP referred to HICKS and LEWANDOWSKI as "the kids" and TRUMP's children resented them for this.

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[redacted] KUSHNER is naive to how campaigns and Washington, D.C. work and has limited ability to move an agenda through Congress. KUSHNER chose PRIEBUS and FLYNN and pushed for the firing of JAMES COMEY. [redacted]

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LEWANDOWSKI was referred to show document 49, which is an email in May 2016 from KUSHNER saying he didn't like seeing there was a Trump advisor at the FB meeting today. LEWANDOWSKI explained this related to a Facebook meeting in Silicon Valley demonstrating their technology. [redacted] an unpaid senior campaign advisor, had a friend at Facebook, [redacted] who invited him to attend as a friend not as part of the campaign. KUSHNER didn't like this because he handled Silicon Valley contacts and digital media. LEWANDOWSKI has known [redacted] for a long time.

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LEWANDOWSKI was asked about working with Cambridge Analytica. He explained that he rejected their services on three occasions. Their first outreach to the campaign was in February or March 2015, when LEWANDOWSKI declined. LEWANDOWSKI thought they were all smoke and mirrors. Public reporting indicates the campaign hired them later on. BRAD PARSCALE was able to do well with Cambrdige Analytica from the campaign. It was a good strategic decision for PARSCALE to befriend KUSHNER. PARSCALE was able to put $94 million of campaign money through his business. This went against LEWANDOWSKI's beliefs but KUSHNER consented to it. LEWANDOWSKI didn't make campaign decisions to enrich his own life. PARSCALE did so by selling his ads to the campaign.

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Official Record

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 02/21/2018

(U) On 1/30/2018 SANDRA LUFF was interviewed by Special Agent [redacted] b6 b7C [redacted] Intelligence Analyst [redacted] and Assistant Special Counsels Andrew Goldstein and Aaron Zelinsky at the Office of Special Counsel (SCO), 395 E Street SW, Washington, DC 20024. Accompanying LUFF was her attorney [redacted] After being advised of the identity of the interviewing officials and the nature of the interview, LUFF provided the following information:

(U) LUFF currently works for [redacted] b6 b7C [redacted] LUFF speaks infrequently with Attorney General Jefferson Sessions and the last time they spoke was in early December 2017 at a mutual acquaintance's retirement party. Before that, they probably saw each other a few months prior at another social gathering. LUFF worked for Senator Sessions for 8 years, the last 6 as his legislative director and the first 2 as his national security advisor. As legislative director, her job was to maintain watch on all legislation moving through congress and to assist Senator Sessions with offering solutions to bills or writing the bills themselves. LUFF [redacted] and was offered a position with Senator John Warner working with the Armed Services Committee. Around the time Senator Warner retired in January 2009, Rick Dearborn, Sessions' chief of staff, offered LUFF a position with Sessions.

(U) Sessions' office had teams for the various committees he served on, such as agriculture, budget, judiciary, defense, etc. Foreign policy fit under the defense team. LUFF sometimes traveled with Sessions on foreign trips and trips back to Alabama. The outreach and travel to foreign countries was conducted as part of congressional delegations (CODELS) or meetings with foreign dignitaries.

(U) Sessions was the first senator to endorse Donald Trump for president. Sessions was later tapped in February or March 2016 to head Trump's national security team. LUFF was unfamiliar with how Sessions was chosen, but opined it was a dynamic, unofficial process. LUFF thought someone from the campaign told Sessions to handle the national security team. LUFF did not receive updates from the Trump campaign while she worked for Senator Sessions.

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FBI(19cv1278)-2683

(U) LUFF traveled with Sessions to the Republican National Convention (RNC) in 2016. At the time, Rick Dearborn had joined the Trump campaign, so LUFF filled some of his role and handled communications and other chief of staff duties. In February and March 2016 Dearborn was in Sessions' office a lot, but over time less and less as he worked on the campaign. Dearborn still had a foot in the office, but LUFF helped fill the void.

(U) LUFF had no knowledge of the March 2016 Trump campaign foreign policy meeting. During the campaign, there was a firewall between the campaign and Sessions' senatorial staff. No one officially maintained this firewall but it was delineated and understood. The standard operating procedures (SOP) in these situations was to maintain a firewall, and the senatorial staff had some training on it, as well as training on the Hatch Act. Sessions did not say anything about having a future position in the Trump administration, because this is not how he thinks.

(U) Sessions is a good writer [redacted] He is not in the weeds on a lot of things and is not a micro-manager. Sessions liked to talk to people about issues because he learns by talking through things. LUFF did not hear Sessions ever talk about Russian ambassador Sergey Kislyak outside of when they met at Sessions' office on 9/8/2016.

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(U) The meeting between Sessions and Kislyak at the RNC was not a "meeting" but a gaggle of people around Sessions. LUFF is confident Sessions did not know who Kislyak was during the RNC and would not have recognized him. LUFF also did not know what Kislyak looked like at the time. After the RNC, Kislyak wanted a meeting with Sessions. During the campaign period, Sessions had already met with about a dozen ambassadors, which also made sense given his national security focus on the Senate Armed Services Committee. LUFF had traveled with Sessions to Ukraine a few years prior to the campaign, but does not specifically recall him talking about Ukraine sanctions during the campaign period. Ukraine and Iran sanctions were hot topics among members of the Armed Services Committee at the time.

(U) Sessions has a forward posture towards Russia. Back in 2013, Sessions was opposed to the START treaty because it did not allow the US to go after Russia's tactical nuclear weapons. More recently, having Russia in Syria was a bad situation. The whole Armed Services Committee was struggling with how to get through this period of time. LUFF sensed that Sessions thought better relations with Russia could help address these threats. This was an evolving thought for Sessions over time. Sessions was hawkish when first elected, but his views evolved over time on things like NATO. Sessions believed NATO should contribute more and asked where other nations could contribute to NATO. LUFF does not recall ever speaking with

Sessions about candidate Trump's pro-Russia, pro-Putin statements made to the media. If she said anything, she would have told Sessions to be careful.

(U) On foreign policy, Sessions was hawkish and methodical about where the US should be engaged. LUFF did not recall Sessions having a position on sanctions against Russia for the invasion of Ukraine.

(U) At the RNC, Sessions gave a speech at an event organized by the Heritage Foundation. It was an offsite event for ambassadors to attend. LUFF remembered this was an insane week and Sessions was overbooked. Sessions gave the speech in between two panels. Sessions may have had bullet points on what he would say in the speech. The speech lasted about 15 minutes and then Sessions took questions. Afterwards, LUFF needed to get Sessions out to another event, but a swarm of ambassadors tried to talk to him as he was leaving. It was a scrum about 10 to 12 people deep. All in all, Sessions was at the Heritage Foundation event for about an hour. LUFF was not next to Sessions the entire time. Sessions probably talked to about 6 to 12 ambassadors. LUFF knows in retrospect that Kislyak was in attendance. Kislyak may have asked a question during Sessions' speech, but LUFF was not sure if he identified himself when he asked the question. LUFF was not part of the scrum of people around Sessions at the end of the speech and does not know what was said between Sessions and Kislyak in this public setting. LUFF was unaware of any other meetings between Sessions and Kislyak at the RNC and was unaware of any other events for ambassadors at the RNC.

(U) LUFF does not think Sessions had any role at the Center for the National Interest (CNI). CNI hosted candidate Trump's foreign policy speech in April 2016. Before that, LUFF was not aware of any relationship between Sessions and CNI. LUFF only knows of Dmitri Simes because of the foreign policy speech. Sessions has had meetings in the past with Henry Kissinger, some of them with staff and others not, and they likely discussed issues of the day. LUFF was not sure who else would have been invited to these meetings. LUFF found out about the foreign policy speech the day of or shortly before. She attended the event with Sessions. LUFF was not sure if Sessions had any role in drafting candidate Trump's speech, but Sessions was already on Trump's national security team at the time and some of the themes in the speech are similar to Sessions' views. LUFF was not sure who invited her to the event, but she was informed in passing and was not originally scheduled to attend. Sessions' [redacted] drove LUFF, Sessions, Dearborn, and Jared Kushner to the event at the Mayflower Hotel. Kushner had flown in the same day and arrived at Sessions' office, then they quickly went to the event. LUFF does not recall any conversation in the car and was not sure if there was

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any conversation about the content of the speech. As soon as they arrived, Kushner took off from their group. LUFF was unsure where he went. Luff recognized a lot of Sessions' philosophy in the speech. LUFF was not sure why the event had been moved to the Mayflower Hotel from the National Press Club.

(U) There was a VIP reception at the Mayflower Hotel prior to the speech held in a room behind the main stage. Sessions was the only senator there, but LUFF also saw some House representatives there, maybe a dozen or so ambassadors, and a total of about 30 to 40 people in the VIP reception. Sessions was at the VIP reception for about 15 minutes and there were already people there when they arrived. Kushner was probably at the VIP reception, but LUFF was mostly focused on Sessions. After about 15 minutes, candidate Trump arrived with Stephen Miller and Corey Lewandowski. Paul Manafort was also in attendance. Zal Khalilzad was at the reception and also introduced Trump at the event. LUFF does not recall Kislyak at the VIP reception, but she does recall speaking with the ambassador of Singapore. LUFF was not with Sessions the entire time, and nobody was by his side the entire time. LUFF would not have recognized Kislyak at this point in time. LUFF was not sure if Sessions introduced anyone to Trump at the event.

(U) LUFF met candidate Trump after the speech among a smaller group of people, probably Lewandowski, Miller, and Manafort. LUFF thinks she also met Simes either at the Mayflower or a subsequent event. During the speech, Sessions sat in the front row and LUFF sat about 6 to 7 rows behind him. LUFF was not sure who sat next to Sessions. Each row had about 20 to 25 seats in it. Sessions may have spoken to the press after the speech, then he and LUFF took a cab back to Capitol Hill. Sessions thought the speech had gone well. LUFF did not witness any side meetings at the event. LUFF attended the event for personal professional development.

(U) LUFF attended the 5/23/2016 CNI Distinguished Service Awards dinner where Senator Tim Kaine was honored. LUFF was probably notified that Sessions was attending and she had to staff him. Sessions and Kaine [redacted] [redacted] There was a separate reception before the dinner, which was a smaller group of people than the main event. LUFF saw General Keith Kellogg and Kaine's staff at the reception. LUFF does not recall seeing any ambassadors at the reception. LUFF was not sure if Kislyak attended the event as she would not have known what he looked like at that time. LUFF sat at a staff table and Sessions sat at a table with Kaine and probably Simes. The event was a typical awards ceremony. Sessions was likely invited to attend because [redacted] Kaine. Sessions and

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Kaine previously worked on a bipartisan group to address ISIS, and both men had done joint work on ship building. LUFF did not have any in depth conversations with Simes or Paul Saunders at the event.

(U) LUFF is not aware of any relationship between CNI and Russia. LUFF is not aware of any relationship between the Trump campaign and Russia, and she has no knowledge of election meddling. LUFF does not recall ever discussing the Logan Act with Sessions.

(U) Regarding the 9/8/2016 meeting with Kislyak in Sessions' office, the Russian Embassy originally reached out to schedule the meeting sometime in August 2016. The request was for Kislyak to come to Sessions' office. Sessions was out of the office for all of August, so the meeting was probably scheduled during the first week of September 2016 when he returned. It was not uncommon for Sessions to meet with ambassadors. During the Trump campaign period, Sessions met with the ambassadors of Hungary, Czech Republic, Italy, France, Germany, Poland, Singapore, Australia, United Kingdom, Romania, and a few Central and South American countries. Generally, LUFF thought Sessions had met with more ambassadors in the period after the RNC. Sessions learns best through talking to people, so he usually does not turn down meetings when offered.

(U) LUFF has no recollection of a meeting invitation to Sessions from Kislyak or the Russian Embassy during the RNC, and is not aware of any other requests for meetings from the Russian Embassy between the RNC and the meeting on 9/8/2016. LUFF does not know who made the comments to Politico about an invitation extended at the RNC. LUFF did not make the comments to Politico. Sessions did not have a press team, so maybe it was someone from the Trump campaign that talked to Politico.

(U) At the 9/8/2016 meeting, Kislyak invited Sessions to dinner at the Russian Embassy. LUFF advised Sessions he ought not do that. After listening to Kislyak at the 9/8/2016 meeting, LUFF thought he was an "old school KGB guy." Kislyak referred to himself as godless or a non-believer, and by the end of the meeting LUFF thought Kislyak was [redacted] After 8 years working for Sessions, LUFF believed Sessions took her advice seriously, and she advised him not to go to the Russian Embassy to meet with Kislyak. LUFF does not recall Sessions' response but it was something like acknowledgement. Pete Landrum also attended the meeting with Kislyak. Landrum was Sessions' defense policy advisor and worked with the Armed Services Committee, and he would usually handle Sessions' meetings with ambassadors. Landrum may have also expressed [redacted] LUFF took some notes during the meeting, and her attorney will provide them. Landrum probably took notes during the meeting. LUFF was not aware of any work

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product created for the meeting, either before or after. [redacted] b6 b7C who worked with Landrum, may have also been present for part of the meeting. LUFF was not sure if Kislyak had staff with him. There would have always been a Sessions' staffer in the room during the meeting, Sessions would not have been left alone. LUFF was present for the close of the meeting. That day 9/8/2016 was [redacted] and that evening she traveled to Alabama.

(U) The meeting on 9/8/2016 lasted about 20 to 25 minutes. At the time, the Russian military was taking aggressive actions against the US military, such as buzzing US planes, and Sessions said something to Kislyak about this. Kislyak said it was not true. Sessions and Kislyak mostly talked about national security, Syria, ISIS, and the Minsk agreement. Kislyak complained about NATO land forces in former Soviet bloc countries, such as the Baltic states. LUFF did not recall any discussion at this meeting about election meddling, sanctions, Trump, or the Trump campaign. If the Trump campaign came up, it was in passing. When Kislyak invited Sessions to dinner at the Russian Embassy, Sessions was non-committal. Sessions has attended meetings and events at embassies before, but usually not one-on-one meetings.

(U) LUFF is not aware of any other meetings between Sessions and Kislyak, and is not aware of any requests for a meeting from Kislyak after 9/8/2016. If a meeting request came through the senatorial office, LUFF would have been aware of it. If a meeting request came through [redacted] on behalf of the Trump campaign, LUFF would not have been aware of it. Sessions would not have been staffed at "off campus" events related to the Trump campaign. [redacted] Sessions' scheduler, would typically receive meeting requests, then she would check with Sessions' staff, and ultimately Sessions would make the final decision on whether to have a meeting or not. LUFF was not sure if [redacted] ever handled any scheduling for Trump campaign related events, but she may have spoken to JD Gordon. b6 b7C

(U) Sessions may have known Dana Rohrabacher from the Armed Services Committee and they probably spoke on occasion. Sessions talked to Sam Clovis when up in New York, but LUFF did not recall Clovis ever coming to Sessions' senatorial office. Jared Kushner only came to Sessions' office one time briefly before the April 2016 Mayflower foreign policy speech.

(U) [redacted] LUFF is not aware of Sessions attending other CNI events nor of CNI hosting any foreign policy events for Sessions. If Sessions needed advice on a foreign policy issue, he b6 b7A b7C

would ask LUFF or Landrum, and they would find the right person for Sessions to talk to. Sessions is a voracious reader and he had his own Rolodex of people he might call.

(U) LUFF worked for Sessions for 8 years and LUFF believes he has the US's best interests at heart. If LUFF had ever witnessed anything wrong while working with Sessions she would have addressed it with Sessions or brought it to higher authorities. Sessions [redacted] he compartmentalizes things in his mind. For example, Sessions probably characterized the 9/8/2016 meeting with Kislyak as Sessions acting in his role as a senator, not in his role with the Trump campaign.

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(U) LUFF spoke with the general counsel at [redacted] and due to her previous role working for Sessions they agreed to keep LUFF separate from [redacted] The only person LUFF told about meeting with the SCO was her boss [redacted]

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(U) NOTE: On 2/14/2018, LUFF's attorney [redacted] provided by email to Assistant Special Counsel Aaron Zelinsky LUFF's notes from the 9/8/2016 meeting with Sergey Kislyak. A copy of the email and the notes are attached in a 1A.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 12/06/2017

MATTHEW MILLER, date of birth (DOB) [redacted] social security account number (SSAN) [redacted] was interviewed on October 25, 2017 at the U.S. Department of Labor, 200 Constitution Avenue Northwest, Washington, D.C. 20210. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing Agents and the nature of the interview, MILLER provided the following information: b6 b7C

MILLER started off on the TRUMP presidential campaign as a Pennsylvania state director in the primaries. Then he became the National Director of Vets for Trump.

At the Republican National Convention (Convention), there were three GOP Platform buckets - economic, social and national defense. J.D. GORDON and MILLER were involved in the national defense committee meetings with a third campaign individual who was an attorney serving as the parliamentary expert but MILLER can not recall that individual's name. GORDON was the head campaign representative and MILLER was the second. [redacted] was the co-chair. b6 b7C

Numerous amendments were proposed at the committee meeting MILLER was in. One of them was presented by DIANA DENMAN, a [redacted] year old woman who was very supportive of freedom fighters and worked in movies with RONALD REAGAN. DENMAN's amendment involved committing the U.S. to defend Ukraine with all means possible if Russia attacked. Some of the amendments passed and others were defeated but the Ukraine amendment was tabled until later. The tabling of this amendment during that meeting is the first time MILLER discussed the topic of the amendment. b6 b7C

MILLER doesn't recall if GORDON talked to the chairman about tabling the amendment. It was as non-nefarious as it comes since the NATO mentality was if you attack one you attack all and it shouldn't just fall on the U.S. to defend Ukraine. MILLER didn't think it made sense for the platform to lock the president in to making such a significant commitment to defend Ukraine. GORDON talked to DENMAN about lightening the amendment and eventually the lightened version passed the vote.

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MILLER recalls GORDON contacting one of the captains via phone regarding the tabling of the amendment but does not recall GORDON contacting anyone else on the phone. MILLER can not recall who the captain was but they were not from the campaign. The captains were covering various sub-committees. MILLER thinks GORDON used his personal phone to call the captains and he called them on three to four amendments. The captains came to the room after the amendment was tabled. MILLER doesn't know if GORDON was on the phone with somebody from New York.

MILLER and GORDON talked to DENMAN about the amendment. MILLER described DENMAN as grandmotherly. The discussion wasn't confrontational and they talked for a few minutes. DENMAN was hesitant about the changes but didn't object.

JOHN MASHBURN went through all the amendments prior to the committee meeting. There may have been people helping him but MILLER wasn't privy to that. The Ukraine amendment had not been previously discussed with MILLER but during the meeting GORDON asked MILLER to have it tabled. GORDON and MASHBURN probably knew about it ahead of time. The campaign was there to target amendments that may be troublesome. MILLER does not recall DEARBORN and MASHBURN being in the meeting. MILLER may have called MASHBURN to send someone to the meeting but MILLER is not certain.

MILLER was shown a memo from RICK DEARBORN summarizing the sequence of events relating to the Ukraine amendment. The memo is attached to this document. MILLER was asked if he thought the summary was an accurate representation of the events. He agreed that most of the events were accurate but wanted to clarify some of the items. In reference to a statement about MILLER briefing [redacted] MILLER said he wouldn't necessarily consider it a briefing since he simply asked [redacted] to table the amendment which probably took no longer than ten seconds. Additionally he wasn't sure what was meant about the campaign assisting with compromising language since he didn't think the campaign was asked to draft the language. The change in language didn't come from the campaign and MILLER doesn't recall others in the meeting objecting to the language.

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The committee meeting was only part of developing the platform. The committee meeting was the first part. The second part was the full committee meeting, where DENMAN re-introduced her amendment and it was defeated again. The campaign wasn't involved in the full committee and didn't have a vote.

MILLER was asked about TRUMP's stance on Ukraine and whether the amendment changes lined up with his stance. MILLER said he relied on GORDON's statements that changes to the amendment lined up with TRUMP's beliefs since GORDON was the policy guy. MILLER also thought this consistent with what MILLER heard in New York.

MILLER was not sure if MANAFORT or GATES knew the details of the amendment and changes to it. MANAFORT may have known about it from MASHBURN.

MILLER was shown the attached email referring to an NPR transcript with quotes from DENMAN and [redacted] MILLER said he was surprised about the press response to the amendment. MILLER was contacted by the press but only spoke to Rolling Stone off the record. MILLER did not know who [redacted] was but based on the NPR transcript he thought [redacted] put a spin on the events by indicating DENMAN was "steamrolled." b6 b7C

MILLER was asked about a phone call with DENMAN prior to the RNC platform meeting. MILLER said they were asked to call all the delegates and introduce themselves. MILLER contacted the delegates from Texas and Utah, which included DENMAN and one other Texas delegate whose name MILLER could not recall. DENMAN made MILLER send her proof of who he was.

MILLER largely worked with [redacted] when MILLER was running Veterans for TRUMP. MILLER usually had phone contact with [redacted] two to three times per week. [redacted] was based out of Trump Tower. When MILLER was the Director for Pennsylvania and West Virginia, MILLER reported to RICK GATES and [redacted] Before that, MILLER worked for [redacted] but [redacted] quit when MANAFORT, GATES and [redacted] came on to the campaign. b6 b7C

MILLER met MANAFORT once in a hotel lobby in Cleveland. MANAFORT told MILLER that he had done great work with the veterans. MILLER saw GATES a couple times. MILLER did veterans outreach for the Inaugural Committee and GATES was the Deputy Chairman of the committee. MILLER would make arrangements for military folks, such as Medal of Honor recipients, attending the events.

For the period from March to November 2016, MILLER was mostly on the road for Veterans for Trump. He was in Trump Tower five to six times, for about a day or two each time. MILLER does not remember discussions of Russia and is not aware of any Russian ties to the campaign.

MILLER was paid approximately [redacted] per month by the campaign. His travel and expenses were also paid by the campaign. MILLER never did any b6 b7C

overseas travel for the campaign. He worked for the campaign from mid-March to November 22. Then he was hired to work on the transition team in New York for about a month before working on the Inaugural Committee. MILLER was paid for these positions as well.

During the transition team, MILLER worked for [redacted] who was serving as [redacted] During that time, MILLER arranged meetings with veterans, police and first responder organizations. During the Inaugural Committee, MILLER served under [redacted] b6 b7C

MILLER was then hired to work for the Department of Veterans Affairs, under [redacted] and now holds an appointee position at the Department of Labor as the head of veterans matters, focused on employing veterans who have completed their military career. DEARBORN asked MILLER to take the position at Department of Labor. b6 b7C

MILLER has known DEARBORN for 25 years, through the Heritage Foundation. MILLER never discussed the Russia investigation with DEARBORN.

MILLER was asked who on the campaign handled foreign policy. MILLER said GORDON and MASHBURN were the policy guys and explained it was a skeletal crew. MILLER had no knowledge of JEFF SESSIONS' involvement in the campaign.

MILLER put together a veterans briefing for MICHAEL FLYNN and talked to him regarding a rally in Selma, North Carolina. JARED KUSHNER attended the rally. MILLER knew FLYNN because MILLER had spent 34 months as a Department of Defense civilian in Afghanistan. MILLER described how FLYNN setup a call between ASHRAF GHANI, the president of AFGHANISTAN, and TRUMP in December 2016 utilizing an ambassador contact FLYNN had in Afghanistan. MILLER never talked to MICHAEL FLYNN about Russia.

MILLER had no knowledge of any meetings involving Russian Ambassador SERGEY KISLYAK.

MILLER described SAM CLOVIS as the unofficial policy adviser. MILLER worked with CLOVIS on veterans issues. Their interactions centered around answering questionnaires regarding campaign preferences related to veterans issues.

MILLER was unable to provide information about GEORGE PAPADOPOULOS and CARTER PAGE.

During his time on the campaign, MILLER utilized his campaign email account, which he believed to be [redacted]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 11/07/2018

Paul J. Manafort, date of birth [redacted] was interviewed at the Office of the Special Counsel in Washington, D.C. The interviewers were FBI Special Agents [redacted] Assistant Special Counsels (ASC) Jeannie S. Rhee, Andrew Weissmann and Greg Andres; and Assistant United States Attorney [redacted] Present representing Manafort were attorneys Richard Westling, Thomas Zehnle and Kevin Downing and paralegal [redacted] FBI SA [redacted] advised Manafort of his rights. Manafort stated that he understood his rights and that he was willing to answer questions. Manafort signed a FD-395, Advise of Rights. FBI SA [redacted] advised Manafort that it was a crime to lie to the FBI. Manafort stated that he understood. ASC Weissmann reviewed the terms of a letter setting forth the agreement upon which Manafort made himself available for interview. Manafort, Downing and ASC Weissmann signed the letter agreement. After being advised of the identities of the interviewers and the nature of the interview, Manafort provided the following information:

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Manafort read from a typewritten statement regarding his conduct as it related to the Counts alleged in the Eastern District of Virginia and the District of Columbia. The statement will be maintained in the 1-A section of this casefile. [redacted]

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[redacted]

At the end of February or beginning of March 2016, Manafort and Tom Barrack were in California. Manafort told Barrack things that he thought the Trump Campaign was doing wrong. Barrack asked Manafort if Manafort was interested in running the Campaign. Barrack and Manafort had a series of calls during the next couple of weeks. At the middle or end of March 2016, Donald Trump called Manafort to discuss Manafort joining the

Investigation on 09/11/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 09/17/2018

by [redacted]

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Campaign. Manafort and Trump met privately in Florida around Easter. Manafort then met with Corey Lewandowski and Hope Hicks in Florida.

Roger Stone thought it was a good idea for Manafort to join Trump's Campaign. [redacted] Barrack told Manafort that [redacted] Stone might have called Trump about Manafort. b6 b7A b7C

Manafort was hired as Campaign Chairperson, while Lewandowski remained as Campaign Manager. Manafort did not take a salary because he would then "work" for Trump and Trump would boss him around. Manafort understood that his role would focus on delegates at the convention. Neither Trump nor his staff had understood that Trump did not win the delegates simply by getting the most votes in a state. Trump was winning on the issues with no infrastructure for his Campaign. Manafort ended up having to put together the structure and staff to win future primaries. Manafort's initial core team included Rick Gates, staff secretary; Tony Fabrizio, pollster; [redacted] political advisor; [redacted] communications director; Rick Dearborn, liasion to Congress, RNC and think tanks; and Brad Parscale. Manafort later used Stephen Miller to write policy speeches. Michael Caputo came in the second wave of hiring and dealt with communications. [redacted] Manafort brought on [redacted] [redacted] to run Trump's Pennsylvania campaign. Lewandowski fought some of the people that Manafort wanted to hire including communications directors and state managers. Manafort did not get involved with the Campaign's finances. b6 b7A b7C

Manafort started Family Meetings as a way for Trump's children to help with the Campaign. The children wanted to help and Manafort appreciated their efforts. The Family Meetings were each Monday. Eric, Donald Trump, Jr., Ivanka, Jared Kushner, Hicks, Lewandowski, Gates and Manafort typically attended the Family Meetings. Among the children, Kushner took the lead on policy issues. Kushner was also interested in the digital part of the Campaign. To some extent, Kushner took over working with Parscale. The other family members spent more time running the Trump business. Trump wanted Manafort to travel to the campaign events. Trump traveled almost every day. Manafort did not have time to travel. Manafort spent most days in New York, while sometimes taking day trips to Washington, D.C.

Manafort tolerated fights with Lewandowski but Manafort could not tolerate when Lewandowski started leaking inaccurate information that hurt the campaign. Manafort told Trump that Lewandowski was undercutting Manafort's efforts and Trump needed to choose between them. Trump was

loyal and asked Manafort to work with Lewandowski. The Family wanted Lewandowski out. Trump and the Family met privately about it and Lewandowski was out the next day. Manafort did not fill Lewandowski's Campaign Manager position. Manafort was able to work more efficiently after Lewandowski left. Manafort trusted Fabrizio's numbers and judgment. They put together a core campaign strategy. Manafort built forward for upcoming primaries while catching up on state delegate conventions for primaries that were complete. Manafort had all the state managers, budgets, schedule and campaign themes in place before he resigned.

Trump effectively wrapped up the Republican nomination with his win in Indiana. By mid-June, Manafort started focusing on the general election. Reince Preibus built strong research, media and metadata operations at the Republican National Committee (RNC). Manafort gave Parscale profiles of individuals likely to vote for Trump. Parscale then targeted those individuals with the messages that Manafort recommended.

Manafort attended a June 9, 2016 meeting at Trump Tower at the request of Trump, Jr. Trump, Jr. also asked Kushner to come, which was common. Manafort cannot recall how or when Trump, Jr. first brought up the meeting. Manafort recalls that Trump, Jr. reminded Manafort of the meeting during the Family Meeting on June 6. Trump, Jr. said that people involved with the Miss Universe competition in Moscow had contacted him because they had dirt on Hillary Clinton. Manafort knew that the people were coming from Russia. Trump, Jr. did not tell Manafort what was the expected dirt. Manafort had low expectations for the meeting. In prior campaigns, Manafort had received calls or known of calls from foreign individuals offering information against an opponent. The information was usually unhelpful.

Trump, Jr. commonly networked Manafort with people that Trump, Jr. thought could be helpful to the campaign, including [redacted] Manafort does not know why Trump, Jr. accepted the June 9 meeting but Trump, Jr. would not have asked Manafort to attend unless Trump, Jr. thought the meeting had the potential to be important. Trump, Jr. setup meetings to be helpful and show his father that he could be helpful. Trump, Jr. was all-in on the campaign. Manafort would have said no to most people, but Trump, Jr. and the other children did not often ask for his time and, after all, it was the candidate's son. Manafort was in the offices anyway for a meeting with Preibus about a convention coordinator.

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The June 9 meeting was held in the 25th floor conference room. When Manafort entered, the table was filled with Russians and their

interpreters. The interpreter had a heavy accent that was difficult to understand. Manafort did not bring a pen and paper or laptop so he took notes on his iPhone. The female began the meeting by talking about the crimes that Browder committed. Manafort's notes are in regard to her statements about Browder. She pitched that Trump should call for the repeal of the Magnitsky Act. She said that the Act hurt U.S./Russia relations. In exchange, she offered to push to re-open adoptions in Russia to Americans. Manafort believes that Kushner and Trump, Jr. had no idea what she was talking about. Kushner took a fake call from his assistant and left. Manafort does not recall any discussion of Hillary Clinton during the meeting. No one at the meeting asked about the Hillary dirt. The meeting lasted about half an hour. After the meeting, Trump, Jr. said it was a waste of time, but no one talked about why they had not heard about the Hillary dirt.

Manafort does not know whether Trump, Jr. told his father about the meeting before or after it happened. Manafort does not believe that Trump, Jr. told Trump. Trump, Jr. did not bring things to his father when they were uncertain. Manafort saw Trump in Trump Tower that day. Manafort believes Trump would have asked Manafort about the meeting if he knew about it. Manafort does not know the strength of the relationship between the Agalarovs and Trump. Manafort does not know whether the June 9 meeting request came from the Kremlin.

On August 2, 2016, Manafort and Konstantin Kilimnik met at the Havana Room in New York City. Kilimnik had communicated via e-mail to Manafort that he had a message from Viktor Yanukovych that he needed to convey in person. Manafort did not know the substance of the message until Kilimnik arrived. Kilimnik talked about a peace plan that would create a semi-autonomous region in Eastern Ukraine. Yanukovych would get elected to head the Eastern Ukraine and then reunite the country as its leader. Kilimnik talked for about fifteen minutes. Manafort told Kilimnik that the idea was crazy and the discussion ended. Manafort did not trust Yanukovych after Yanukovych put off signing the Association Agreement and later fled to Russia. Manafort believes that if he agreed to the plan then Kilimnik would have next asked Manafort to develop a strategy for implementing it. Kilimnik would also have undoubtedly asked Manafort to get Trump to come out in favor of the plan. Finally, Yanukovych would have expected Manafort to use his connections in Europe and the Ukraine to support the plan.

Manafort reviewed a 07/29/2016 e-mail from Kilimnik wherein Kilimnik wrote to Manafort that "[Kilimnik] met with the guy who gave you your biggest black caviar jar several years ago." The guy is Yanukovych. Manafort has not had direct contact with Yanukovych since

2014. Kilimnik also wrote that "[he] had several important messages from him to you." Kilimnik's messages from Yanukovych all revolved around the peace plan. Kilimnik did not discuss any other topics. Kilimnik did not mention anyone else with which the plan was discussed. Kilimnik did not say that it had been discussed with any of the oligarchs. Manafort believes the message was "urgent" only because it would benefit Yanukovych. Manafort does not know any other reason that the message was urgent. Manafort does not recall Kilimnik asking Manafort to reconsider the peace plan after their August 2 meeting.

Rick Gates showed up at the Havana Room about ten or fifteen minutes after Manafort. Gates may not have been there for the Yanukovych peace plan discussion. After Kilimnik delivered Yanukovych's message, Kilimnik updated Manafort on what was happening with Serhiy Lyovochkin, Rinat Akhmetov and their other friends in Kyiv. Manafort told Kilimnik the state of the Trump Campaign and Manafort's plan to win, including poll data and messaging. Manafort normally would have talked about which coalitions were necessary to win the election. Manafort did not share information with Kilimnik which Manafort did not otherwise share publicly.

During the time that Manafort was Chairperson of Trump's Campaign, Kilimnik was working for Manafort [redacted] b7A

[redacted] Manafort did not communicate directly with Deripaska. Instead, Manafort communicated with Kilimnik, who communicated with Victor Boyarkin, who worked for Deripaska. When talking with Kilimnik during this time, Manafort would have naturally discussed the U. S. election. Manafort offered, through Kilimnik, to brief Deripaska on the Trump Campaign. The oligarchs wanted intel on the Trump Campaign.

Kilimnik left the Havana Room meeting first. Manafort and Gates then left together. The media had been tracking Manafort so he did not want them asking why he was meeting with Kilimnik. Manafort's concern was more that Kilimnik was Ukrainian than that he was Russian. Manafort does not believe that Kilimnik is a spy for the Russian government. Kilimnik translated during meetings between Yanukovych and Manafort wherein delicate matters were discussed. [redacted] b6 b7C

Manafort originally got involved in the Ukraine in 2005 to help Akhmetov protect his assets. Deripaska had introduced Manafort to Akhmetov. In Ukraine, when you win political power then you seize shares in economic assets. Akhmetov and the Party of Regions had lost the election so Akhmetov wanted to protect his assets. In time, Akhmetov asked Manafort if Manafort could help the Party of Regions gain

power. Akhmetov set up meetings between Manafort and possible candidates for the Presidency. The U.S. and Europe supported Yulia Tymoshenko. Manafort was looking for the most Western-leaning candidate in the Party of Regions. Manafort met Yanukovych. Manafort initially opposed Yanukovych because Yanukovych had been tainted by the 2004 elections. Over time, however, Manafort came to believe that Yanukovych had the willingness and strength to commit to join Europe.

Manafort reviewed a 12/08/2016 e-mail [redacted] that began "[h]ad a meeting with BG today. He asked me to pass the following to you." BG is Yanukovych. Kilimnik would not have been addressing the information in this e-mail to anyone but Manafort. After reading point 1, Manafort believed that he had seen this e-mail. After continuing to read, Manafort does not believe that he saw the rest of the e-mail. Nevertheless, the content of the rest of the e-mail is what Kilimnik told Manafort during their Havana Room meeting. [redacted] is [redacted] did not reach out to Manafort. Manafort was not aware that Carter Page was authorized to speak for Trump. Manafort did not know who Page was until the dossier came out in the press. At the time of this e-mail, in December 2016, Manafort was not willing to do any work on behalf of the Ukraine including Kilimnik's request in point 6.

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Manafort reviewed a 03/30/2016 e-mail from Gates to Kilimnik with an attached press release about Manafort working on the Trump Campaign and memos to four individuals. OVD is Oleg Deripaska. BVK is Borys Kolesnikov. RA is Rinat Akhmetov. SL is Serhiy Lyovochkin. Manafort sent the memo to show them that he was still in the game in the U. S. Manafort knew that these men would see value in that. Manafort had been trying to collect money from all of them except Deripaska. Manafort briefed Trump on his work in the Ukraine. Manafort would have explained the Tymoshenko situation and why Yanukovych fled to Russia. Manafort wanted Trump prepared in case Manafort's Ukraine work or Deripaska issues popped up. Manafort thought this may happen because some Republicans had been on the other side of the Ukraine issue. Manafort did not go into detail because Trump was not interested. When information about Manafort's work in the Ukraine came out in the press, Trump was upset. Manafort briefed [redacted] when the press started coming out.

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Manafort reviewed again the "black caviar" e-mail. "Our biggest interest" is a solution to the Pericles issue. If Trump won, Deripaska would have wanted to use Manafort to advance whatever interests Deripaska had in the U.S. and elsewhere. [redacted] Manafort never gave Deripaska a private briefing. Manafort was willing to brief Deripaska on strategic decisions such as why Trump selected Mike Pence as a Vice-Presidential running mate.

b7A

[redacted]

In January 2017, Manafort met Georgy Oganov in Madrid. Oganov represented Deripaska. Originally, Oganov was supposed to meet Manafort's lawyer, [redacted] in Canada. Kilimnik must have communicated Oganov's name to Manafort. Manafort traveled to Madrid for Telefonica business that he had with [redacted] Manafort and Oganov had a one-hour breakfast meeting with no one else present. Oganov said that Manafort needed to meet Deripaska in person to finally resolve the Pericles matter. Manafort agreed but said he would not travel to the Ukraine or Russia for the meeting. Manafort never heard from Oganov again. Manafort does not know why a new lawsuit was filed against him last year, purportedly by Deripaska, or why it has been held in abeyance. Manafort was completely truthful during his deposition in the earlier case including his testimony regarding [redacted]

[redacted]

Manafort reviewed a January 15, 2017 e-mail from Manafort to KT McFarland regarding "Get Together." Manafort's "important information" regarded Cuba. Manafort wanted to discuss Trump's policy position on Cuba. [redacted] who had been part of opening Cuba during the Obama Administration, arranged a meeting between Manafort and Castro's son in Havana, Cuba. Cuba was not a client but Manafort saw an opportunity. Manafort never had a meeting with McFarland. Manafort never followed up with anyone else in the Administration. Manafort contacted McFarland because they had a good relationship and it was easier than contacting Michael Flynn.

Manafort returned to Madrid shortly after his January 2017 trip. Manafort followed up on Telefonica business. The trip was partly social and [redacted] came along. Manafort went on to Dubai. Manafort did not meet with Oganov or Kilimnik during this second trip.

Manafort met Kilimnik and Lyovochkin at the Westin hotel in Washington, D.C. around the time of Trump's inauguration. They talked about happenings in Ukraine. Manafort would probably have talked about the Trump Administration. Manafort asked Lyovochkin about money. Lyovochkin said that Akhmetov owed Manafort the money for the Opposition Bloc work. Kilimnik and Lyovochkin did not come to Washington, D.C. to see

[redacted]

Manafort. Manafort does not know any other meetings that they had scheduled while they were in the U.S. Lyovochkin did not ask to meet with anyone in the Administration.

The Advice of Rights, Letter Agreement, Manafort's proffer statement and the documents reviewed by Manafort will be maintained in the 1-A section of this casefile.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 11/07/2018

Paul J. Manafort, date of birth [redacted] b6 b7C was interviewed at the Office of the Special Counsel in Washington, D.C. The interviewers were FBI Special Agents [redacted] Assistant Special Counsels (ASC) Jeannie S. Rhee, Andrew Weissmann and Greg Andres; and Assistant United States Attorney [redacted] Present representing Manafort were attorneys Richard Westling, Thomas Zehnle and Kevin Downing and paralegal [redacted] FBI SA [redacted] advised Manafort of his rights. Manafort stated that he understood his rights and that he was willing to answer questions. Manafort signed a FD-395, Advise of Rights. ASC Weissmann reviewed the terms of a letter setting forth the agreement upon which Manafort made himself available for interview. Manafort, Downing and ASC Weissmann initialed the letter agreement. After being advised of the identities of the interviewers and the nature of the interview, Manafort provided the following information:

Manafort knew that if Trump got elected, there would be opportunities for him to make money. After Trump was elected, Manafort traveled to the Middle East, Cuba, Korea, Japan and China where he got paid to explain what a Trump presidency would be like. In mid-2017, a Ukrainian candidate for President, [redacted] approached Manafort about political consulting. b6 b7C

Manafort asked Konstantin Kilimnik to track down documents related to the indictments against Manafort, including contracts and ECFMU brochures. Manafort and Kilimnik communicated using encrypted applications such as Viber, Signal, WhatsApp and others. They started using the applications over a concern that people in the Ukraine and Russia were hacking their accounts. [redacted] b3 b6 b7A b7C b7E After he was indicted, Manafort purchased a "pay" phone to talk with Kilimnik and Gates. The pay phone did not have any applications on it. About six months ago, Manafort got a cellphone [redacted] In September or October 2017, a BBC reporter, First Name Unknown (FNU) Woods, called Manafort on his [redacted] or [redacted] phone number. [redacted]

Investigation on 09/12/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 09/17/2018

by [redacted] b6 b7A b7C b7E

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FBI(19cv1278)-2720

Manafort knew Congressman Rohrabacher from their days working for Reagan. Manafort had no contact with Rohrabacher for several years before their 2013 meeting. Manafort asked [redacted] to set up the meeting because Rohrabacher had taken over the subcommittee on Russia and the Ukraine. At the meeting, they spent 20%-30% of the time talking about Reagan. The rest of the time, they talked about Putin and Russia. Manafort did not want Rohrabacher to send any signals to Putin that Russia's meddling in the Ukraine was acceptable. The signal may have undermined Ukraine's movement towards Europe. Manafort surely would have told Rohrabacher that Manafort worked for Yanukovych. [redacted] knew that Manafort worked for Yanukovych. Manafort and [redacted] did not discuss whether the meeting triggered Foreign Agents Registration Act's (FARA) reporting requirements. Manafort does not recall but is sure that he would have reported the meeting back to Yanukovych.

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Manafort did not talk with [redacted] in 2016 or 2017. Manafort has not talked with [redacted] since their Ukraine work came out in the news. Manafort and [redacted] were good friends. They met about once a month in the 2000s. [redacted] In 2016, Manafort asked Gates to talk with [redacted] Gates reported back to Manafort. At the time, Manafort believed that the ECFMU was legitimate and wanted to know if [redacted] felt differently. The ECFMU was not created by or with Manafort's knowledge. Manafort now understands that he incorrectly viewed the ECFMU's role. Manafort and Gates had a significant role in passing the Party of Regions instructions on to [redacted] knew that Manafort and Gates were giving direction on behalf of the Party of Regions. The ECFMU personnel did not understand U.S. politics. Manafort directed activities in the U.S. because he did not want the ECFMU freelancing and causing problems.

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The roll-out of the Skadden Report was supposed to educate the international media in Kyiv, Europe and the U.S. Greg Craig's main role was going to be in Kyiv. Unbeknownst to Manafort, Craig decided that he would not meet with media stakeholders. In late August or early September 2012, Manafort, Craig and others met at the Harvard Club in New York to finalize the planned roll-out of the Report. Yanukovych and Serhiy Lyovochkin were in New York for U.N. week. Gates and Jonathan Hawker made Manafort aware before the Harvard Club meeting that Craig was resisting talking to the media. Part of the reason for the Harvard Club meeting was

to convince Craig to help with the media rollout. Craig said he was not doing any media but he would get the Report to a New York Times reporter that he knew. The goal was to get the report out before the October elections to shape the international view of the elections. Lyovochkin, however, did not want to publish the Report because it was not a glowing review. Manafort thought the Report was balanced but it was not what the client wanted or expected. Finally, in December, Lyovochkin accepted the Report. Craig got the Report to Sanger at the New York Times. Craig explained the Report to several reporters that called him. Craig told Manafort that Craig took calls from reporters but that he did not make any calls - this distinction was important to Craig.

The Ukrainian Government was originally supposed to fund the Skadden Report. With the high price tag, the procurement process could not have been completed and the Report issued before the elections. The Ministry of Justice therefore approved a third party paying for the Report in order to avoid the procurement process. The Ministry of Justice paid a small amount and [redacted] a Ukrainian oligarch, paid the remainder.

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Manafort reviewed a 07/29/2016 e-mail wherein Kilimnik wrote to Manafort that "[Kilimnik] met with the guy who gave you your biggest black caviar jar several years ago." Manafort and Yanukovych had lunch to celebrate their success in the 2010 election. After lunch, Yanukovych gave Manafort a large jar of black cavier that was worth about $30,000 to $40,000.

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[redacted] Manafort and [redacted] socialized but had no business dealings. [redacted] Manafort and [redacted] then had no contact until sometime around 2010. [redacted] so Manafort asked Gates to hire [redacted] Manafort directed [redacted] to lobby on behalf of the Ukraine, including lobbying against the Durbin resolution. Manafort does not recall what that lobbying entailed.

In 2016, [redacted] setup a meeting between Manafort, on behalf of the Campaign, and the head of the AFL-CIO. [redacted] Manafort did not know that Gates and [redacted] were working together on other projects. In early 2018, Manafort and [redacted] talked as friends. The last time they talked was in April or May 2018. [redacted]

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[redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] tried to get Manafort involved with other clients. Manafort did not ask [redacted] to do anything on Manafort's behalf. Manafort did not ask [redacted]

[redacted] b6 b7C

Manafort and Roger Stone are friends. They had been in and out of each other's lives but re-engaged with the Trump Campaign. [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted]

Manafort thought Yanukovych's request, delivered by Kilimnik at the August 2, 2016 meeting, was outrageous. Yanukovych had not contacted Manafort since he fled and, now that Manafort was the Trump Campaign Chair, Yanukovych asked for something. Yanukovych thought that, as Campaign Chairman, Manafort could convince Trump to agree to the peace plan. Manafort told Kilimnik that Manafort would not participate in Yanukovych's plan. Rinat Akhmetov was desperate for peace because his businesses were in the occupied zone and suffering. Yanukovych was located in Russia. Kilimnik ran the plan by someone in the Russian government for approval. At least, Manafort believes that Kilimnik would have run the plan by someone in the Russian government for approval. During the meeting, Kilimnik focused on the plan. Kilimnik did not need to state the obvious - that is, Manafort could benefit financially. At the time of the meeting, Manafort was not earning any money.

Manafort reviewed a 12/08/2016 e-mail [redacted] b7E that began "[h]ad a meeting with BG today. He asked me to pass the following to you." Manafort does not know why the plan came up again in December when Manafort had made clear to Kilimnik in August that he would not support it. Possibly, the media coverage of Carter Page in Russia prompted Yanukovych to raise the issue with Kilimnik or Yanukovych was frustrated that he was not getting his hands into the Trump Administration like other people. Manafort does not recall responding to Kilimnik about the e-mail. Manafort never agreed to work for the Ukraine but always left the

door open when talking with Kilimnik. Manafort did not intend to work in the Trump Administration. Manafort always felt that he could make money working for the Administration from the outside. Manafort had valuable knowledge of Trump and his Administration. In the Middle East, Manafort talked with the Gulf States and Saudi Arabia about the Trump Administration's view of their conflict with Qatar and Iran.

In about January 2017, Kilimnik told Manafort that Cohen put a Ukraine peace plan on Trump's desk. Manafort does not know who was behind the Cohen peace plan. Manafort told Kilimnik that the peace plan would not go anywhere. When Manafort and Kilimnik last discussed the peace plan in March or April 2017, they discussed who would control the peace plan rather than what the plan was.

After Manafort left the campaign, he kept in regular contact with only Gates. Manafort had occasional contact with Stephen Miller, Steve Bannon, Jared Kushner, Tony Fabrizio and Brad Parscale.

[redacted] b7E

Manafort reviewed text messages from Kilimnik to Manafort stating, in part, that "V understands where you can potentially come and is working with his boss to get a meeting organized. My understanding is that it will be about recreating old friendship and talking about global politics, not about money or Pericles." V is Victor Boyarkin. Kilimnik's message is wrong because the meeting between Manafort and Georgy Oganov was about the Pericles matter. [redacted] Manafort's attorney, set up the meeting with Oganov in Madrid. [redacted] said the meeting could finally resolve the matter. With regard to Deripaska's recent lawsuit, Manafort suspected that Deripaska brought the suit to gain favor with the U.S. Government while it was investigating Manafort. b6 b7C

Manafort traveled to Madrid in February 2017. Manafort has no memory of meeting Kilimnik in Madrid. Agents showed Manafort flight records of Kilimnik traveling from Moscow to Madrid on 02/26/2017 and returning to Moscow on 02/27/2017. Manafort does not recall meeting Kilimnik, but if Kilimnik traveled to Madrid, then it was to meet with Manafort. After Madrid, Manafort traveled to Dubai for 24 hours before going to China.

Michael Caputo announced his Go Fund Me legal fund on Hannity and immediately got donations. Manafort wanted to do the same thing. Manafort could not announce his legal fund on television because

of the court's gag order. [redacted] b6 b7C [redacted] worked on starting up the account. Manafort does not believe that it ever went live.

[redacted] brought Manafort two potential clients in spring 2017 - Dostum and Kabila. Dostum was an Afghan Vice-President that fled Afghanistan and wanted backing from the U.S. Government to return. Kabila's term had expired as Congolese president but he wanted to stay in power. Manafort met with representatives of both potential clients. Manafort declined to work for either client. b6 b7C

Kilimnik contacted [redacted] of the ECFMU only to get documents. Manafort did not ask Kilimnik to send her a message or discuss her possible testimony. Manafort did not direct or suggest that Kilimnik have Oleg Voloshyn reach out to [redacted] Manafort was not aware that Voloshyn reached out to [redacted] Manafort did not try to persuade Cindy LaPorta, Philip Ayliff or Heather Washkuhn not to testify nor did he try to influence their testimony. b6 b7C

In January or February 2018, Manafort asked [redacted] to dissuade Gates from accepting a plea agreement. Manafort and Gates regularly discussed their case. Manafort and Gates discussed the possibility of a Presidential pardon. Manafort did not intentionally ask Gates to lie to investigators. Manafort talked with Gates while Gates was proffering to the Special Counsel's Office. Gates had, however, denied to Manafort that he was proffering. The Republican National Committee raised money for a defense fund. Manafort asked John Dowd if Manafort and Gates were eligible for any of the money. Dowd said yes. When Manafort told Gates, Gates said Manafort should have asked Dowd about a pardon. Manafort has not had any conversations with anyone from the White House, or with access to the White House, about a pardon. Manafort has no commitment from the White House regarding a pardon. b6 b7A b7C

Manafort is not aware of any violations of the court's gag order. Jason Maloni, Manafort's public relations agent, has been reactive to the press. Manafort has not talked to Maloni since June 2018. Manafort talked with Hannity as a friend, not because he expected Hannity to use the information during his show. Manafort felt Hannity was the only person he could talk to about his situation. Manafort understands that Hannity may have used the information from their conversations during his show.

Manafort did not receive any information regarding his investigation, directly or indirectly, from anyone in the Department of Justice or law enforcement.

[redacted]

The Advice of Rights, Letter Agreement and the documents reviewed by Manafort will be maintained in the 1-A section of this casefile.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 11/07/2018

Paul J. Manafort, date of birth [redacted] b6 b7C was interviewed at the Office of the Special Counsel in Washington, D.C. The interviewers were FBI Special Agents [redacted] FBI Forensic Accountant [redacted] and Assistant Special Counsels (ASC) Andrew Weissmann and Greg Andres. Present representing Manafort were attorneys Richard Westling, Thomas Zehnle and Kevin Downing and paralegal [redacted] [redacted] After being advised of the identities of the interviewers and the nature of the interview, Manafort provided the following information:

Manafort used encrypted applications to communicate, typically at the recommendation of Rick Gates. Manafort does not recall his usernames or passwords for the applications. [redacted] Manafort b6 b7C will work with his counsel to prepare a list of usernames and passwords for his communication accounts.

Manafort primarily used two iPhones to communicate. The phones were assigned telephone numbers [redacted] Manafort b6 b7C purchased a pay-as-you-go Boost phone last year. Manafort does not recall its assigned number.

Manafort had WhatsApp on his [redacted] b6 b7C b7E cellphones. Manafort used WhatsApp to communicate with people in Europe. At Gates's suggestion, Manafort downloaded Telegram but he never used it. Manafort used Wickr for communications with people in the Middle East. Manafort recently used Signal to communicate with Konstantin Kilimnik. Manafort used Threema to communicate with [redacted] and individuals in China. Manafort did not recall whether he used Threema to communicate with Gates. Manafort used Skype for personal communications with his family members. Manafort used Snapchat only for social networking. Manafort used Viber in Ukraine. Manafort also used Viber for communications related to the Trump Campaign. Manafort used Hushmail to communicate with Kilimnik and Gates. Manafort used WeChat to communicate with people in China. At [redacted] suggestion, Manafort used Voxer, but only for a couple of days in 2017. Zello sounds familiar but Manafort does not recall using it. [redacted]

Investigation on 09/20/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 09/20/2018 b6 b7A

by [redacted] b7C b7E

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[redacted] b7E

Manafort used iPads at his home for various home-automation functions. He did not use these iPads to communicate. Manafort had one iPad in Alexandria that he used when traveling abroad. Manafort had a MacAir laptop that is currently in the possession of his attorney. [redacted] b7E [redacted] during the July 2017 search of his home. Manafort had desktop computers and portable flash drives in his Florida, New York City and Bridgehampton homes. Manafort has not deleted any materials from these devices since the July 2017 search. Manafort and his attorneys will provide investigators with Manafort's devices.

Manafort reviewed a document captioned "Paul Manafort, Income by Year, 2005-2015." Cindy LaPorta, his accountant at KWC, created the document. Manafort did not have any input into its creation.

Manafort first worked in Ukraine in 2005. Manafort worked for Rinat Akhmetov's company, Systems Capital Management (SCM). Rick Davis, Manafort's business partner, was friends with [redacted] b6 b7C introduced Davis to Oleg Deripaska. Around 2003, Davis was the Davis Manafort's point of contact for Deripaska. Manafort was then introduced to Deripaska and eventually took over as client manager. Deripaska introduced Manafort to Akhmetov.

[redacted] b7A

[redacted] Manafort met the liberal elites in Russia. Manafort never visited the Kremlin. Until 2008, Deripaska saw himself as the future after Putin. [redacted]

[redacted]

In 2005, the Party of Regions had two factions. Akhmetov and Borys Kolesnikov ran one faction while Serhiy Lyovochkin ran the other faction. For Manafort, Gates handled the billings and Kilimnik handled the collections.

Among the receipts listed for 2006, the first two lines are work for the Party of Regions and the rest of the lines are work for Deripaska. A Russian Non-Governmental Organization was set up to [redacted] b7A The Russian NGO ended up focusing on Russian strategy and merged into the Green Party.

In the receipts listed for 2007 is "K.C. Presidential Campaign." Manafort was paid to consult on Kypros Chrysostomides's campaign for President of Cyprus. Chrysostomides was Deripaska's lawyer.

Several of the 2008 receipts are under Pericles Emerging Markets (Pericles) and/or Management Fees. Lawyers for Pegasus Capital Advisors (Pegasus), a U.S.-based investment fund, set up Pericles. [redacted] b6 b7A b7C Manafort and Davis planned to transition out of political consulting and work full-time managing the investment fund.

[redacted] b7A

Manafort does not recall why Davis Manafort Partners, Inc., John Hannah, LLC and Jesand Investment Corp were paid management fees from Pericles in 2008. The receipts for EVO Holdings may also have been Pericles management fees. Manafort believes that [redacted] b4

[redacted]

The 2008 receipts for LOAV, Ltd. were consulting fees for work for Deripaska. Manafort and Davis transferred part of these fees to a 501(c)(4) Political Action Committee. LOAV, Ltd. is a U.S. investment fund set up by [redacted] in the late 1990s. Manafort got [redacted] to invest $5 million to $10 million in the fund, although [redacted] had promised $50 million.

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[redacted] The listed 2008 receipts are not for work performed for the McCain campaign. Manafort does not know why the line reads "Reimbursed Campaign Expenditures."

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Jesand Investment Corp is for Manafort's and Gates's personal investments.

All of the money that came in during 2008 came from either: (1) consulting fees for work in Ukraine; (2) consulting fees from Deripaska for (a) work in Russia with the Green Party or (b) work in other countries where Deripaska had assets; or (3) management fees for Pericles (paid by Deripaska). Any payment in any year that came into LOAV, EVO or Jesand came from Deripaska.

Manafort's relationship with Deripaska and work for the Green Party (paid through Russian NGO) ended in 2009. Manafort does not know why there are payments from Deripaska in 2010. The K.C. Presidential Campaign was over so the payments listed under that heading must have been for other work.

In 2010, the "bonus" was from Yanukovych. Manafort does not know where the funds for the bonus came from.

In 2011, the "Leviathan Advisors" receipts were probably from the Ukraine consulting contract that focused on European Union activities rather than campaigns in Ukraine.

In 2012, Gates made sure enough receipts came into DMP International, LLC (DMI) to pay its vendors. [redacted]

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In 2013, Smythson, LLC was an entity that Manafort created because they were having a difficult time getting money into DMI's account in the U.S. Manafort also opened a bank account with HSBC hoping that they could transfer money from a London account to a U.S. account.

The 2014 receipts were for Opposition Bloc work. Some of the receipts were probably for work performed in previous years that they had a difficult time collecting. [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted]

The 2015 receipts were for Opposition Bloc work. The Peranova Holdings Ltd receipts were income, not a loan.

Manafort reviewed a document captioned "Paul Manafort, Loans from Wire Transfer, 2005-2015." Cindy LaPorta, Manafort's accountant at KWC, created the document. Manafort did not have any input into its creation.

Deripaska and Akhmetov paid a large advance at the beginning of Manafort's work. Manafort does not know how his accountants booked these payments. Deripaska never loaned Manafort money. Deripaska was not involved in Manafort's purchase of the Trump Tower condominium.

Yiakora Ventures Limited was controlled by Manafort. Manafort does not know why the $8,000,000 transferred on 6/4/2008 from Yiakora Ventures to Jesand was paid to Yiakora originally. The money came from Deripaska so it was either for consulting work or Pericles management fees.

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C The payments were for work in one of the three categories identified earlier but Manafort does not know specifically what the payments were for.

In 2008, Manafort and Davis made personal contributions to a 501(c)(4) Political Action Committee that supported the McCain presidential campaign. [redacted] b6 b7C founded the PAC. The contributions came from LOAV, Ltd. Manafort is listed as the owner of LOAV, Ltd. Manafort does not know if the PAC had to disclose the contribution. Davis was involved with the McCain campaign. Manafort assumes Davis told McCain about the contribution.

As Trump's Campaign Chair, Manafort knew that he could not coordinate with PACs. Manafort told Trump that Trump needed a favored PAC. Trump did not like the idea of a PAC. Finally, Trump agreed, in part, [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted]

[redacted] Corey Lewandowski and Ed Rollins also ran PACs supporting Trump.

[redacted] ran the political messaging for the PAC. Manafort was not aware of any communications between the Campaign and the PAC regarding political strategy. [redacted] and Gates were friends [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

Manafort set up Steam Mountain LLC for his more recent consulting work. Manafort had a series of consulting contracts after Trump was elected. Manafort met with a group of Koreans that wanted to start an infrastructure investment fund. Manafort worked in Spain with [redacted] for Telefonica. A British Company hired Manafort to advise its clients in Dubai on Trump trade policy and investing in the U.S. In China, there were two groups. The first group wanted to start a construction company in the U.S. The second group wanted to start an investment fund in New York and Shanghai that would invest in medical and educational interests. DCI Group is a U.S. consulting company that Manafort advised on the Trump Administration. b6 b7C

Manafort believes that the black ledger found in Ukraine is phony. Some of the payment entries to him are accurate but he never received cash payments. People in Ukraine may have been trying to discredit Manafort. Viktor Yushchenko is corrupt and wanted to undermine Manafort's work with Trump. Manafort spoke with [redacted] from the Campaign when the information came out in the news. [redacted] advised Manafort not to respond. b6 b7C

[redacted] managed DMI's office in Kyiv. Kilimnik spoke to [redacted] b6 b7C in August 2016 about the documents supposedly found in the office's safe. [redacted] said it was untrue because the safe was empty. [redacted] now lives in [redacted] Manafort last talked with [redacted] around January 2017. [redacted] by the FBI. Kilimnik subsequently told Manafort that [redacted] also told Manafort that [redacted] Separately, she said that it was not Manafort's signature on the safe documents because she had the stamp at her home. Manafort had responded to an e-mail from [redacted] Manafort did not initiate the contact with [redacted] Manafort did not ask Kilimnik to initiate contact with [redacted]

Manafort reviewed an e-mail chain beginning with a 03/21/2017 e-mail from [redacted] wherein Manafort b6 b7C wrote "Are you free to speak today?" Manafort believes that [redacted] reached out to Manafort because of the Washington Post article identified in the e-mail chain. Manafort cannot explain why he sent the first e-mail in the chain. Kilimnik may have given Manafort [redacted] e-mail address. Manafort recalls speaking with [redacted] twice on the telephone, once around January 2017, he cannot recall the timing on the other call. Manafort does not recall talking with [redacted] on the day of these e-mails.

Manafort reviewed a set of documents that were allegedly found in DMI's office safe in Kyiv. One of the documents is [redacted] b6 b7C [redacted] Manafort does not recognize any of the other documents. Another of the documents showed an invoice from Davis Manafort to NEOCOM SYSTEMS LIMITED. NEOCOM was a vehicle used by Kolesnikov to pay Manafort. Manafor t did not sign this document. Davis Manafort created invoices like this one purporting to sell computer equipment in order to avoid paying Europe's Value Added Tax (VAT).

Manafort placed several people on his company's payroll and health insurance even though they never worked for the company, including: [redacted] b6 b7C [redacted]

Manafort recalls renting a yacht three times. Two of the rentals were for pleasure. The third rental, in the Caribbean, was for a business meeting with an island Prime Minister.

Before the Republican National Convention, Manafort and Rick Dearborn met with Senator John Barrasso about the party's platform. Barrasso used the 2012 platform as a guide. Rick Dearborn headed Convention Committee

Operations for the Trump Campaign. Manafort reviewed the 2012 platform and suggested changes based upon Trump's views on immigration, trade, NATO, North Korea and Iraq. Manafort did not suggest any policy changes on Ukraine or Russia. Manafort did not see the platform again until after the final version was submitted. Barrasso sent the revised platform to Stephen Miller and, maybe, Dearborn.

On Sunday after the convention, Preibus and Manafort held a press conference where a reporter asked about changes to the Ukraine plank of the platform. Manafort did not know the issue. When he asked Dearborn, Dearborn said there had been no changes. Dearborn finally reported to Manafort that a Cruz delegate had recommended a change in the subcommittee but it was voted down when it came before the full committee.

Manafort reviewed several memos prepared at his request regarding the situation. The platform originally had no language on assistance to Ukraine. The Cruz delegate recommended adding support for "lethal assistance." Mashburn and J.D. Gordon interceded to change "lethal" to "appropriate." Mashburn, Gordon and Matt Miller worked at the convention for the Trump Campaign but Manafort did not consider them decision makers for the Campaign. Mashburn and Gordon should not have made the language decision without consulting Manafort or Dearborn. Manafort believes the word "appropriate" represents a harsher stance against Russia than "lethal."

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 11/07/2018

Paul J. Manafort, date of birth [redacted] b6 b7C was interviewed at the Office of the Special Counsel in Washington, D.C. The interviewers were FBI Special Agents [redacted] FBI Forensic Accountant [redacted] and Assistant Special Counsels (ASC) Andrew Weissmann and Greg Andres. Present representing Manafort were attorneys Richard Westling, Thomas Zehnle and Kevin Downing and paralegal [redacted] After being advised of the interviewers and the nature of the interview, Manafort provided the following information:

Manafort talked to [redacted] b6 b7C to get the story out regarding the Ukraine platform fight at the Republican National Convention. Manafort briefed Trump about the issue along with other post-convention matters. Manafort does not believe that Trump knew about the floor fight until after the convention. Konstantin Kilimnik asked about the platform language at some point, but Manafort does not recall the details of their conversation.

Trump publicly stated that the people of Crimea wanted to be part of Russia. Trump and Manafort had not talked about Russia policy before Trump made this statement. Trump follows the news a lot and probably read this view somewhere and then repeated it. Manafort told Trump that Manafort disagreed with the statement. Manafort gave Trump a brief history on Ukraine. Trump does not generally like to commit on foreign policy issues until a specific scenario arises. Trump believes that he can solve foreign policy disputes by avoiding the bureaucratic logjam and having face-to-face meetings.

Trump and Manafort did not have a lot of policy discussions. Manafort and Trump sometimes spoke on the plane but it usually revolved around issues in the news. Manafort and Trump spoke on the plane about whether Obama's sanction against Russia were working. Manafort did not have any other policy discussions with Trump regarding Russia or Ukraine.

Dimitri Simes wrote a foreign policy speech for Trump. Henry Kissinger had recommended Simes to Kushner. Trump did not like the speech, so Stephen Miller redrafted it.

Investigation on 09/21/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 09/21/2018 b6 b7A b7C b7E

by [redacted]

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FBI(19cv1278)-2735

[redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Paul Manafort

[redacted]

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[redacted]

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Manafort reviewed a document headed "Basel Presentation." The document is a framework for dealing with the political situation in the Ukraine and creating a campaign strategy for the Party of Regions. The framework could be used in other countries where Oleg Deripaska had assets as well. The government in Ukraine dictates business. Deripaska owned businesses in Ukraine. [redacted] b7A

[redacted] The Orange Revolution was more gray than black and white in that it was less about freedom than it was about a different group of people seizing power in government. [redacted]

[redacted] Manafort included a step to "Brief Kremlin on Program" in recognition that Deripaska was Russian and dealt with the Kremlin. The briefing was not meant to coordinate any of Manafort's efforts for Deripaska with any efforts by the Kremlin. [redacted]

[redacted] Manafort did not work for any client whose positions conflicted with U.S. interests.

In supporting a candidate in Ukraine, it was a dealbreaker for Manafort if the candidate would not bring Ukraine into Europe. Manafort believed Yanukovych would lead Ukraine in a direction different than most people in the West thought Yanukovych would lead Ukraine. Yanukovych denuclearized, pushed toward the Association Agreement, passed rule of laws reforms and increased surveillance along the border with Russia. Manafort objected to Yanukovych when Yulia Tymoshenko was arrested. Manafort, however,

sometimes had to concede certain issues while advancing the greater goals consistent with Western reforms. Manafort told Trump that Trump should not call for Hillary Clinton's arrest.

Manafort reviewed a 06/23/2005 memorandum from Manafort and Richard Davis to Oleg Deripaska and [redacted] Rothschild. The document is tailored to a paying client. Deripaska needed talking points to rationalize his plan to Putin. There will be specific talking points to convince Putin that Deripaska's actions in Ukraine are not a threat to Russia's interests. For example, Deripaska would bolster the power of Eastern, ethnically Russian, Ukrainians against U.S. influence in Ukraine.

b6
b7C

Manafort reviewed a 03/30/2016 e-mail from Gates to Kilimnik with an attached press release about Manafort working on the Trump Campaign and memos to four individuals. Manafort does not recall any responses. Manafort has not received any money for Ukraine, directly or indirectly, since March 2016. Manafort's only communication with Serhiy Lyovochkin was at a January 2017 meeting between Manafort, Kilimnik and Lyovochkin. Manafort assumes Kilimnik had been working for Lyovochkin since Manafort left Ukraine. Manafort would have told Lyovochkin that he believed Trump favored reuniting Ukraine, including Crimea. Kilimnik had previously relayed to Manafort that Yanukovych thought he could deal with the militants in Eastern Ukraine. Manafort knew that Russian support would be key to dealing with the militants. Lyovochkin also would have been interested in Petro Poroshenko's standing with Trump. Manafort did not have any interaction with the Trump Transition but may have implied to Lyovochkin or Kilimnik that he did. Lyovochkin and Kilimnik did not ask for tickets to the inauguration. Lyovochkin did not present a plan for Ukraine or ask Manafort for anything.

Manafort does not recall making any recommendations for positions in the Administration other than [redacted] Some people approached Manafort to recommend them but he cannot remember any of them.

b6
b7C

Original Record

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 06/26/2018

BEATRIZ M. MARINELLO, date of birth [redacted] social security account number [redacted] was interviewed at the FBI New York field office, 26 Federal Plaza, New York, New York 10278. MARINELLO resides at [redacted] Her cell phone number is [redacted] MARINELLO was advised the nature of the interview pertained to Russian nationals who may have attended the World Chess Championship in 2016 [2016 WCC]. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing Agents and the nature of the interview, MARINELLO provided the following information: b6 b7C

MARINELLO is the Vice President of the World Chess Federation. She has met a lot of Russians through her position. MARINELLO has traveled to Russia on a number of occasions for chess-related events. She has never met VLADIMIR PUTIN but understands he is a big fan of chess. MARINELLO added that world chess competitions are very important to Russians in general.

The 2016 WCC consisted of a player from Russia and a player from Norway. The Norwegian won. The dates of the event were November 10, 2016 through November 30, 2016. MARINELLO attended almost every day with the exception of maybe one or two. There were various areas designated for spectators and a special area for VIP personnel. The players competed in a sound-proof cabin in order to minimize distractions from the crowd.

The 2016 WCC was attended by various celebrities and prominent businessmen from New York. Hollywood actor, WOODY HARRELSON, was present for the opening ceremonies. When asked whether or not any Russian government officials were in attendance, MARINELLO stated, "likely, because the event was full of Russians." MARINELLO remembered seeing the Russian Press Officer at the event. When asked if that individual was DMITRY PESKOV, MARINELLO did not recall the name. MARINELLO believed the individual she met may have gone by the name of [redacted] [phonetic]. Another individual at the event claimed that PUTIN was in Florida on that day. MARINELLO believed that statement to be false however, as she did not see any news coverage of PUTIN being in Florida. b6 b7C

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FBI(19cv1278)-2738

The 2016 WCC was organized by ILYA MERENZON, Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of Agon, Ltd, [redacted] MERENZON told MARINELLO he used to live in New York and that he had worked for Bloomberg. The Agon company has been the lead organizer for world chess events for many years. Their vision is to use technology to make chess more popular. The founder, ANDREW PAULSON, obtained the first contract between Agon and the World Chess Federation. PAULSON is now deceased. He was a Yale graduate and a successful American businessman who worked in Moscow. MERENZON and PAULSON were close friends.

b6
b7C

MARINELLO thought MERENZON may have formerly worked for KIRSAN ILYUMZHNOV who is the President of the World Chess Federation. ILYUMZHNOV was placed on the U.S. sanctions list by the United States Treasury Department in 2015. Given so, the World Chess Federation has asked him to step aside from his position as President in an attempt to protect the organization.

MERENZON brought many Russians to the United States for the 2016 WCC. MARINELLO estimated he brought approximately 10 to 20, mostly females. MARINELLO described them as young and casual. [redacted] MERENZON was insistent that the Russians be brought to the United States early, prior to the event. MERENZON assisted with obtaining office space for them in the SoHo neighborhood of Manhattan. They utilized that space for approximately two months. They rented two small offices located just off of Broadway. MARINELLO could not remember the name of the cross street but offered to provide it to the Agents at a later date.

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The Russians seemed guarded when they spoke with MARINELLO. They only engaged with her when they needed something. They often had conference calls with Moscow and were very disorganized. They had no prior connections to New York and for most of them, it was their first time visiting the United States. MARINELLO provided that, in normal circumstances, the organizers of the event provided the infrastructure [NFI] needed for the event. In this case, the Russians brought their own infrastructure. [Case Agent Note: At this point in the conversation MARINELLO was speaking about the Russians making calls back to Moscow and her reference to infrastructure may have been related to either computers and/or telecommunications equipment.]

During the first week of the 2016 WCC, MERENZON showed MARINELLO a photograph on his cell phone and told her it was a photo of DONALD TRUMP attending the event. MARINELLO did not get a good look at the photograph because MERENZON held it from a distance. MARINELLO could tell the

photograph depicted three men but could not identify any of them. MARINELLO did not see TRUMP at the event but stated that it was possible he had attended in the VIP area and that she may not have seen him.

MARINELLO visited Moscow in March of 2018. On her return, she took an Aeroflot flight from Moscow to Belarus. MERENZON was coincidentally on the same flight as her and she asked if he still had the photograph of TRUMP. MARINELLO recalled asking MERENZON, "Do you still have the photo?" to which MERENZON quickly responded, "No." MARINELLO clarified that she did not specifically ask MERENZON if he had the photograph of TRUMP but she was positive he understood her inquiry to be related to it based on his response.

[redacted]

b6
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MARINELLO could not remember the names of the Russians who worked at the 2016 WCC. She agreed to conduct searches of various documents in attempt to find them for the interviewing Agents. MARINELLO also stated her intent to provide the Agents with a copy of the invitation letters that were sent to each of the Russians. Additionally, MARINELLO agreed to look through her cell phone for any additional information which could provide further insight about Russian activities at the 2016 WCC.

An open source article was identified for the Agon company referencing ILYUMZHNOV, PAULSON, and MERENZON. A copy is enclosed for the file as a digital 1A attachment to this FD-302.

Official Record

UNCLASSIFIED/~~FOUO~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 04/18/2018

On 3/30/2018, SA [redacted] and IA [redacted] interviewed STEVEN B NIX, Director at the Eurasia Division for IRI with a work address of 1225 Eye Street NW, Suite [redacted] in Washington DC, a telephone number of 202-408-9450 and a work email of [redacted] at his place of work. Also present for the interview was [redacted] for IRI. After advising NIX and [redacted] of the identity of the interview agent and analyst, NIX provided the following information: b6 b7C

Prior to joining IRI, NIX had been an attorney at a large law firm where he practiced some international law, including overseas election law. NIX had worked in Ukraine for four years as outside legal counsel for the Ukrainian Parliament, a position he had obtained through the International Association for Election Foundations.

NIX was hired by IRI in late 2000 or January 2001 as Director of the Eurasia Division.

KONSTANTIN KILIMNIK

KONSTANTIN KILIMNIK was hired by IRI in approximately 1998. At the time of NIX's hiring, KILIMNIK was an employee based out of IRI's Moscow office. KILIMNIK did translation work and general office management in IRI's Moscow office along with other different things (NFI).

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

Investigation on 03/30/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 03/30/2018 b3 b6 b7C b7E

by [redacted]

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FBI(19cv1278)-2789

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

At the time of his firing, NIX was not aware of any ties between KILIMNIK and Russian intelligence services. [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

IRI closed their Moscow office approximately 5 years ago.

Contact with Additional Individuals

NIX did not recognize the name [redacted] b6 b7C

NIX had met Manafort in passing at an election party (NFI).

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

IRI Policy

[redacted] noted that IRI had a document retention policy of 7 years, but could not say affirmatively that they did not have records for [redacted] because they had not conducted a search. b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] expressed IRI's willingness to fully cooperate with law enforcement and explained that IRI's response to media requests had been not to comment.

[redacted] b7E

FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

Official Record

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 11/07/2017

GEORGE DIMITRIOS PAPADOPOULOS, [redacted] Social Security Account Number (SSAN) [redacted], was interviewed at the BREEN & PUGH law office, 53 West Jackson Street, Suite 1215, Chicago, Illinois 60604. Present during the interview were PAPADOPOULOS' Attorneys [redacted] and [redacted] FBI Special Agent (SA) [redacted] FBI Intelligence Analyst (IA) [redacted] Special Counsel Attorney AARON ZELINSKY, and Special Counsel Attorney ANDREW GOLDSTEIN. b6 b7C

At the beginning of the interview, GOLDSTEIN advised PAPADOPOULOS that the same rules applied for this interview as they did in the previous proffer interviews on August 10, 2017, August 11, 2017, and September 19, 2017. PAPADOPOULOS was provided a copy of the agreement he signed on the dates prior, acknowledging his understanding of the continued proffer agreement. PAPADOPOULOS initialed and signed the agreement for this interview. His signature was witnessed and initialed by [redacted] After being advised of the nature of the interview and the identifies of the interviewers, PAPADOPOULOS provided the following information: b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

Investigation on 09/20/2017 at Chicago, Illinois, United States (In Person) b6 b7C b7E

File # [redacted] Date drafted 10/31/2017

by [redacted]

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PAPADOPOULOS never told anyone the campaign about the Russians having dirt on HILLARY CLINTON (CLINTON).

PAPADOPOULOS was never told to cease his attempts to arrange a meeting between the TRUMP campaign and the Russians and he believed JEFF SESSIONS (SESSIONS) was fully supportive of those efforts.

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

of hand-written notes taken from PAPADOPOULOS' journal.

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7C

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7C

[redacted] b7E

FD-302a (Rev. 05-08-10)

[redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Proffer interview - George Dimitrios Papadopoulos - September 20, 2017., On 09/20/2017, Page 4 of 4

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7C

Official Record

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 07/17/2018

On May 30th 2018, at the office of [redacted] John Podesta former Campaign Chairman for Hillary For America, was interviewed by employees of the Special Counsel's Office. In attendance were Attorney [redacted] Associate [redacted] Federal Bureau of Investigation Special Agent [redacted] Federal Bureau of Investigation Management and Program Analyst [redacted] Assistant Special Counsel Lawrence Rush Atkinson V, and Assistant Special Counsel Jeannie Rhee. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agents, and purpose of the interview, Podesta stated the following:

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b7C

In the Spring of 2016, Podesta worked out of an office in Brooklyn, New York shared with his assistants [redacted] Podesta traveled a lot in March 2016, up to three to four times a week. Most of this travel during the campaign was with the goal of raising money for the Clinton Campaign in primary states. [redacted]

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b7C

Podesta confirmed [redacted] which he used from 2007 until the time of the leaks in 2016. [redacted]

[redacted]

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[redacted] To Podesta's

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Investigation on 05/30/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 05/30/2018

by [redacted]

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FBI(19cv1278)-2797

knowledge, there was no hacking activity prior to 2016. Podesta also had a CLINTON campaign email, but only used it for internal campaign communications.

Podesta did not remember receiving the spear-phishing email until later when he was informed by his staff at the time. His recollection was that he was told by [redacted] that the password had been changed and he was provided the new password. Podesta did not recall seeing the underlying email exchange with [redacted] and security deciding to change the password and he doesn't recall seeing the spear-phishing email. Podesta did not think he would have clicked on the link as it was not suspicious for others to access his account at that time. b6 b7C

In early June 2016, Podesta learned of the Democratic National Committee (DNC) hack days after the California primary election and just before the Washington Post article came out [redacted] also told Podesta that the suspected actors were Russian. Podesta recalled that when the story came out, DCLeaks was first to release documents and emails, then GUCCIFER 2.0, and then WikiLeaks published DNC leaked documents. Podesta believed an archival copy of his email inbox was created at that time. b6 b7A b7C b7E

In late June 2016, some documents were leaked that didn't look like they came from the DNC, including financial documents that only a couple of people had access to. One or two of those documents were in Podesta's Gmail account, some were in [redacted] email account, and others in [redacted] email accounts. Podesta recalled internal discussions in June 2016 that the campaign was trying to find out where some of the leaked documents had originated. Podesta believed that these internal discussions occurred on the HillaryClinton.com email service, hosted at Office365, and that there may have been a 30 to 60 day retention policy on these emails. b6 b7C

The Hillary For America (HFA) campaign brought in an outside firm to look into any intrusion activity in the campaign. Podesta believed it to be Mandiant and he was kept abreast of this but details were not reported to him, as he was actively working the Vice Presidential Nominee selection process at the time. Podesta believed that Mandiant was still investigating when Trump stated "release those emails" in July. Mandiant concluded that they could not find any evidence that HillaryClinton.com was hacked and ended up conflicting out of the contract when they were hired by Alfa bank.

In August 2016, [redacted] Podesta recalled that at the time [redacted] was also going to Republican fund b6 b7A b7C

FBI(19cv1278)-2798

raising events and saying that there were more leaks about to come out.

After Manafort left the Trump campaign, was touting there were more leaks to come. When Podesta thought the Trump campaign would start targeting him because he was HFA's counterpart to Manafort.

b6 b7A b7C

b6 b7A b7C

During that time, the HFA campaign started a crisis team consisting of about a dozen staff members to manage fallout from leaked emails. ran this team, which was dedicated to working fallout from leaked emails for the entire month of October 2016.

b6 b7C

On October 7th 2016 Podesta was at a debate preparation session in Westchester. The campaign was either given a heads up or saw the release of the ODNI report and the took a break to deal with fallout from that. The same day, the Access Hollywood tape came out, which saw during another break from the debate preparation. The HFA campaign was not given a heads up on the Access Hollywood tape. Shortly after, Podesta's emails were leaked. Within five minutes of the leak, notified Podesta of the release. They had no indication before this that Podesta's emails would be leaked.

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After Podesta's emails were leaked, the crisis team became larger and they reviewed contents of Podesta's inbox to try to anticipate what the next leak could contain and how to manage the fallout from such a leak.

b7A

Podesta had only spoken with the FBI on the Sunday following the first release of emails on WikiLeaks, which he believed to be October 15th 2016. Podesta had a clear recollection of the day being a day of debate preparation, with the Intelligence Committee Report releasing around noon.

The Access Hollywood tape was released that day as well, and Podesta's emails were released on WikiLeaks. The FBI contacted the campaign and Podesta called back to the agent from the WFO office.

When his emails were released, Podesta realized that it was his entire inbox when he saw that it was 50,000 emails released. Some of the campaign emails were modified, but Podesta did not think that his emails were modified.

Podesta recalls personal damage by the leak of his emails as being broad.

[redacted]

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b7C

The main damage to the campaign was [redacted] Podesta had to do fence mending both politically and personally.

b6
b7C

FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

Official Record

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 03/19/2018

Josh Raffel was interviewed at the Special Counsel's Office, located at 395 E Street SE, Washington, DC, pursuant to a proffer agreement. Raffel was accompanied by his attorneys [redacted] and [redacted] b6 b7C [redacted]. Present for the interview were Special Agent (SA) [redacted] SA [redacted] Senior Counselor to the Special Counsel James L. Quarles, and Senior Assistant Special Counsel Andrew Goldstein. After being advised and acknowledging it is a crime to lie to the FBI in the course of an investigation, Raffel provided the following information:

[**Agent note:** All times referenced in the body of the document are in Coordinated Universal Time (UTC).]

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

Investigation on 02/08/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 02/09/2018

by [redacted] b6 b7C b7E

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

June 2016 Trump Tower meeting:

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7C

showed Raffel a variety of emails to review. Among them was an email chain that discussed setting up a meeting.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b7C

the email was also discovered by someone at the Tr b5 per DOJ/OIP
Organization and had been given to the President's attorneys. b6 b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP
b6 b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP
met with Kushner and gave him the advice that they
should be proactive. b6 b7C
Raffel told Kushner he thought the emails were really bad.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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media inquiry

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[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C recommend a proactive approach on the emails.

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP Hicks relayed the President directed they not be proactive and had said maybe the email would not leak. [redacted]

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7C

July 2017 POTUS G-20 Trip:

Raffel and the others departed on an overseas trip for the G-20 b5 per DOJ/OIP

July 7, 2017

b5 per DOJ/OIP
b6
b7C

told her the NYTimes had more information on the June 2016 meeting

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b5 per DOJ/OIP
b6
b7C

Hicks and Raffel b5 per DOJ/OIP discussed the story.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

July 8, 2017 - Return flight to U.S.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP
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[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

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Hicks returned from talking to the President and said it was a "no go." There was to be no change to the strategy

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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the NYTimes story posted

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[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

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[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

Official Record

UNCLASSIFIED~~//FOUO~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 08/18/2017

James Rybicki, identifying information having previously been provided, was interviewed via Lync pursuant to documents recovered from former FBI Director James Comey. Rybicki provided the following information:

On Wednesday, July 26, 2017, Comey called the front office telephone number and left a telephone message for Rybicki. On the same day, Rybicki returned Comey's call either from his work desk or cell phone. Comey told Rybicki, while packing for an upcoming move, he found a folder with government documents. Comey agreed to provide the documents the next day when individuals from FBI Finance & Facilities Division (FFD) were returning Comey's personal property.

On Thursday, July 27, 2017, unknown personnel from FFD retrieved one blue "standard" folder from Comey at his residence. The folder contained a one page email, a one page chart with handwritten notes on the back and civil litigation paperwork for Comey. On the same day, [redacted], assigned to FFD, gave the above listed items to Rybicki at his office. Rybicki requested guidance from FBI Acting Director Andrew McCabe later that evening on how to handle the documents. McCabe requested that Comey's civil litigation paperwork go to the FBI's Office of General Counsel (OGC) and the remaining items be provided to FBI's Records Management Division. Rybicki sent the civil litigation paperwork to [redacted] the Acting Deputy General Counsel at OGC. b6 b7C

On either Thursday, July 27, 2017 or Friday, July 28, 2017, Rybicki spoke with David Bowdich (Associate Deputy Director) regarding the remaining documents. On Friday at approximately 1:17 pm, Rybicki emailed [redacted] assigned to FFD. On the following Monday, July 31, 2017, [redacted] retrieved the documents from Rybicki. b6 b7C

Administrative:

The documents retrieved from Comey are being maintained in the custody of the Records Management Division.

UNCLASSIFIED~~//FOUO~~

Investigation on 08/07/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (, Other (Lync))

File # [redacted] Date drafted 08/07/2017

by [redacted] b3 b6 b7C b7E

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Official Record

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 03/22/2018

PAUL SAUNDERS, Executive Director for CENTER FOR THE NATIONAL INTEREST (CNI), was interviewed pursuant to a proffer agreement at Patriots Plaza II, 395 E Street SW, Washington, DC 20546 by Special Agent (SA) [redacted] b6 b7C [redacted] SA [redacted] Intelligence Analyst (IA) [redacted] [redacted] and Assistant Special Counsel (ASC) Aaron Zelinsky. Accompanying SAUNDERS were CNI's outside counsel attorneys [redacted] [redacted] After being advised of the identities of the interviewing officials and after reviewing the proffer agreement, in the presence of his attorneys, SAUNDERS executed the proffer agreement, whereupon he provided the following information:

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

Investigation on 02/15/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 02/20/2018 b6 b7C b7E

by SA [redacted]

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

In addition to the Board of Directors, CNI had an Advisory Council.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

individuals on CNI's Advisory Council, such as former U.S. Senator JEFF SESSIONS

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP
b6
b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP
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b7A
b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b7A

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b7A

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b7A
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b5 per DOJ/OIP

b3
b7A

SIMES, SAUNDERS, and BURT discussed the set of bullet points and then SIMES sent the bullet points to the TRUMP campaign.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b3
b7A

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b3
b7A

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b3
b7A

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b3
b7A

b5 per DOJ/OIP

use the NATIONAL PRESS CLUB (NPC) for the event and have CNI's magazine, THE NATIONAL INTEREST, host the event.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b3
b7A

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b3

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b3

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b3

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b3
b7A

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b3
b7A
b7E

b5 per DOJ/OIP

SAUNDERS subsequently booked space at the MAYFLOWER HOTEL

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b3

b5 per DOJ/OIP
b3

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP
b3
b6
b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP
b3
b6
b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Regarding who was invited to the pre-speech reception, SAUNDERS looked at the list of CNI's invitees to the actual speech and then selected who to invite to the pre-speech reception.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] The pre-speech reception was very small event. b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

b3

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

SAUNDERS did not recall seeing KISYLAK or SESSIONS at the pre-speech reception.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7C

SAUNDERS believed TRUMP b5 per DOJ/OIP went straight to the airport after leaving the MAYFLOWER HOTEL.

b6
b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP
b3
b7A

b5 per DOJ/OIP
b7A

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b7A

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b3

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b3

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b3

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b3
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b7A
b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b3

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b3

The May 23, 2016 Annual Awards Dinner was hosted by CNI at the FOUR SEASONS hotel in DC.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

SESSIONS arrived for the event.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

SAUNDERS did not recall seeing KISLYAK at the May 23, 2016 Annual Awards Dinner.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b7A
b5 per DOJ/OIP
b3
b5 per DOJ/OIP
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b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

SESSIONS then asked SAUNDERS to draft another memorandum focused on Egypt

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

b3

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] Neither SAUNDERS or SIMES recalled seeing anything. [redacted] they did not recall seeing SESSIONS and KISLYAK together.

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b7A

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b3

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

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[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b6 b7C b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b3

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b3 b7A

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[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

b3

Official Record

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 12/04/2017

PAULA MARY SHUGART [redacted] date of birth (DOB) [redacted] [redacted] office telephone [redacted] cell telephone [redacted] email [redacted] was interviewed at the Special Counsel's Office, Washington, D.C. Also present were [redacted] and [redacted] from DEBEVOISE & PLIMPTON, 919 Third Avenue, New York, New York, 10022; Senior Assistant Special Counsel Jeannie Rhee; Assistant Special Counsel L. Rush Atkinson; and Supervisory Intelligence Analyst [redacted] After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agent and the nature of the interview, SHUGART provided the following information:

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[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7C

Investigation on 09/25/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 09/25/2017

by [redacted]

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[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b7C

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

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b6
b7C

[redacted]

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[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b7C

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7C

Official Record

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 11/30/2017

ALEX VAN DER ZWAAN (VAN DER ZWAAN), [redacted] mobile telephone numbers [redacted] office telephone number [redacted] email addresses [redacted]

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b7C

[redacted] was interviewed at the Office of the Special Counsel, Washington, D.C. Present for the interview were FBI Special Agents [redacted] and [redacted] Special Counsel Attorneys Andrew Weissmann and Brian Richardson. Also present were VAN DER ZWAAN's attorneys [redacted] and [redacted] After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agents and the nature of the interview, VAN DER ZWAAN provided the following information:

VAN DER ZWAAN was advised his participation in the interview was voluntary. VAN DER ZWAAN was also advised that he needed to be truthful in his answers and lying to a Federal agent could constitute a Federal crime.

[redacted]

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b7C

[redacted]

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b7C

[redacted] He qualified as a lawyer in 2009 and started working for SKADDEN at that time.

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[redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

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b7C

[redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

b6
b7A
b7C

[redacted]

b6
b7A
b7C

[redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

b6
b7C

Ukraine MOJ/TYMOSHENKO Engagement

VAN DER ZWAAN was assigned to the MOJ/TYMOSHENKO engagement in 2012.

[redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

b6
b7A
b7C

[redacted]

b6
b7C

VAN DER ZWAAN was eventually assigned to work the SKADDEN engagement full-time. He devoted several months of work to the engagement. VAN DER ZWAAN described his and SKADDEN's role in the engagement in 2012 to be primarily responsible for preparing, interviewing, and writing up interviews of witnesses associated with the TYMOSHENKO trial. VAN DER ZWAAN's role, in addition to above, was to be a linguist and cultural conduit and for communication purposes. He made things happen on the ground in Ukraine and ensured expectations were being met. He also described his role as handling the nuts and bolts of the engagement and taking care of the people on the team. In 2013, VAN DER ZWAAN stated the engagement involved the report roll out. Specifically, SKADDEN presented their report and their conclusions were conveyed. [redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

E-Mails

VAN DER ZWAAN was shown a number of emails, many with attachments, and was asked to clarify information within the emails.

1. [redacted]

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b7C

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

VAN DER ZWAAN played a passive role in the report roll out, to include defending the report and making certain the work SKADDEN did in the report was properly portrayed. This also included VAN DER ZWAAN traveling to Poland to guide European Union (EU) officials there through the report and explain the findings.

2.

b6
b7C

The client for the SKADDEN engagement was the Ukrainian MOJ.

b6
b7C

[redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

b6
b7A
b7C

3. [redacted]

b6
b7C

4. [redacted]

b6
b7A
b7C

[redacted]

b6
b7A
b7C

5. [redacted]

b6
b7A
b7C

6. [redacted]

b6
b7A
b7C

7. [redacted]

b6
b7C

8. [redacted]

b6
b7A
b7C

[redacted]

b6
b7A
b7C

9. [redacted]

b6
b7A
b7C

10. [redacted]

b6
b7A
b7C

11. [redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

b6
b7A
b7C

12. [redacted]

b6
b7A
b7C

[redacted]

b6
b7A
b7C

13. [redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

b6
b7C

14. [redacted]

b6
b7A
b7C

[redacted]

b6
b7C

15. [redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

b6
b7C

16. [redacted]

b6
b7C

17. [redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

b6
b7C

18. [redacted]

b6
b7C

19. [redacted]

b6
b7C

20. [redacted]

b6
b7C

21. [redacted]

b6
b7C

22. [redacted]

b6
b7A
b7C

[redacted]

b6
b7A
b7C

23. [redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

b6
b7C

24. [redacted]

b6
b7C

25. [redacted]

b6
b7A
b7C

26. [redacted]

b6
b7C

27. [redacted]

b6
b7C

[redacted]

b6
b7A
b7C

28. [redacted]

b6
b7C

29. [redacted]

b6
b7A
b7C

30. [redacted]

b6
b7A
b7C

[redacted]

b6
b7A
b7C

VAN DER ZWAAN was not involved in the substantial writing of the report. [redacted]

[redacted]

31. [redacted]

b6
b7C

32. [redacted]

b6
b7C

33. [redacted]

b6
b7C

VAN DER ZWAAN knew of news reporting MANAFORT resigned from the Trump campaign in August 2016. He did not remember having any conversations with MANAFORT after the news reporting. Nor did he remember having a conversation with GATES after MANAFORT resigned but he would not be surprised if he had. If he did communicate with GATES, it would have likely been less than five times and through a phone call, WhatsApp, email, or Viber. VAN DER ZWAAN recalled a text message sent to him by GATES some time after mid-August 2016, perhaps six weeks after

MANAFORT resigned, which simply stated, "U.S. politics suck." VAN DER ZWAAN did not recall any post mid-August 2016 communications concerning work on the SKADDEN report. Nor did he remember any communications with [redacted] post mid-August 2016. VAN DER ZWAAN admitted to staying in cordial contact with [redacted] after the SKADDEN engagement ended. The last time VAN DER ZWAAN and [redacted] communicated was in 2014 when [redacted] He also remained friendly with GATES. VAN DER ZWAAN recalled speaking with GATES in May 2016, [redacted] This was the last time they spoke to each other.

b6
b7A
b7C

34. [redacted]

b6
b7A
b7C

[redacted]

b6
b7C

FD-302a (Rev. 05-08-10)

372B-SM-6832812

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Alex Van Der Zwaan , On 11/03/2017 , Page 21 of 25

[redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] b6 b7C

35. [redacted] b6 b7C

36. [redacted] b6 b7C

37. [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted]

b6
b7C

38. [redacted]

[redacted] VAN DER ZWAAN always thought KILIMNIK was a former Russian spy [redacted]

[redacted]

b6
b7A
b7C

39. [redacted]

b6
b7A
b7C

40. [redacted]

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b7C

41. [redacted]

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42. [redacted]

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43. [redacted]

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44. [redacted]

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45. [redacted]

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46. [redacted]

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47. [redacted] VAN DER ZWAAN knew not to speak with the media. [redacted] VAN DER ZWAAN never spoke to the media concerning the SKADDEN report.

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48. [redacted]

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49. [redacted]

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50. [redacted]

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51. [redacted]

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[redacted] b6 b7A b7C

52. [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

53. [redacted] b6 b7A b7C

[redacted] b3

Official Record

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 07/12/2018

CATHERINE MARIE VARGAS, [redacted] was interviewed on April 4, 2018 at the Special Counsel's Office. Present for the interview were Senior Assistant Special Counsel Andrew Goldstein, Senior Assistant Special Counsel Zainab Ahmed, Special Agent [redacted] and Intelligence Analyst [redacted] VARGAS was accompanied by her attorney, [redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

Investigation on 04/04/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person, Phone)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 04/05/2018 b6 b7C

by [redacted] b7E

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FBI(19cv1278)-2936

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Catherine M. Vargas and follow up telephone call with Vargas' attorney

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Catherine M. Vargas and follow up telephone call with Vargas' attorney

[redacted]

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[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

(U/~~FOUO~~) Interview of Catherine M. Vargas and follow up telephone call with Vargas' attorney

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[redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Catherine M. Vargas and follow up telephone call with Vargas' attorney

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(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Catherine M. Vargas and follow up telephone call with Vargas' attorney

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[redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Catherine M. Vargas and follow up telephone call with Vargas' attorney

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[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] June 9, 2016 meeting [redacted]

VARGAS looked at her emails and saw the email where KUSHNER asked her to call his cell. [redacted]

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[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Catherine M. Vargas and follow up telephone call with Vargas' attorney

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[redacted] b4 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b6 b7C

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(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Catherine M. Vargas and follow up telephone call with Vargas' attorney

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(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Catherine M. Vargas and follow up telephone call with Vargas' attorney

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[redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Catherine M. Vargas and follow up telephone call with Vargas' attorney

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[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Catherine M. Vargas and follow up telephone call with Vargas' attorney

Continuation of FD-302 of , On 04/04/2018 , Page 12 of 12

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Official Record

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 06/08/2017

(U) On or about 06/01/2017 Special Agent [redacted] and Special Agent [redacted] interviewed Yuval Weber (Weber), [redacted] b6 b7C
[redacted] phone [redacted] email [redacted]
[redacted]

(U) The interview was established through a phone call earlier in the day in which SA [redacted] identified himself as "with the FBI." Upon meeting Weber, SA [redacted] introduced himself and SA [redacted] by first and last name
[redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted]

through this early portion of the interview, SA [redacted] referred to himself as an FBI Agent, and Weber observed SA [redacted] badge. Later in the interview, Weber stated that he originally thought that SA [redacted] b6 b7C b7A
[redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted] SA [redacted] stated that he had said "F-B-I" on the phone and that is what likely caused the confusion. Additionally, SA [redacted] added that they did not intend to utilize a ruse or to cause confusion, it was just coincidental that Weber misheard SA [redacted] on the phone.

(U) During the interview Weber provided the following information:

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(U) Background

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(U) Weber [redacted] involves discussions of "how power hangs together." Weber described Turkey shooting down a Russian military plane. [redacted] how the powerful sovereign states, like Turkey and Russia, interact, particularly in times of crisis. In the Turkey-Russia example, Weber described how the world was waiting to see what Russia would do. Europe prefers predictability in global issues, where as Russia likes to withhold knowledge of their likely action.

(U) Weber opined that the recent discussions of Russian interference in the US Election, as well as other countries, is ultimately a Rorschach test. People tend to see what already aligns with their opinions.

(U) Additionally, Weber stated that Russian influence is only successful when the society it is attempting to influence is already deeply polarized. He gave the examples of the US, France, the UK, and the Netherlands. In these examples, Russian influence appeared to have an effect because the societies were already polarized, with the exception of the Netherlands. The Netherlands is not as polarized as other European nations and the Russian attempted influence had little effect.

(U) Specifically for the US, Weber believed that the hacking occurred, but it was only effective because of our polarized beliefs.

(U) Weber recalled discussions with peers in which scholars are beginning to agree that the US is losing reliability. He has an associate that works for [redacted] in Germany. The associate said that the US has had two "crazy" presidents in the last century. The Iraq War in 2003 was the beginning of the end of the reliability of the US, and the withdrawal from the Paris Climate Change Accord is another example. Eventually, the US can either choose to lead the world, or become first among equals.

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(U) SA [redacted] asked Weber about scholars or writers that he trusted related to the Russian Federation. Weber identified [redacted] and [redacted] For individuals that he would not trust related to Russia, Weber identified [redacted]

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[redacted]

(U) When asked specifically about current sanctions against Russia, Weber said that they are biting.

(U) In terms of the current gossip and rumors circulating in Russia related to the US Election influence, Weber said that Russians have no doubt that Wikileaks now works for them. Weber opined that the DNC hacks and release of emails was designed to cause domestic turmoil for Secretary Hillary Clinton (Clinton), so that once she won the election it would stymy her success. Russians believed that a President Clinton would then look for relief in the form of a victory in Syria with the support of Russia. However, Russians did not expect for President Trump to win the election.

(U) According to Weber, Putin demonstrated his desire for the nation to align with Donald J. Trump (Trump) over Clinton by describing Clinton as "ideological" and Trump as "pragmatic." These are the codewords used to identify when a foreign leader aligns with Russia's interests.

(U) Weber described the event in Russia at which Lieutenant General Michael Flynn (Flynn) and [redacted] received $30,000.00 for attending. Weber said that the Russians view this money as investment in the future. Russia holds large lavish events with nice food, alcohol, and dancing women. The Russians learn what each person likes and provides it with no questions asked. Weber said that the Russians will never ask for anything at these dinners, but they hope that attendees gain high-level positions in the US Government. The perfect success is Flynn, where an attendee becomes the National Security Advisor. Weber opined that he does not know if Flynn had been bought by the Russians; but despite having no proof, he was confident that [redacted] had been paid through and through.

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(U) Prior FBI Contact

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(U) Carter Page

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(U) friend and research associate, Andrej Krickovic, was working at HSE and had previously met Page while Krickovic was working as an intern at the US Embassy in Moscow. Later, Krickovic helped Page edit his presentation to HSE. Weber remarked that these presentations are formulaic and the questions are standard, but Page was unable to follow the format. Krickovic completely edited Page's presentation the night before Page was scheduled to present. Page chose to use his original presentation, According to Weber, Krickovic reported that after Page's presentation a fellow professor said that it was obvious Page wanted their business cards to take and show to his Gazprom buddies.

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(U) To access the Trump Presidential Campaign (Campaign), Page used a connection from when he worked for Senator McCain's campaign. Weber identified Rick Dearborn (AGENT COMMENT: Annotated in notes as Rick Deerport END COMMENT). Weber believed that the campaign had access to a list of individuals who were not considered never-Trumpers. Weber stated that Page was on the list, plus he had experience in Russia, and a military background; so his name was sent to Corey Lewandowski.

(U) a university in Moscow (AGENT COMMENT: The New Economic School (NES) END COMMENT). NES was looking for a commencement speaker and Krickovic recommended Page because he was then-Candidate Trump's Russia-guy.

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and Krickovic met with Page, [redacted] Everything that Page described is what is coming true today.

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(U) SA [redacted] later asked why would NES want a speaker [redacted] Weber said that it was because he was Trump's Russia-guy. The university typically had heads of state and Nobel Laureates as commencement speakers; in fact, Weber claimed they could have called any Nobel Laureate they wanted for the speech.

[redacted]

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(U) In July, when Page had traveled to give the commencement speech at NES, Weber recalled that it was rumored in Moscow that Page met with Igor Sechin. Weber said that Moscow is filled with gossip and people in Moscow were interested in Page being there. It was known that a campaign official was there.

(U) Page may have briefly met with Arkady Dvorkovich at the commencement speech, considering Dvorkovich was on the board at NES. But Weber was not aware of any special meeting.

(U) [redacted] was not with Page 100% of the time, he met him for dinner, attended the first public presentation, but missed the commencement speech. They had a few other interactions. Page was very busy on his trip.

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[redacted]

(U) [redacted] has had little contact with Page since the July trip. After the election, [redacted] congratulated Page on President-Elect Trump's victory. [redacted]

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(U) Page mentioned using OSCE (AGENT COMMENT: Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe END COMMENT) protections against the US Government.

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(U) Page did mention meeting Ambassador Kislyak.

(U) did not meet Page on Page's December 2016 trip to Moscow. was not in Moscow at the time. also described an instance in April of 2017 where Page emailed Shlomo Weber, Krickovic, and Denis Klimentov asking if the group could meet him in Moscow for a filmed interview. provided the email in which Page says that the interview is for VICE news. Page said that he would fly to Moscow to film the segment. The provided email included a chain of emails in which members of the group decline the invitation. None of the invitees wanted to participate.

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(U) In December 2016 Page gave a talk at a Russian media outlet, Rossiya Segodyna. According to Weber, Page needed a specific invitation to speak there. SA asked if Weber knew who worked for Sputnik. Weber recalled an at Sputnik, but because it was a common name he was not sure on the last name. Weber said it was possible she invited Page. However, Russian law still would require a high level Russian official presiding over the US portfolio to approve Page's speech at Rossiya Segodyna because he was still associated to a political campaign and party. Weber said that only three individuals could give the approval, Lavrov, Peskov, and a third deputy.

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(U) SA asked Weber if we could continue the interview in a more private setting. Weber invited the Agents to his office, and the interview continued there.

(U) has had significant contact with the Russian Federation in an has attended events, similar to the Flynn and event, at events by government officials.

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has not knowingly had direct contact with any member of the Russian Security Services, but understands that the services could have had some level of involvement in the above-referenced events. He has been asked by Russian government officials to sign off on research projects and proposals as a means to validate them, but has denied such offers

(U) Weber was not 100% sure, but he does not believe that met with Page in December 2016.

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(U) Weber and does not come to the US often. Weber did not think that would be as enthusiastic as himself about

(U) Krickovic also is in Moscow and does not come to the US often. He travels a few times per year to attend US-based conferences.

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(U) Telephone Interview on 06/06/2017

(U) On 06/06/2017, SA and SA conducted a brief telephone follow-up interview of Weber. Weber provided the following information:

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(U) SA asked a question specifying Weber's previous statement that it was rumored in Moscow in July of 2016 that Page had met with Igor Sechin, as stated above, Weber said "I think so." Weber described that Page mentioned in July that he previously met with the Prime

Minister of India Narendra Modi. Weber was surprised that Page would meet a head of state, but it made him less surprised about the rumor of Page meeting Sechin.

(U) Related to the dossier, [redacted] the plausibility of the allegations that the Russian Federation initially started monitoring Trump when Russian oligarchs first began moving money into real estate in the US, specifically New York. [redacted] said that it is likely that the Russian Government would ask Trump about oligarchs moving money into the US. This is how Trump ultimately became comfortable dealing with the Russian Federation as a business man. [redacted] recommended that the FBI speak to any Russian billionaire who purchased real estate from Trump, including [redacted] and Kirill Dimitriev. b6 b7C

(U) Krickovic will likely attend the International Studies Association conference, which will take place in San Francisco in April of 2018.

FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

Official Record

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 02/12/2018

(U) On 1/25/2018 DOV ZAKHEIM, Vice Chairman of the Board for the Center for the National Interest (CNI), was interviewed by Special Agent [redacted] [redacted] Intelligence Analyst [redacted] and Assistant Special Counsels Andrew Goldstein and Aaron Zelinsky at the Office of Special Counsel, 395 E Street SW, Washington, DC 20024. Accompanying ZAKHEIM were attorneys [redacted] and [redacted] from Baker Hostetler, LLP. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing officials and the nature of the interview, ZAKHEIM provided the following information: b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

(U) Henry Kissinger is the Honorary Chairman of the Board of CNI [redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

Investigation on 01/25/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 01/25/2018 b6 b7C

by [redacted] b7E

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

In this conversation, BURT told SIMES

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suggested establishing a high-level channel between PUTIN and TRUMP or between PUTIN and a high-level official within the TRUMP administration.

BURT requested that he and SIMES see KUSHNER about establishing this high-level channel between PUTIN and the TRUMP administration.

SIMES also told BURT that what was being proposed was not a good idea.

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

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SIMES told KUSHNER the best way to approach foreign policy would be to organize a small group of foreign policy experts to meet with TRUMP. [redacted]

[redacted] SIMES wanted the small group of foreign policy experts to meet with TRUMP to develop a foreign policy approach that was consistent with TRUMP's voice. SIMES thought KUSHNER was comfortable with SIMES' suggestion.

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

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SIMES noted the immediate objective of forming a small group of foreign policy experts to meet with TRUMP was to help with TRUMP's foreign policy

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

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the formation of a small group of foreign policy experts to assist on TRUMP's foreign policy speech.

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

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SIMES exchanged several telephone calls with SESSIONS and DEARBORN regarding TRUMP's foreign policy speech. [redacted] b3 b7A b7E

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[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

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Regarding the venue for TRUMP's foreign policy speech event, SAUNDERS looked at a variety of different options. b5 per DOJ/OIP SAUNDERS looked at the MAYFLOWER HOTEL and the NATIONAL PRESS CLUB (NPC) as venues for the event. SIMES had a lot of discussions with CNI Board members about where to host the event so as to minimize the impression that CNI was endorsing TRUMP. During these Board member discussions, CNI decided to have THE NATIONAL INTEREST host the event in an effort to minimize the impression that CNI was endorsing TRUMP. With THE NATIONAL INTEREST as the host, the event was more or less a press event, so NPC was a natural fit for venue.

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[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP
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SIMES spoke to MILLER a lot over the phone about changes made to the speech. [redacted] the changes SIMES and MILLER discussed over the phone [redacted] were substantive changes to the speech.

SIMES never saw an actual draft of TRUMP's foreign policy speech. He and the TRUMP campaign exchanged draft outlines.

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[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP
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When SIMES agreed to move the event from the NPC to the MAYFLOWER HOTEL,

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Approximately one week before TRUMP's foreign policy speech event, b5 per DOJ/OIP SIMES told KISLYAK about the event. SIMES told KISLYAK that he would include him on the list of invitations for the event, as well as the pre-speech reception. SIMES also told KISLYAK that he (KISLYAK) would have an opportunity to meet TRUMP.

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[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

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In advance of TRUMP arriving, SIMES and SAUNDERS discussed having a receiving line for TRUMP so that TRUMP could meet everyone at the pre-speech reception. SIMES and/or SAUNDERS did not coordinate the idea of a receiving line with the TRUMP campaign. SIMES decided a receiving line was a good idea, so one was quickly organized when TRUMP arrived. SIMES did not know most of the members of Congress attending the pre-speech reception, so SIMES asked SESSIONS to introduce them. SESSIONS agreed to do so. SESSIONS stood next to TRUMP introducing each member of Congress. After SESSIONS each member of Congress to TRUMP, SIMES stood next to TRUMP and introduced each individual to TRUMP, [redacted] SIMES introduced KISLYAK to TRUMP. The introduction was general, but it was positive and friendly. It was clear to SIMES that KISLYAK and TRUMP had just met each other for the first time.

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[redacted]

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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SIMES did not recall seeing KISLYAK at the lunch.

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

When SIMES set up the meeting with KUSHNER, he told KUSHNER in general that they would discuss information SIMES had on CLINTON, and that it came from U.S. official sources. SIMES thought KUSHNER was not very interested in the information and said they were old recycled stories. SIMES later provided this information at a small group meeting organized for SESSIONS.

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOD

had at one time come to Bannon and said he wanted to do something Bannon asked if was a good guy, Bannon wanted to know if Bannon asked Bannon later found out that Bannon did not recall talking about then. Bannon discussed was going to go over to meet with

b6
b7C

Bannon had been working on a proposal to move the Israeli capital to Jerusalem, the Christian right movement, putting money into a 501(c)(4) using UAE money or "those guys" which didn't end up happening, and putting together a security conference over in the Middle East in the Spring /Summer of 2017. Bannon last saw Nader 2 to 3 months ago. Bannon had too much going on with the C4 and life in general. Bannon had seen that the Special Counsel's Office had called Nader to the Grand Jury, but Nader had not reached out to Bannon.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOD

b5 Per DOD

[redacted]

When shown a photo of Rick Gerson, Bannon stated that this was the college roommate of Kushner, and that he was pretty sure he was the hedge fund guy he referenced earlier. Gerson had a hedge fund on Madison Ave in New York City at Barneys Tower. His office was 2 blocks from Trump Tower on 60th and Madison Ave. Gerson knew a lot about the Middle East and said many intelligent things about it. [redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

b6
b7C
b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

Bannon thought he heard that Nader was being called into the Grand Jury for the Special Counsel's Office in the newspaper, but then said that he could be wrong.

[redacted]

b6
b7C
b5 per DOJ/OIP

b7A Per DOJ/OIP

b3
b5 Per DOD

b3
b5 Per DOD

[redacted]

b4 per DOD
b5 per DOD
b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

Michael Cohen was one of the lawyers on Trump's staff. Bannon described Cohen as a fixer and a problem solver. In 2010, Cohen came down to the first meeting Bannon had with Trump and introduced himself as a political advisor. When Bannon was on the Trump Campaign, Bannon did not want Cohen wandering around the Trump Campaign organization. Bannon thought it could get them in a lot of trouble since Cohen goes off "halfcocked" a lot. Cohen kept trying to get involved in the Trump Campaign. Bannon described Cohen as the kind of guy who thought it would be a good idea to send $130,000 to Stormy Daniels.

Bannon reviewed a document Bates stamped SB-00013127. Bannon was told "zero" deals involving Russia and the Trump Organization. Candidate Trump would say he didn't know any Russians and there was no collusion. This came up during the campaign a couple of times. Bannon never asked Trump about any Russian business deals. In regard to the emails reference to Felix Sater, Bannon stated that this went back to the House Intelligence Committee, that they had a signed term sheet in December 2015 on Trump Tower Moscow. This was a big deal to Bannon, and Bannon described it as a "big reveal." [redacted]

b6
b7C
b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b6 b7C

b5 per DOD

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

- GN & mentioned [redacted] came to SB wanted to do something [redacted] b6 b7C
SB asked [redacted] later, was he as good a guy he came across [redacted]
- 4 seasons = mid-December 2016,
- after [redacted] called, SB everything knew about [redacted] b6 b7C

- do not recall [redacted] talking about [redacted] then, [redacted] b6 b7C
[redacted], bus. in past, bus. in future.

↓ ↓

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOD

[redacted]

- approx. 10 minute break

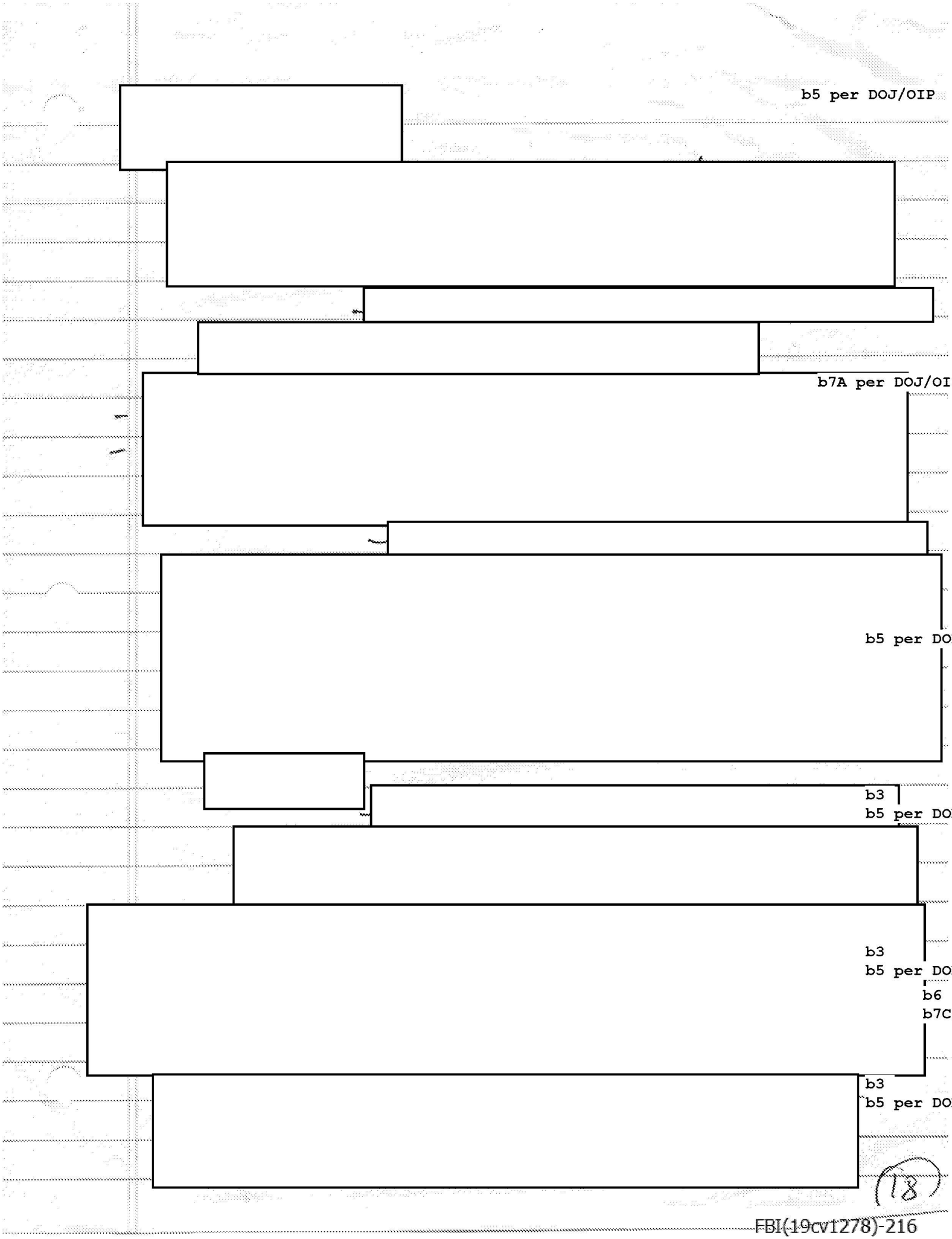
Photo - college roomate of JF, recognized him, pretty sure his professor

- guy has hedge fund, madison ave, carey tower, JF came by early, Tony Blair, MF, photo, Nov/December 16, didn't know it was his office, 2 blocks from TT, 60th + Madison Ave.

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

FBI(19cv1278)-212


b5 per DOJ/OIP
b7A per DOJ/OIP
b5 per DOD
b3
b5 per DOD
b3
b5 per DOD
b6
b7C
b3
b5 per DOD
(18)


b3
b5 per DOD
b4 per DOD
b5 b5 per DOJ/OIP
b7A per DOJ/OIP
b7A per DOJ/OIP
b7A per DOJ/OIP
b7A per DOJ/OIP

b7E

FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)

Official Record

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 07/13/2018

JARED COREY KUSHNER, date of birth (DOB) [redacted] was interviewed at the Special Counsel's Office (SCO) on April 11, 2018. Also present during the interview were KUSHNER's attorneys [redacted] from Norton Rose Fulbright US LLP, Senior Assistant Special Counsel (SASC) Zainab Ahmad, SASC Andrew Goldstein, FBI Special Agent (SA) [redacted] and FBI SA [redacted] The interview began at approximately 9:15 a.m. and concluded at approximately 5:45 p.m. Water was provided to KUSHNER and his three attorneys. Multiple 5-10 minute breaks were taken. One 30 minute lunch break was taken. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agents, KUSHNER voluntarily provided the following information:

b6
b7C

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

Investigation on 04/11/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 04/20/2018

by [redacted]

b6
b7C
b7E

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FBI(19cv1278)-1053

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

CNI/DIMITRI SIMES

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

RICHARD PLEPLER, invited KUSHNER to a TIME WARNER lunch with HENRY KISSINGER and DMITRI SIMES. b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7C

KUSHNER remembered this being a time when the campaign was having a hard time getting people to support them.

KUSHNER admitted to "pursuing" SIMES.

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b7E

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7C

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Jared Corey Kushner

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

At the reception KUSHNER met KISLYAK He shook their hands, chatted for 1-2 minutes and moved on. KUSHNER recalled KISLYAK saying "we like what your candidate is saying. . . it's refreshing."

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b7E

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7A
b7C

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7A
b7C

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7A
b7C

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Jared Corey Kushner

Continuation of FD-302 of Kushner, On 04/11/2018, Page 7 of 33

b7E

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7A
b7C

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7A
b7C

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

KUSHNER did not recall if the June 9, 2016 Trump Tower meeting (TRUMP TOWER MEETING) ever came up during a family meeting.

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b7E

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7C

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

his assistants where he was trying to get an excuse to get out of the TRUMP TOWER MEETING. KUSHNER sent an email

b6
b7C

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Jared Corey

" KUSHNER did not discuss the TRUMP TOWER MEETING with TRUM

KUSHNER leaving early

b7E

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7A
b7C

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b7A

b7E

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7A
b7C

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

SIMES and KUSHNER stayed in touch after the CNI Foreign Policy speech.

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

SIME sent KUSHNER SIMES' "memo on what Mr. Trump may want to say about Russia."

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

KUSHNER did meet with SIMES in New York at KUSHNER'S office. KUSHNER had met with SIMES before in his office.

KUSHNER never got from SIMES information that could be "operationalized."

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

KUSHNER believe at that time there was little chance of something new being revealed about the CLINTONS since they had been public figures for decades.

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7C

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b7E

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7A
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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7A
b7C

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Jared Corey Kushner

b7E

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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b7C

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7C

Meetings with Kislyak and Gorkov

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

In KUSHNER'S meeting with Ambassador KISLYAK, they discussed Syria and having the Russian generals brief FLYNN. FLYNN said there was not a secure line of communication so KUSHNER asked whether they could communicate using the Russian Embassy. Ambassador KISLYAK quickly said "no that won't work."

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

KUSHNER told KISLYAK that he wanted to make sure he was speaking with people "who can make decisions."

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] VARGAS told KUSHNER KISLYAK was being very insistent. KUSHNER asked [redacted] to see if KISLYAK would meet with AVI BERKOWITZ and ultimately KISLYAK agreed. KISLYAK told BERKOWITZ that KUSHNER should meet with someone else who was a better channel through which to communicate to PUTIN. [redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

KUSHNER took the meeting with SERGEY GORKOV [redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

KUSHNER did no prep for the meeting. No one on the transition team googled GORKOV. [redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ b6 b7A b7C

The meeting with GORKOV started with GORKOV presenting KUSHNER with two very thoughtful gifts; a bag of dirt/soil from the town in Belarus where KUSHNER'S family is from and a painting. [redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] KUSHNER did not recall anything about GORKOV's bank (VEB) being sanctioned, or any discussions of US sanctions.

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7A
b7C

b7E

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7A
b7C

b5 Per DOJ b6 P
b7C

Meeting with MBZ and the UAE

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7A
b7C

during the transition, GERSON was being used by MBZ to reach out

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Jared Corey Kushner

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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b7A
b7C

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOD

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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b7A
b7C

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b7E

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Jared Corey Kushner

Continuation of FD-302 of [redacted], On 04/11/2018, Page 23 of 33

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b6 b7C

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

Former FBI Director James Comey:

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

KUSHNER b5 Per DOJ/OIP had no recollection of whether TRUMP asked COMEY to stay behind.

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Jared Corey Kushner, On 04/11/2018, Page 25 of 33

b7E

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

May 5,

dinner.

b6
b7C

KUSHNER said the first draft of letter reflected the reasons TRUMP wanted to fire COMEY and was the truest representation of what TRUMP said in that dinner.

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b7E

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

(U/~~FOUO~~) Interview of Jared Corey Kushner

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

Statements Regarding June 9, 2016 Meeting:

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b7E

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Jared Corey Kushner

Continuation of FD-302 of [redacted], On 04/11/2018, Page 31 of 33

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

KUSHNER did not recall speaking to TRUMP at all about the meeting

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP b6 b7A b7C

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

two printouts containing ideas on how to improve US-Russia relations. the document was two or three pages

KUSHNER scanned the documents quickly and gave one each to BANNON and TILLERSON. Neither BANNON nor TILLERSON followed up with KUSHNER.

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

[redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

Official Record

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 09/14/2018

Richard "Rick" M. GERSON, date of birth (DOB) [redacted] Social Security Account Number (SSAN) [redacted] Address [redacted] b6 b7C was interviewed at the Special Counsel's Office, Washington, D. C. Present representing GERSON were [redacted] and [redacted] of Paul Hastings, LLP. The interviewing team was FBI Special Agent [redacted] FBI Intelligence Analyst [redacted] and Assistant Special Counsel Aaron Zelinsky. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agent and the nature of the interview, GERSON provided the following information:

GERSON was aware of Kirill DMITRIEV's two roles: [redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP being tasked by Vladimir PUTIN to develop a reconciliation plan. DMITRIEV told GERSON that he was reporting directly to PUTIN [redacted]

GERSON's discussions with DMITRIEV were in his own capacity [redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP [redacted] GERSON wasn't tasked by the transition team and he worked on the reconciliation plan on his own.

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

Investigation on 06/15/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 07/17/2018 b3 b6

by [redacted] b7C b7E

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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b7C

GERSON did in fact get the two-page paper to KUSHNER.

GERSON remembers bringing the plan to KUSHNER in mid-January 2017.

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

GERSON asked if KUSHNER heard of him, to which KUSHNER replied in the negative. GERSON said the plan was from DMITRIEV, the head of Russian sovereign wealth fund RDIF,

GERSON did give some indication that DMITRIEV had connections,

KUSHNER put the document in a file KUSHNER said that he would get it to the right people.

GERSON remembers conveying to DMITRIEV that he had given the document to KUSHNER.

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7C

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

GERSON and DMITRIEV stopped communicating in early 2017, sometime between January and March. [redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7C

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7C

[redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP
b6
b7C

[redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP
b6
b7C

Official Record

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 08/28/2018

Richard "Rick" M. GERSON, date of birth (DOB) [redacted] Social Security Account Number (SSAN) of [redacted] Address of [redacted] was interviewed at the Special Counsel's Office, Washington, D.C. Present representing GERSON were [redacted] and [redacted] of Paul Hastings, LLP. The interviewing team were FBI Special Agents [redacted] and [redacted] FBI Intelligence Analyst [redacted] and Assistant Special Counsels Jeannie Rhee, Aaron Zelinsky, and Zainab Ahmad. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing agents and the nature of the interview, GERSON provided the following information: b6 b7C

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

Jared KUSHNER has been a friend of GERSON's [redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP When KUSHNER became involved in the Trump campaign, their friendship continued. GERSON would occasionally bump into KUSHNER and they would talk about the campaign wherein KUSHNER would update GERSON as a friend. [redacted]

[redacted] GERSON helped setup a lunch with [redacted] Tony BLAIR [redacted]

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] meeting with the UAE representatives [redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

Investigation on 06/05/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 07/11/2018 b3 b6

by [redacted] b7C b7E

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7C

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7C

Gerson invited BLAIR to attend. The meeting

There were people there from the transition team: There were a lot of people there from the UAE side which included the UAE Ambassador.

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7C

b5 Per DOJ/OIP
b7C

GERSON was put in touch with DMITRIEV through the UAE guys. b5 Per DOJ/OIP

GERSON and DMITRIEV discussed investment opportunities

DMITRIEV wanted economic cooperation with the United States

GERSON asked KUSHNER if he heard of DMITRIEV. KUSHNER said no, and GERSON explained that DMITRIEV headed the Russian Domestic Investment Fund (RDIF). GERSON gave KUSHNER the list of ideas. KUSHNER threw it in a file in his desk. KUSHNER said that he would make sure the right people got the list.

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

GERSON discussed the possibility of joint investing with RDIF.

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

DMITRIEV asked GERSON if he kne b5 Per DOJ/OIP
Erik PRINCE. DMITRIEV asked if PRINCE was someone important or worth spending time with.

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b7A

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b7A
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b7C

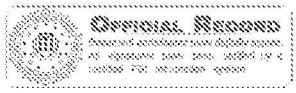
b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

b7A
b7E

FD-302 (Rev. 5-8-10)



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 07/31/2018

HENRY OKNYANSKY, aka HENRY GREENBERG, date of birth (DOB) [redacted] social security account number [redacted] was interviewed at the Special Counsel's Office, 395 E Street SW, Washington, DC 20546. OKNYANSKY resides at [redacted] Present during the interview was FBI Special Agent (SA) [redacted] FBI SA [redacted] and Associate Special Counsel Aaron Zelinsky. OKNYANSKY was advised the interview was entirely voluntary and that he could discontinue it at any time. OKNYANSKY was further advised that intentionally providing false statements to FBI Agents was a violation of federal law. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agents and the nature of the interview, OKNYANSKY provided the following information:

b6
b7C

In May 2016, OKNYANSKY met with ROGER STONE. [redacted]

b6
b7A
b7C

OKNYANSKY arranged the meeting with STONE in [redacted] 2016. [redacted] CAPUTO accompanied STONE at the meeting and provided an introduction. [redacted]

b6
b7A
b7C

OKNYANSKY was accompanied by his Ukrainian friend, ALEXEI RASIN, who offered STONE damaging information on HILLARY CLINTON. RAISIN formerly worked for Clinton and was allegedly in possession of financial statements which demonstrated her involvement in money laundering activities with RASIN's companies. STONE inquired about the amount of financial misappropriations related to CLINTON and asked if it was in the amount of millions. RASIN relayed that it was rather somewhere in the amount of hundreds of thousands. STONE ultimately refuted the offer and stated that he did not believe DONALD TRUMP would pay for opposition research information. The meeting then concluded shortly thereafter.

Investigation on 07/13/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 07/17/2018

by [redacted]

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b7A
b7C

[Case Agent Note: STONE and CAPUTO openly acknowledged meeting OKNYANSKY in the media on or about June 17, 2018.] OKNYANSKY stated that the offer of derogatory information on CLINTON

OKNYANSKY believed RASIN's motivations were financial in his attempt to sell information to STONE. RASIN also shopped around for additional buyers but was unsuccessful in finding any.

b6
b7A
b7C

OKNYANSKY admitted that he would have received a cut of the money if they sold it

RASIN was involved in the real estate business in Southern Florida He has many companies registered in the United States,

b6
b7A
b7C

OKNYANSKY retrieved his cell phone and obtained the following contact information for the interviewing Agents:

b6
b7A
b7C

MICHAEL CAPUTO -

OKNYANSKY used to communicate with FBI Special Agent (SA) and FBI SA Both were stationed in the field office. OKNYANSKY was close to and became emotional when discussing how had helped OKNYANSKY OKNYANSKY also is friends with OKNYANSKY relayed that and were all aware of his meeting at the Special Counsel's Office.

b6
b7C

OKNYANSKY advised that he still maintains contact with many individuals who may be of interest to the FBI.

b6
b7A
b7C

At the beginning of this interview, OKNYANSKY was asked about

b6
b7A
b7C

OKNYANSKY then discussed

b6
b7A
b7C