



September 1, 2021

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
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (b)(1)	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (b)(7)(A)	<input type="checkbox"/> (d)(5)
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<u>Federal Rules of</u>	<input type="checkbox"/> (b)(7)(D)	<input type="checkbox"/> (k)(2)
<u>Criminal Procedure 6(e)</u>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (b)(7)(E)	<input type="checkbox"/> (k)(3)
<u>50 U.S.C § 3024(i)(1)</u>	<input type="checkbox"/> (b)(7)(F)	<input type="checkbox"/> (k)(4)
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359 pages were reviewed and 359 pages are being released.

- Deletions were made by the Department of Commerce and the Department of State.

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,



Michael G. Seidel
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). The enclosed documents represent the seventeenth interim release of information responsive to your request.

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.

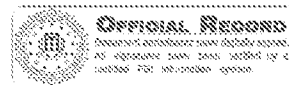
EXPLANATION OF EXEMPTIONS

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.



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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 11/20/2018

Richard William Gates III was interviewed was interviewed at 395 E Street SW, Washington, D.C. Present for the interview were Senior Special Counsel Attorneys (SASC) Andrew Weissmann and Greg Andres, Assistant Special Counsel (ASC) Aaron Zelinsky, Special Agent [Redacted] [Redacted] and Intelligence Analyst [Redacted] Gates's attorney, Tom Green of Sidley Austin LLP, was also present. 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 advised Roger Stone (Stone) alluded to the idea of Hillary Clinton's (Clinton) emails and the Clinton Foundation constantly. Stone was saying something something big was going to come that had to do with a leak of information in advance of Julian Assange's (Assange) public announcement on 06/12/2016. Stone was saying "I think Assange has Clinton emails." Gates did not recall how Stone knew this information. Gates said Stone relayed this information in a phone call with Gates. Gates said he went to Paul Manafort (Manafort) with Stone's information and Manafort confirmed he had already spoken to Stone on the topic. There was a "wait and see" approach to Stone's claims.

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Gates recalled being in a discussion involving [Redacted] Hope Hicks (Hicks), and Manafort. The discussion pertained to the possibility of Assange having emails. No one on the Donald Trump (Trump) 2016 Presidential campaign (the campaign) team took action on the email issue, and no one told Stone to go get them.

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[Redacted]

Gates said there were campaign personnel that thought Assange was in possession of the missing Clinton server emails. The campaign was planning

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Investigation on 04/11/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 10/16/2018

by [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Richard Gates 04/11

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018 , On 04/11/2018 , Page 2 of 6

press strategy, a communications campaign, and messaging based on the possibility the emails existed. [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

Gates recalled conversations being held within the campaign about what the campaign could plan for in the way of emails. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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Gates recalled asking Stone when information was going to be released prior to 06/12/2016. Stone said the release would happen imminently and very soon.

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted] Manafort and Gates were focused on mitigating hit pieces against Manafort.

Gates had learned Stephen Bannon (Bannon) and Stone were in contact daily. Gates brought up Stone's projects to Bannon and Bannon indicated he already knew about them.

June 12, 2016 - July 22, 2016

Between 06/12/2016 - 07/22/2016 Stone continuously said information was coming. Manafort and Gates were both calling and asking when the releases would happen. Trump was frustrated the releases weren't happening. Gates said Trump was talking to Stone directly. [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Richard Gates 04/11

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018 , On 04/11/2018 , Page 3 of 6

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

Gates said there was a messaging strategy being built around the possible content of an upcoming release.

[Redacted]

[Redacted] Gates indicated there was disagreement on where the information came from within the campaign. Gates does not recall Manafort asking Konstantin Kilimnik (Kilimnik) to reach out to his Russian contacts on the issue, nor did Manafort ask Gates to call Kilimnik. [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

Gates said there was also talk about how to clean up Manafort's lawsuit with Oleg Deripaska (Deripaska) and clean up his image in the media. Gates said Jared Kushner (Kushner) supported Manafort and that Manafort would not have lasted without it.

July 22, 2016

Gates said the campaign was very happy about the release by WikiLeaks on 07/22/2016. Trump was advised not to react to the releases and let it play out. Gates indicated there was a conference call between Gates, Stone, and Manafort expressing excitement and congratulations over Stone's prediction of a release of information. Gates initially stated Stone said there would be additional information coming, however, Gates later said he did not recall Stone saying there would be more during the conference call.

Gates said after the WikiLeaks release on 07/22/2016, there was a pivot to "how do we use the released information" driven by Stone. Gates reiterated that he did not believe [Redacted]

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[Redacted] Gates initially said he did not have conversations with Stone after 07/22/2016 about additional information becoming available, [Redacted]

[Redacted] after the 07/22 /2016 release.

Late July - 08/19/2016

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Richard Gates 04/11

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018 , On 04/11/2018 , Page 4 of 6

[Redacted]

[Redacted] [Agent Note: Manafort resigned from the campaign on 08/19/2016]. [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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Gates said the campaign was trying to work with the RNC opposition research team.

Gates said Trump's comment "Russia if you're listening" on 07/27/2016 was ad lib.

Gates and Manafort spoke about obtaining the missing emails and Gates understood Manafort [Redacted] Gates recalled staff meeting conversations about "someone out there has to have the missing emails."

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[Redacted]

August 2, 2016

Gates recalled that on or about 08/02/2016, Stone said more information was coming. Stone did not say who it was from or what it contained. Gates said Stone talked to Trump and briefed him that more information would be coming in the form of leaks.

August 2, 2016 - August 21, 2016

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]
(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Richard Gates 04/11

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018 , On 04/11/2018 , Page 5 of 6

[Redacted] There was still a more general focus on Clinton's missing emails amongst the campaign team. Gates said no one used land lines because there were no walls. Everyone used cell phones.

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[Redacted]
September 2016

Gates said during September [Redacted]

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[Redacted] the upcoming information narrative. Gates's involvement with the campaign became limited during this timeframe and he began to work with the "digital folks."

October 4, 2016

Gates said everyone in the campaign was speculating Clinton's missing emails were coming in the 10/04/2016 WikiLeaks announcement. Gates does not recall Stone knowing what was coming and does not recall a conversation with Stone on this topic. [Redacted]

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October 7, 2016

Gates was not aware of conversations regarding the timing of WikiLeaks releases approximately 45 minutes after the Access Hollywood tape hit the media [Redacted]

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Rest of October 2016

Gates said the RNC was looking through the releases. The campaign would pull press releases together based on RNC research and media research. There was still a pursuit of the missing emails by the campaign.

[Redacted]
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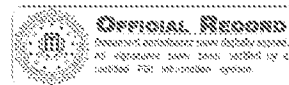
(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Richard Gates 04/11
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Continuation of FD-302 of _____, On 04/11/2018, Page 6 of 6

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[Redacted]



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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 11/09/2018

Richard William Gates III was interviewed at the offices of Sidley Austin LLP located at 1501 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., 20005. Present for the interview were Senior Special Counsel Attorneys (SASC) Andrew Weissmann and Jeannie Rhee, Assistant Special Counsel (ASC) Aaron Zelinsky, and Special Agents [Redacted]. Gates's attorney, Tom Green of Sidley Austin LLP, was also present. After being advised of the identity of the interviewers and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

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June 12, 2016 to July 22, 2016

[Agent Note: According to open sources, on 06/12/2016, Julian Assange (Assange) said during an interview on British television channel ITV that "we have upcoming leaks in relation to Hillary Clinton... we have emails pending publication, that is correct." Assange did not specify when or how many emails would be published.]

Gates recalled Roger Stone (Stone) saying prior to 06/12/2016 that information was coming. Gates said Stone made these statements at least a couple weeks prior to 06/12/2016. Stone relayed this information to Gates and Paul Manafort (Manafort) in a phone call. Gates cited this as an example of Stone saying something and it not happening.

Gates advised everyone thought Assange's comments on 06/12/2016 had to do with Hillary Clinton's (Clinton) missing 33,000 emails. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted] Trump was generally frustrated Clinton's missing emails had not been found. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

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Investigation on 10/25/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 10/25/2018

by [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Richard Gates 10/25

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018 - Stone , On 10/25/2018 , Page 2 of 8

Manafort was having Gates periodically call Stone to check in on where the information was and when it would be coming.

Gates recalled a conversation with Roger Stone (Stone) prior to 07/22 /2016. Stone told Gates WikiLeaks would be dropping information [Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[Redacted] Gates said the Russia theory was in contradiction to the "inside job" theory that was floated later.

Gates said a messaging strategy was being built in the June/July 2016 timeframe surrounding the upcoming release of information. [Redacted]

[Redacted] was building this strategy with Manafort also involved. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[Redacted] Clinton's trustworthiness at this time was low.

[Redacted]

Post July 22, 2016 WikiLeaks Releases

Gates said the campaign was very happy about the WikiLeaks Democratic National Committee (DNC) releases on 07/22/2016. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

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Manafort, [Redacted] were happy from a communications team perspective because it offered a mode of deflection for the campaign after a sink in polling numbers following Trump's comments about Ted Cruz's

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Richard Gates 10/25

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018 - Stone , On 10/25/2018 , Page 3 of 8

father at the end of the Republican National Convention (RNC) [Agent Note: The 2016 Republican National Convention took place in Cleveland, Ohio from 07/18/2016 - 07/21/2016].

[Redacted]

Gates said that at the time of the 07/22/2016 WikiLeaks releases, there were public indications that Russia was behind them. [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

Gates recalled a congratulatory phone call between Manafort and Stone [Redacted] after the 07/22/2016 releases. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

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On the call, Manafort congratulated Stone [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Richard Gates 10/25

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018 - Stone , On 10/25/2018 , Page 4 of 8

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[Redacted]

Gates said that after the Democratic National Convention in late July 2016 [Agent Note: The 2016 Democratic National Convention was held in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania from 07/25/2016 - 07/28/2016] or in early August 2016,

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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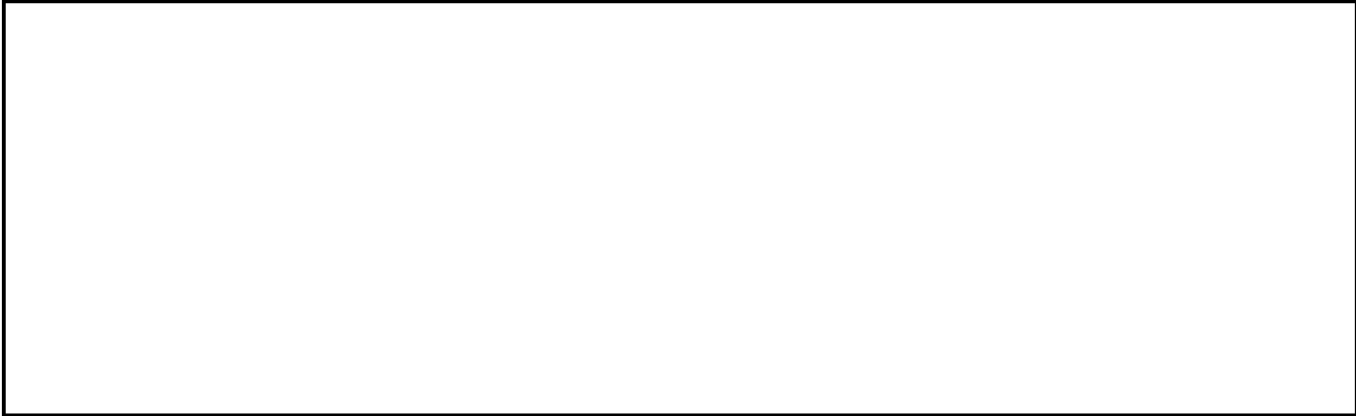
Gates said Stone called Trump multiple times during the campaign and knew this because he was physically present when the calls took place. Gates recalled a specific conversation between Stone and Trump that took place while Trump and Gates were in a car transiting from Trump Tower to LaGuardia Airport (LGA). Gates could not discern what Stone was saying but recognized his voice coming through Trump's phone. Trump told Gates it was Stone he was talking to during the call. Gates said it was not a long conversation. Gates gathered that during this phone call Stone told Trump there would be additional leaks coming. Gates thought this because shortly after boarding the plane Trump stated that more leaks were coming. Gates did not hear Stone tell Trump this information, it was Gates's assessment based on the timing between Trump's phone conversation with Trump and Trump's statements on the plane shortly thereafter. In addition, Gates knew Stone was running point on "this stuff" and Gates thought it was likely Stone told Trump about upcoming leaks.

Manafort was getting pressure regarding Stone having information, however, Gates was not sure if this pressure was coming from above. Manafort instructed Gates to call Stone and get status updates on upcoming information.

[Redacted]

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UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~[redacted]
(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Richard Gates 10/25Continuation of FD-302 of /2018 - Stone , On 10/25/2018 , Page 5 of 8b6
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Gates said around this time Kellyanne Conway (Conway) and Stephen Bannon (Bannon) were appointed to the campaign and there were conversations behind the scenes about bringing people on to bolster Manafort.

Gates said there was a strategy to defend Manafort by attacking Podesta. The idea was that Podesta had baggage as well. Gates said it was unfortunate the information did not come out in time to defend Manafort from his ultimate departure from the campaign [Agent Note: On 08/19/2016, Manafort resigned from the campaign].

October 4, 2016b6
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Gates said that on 10/07/2016 he was not in New York and was likely in Richmond, VA or Washington, D.C. Gates's primary contacts on the campaign at this time were [redacted] and Brad Parscale (Parscale).

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Gates advised he wasn't given a heads up on the Access Hollywood tape (the tape), but subsequently talked to members of the campaign, specifically Parscale, about it. Gates recalled the Parscale conversation being retrospective occurring on or about 10/08/2016. Parscale had told Gates he was in the room when the tape was outed. Parscale described this as a difficult time. Gates said a reporter had reached out to [redacted] to give a heads up that the tape would be made public. Gates said there was a

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FBI(19cv1278)-36

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Richard Gates 10/25

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018 - Stone , On 10/25/2018 , Page 6 of 8

very short period of time between the heads up and when the story broke.

[Redacted]

Gates said there was no prior discussion about the tape before the heads up to the campaign.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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Gates said he knew Stone was in touch with Bannon and that Stone had multiple roads into the campaign.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Richard Gates 10/25

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018 - Stone, On 10/25/2018, Page 7 of 8

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Gates recalls discussions about content of the Podesta emails after their release. Gates said there were discussions about how many WikiLeaks would drop each day of the 30,000 they had.

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UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Richard Gates 10/25

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018 - Stone , On 10/25/2018 , Page 8 of 8

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** Gates was shown an email [Redacted] containing the subject line "Trump adviser: Wikileaks plotting email dump to derail Hillary" **

Gates did not recall receiving the aforementioned email.

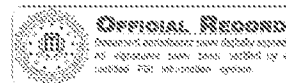
[Redacted]

** Gates was shown an email [Redacted] containing the subject line "Russia? Look who's really in bed with Moscow -- Podesta & Clinton Foundation money-laundering with Russia" **

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 06/12/2018

Richard Gates was interviewed at 395 E Street SW, Washington, D.C. in the presence of his attorney, Tom Green. Present for the interview were Supervisory Special Agent (SSA) [Redacted] Special Agent (SA) [Redacted] Senior Assistant Special Counsel (SASC) Andrew Goldstein, and SASC 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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After the 2016 Presidential election, Gates spent November 10 - November 13, 2016 at Trump Tower. On November 13, Gates became the Deputy Chairman for the Inauguration and went to Washington, D.C. to work on the presidential inauguration.

In the transition period, Gates had less contact with Flynn than he had during the campaign period. Gates estimated he had a handful of calls with Flynn and that they discussed potential cabinet officials, special assistant positions, how many people Flynn wanted to invite to the inauguration, and other logistics matters.

Gates had a little more contact with KT McFarland than he did with Flynn. He had gotten to know her on the campaign and thought they had good chemistry. Gates thought of McFarland as one of a few people capable of breaking down things so that [then-candidate] Donald Trump could understand. McFarland sat through a lot of personnel decisions and interviews.

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Investigation on 04/18/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 05/15/2018

by [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Rick Gates , On 04/18/2018 , Page 2 of 5

[Redacted]

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Gates did not recall hearing about a November 20, 2016 meeting involving Kushner, Flynn, and Kislyak.

Gates was not aware of a December 13, 2016 meeting between Kushner and Gorkov.

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Gates did not talk about Russia with Flynn. Gates did not hear about Flynn's communications with Kislyak until after the fact.

Gates was surprised when Flynn was fired. He thought Flynn had a good relationship with Trump and that Trump had not wanted to fire Flynn but felt like he had no choice. The National Security Advisor cannot lie to the Vice President and not have anything happen to him because of it. Gates said Pence went to Trump about firing Flynn and he thought it was one of the few times Pence pushed Trump hard like that.

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Rick Gates, On 04/18/2018, Page 3 of 5

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[REDACTED]

Gates heard that after Sessions recused himself from the Russia investigation, Trump was "on the warpath" and said he would fire Sessions, but that Trump did not follow through. Gates heard that the recusal had been done by Don McGahn and Sessions and Trump had not been consulted. Gates heard about Trump's reaction from [REDACTED] Rick Dearborn, and [REDACTED]. Gates said some people thought Trump would have been okay with the recusal if he had been notified in advance.

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Prior to Sessions' recusal, Gates had not had conversations with anyone about recusal issues. After the recusal, he recalled conversations where people offered their opinion that had Rudy Giuliani been Attorney General, he would not have recused himself. Gates knew Giuliani had been the first choice for Attorney General, but turned it down because he wanted to be Secretary of State instead.

Gates had no firsthand awareness of Trump's views on James Comey. Neither Gates [REDACTED] had conversations with Trump about Comey's termination. Gates was surprised Trump actually fired Comey, since Gates did not think Trump followed through with firing people. Gates thought Trump was frustrated with a lot of agencies, not just the Department of Justice and FBI. [REDACTED] told Gates he heard from [REDACTED] and Priebus that Trump said things needed to be fair and equal and that it was not fair no one was looking at Hillary Clinton.

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[REDACTED]

In general, Trump's view of the Russia investigation was that it attacked the legitimacy of his win.

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[REDACTED]

Discussions of Pardons:

The possibility of pardons came up a couple of months after Gates' indictment. There were stories about the FBI and DOJ being corrupt and Manafort said he was having conversations with [then Counsel to the President] John Dowd, as was Manafort's lawyer.

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Rick Gates, On 04/18/2018, Page 4 of 5

In October or November of 2017, Gates and Manafort had a conversation in which Manafort indicated they would "get through it," that the charges were trumped up and "BS" and they would figure it out and there was more to come. Gates had the sense Manafort was saying to Gates not to plead. Manafort told Gates the Nunes report would come out soon and there would be some bombshells in it. Manafort said he talked to Dowd and they had talked about starting a legal defense fund. Manafort did not say whether Dowd brought up Nunes.

In January 2018, CNN leaked that a plea agreement had been reached, and Manafort told Gates people were worried it was true. Gates called Manafort and told him it was not true. Manafort told Gates that he (Manafort) had called Dowd and also told Dowd it was not true that Gates had reached a plea agreement. Manafort said something like, "I talked to Dowd. I've covered you at the White House" and added that a legal defense fund was coming and they were going to "take care of us." Manafort told Gates there were two funds out there. The first was called "Patriot Defense Funds" and it covered White House staff. The other fund would cover anyone outside of the White House and Manafort and Gates would be "#1 and #2 on that list."

Manafort told Gates it was stupid to plead and that he would get a better deal down the road. Manafort said he had been in touch with Dowd and repeated they should "sit tight" and "we'll be taken care of." Manafort never explicitly mentioned pardons. Gates asked Manafort outright if anyone mentioned pardons and Manafort said no one used that word.

In February 2018, the day before Gates entered his plea, Manafort called Gates and and his tone was that Gates should "stick to your guns, we'll get through this." Manafort told Gates that he had been on the phone with Dowd and his attorney when Trump apparently walked into the room with Dowd and said to Manafort words to the effect of "stay strong." Manafort told Gates that Kushner had sent him emails of support and that he could show the emails to Gates if they were together. Gates had the sense the emails Manafort mentioned were recent. Gates had no basis to trust Manafort and thought the conversation was designed to convince Gates not to plead guilty. By then, Gates had already made his decision. Gates added that Manafort talked a big game, but Gates had no confidence what he said was true. Gates thought [REDACTED] [REDACTED] listened to the telephone call between Manafort and Gates. Gates did not tell Manafort others listened to the call.

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The day of Gates' plea, Manafort called again and went through a last minute appeal that Gates not plea. Manafort mentioned the legal defense fund in that call as well. That was the last time Gates spoke to Manafort, but they have communicated by text; Manafort sent Gates a text message congratulating him for getting rid of his GPS monitor at one point.

In one of the calls with Manafort, Manafort told Gates that Trump was "watching their case." Gates also noted that the media asked Trump about Gates at one point and Trump had no response. Gates thought that was surprising and that Trump would have gone after him.

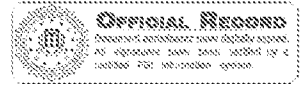
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Rick Gates, On 04/18/2018, Page 5 of 5

Gates was not sure the source of the reporting on his plea arrangements. Gates had told [REDACTED] about it. Manafort did not know; Gates got no indication from Manafort that Manafort knew Gates planned to plead when he did. Gates knew [REDACTED] had a friend at CNN, but [REDACTED] did not have enough detail to be the source.

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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] Special Counsel Prosecutors Andrew Weissmann and Greg Andres. Present with Gates were his attorneys, 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 was provided with a Proffer Agreement which he signed and acknowledged understanding. Gates was advised that his participation in this interview was voluntary and if he chose to answer questions, he needed to do so truthfully as lying to a federal agent could constitute a crime.

Gates' Taxes

Gates received income from overseas in 2010 through at least 2013 which was not reported on his tax returns.

[Redacted]

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Seragon Holdings was an entity originally created for the Pericles investment with Oleg Deripaska. Seragon Holdings and four other entities were opened in Cyprus as "Special Purpose Vehicles" (SPVs). Each entity was for a different investment involving Deripaska. Gates was not sure, but believed Seragon Holdings may have received some funds related to the Deripaska-Pericles deal before that deal dissolved.

In 2008, when Deripaska pulled funding, the SPVs were transitioned and used to receive funds from Davis Manafort Partners' (DMP) political consulting work for the Party of Regions (PoR) in Ukraine.

PoR did not have its own budget or a political action committee (PAC) fund like political parties in the US have. Instead, they engaged a series

Investigation on 01/29/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)
File # [Redacted] Date drafted 01/29/2018
by [Redacted]

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer, On 01/29/2018, Page 2 of 22

of oligarchs who were tasked with paying for various portions of PoR campaign work.

Gates referred to these oligarchs as "paymasters". At the request of the paymasters, DMP set up a series of entities and bank accounts in Cyprus to receive payment for their political consulting work in Ukraine. It was represented to Gates that the reason for this was that it was easier to transact from a Cyprus account to another Cyprus account.

Gates and Paul Manafort primarily dealt with Sergiy Lyovochkin and [REDACTED] Rinat Akhmetov with regards to payments for DMP's work for PoR.

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Gates, at Manafort's direction and with the assistance of [REDACTED] [REDACTED] set up the Cyprus accounts. As a general rule, each entity was for a different campaign. For example, there was an entity set up for polling, another entity set up for media relations and yet another entity set up for ground operations. The reason for so many different entities was that the various paymasters did not necessarily get along or trust each other and they did not want to co-mingle funds.

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Bletilla Ventures was a Cypriot account set up to receive DMP funds earned from PoR work. Lucicle was also a Cypriot entity set up to receive DMP funds earned from PoR work. Gates said "pretty much all the Cyprus entities were used for campaign work." Gates would be able to distinguish which accounts were set up for which campaigns by looking at when they were set up.

The various Cypriot entities were "shelf companies" which [REDACTED] firm controlled. The entities already existed and were signed over to DMP for their use.

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Gates used funds from the Cyprus entities to bring income into the United States without reporting it. In 2010 and 2011, the amount of unreported income Gates brought in from Cyprus was relatively small, but in 2012 and 2013, "significantly more" unreported income was earned by Gates through the Cyprus accounts. [REDACTED]

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In addition to the Cypriot accounts Gates set up for DMP, Gates also had account in the United Kingdom (UK) at HSBC. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer, On 01/29/2018, Page 3 of 22

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] In 2013, Gates' did not report his salary which went from Cypriot accounts through his HSBC UK accounts before coming to the US.

Not only did Gates not report his income which went from Cyprus to UK, he also did not report the existence of his UK accounts to his tax preparers. Gates never disclosed the existence of his UK accounts to either of his tax preparers, or on any of his tax returns despite the fact that at least one of the accounts had a balance over \$10,000.

[REDACTED]

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In addition to Gates' HSBC UK account [REDACTED] Gates also had an HSBC UK account [REDACTED] which was not reported to his tax preparers or disclosed on his tax returns. Gates indicated that this account was only open from approximately February 2010 through June 2010. [REDACTED]

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Gates diverted income earned for his work for DMP in Ukraine from Cypriot accounts to his [REDACTED] account at HSBC UK. Gates did not report this income on his tax returns.

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In 2012 and 2013, there was a banking crisis in Cyprus and it was difficult to send large sums of money out of the Cypriot accounts. For that reason, rather than send large sums of money to DMP's account in the US and then use those funds to pay operational expenses, funds were paid directly out of the Cypriot accounts for expenses. Some of these expenses were not run through DMP's books as expenses.

Gates explained that in 2012 and 2013, Gates paid various DMP expenses personally. Gates was reimbursed for these expenditures by DMP. Gates sent an expense reimbursement sheet to DMP listing these amounts, but not all of the expense reimbursements were captured on DMP's books. Gates stated that even though DMP could receive a tax benefit by writing off the expenses, they did not do so. Gates thought DMP could not write off expenses when they were paid out of a foreign account. Usually, DMP brought money into the US first and then paid expenses from the US account.

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer, On 01/29/2018, Page 4 of 22

Beginning in 2014, DMP paid Gates' expenses directly. Gates submitted his information to DMP's bookkeeper, [REDACTED]

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Manafort Taxes

Manafort delegated tasks down to Gates. When Gates started working for DMP in 2007, he had no authority. Beginning in 2008, Gates became more involved in financial matters related to DMP, including answering questions about DMP's tax returns. Over time, Gates gained more authority, to include getting involved in Manafort's personal finances and tax returns.

Manafort's CPA, [REDACTED] had created a structure to do Manafort's corporate taxes. Gates' role was to pull documents together and answer questions for [REDACTED] and other CPAs at [REDACTED] CPA firm, KWC. Generally, KWC sent a list of questions about Manafort's and/or Manafort's entities' taxes twice per year. Gates "took the first pass" at answering these questions and then reviewed whichever questions he could not answer with Manafort. Some questions only Manafort knew the answers to. Gates then provided his and Manafort's answers back to KWC.

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KWC prepared Manafort's and/or Manafort's entities' taxes and then provided a one page summary for each return. Gates reviewed that one page summary, which contained Manafort's and/or the entity's tax liability.

Gates was aware that Manafort was not claiming all of his income on his tax returns. Gates was also aware that Manafort was not disclosing his foreign accounts to KWC or on his tax returns.

Gates' recalled the first time KWC asked Gates if Manafort had foreign accounts was in or around 2011 or 2012. Gates spoke with Manafort about the issue. Manafort asked Gates if Manafort was the signatory on the accounts. Gates told Manafort he was not. Manafort told Gates to tell KWC he did not have any foreign accounts. Gates relayed this to KWC. Gates knew the accounts should have been disclosed on Manafort's tax returns and that he provided KWC with false information on Manafort's behalf.

Gates considered all of the Cypriot accounts to be controlled by Manafort. Gates set up the accounts with [REDACTED] law firm and Gates' name was on many of the accounts. However, Gates never went to or spoke with the banks in Cyprus directly. [REDACTED] firm was a "one stop shop" which handled everything from establishing the entities, to opening the accounts, to executing transactions.

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[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer, On 01/29/2018, Page 5 of 22

In addition to Manafort's foreign accounts not being disclosed, Manafort's income from Cyprus was also not disclosed on his tax returns. Manafort's taxes were complex. For the most part, Manafort's accountants at KWC and [REDACTED] tracked all funds coming into DMP. However, when Gates got involved in Manafort's finances and tax preparation, he realized the funds Manafort directed from overseas bank accounts to pay various vendors, family members, or to other Manafort related entities were not being disclosed as income. For example, Manafort would direct payments from Cypriot accounts to pay for clothing, transfers to family members, or transfers to other third parties. Manafort was not disclosing these funds on his tax returns. Since the funds were not flowing through DMP or Manafort's US accounts, they weren't getting recorded by KWC or [REDACTED]

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Gates was aware of the direct third party payments because many times, Manafort would give Gates a list of payments to make from the Cypriot accounts to these third parties. Gates specifically recalled payments for Manafort's landscaper. Gates was the person who contacted [REDACTED] office and authorized these payments from the Cypriot accounts. Sometimes, Manafort would tell Gates that [REDACTED] was aware of the payments, but Gates never saw any indication that [REDACTED] knew about the third party payments directly from overseas accounts.

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Manafort did not distinguish between accounts: if there was money in an account, he would use it. For example, at times, Manafort used Cypriot accounts to pay a vendor for clothing. Other times, Manafort paid this same vendor from US accounts. Manafort used whichever account had money in it.

Aside from third party vendor payments described above, Manafort also brought undisclosed income from overseas bank accounts into various entities he controlled in the form of loans. Manafort had an elaborate set of loans between his various entities. Manafort moved money back and forth between entities in this manner regularly.

The system of loans began before Gates started working for Manafort. Gates never questioned this system. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Gates assumed KWC was asking the right questions as they were the experts.

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Manafort was supposed to repay all of the loans. Occasionally, Manafort would say he needed to repay the loans, but he did not always do so. Gates thought Manafort would repay some of the loans when he had money. Gates explained that Manafort would simply move the money back from one account to another.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer, On 01/29/2018, Page 6 of 22

At some point, [Redacted] told Manafort he needed to pay off some of the loans to get them off his books. Manafort repaid some of the smaller ones, but not the bigger ones. [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

Some of the loans had documentation, but most of the loans did not. Gates recalled at some point, [Redacted] asked about a number of loans on Manafort and/or DMP's books which did not have any documentation.

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Some of the loans were from parties unrelated to Manafort. For example, an entity called Telmar which was owned and controlled by a paymaster oligarch made a loan to Manafort. However, most of the loans were made from Manafort controlled entities to Manafort controlled entities. Either way, the loans were not disclosed as income on Manafort's tax returns.

Gates did not think the accountants at KWC were aware that the loans came from Manafort controlled entities. Gates believed the accountants at KWC thought the loans were all coming from unaffiliated third parties. KWC believed this because Manafort and Gates never told KWC that the Cypriot entities from which the loans came were Manafort controlled entities. Gates believed if KWC had known the loans came from Manafort controlled entities, they likely would have treated the funds differently.

Gates initially thought the system of loans was a legitimate way to defer income. [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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Gates

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[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer, On 01/29/2018, Page 7 of 22

assumed [REDACTED] had created this structure as it was already in place when Gates started working for Manafort.

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By way of example, Gates recalled a conversation [REDACTED]

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KWC knew about the Cypriot entities because Manafort and/or DMP received funds from these entities. Gates did not believe KWC knew the Cypriot entities were actually Manafort and/or DMP entities. [REDACTED]

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Corey Lewandowski

Gates jokingly referred to Lewandowski as his "best friend". Gates did not know Lewandowski prior to working on the Trump Campaign. When Manafort was hired by the Trump Campaign, Gates became his deputy. Manafort's first meetings were with Trump, Hope Hicks and Lewandowski in Mar a Lago. Shortly after this, Manafort had meetings at Trump Tower in New York to get organized. Gates met Lewandowski sometime during this first week.

Thomas Barrack and Roger Stone acted as liaisons between Manafort and the Trump Campaign prior to Manafort's hiring. Trump had just lost the primary in Wisconsin and then won the primary in Louisiana, but the delegates refused to support him. Trump did not understand the mechanics of delegates and the way the system worked. Barrack and Stone had been

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer, On 01/29/2018, Page 8 of 22

lobbying for Trump to hire Manafort for some time and it wasn't until after the Wisconsin and Louisiana primaries that Trump agreed. Barrack was the person who set up Manafort's first meeting with Trump, Hicks and Lewandowski in Mar a Lago.

Gates attended a meeting with Lewandowski in Washington DC. Also present were Jeff Sessions and Rick Dearborn. This was the week after the National Security Coalition was appointed. At this point, Manafort was only hired to run the convention. However, Manafort was already implementing strategy for Trump to win the remaining primaries. Manafort's plans shaped how the primaries were handled. Specifically, Manafort implemented ground games, advertising campaigns and digital outreach through Brad Parscale. Lewandowski did not understand strategy very well and felt threatened by Manafort.

It became clear to Donald Trump Jr., Jared Kushner and the rest of the Trump family that Manafort knew what he was doing. When Trump won the primaries in April 2016 and Cruz dropped out in early May 2016, tension rose between Manafort and Lewandowski. Ultimately, Manafort and Lewandowski could not work together and Lewandowski was fired. Gates stated that Lewandowski's ego was the problem and if Lewandowski had just sat back and let Manafort do his thing, he could have remained Campaign Manager.

Gates had minimal one-on-one time with Lewandowski, but spent some time with him in New York and DC. Lewandowski had little experience running campaigns, but was one of the first people to join Trump's team and he was both loyal and protective of Trump. Lewandowski wanted to keep the Trump team small.

Ultimately, Manafort was made Campaign Manager, Gates became his deputy. During this time, Manafort had one budget for the primaries and Lewandowski had one budget for operations. Manafort handled media, advertising, polling and other political operations while Lewandowski handled advances, fundraisers, payroll and other operational costs. Manafort suggested this dual budget structure and Trump agreed to it. Gates believed Lewandowski was fine with this arrangement. Both teams could hire people, but any major hires had to be approved by Kushner as well.

The campaign CFO was [REDACTED] oversaw all of the financial decisions and budgets on both Manafort's and Lewandowski's side. During this time, Trump was self-financing the campaign.

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During a conversation with [REDACTED] in or around May 2016, Gates learned that Lewandowski had spent an excessive amount on campaign related

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer, On 01/29/2018, Page 9 of 22

materials such as hats and shirts. Gates recalled that Lewandowski had spent \$8 per item when comparables showed that the actual cost was \$2 per item. The funds had been allocated to a company in Colorado called Whiz Bang which provided direct mail services as well as shirts, hats and other paraphernalia.

Gates and Manafort tried to get to the bottom of the matter as they needed to understand where the budget was and how much they had left. [Redacted] last name unrecalled (LNU), the owner of a company called Red Curve, which specializes in campaign budgets served as the Treasurer for Trump's campaign. [Redacted] and [Redacted] LNU conducted an investigation and concluded that Lewandowski overspent for these items. Gates did not believe there was ever any evidence of Lewandowski receiving a kickback from these overpayments.

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Lewandowski was fired from the campaign in June 2016. Gates did not know if this was direct result of the investigation into the overpayments.

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Gates was aware of another allegation involving Lewandowski [Redacted]

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Gates learned about this during a budget meeting with [Redacted] and Manafort. [Redacted] LNU, Gates and [Redacted] assistant [Redacted] LNU looked into

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[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer, On 01/29/2018, Page 10 of 22

the matter and learned that not only was the vendor Lewandowski's neighbor, but they were also on the campaign payroll.

Rick Dearborn

Dearborn was one of the first people Manafort interviewed after getting hired by the campaign. Dearborn wanted to run the policy shops for the campaign. At the time, the campaign did not need policy shops. However, Dearborn had connections in the House and the Senate so Manafort told him he could run DC Operations. Ultimately, Dearborn's role was expanded to include creating and running the policy shops.

Dearborn was "a good foot soldier" and was close to a number of people on the Hill. Dearborn was close with Kushner and eventually became the Executive Director of the Transition Team. During the campaign, Gates' relationship with Dearborn was good, but during the transition, Gates' role was marginalized and he wasn't as close to Dearborn.

Dearborn was responsible for the National Security Coalition which included George Papadopoulos, JD Gordon, Walid Phares, Carter Page and others. There was no vetting process in place during the time this coalition was formed. Sessions ended up taking a lot of heat for people Dearborn had put in place who had issues.

Sessions and Bannon led the charge to create round two of the National Security Coalition. Gates and Dearborn assisted in the this effort.

Allegations in the media that Manafort changed the platform at the Republican National Convention are false. Manafort wasn't even at the Convention. Manafort was in Los Angeles helping [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Dearborn was the person handling this at the Convention.

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Manafort's Resignation from the Campaign

When Manafort resigned from the Trump Campaign, Gates continued to work for the campaign as the liaison to the Republican National Committee. Gates believed he was not asked to leave when Manafort left because Trump and Kushner liked Gates. Gates said he "dodged a bullet" and his good rapport with Trump, Kushner, Kellyanne Conway, KT McFarland, Steve Miller, Sessions, Keith Kellogg and Dearborn kept him on the campaign. Also, at the time, Gates was not being linked to Manafort's issues in the media.

Gates believed Manafort should have fought the media accusations at the time. Gates called the accusations a "hit piece from Ukraine".

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer, On 01/29/2018, Page 11 of 22

Manafort had three or four projects he had started before he resigned. After his resignation, there was an initial "data dump" of information to people still working on the campaign. In addition, Manafort maintained some contact with Steve Bannon and others throughout the campaign. At times, Gates updated Manafort on what was happening, but they did not talk daily.

Manafort's projects were taken over by Bannon, to include the National Security Council, National Economic Advisory Council and outreach to evangelical groups and labor groups. Manafort was gradually less and less involved in these matters.

Michael Flynn and KT McFarland

Flynn and McFarland were more experienced in national security matters than Gates. Gates had no experience in this sector.

Gates met Flynn and McFarland for the first time while working on the campaign. Eric Trump introduced Gates to McFarland. Gates and McFarland had many conversations about Trump's talking points especially as it related to national security. McFarland became Gates' point of contact for anything related to national security. After the election, McFarland also assisted Barrack in finding potential positions within the Trump Administration.

Gates and Flynn travelled together regularly. Post-inauguration, Gates and Flynn's relationship was short lived because Flynn was fired.

Walid Phares

Phares was a brought to the Trump Campaign by Dearborn. Gates had been told by either Reince Priebus or Manafort that Phares was a [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Gates did not know what information Priebus or Manafort were relying on when they made that statement. Ultimately, Phares was released from the campaign.

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Break

A break was taken from approximately 3:05 to approximately 3:10 PM.

Loan Fraud

Gates was aware that Manafort applied for multiple bank loans in 2016. Gates explained that Manafort's income from DMP had diminished greatly starting in 2014 and continuing into 2015.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer, On 01/29/2018, Page 12 of 22

[Redacted]

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[Redacted] Gates tried to warn Manafort against working with [Redacted] because [Redacted] had a "sortid" past. Manafort told Gates the way the partnership was structured, Manafort had control.

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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Gates was aware that at least two of Manafort's properties were purchased with funds from Cyprus. At Manafort's direction, Gates ordered the wire transfer for at least one of these purchases. Gates was not sure, but believed this was for the property on Union St.

Gates was asked if he knew Manafort provided false information to the various financial institutions on his loan application, profit and loss statements (P&Ls), schedules of real estate owned (REOs), and other documents. Gates stated he did not know at the time that Manafort made false representations to the banks in order to obtain loans. Gates did not "cover" for Manafort to banks so Manafort could obtain loans.

[Redacted]

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Citizens Bank 29 Howard Street Loan

Gates assisted Manafort in gathering documents and providing information to Citizens Bank for the loan against 29 Howard St. [Redacted] and [Redacted] assisted in this manner as well.

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer, On 01/29/2018, Page 13 of 22

Gates spoke with [Redacted] at Manafort's request. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

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Gates did not independently recall the conversation with [Redacted] but has reviewed documentation provided by the government in this matter which shows he spoke with [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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Tab 12

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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Tab 13

[Redacted]

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Tab 14

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer, On 01/29/2018, Page 14 of 22

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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Tab 18

[Redacted]

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Gates stated that he recalled asking [Redacted] for information.

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Break

A break was taken from approximately 3:45 until approximately 3:50 PM.

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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Manafort never asked Gates to "doctor" a document. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer, On 01/29/2018, Page 15 of 22

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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Cypriot Accounts

[Redacted]

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Gates considered the Peranova entity, like all of the Cyprus entities, a DMP entity. Gates considered Manafort and DMP the actual beneficial owners of the accounts even though Gates' name was listed on the accounts. Gates considered the money in the accounts to be Manafort and DMP's money.

Gates was asked why [Redacted] firm referred to the accounts as the "Rick Gates Group" accounts. Gates stated that [Redacted] firm was instructed to remove Manafort's name from the accounts in 2012. Gates was reminded that his name was on the Cypriot accounts prior to 2012.

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[Redacted]

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At some point, the Cypriot accounts were moved to St. Vincent and Grenadines because of a banking crisis in Cyprus. [Redacted] recommended the move to St. Vincent and Grenadines as a way of protecting the money.

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[Redacted]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer , On 01/29/2018 , Page 16 of 22

Gates Location

Gates physically worked from his home in Richmond, Virginia. Gates also worked in New York at times and in Washington D.C. occasionally. Gates did not have an office in Washington D.C. Gates sometimes worked out of the Trump Hotel lobby.

Toward the end of 2016, Gates rented an apartment in Washington D.C., but he was rarely there because he started working for Barrack and had to travel between New York and Los Angeles. Barrack had offices in both New York and Los Angeles.

Falsified P&Ls

Gates was asked if he falsified P&Ls for Manafort. Gates stated that he was told by [REDACTED] that he could do P&Ls on an accrual basis. Gates created a 2016 P&L for DMP which included accrued income, namely the \$2.4 million DMP was owed, but had not received.

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Gates stated that the \$2.4 million was earned in 2014. Gates thought approximately \$1 million of it was eventually received by DMP. Gates added this amount to a P&L indicating it had been earned in 2016.

Tab 29

Gates was shown an email dated March 16, 2016 between Gates and [REDACTED] Gates was directed to his email which read, "Can you send me the Word Document version of the 2015 P&L for DMP Intl before 1100am EST? Paul wants me to add the accrual revenue which we have not received yet in order to send to Bank of California. I have the PDF version you sent but it is slanted and not completely clear." Gates was also directed to his email which read, "We have \$2.6m in accrued revenue that he wants added to DMP 2015 income. Can you make the adjustments on your end and then just send me a new scanned version[?]"

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[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer, On 01/29/2018, Page 17 of 22

Gates was asked how he thought he could add accrued revenue to a previous year's books when it was clear the funds had not been received in that year. Gates stated that he was trying to add the accrued revenue to the 2016 P&L. Gates was reminded that he was asking [REDACTED] to adjust the 2015 P&L.

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Tab 33

Gates was shown an email dated March 16, 2016 from Gates to [REDACTED] [REDACTED] at Banc of California. Attached to the email was a 2015 P&L for DMP.

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Gates stated that he edited the 2015 DMP P&L and provided it to [REDACTED] and Banc of California for Manafort's loan.

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Gates was asked if he altered the original 2015 DMP P&L or created a new document to include the additional income. Gates believed he used [REDACTED] format and created a new page showing additional income from operations and additional net income (see page 64 of 415). Gates then stated that he could not recall for sure if he edited [REDACTED] original version or created a new document.

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Gates was asked why he added more than \$4 million, instead of the \$2.4 million he claimed DMP had earned, but not yet received. Gates stated that \$2.4 million was from funds earned by DMP for Ukrainian political consulting. Gates could not recall where the remaining \$1.6 million was from. Gates stated that he added \$4 million for a reason and the amount was "justified" by amounts earned by DMP.

Gates then stated that he knew he was creating an inaccurate document. Gates was told by a banker, [REDACTED] that DMP's 2015 income needed to be close to the 2014 income. The \$4 million added by Gates to the 2015 P&L got DMP's 2015 income close to DMP's 2014 income.

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Gates understood that the reason DMP's 2015 income needed to be close to DMP's 2014 income was because DMP's revenue needed to be sufficient to handle payments to Manafort for income. In addition, DMP needed to show stable earnings over time. Gates understood that Manafort would not have been able to qualify for his loans without showing DMP's 2015 income higher than it actually was.

Gates communicated with [REDACTED] directly on this issue, as well as Manafort and [REDACTED]

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Manafort was aware that Gates falsified the 2015 DMP P&L. Gates sent the falsified document to Manafort to review before Gates sent it to the

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer, On 01/29/2018, Page 18 of 22

bank. Gates and Manafort talked about the amount of income the document needed to show. Gates and Manafort also talked about the fact that [REDACTED] refused to alter the document.

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Kilimnik

Gates met Kilimnik in 2007. Kilimnik was introduced to Gates as someone who worked for the International Republican Institute (IRI) in Moscow. Kilimnik had family in Moscow who eventually moved to Ukraine.

Kilimnik had experience working on campaigns in Eastern European countries from a Western European mind set. Kilimnik was hired to work on the Ukrainian political contracts for DMP.

Another DMP employee, [REDACTED] told Gates that Kilimnik had attended a prominent language school and subsequently worked as a linguist for Russian Intelligence. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

Kilimnik was well connected in Russia and Ukraine and could obtain information easily.

Kilimnik worked out of DMP's office in Kiev, which was located next to the Maidan Square. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Kilimnik had "unfettered access" to the Ukrainian President, Viktor Yanukovich and Yanukovich's office. Kilimnik was Manafort's translator for meetings with Yanukovich. Gates assumed Kilimnik was vetted by the Ukrainian government. Gates believed he was told this by Manafort and [REDACTED]

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Gates was asked why Manafort said in a press article that he had never worked for Yanukovich. Gates stated Manafort never had a contract directly with Yanukovich, but rather Manafort and DMP's contracts were with PoR.

Gates was not sure, but believed Kilimnik met Deripaska through Manafort. Kilimnik was connected to Deripaska and close to some of Deripaska's "people". Specifically, Kilimnik had a close relationship with Viktor Boyarkin, Deripaska's head of security, and [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer, On 01/29/2018, Page 19 of 22

[REDACTED]

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After Yanukovych fled Ukraine in 2014, Kilimnik worked with Lyovochkin and helped form the Opposition Bloc (OB). Kilimnik acted as a political advisor to Lyovochkin during this time. Lyovochkin had a "cadre of candidates" who he was running in various elections in Ukraine. Kilimnik assisted in this effort.

DMP was also involved with OB work in 2014 and 2015. The work was minimal compared to PoR work of previous years. The last real work DMP did for OB was the election in October 2014.

OB was comprised of a number of former PoR politicians. OB was not as organized as PoR and there was a lot of infighting. Funding for OB was not as strong as it was for PoR either.

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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Gates was aware of two in-person meetings between Kilimnik and Manafort in 2016: one in or around March 2016 and one in or around May 2016.

Gates was not present at the first meeting, but Manafort told Gates that Kilimnik was going to a wedding when they saw each other in March 2016.

Gates was present at the May 2016 meeting. This meeting took place at the Havana Restaurant on 5th Avenue in New York. During this meeting, Kilimnik told Manafort that Yanukovych had reached out to Kilimnik about

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer, On 01/29/2018, Page 20 of 22

returning to Ukraine and running for office again. Yanukovych wanted Manafort to run his campaign. Manafort declined the offer.

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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The last time Gates spoke with Kilimnik was May 2016 at this meeting. Gates may have received a congratulatory text from Kilimnik after the election in November 2016.

Gates did not know what, if any communication Manafort may have had with Kilimnik in 2016 after the May 2016 meeting.

The only visits to the US by Kilimnik in 2016 that Gates was aware of were in March and May 2016.

Gates was not aware of any other meetings Manafort had with Deripaska or Deripaska associates in 2016 or 2017. Gates believed Manafort's last contact with Deripaska was in 2009 when they had a falling out because Deripaska refused to fund Pericles as promised.

Gates was aware that Manafort traveled to Greece and Italy with Barrack in or around July 2016 after Manafort left the Trump Campaign. Gates believed this was a last minute trip for approximately 10 days. Gates also heard Manafort traveled to China after leaving the Trump Campaign.

Gates did not have frequent contact with Manafort after Manafort left the Trump Campaign. During the inauguration, Manafort reached out to [REDACTED] to see if he could get tickets to the inauguration, but he did not reach out to Gates directly.

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Gates was not aware of Manafort reaching out to McFarland or Flynn after the election.

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer, On 01/29/2018, Page 21 of 22

Manafort did talk to Gates about Trump's policies as it related to Cuba. Manafort had a client interest in Cuba, but Gates did not know who.

Trump Campaign

Gates was asked if he was aware of any outreach by a Trump Campaign representative to any foreign government official.

Gates was aware of the June 2016 meeting at Trump Tower which was attended by Manafort and others. Gates learned of this meeting before it happened. Gates attended a "Family Meeting" every Monday morning with Donald Trump Jr., Ivanka Trump, Eric Trump, Kushner, Hicks, Lewandoski and Manafort. At the Family Meeting on June 9, 2016, Donald Trump Jr. said he was planning to meet with someone who had information on Hilary Clinton's illegal contributions through the Clinton Foundation. Manafort laughed and told Donald Trump Jr. to be careful as such things were often "B.S."

After the Family Meeting, Gates did not hear anything else about this until it came out in the press. Gates learned Manafort attended from news reports. Gates did not talk to Manafort about the meeting.

Gates was aware of Trump meeting with the Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia a week before the election at Trump's private residence. Gates also heard that Donald Trump Jr. had planned to meet with officials from Kyrgistan, but he does not know if this ever happened.

Kushner and Sessions were designated to deal with any requests by foreign officials to the campaign. This decision was made fairly early on as a result of request from Papadapoulus in or around April 2016 about requests from foreign officials. This request was made to Manafort. Manafort and Kushner then made the decision to designate Kushner and Sessions to deal with this.

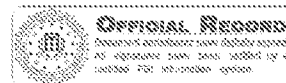
Generally, Trump seemed to have no interest in meeting with foreign officials. Multiple requests came in for such meetings, but Trump said he thought they were a waste of time.

Trump attended the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) in New York in September 2016, but he does not know if he met with any foreign officials during this time. Gates did not know if Deripaska attended UNGA in 2016, but he did not think Deripaska could attend because he did not have a visa.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer, On 01/29/2018, Page 22 of 22



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] [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.

Gates was told about an email received by the Special Counsel's Office from Gates' counsel of record, [Redacted] and [Redacted] regarding the Special Counsel's Office's communication with Gates' counsel Green. Gates was advised that the government was willing to deal with any counsel Gates chose for the purpose of his proffers. Gates was advised that he could choose any counsel he wished. Gates acknowledged understanding this. Gates indicated that he wanted Green to represent him for his proffers with the government.

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Foreign Entities

Gates answered questions regarding foreign entities and foreign accounts while referring to a chart given to him by his former counsel, [Redacted]

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Generally, each entity had a US dollar account and a Euro account because different oligarchs had accounts in different currencies and this was a way to save on the conversion of currency.

Actinet Trading Limited

Gates was shown documentation related to a Cyprus entity called Actinet Trading Limited (Tax Tab 4).

Investigation on 01/31/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 02/01/2018

by [Redacted]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #3, On 01/31/2018, Page 2 of 21

Gates stated Actinet Trading Limited (Actinet) was an entity opened in 2011 for the purpose of DMP receiving payments for work done on the parliamentary elections in Ukraine. Gates thought Actinet may also have received payments for DMP's work on local elections in Ukraine as well. The client for DMP's work was the Party of Regions (PoR).

The PoR did not have a budget of its own. Oligarchs who supported PoR served as "paymasters" for fees owed by PoR to DMP. The paymasters used for DMP's work in Ukraine were [REDACTED]. The funds may have come to [REDACTED] from other people, but Gates did not know for sure.

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[REDACTED] had a number of different entities which they used to transfer payments to DMP accounts in Cyprus. [REDACTED] usually used Telmar, but [REDACTED] had many different entities he used.

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Actinet account was funded by wires from an account controlled by [REDACTED] [REDACTED] who was one of [REDACTED] people. All payments received into Actinet were for political consulting services rendered by DMP. Although some of the wire remittances may say the wires were for "computers" or "metals", this was not the case.

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Gates believed DMP's initial contract with PoR was agreed to in or around 2005 or 2006. After that time, Manafort would work with [REDACTED] [REDACTED] to determine how much was owed to DMP on each new election or campaign. Generally, DMP received between \$9-\$11 million for a presidential campaign and \$3-\$5 million for other campaigns. Gates did not believe there were any written contracts after the initial agreement in 2005 or 2006.

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Konstantin Kilimnik facilitated payments for DMP. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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The invoices were for services rendered by DMP to PoR.

Gates was asked about wires from Taunton Holdings Limited (Taunton) which referenced "computers". Initially, Gates stated he did not know why the wire remittances referenced these items. Gates then stated that Cyprus tax law treated goods and services differently as it related to VAT. If a payment was for goods, there was no VAT. If a payment was for services, VAT payment was required. The oligarchs did not want to pay VAT so they characterized the wires to DMP as goods rather than services.

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #3, On 01/31/2018, Page 3 of 21

Gates was asked why all of the wires from the oligarchs' accounts did not reference goods. Gates believed [REDACTED] wires were for goods, but [REDACTED] were not because [REDACTED] did not really care about paying the VAT.

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Gates recalled the media reporting on a document found in DMP's Ukraine office safe which referenced payment for "computers". Gates never spoke to Manafort about this document.

Bletilla Ventures Limited

Gates was shown documentation related to a Cyprus entity called Bletilla Ventures Limited (Tax Tab 5).

Gates stated Bletilla Ventures Limited (Bletilla) was set up to receive DMP payments for political consulting. Gates believed Bletilla's account was funding primarily by [REDACTED]

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Gates was asked about wires into Bletilla from Plymouth Consultants. Gates stated that Plymouth Consultants was an entity controlled by Ukrainian oligarchs [REDACTED]

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Global Highway Limited

Gates was shown documentation related to a Cyprus entity called Global Highway Limited (Tax Tab 8).

Gates stated that Global Highway Limited (GH) was set up in 2007 with the intention of using it for the Pericles deal with Oleg Deripaska (OVD). When the Pericles deal ended, Manafort and Gates continued to use the GH account to receive payments for DMP's political consulting for PoR. [REDACTED]

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Gates was told that GH was funded by wires from Tauntan, Novirex and View Point Trade. Gates was not sure, but thought those entities may be part of [REDACTED] "Empire".

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Lucicle Consultants Limited

Gates was shown documentation related to a Cyprus entity called Lucicle Consultants Limited (Tax Tab 9).

Gates stated that Lucicle Consultants Limited (Lucicle) was set up in December 2011 [REDACTED] Lucicle was set up to receive DMP payments for political consulting services rendered to PoR.

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[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #3, On 01/31/2018, Page 4 of 21

Payments into Lucicle from Mistaro came from [REDACTED] and payments from Telmar came from Lyovochkin. Lyovochkin had a series of other oligarchs who were associated with him to include, [REDACTED]

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Manafort told Gates that the paymaster oligarchs wanted different entities for each contract they funded because they did not want their funds co-mingled with any other oligarchs.

The paymaster oligarchs were willing to fund DMP's contracts with PoR because their businesses would benefit depending on the outcome of the elections. In addition, Gates assumed the oligarchs benefitted from having funding government officials' campaigns. In Ukraine, there was very little division between a public official's government role and their business role.

When asked if there was a quid pro quo agreement in which the oligarchs agreed to fund DMP's contracts in exchange for something once the candidate (s) was elected, Gates stated that he never saw first hand evidence of this, but he suspected this was the case. Gates gave the example of

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[REDACTED] Similarly, Gates suspected [REDACTED] benefitted from funding government officials' election campaigns by [REDACTED]. Generally, there was an understanding that those who contributed to pay for the election campaigns would be rewarded with positions in the cabinet, or through benefits to their businesses.

Bribery was common in Ukraine and widely known. Gates did not have information on any specific instances of bribery.

Manafort tried to get involved in business endeavors in Ukraine, but he was not permitted to do so. Manafort was paid well for his political consulting, but shut out of any business in the country.

Gates believed there were between 30-50 different oligarchs who "chipped in" to pay for items necessitated by PoR. [REDACTED] [REDACTED] were the oligarchs primarily responsible for paying DMP. Gates was not aware what, if any, specific benefit [REDACTED] received in exchange for this financial support.

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[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Gates was rarely at

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #3 , On 01/31/2018 , Page 5 of 21

meetings with oligarchs. Gates attended some meetings with [Redacted] regarding a micro-targeting campaign DMP was doing in Ukraine. [Redacted]

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Marziola Holdings Limited

Gates was shown documentation related to a Cyprus entity called Marziola Holdings Limited (Tax Tab 11).

Marziola Holdings Limited (Marziola) was set up in March 2012 [Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[Redacted] Manafort controlled the account [Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[Redacted] and Manafort had a falling out. Gates did not know if [Redacted] continued to help fund DMP's contracts for work in Ukraine, but Gates believed [Redacted] was among the oligarchs who provided funding through Lyovochkin.

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Manafort looked to [Redacted] to see if he was interested in investing, but [Redacted] declined. Manafort sought funding from a US investor group as well, but Gates did not know who. Manafort, [Redacted] and [Redacted] were all looking for investors for the New York deal.

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[Redacted] introduced Manafort to [Redacted]

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Olivenia Trading Limited

Gates was shown documentation related to a Cyprus entity called Olivenia Trading Limited (Tax Tab 12).

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #3, On 01/31/2018, Page 6 of 21

Olivenia Trading Limited (Olivenia) was used for a polling contract DMP had with PoR. Gates believed this contract was relatively small. The primary vendors used for the polling were Fabrizio Ward and The Terrence Group. Gates thought [REDACTED] funded Olivenia.

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Peranova Holdings Limited

Gates was shown documentation related to a Cyprus entity called Peranova Holdings Limited (Tax Tab 13).

Peranova Holdings Limited (Peranova) was used mostly for DMP's political advisory work and was funded primarily by [REDACTED] Telmar account.

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Gates did not recognize the entities Bedel Ventures or Bemodio Holdings. [REDACTED]

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Seragon Holdings Limited

Gates was shown documentation related to a Cyprus entity called Seragon Holdings Limited (Tax Tab 14).

Seragon Holdings Limited (Seragon) was originally set up to handle a portion of the Pericles deal with Deripaska, but later, it was used for DMP's political consulting work for PoR. Gates believed approximately \$1 million was transferred into Seragon from the management fees earned on the Pericles deal.

The management fees were used to pay various people who worked on the Pericles deal. [REDACTED]

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Pompolo Limited

Gates was shown documentation related to a UK entity called Pompolo Limited (Tax Tab 18).

Pompolo Limited (Pompolo) was set up because DMP's US accounts were getting shut down for receiving funds from Cyprus. None of the banks ever told Manafort or Gates why they were shutting down the accounts until JP Morgan Chase shut down DMP's accounts sometime between 2011 and 2013. JP Morgan Chase said the wires from Cyprus were a red flag.

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #3, On 01/31/2018, Page 7 of 21

Gates was aware that wires from Cyprus were a red flag even when sent to the Ukraine. Gates, Manafort and [REDACTED] spoke about how to avoid the account shut downs. [REDACTED] told Gates and Manafort to open accounts in the UK as the UK was less suspicious of Cyprus wires. In addition, Gates and Manafort could send wires from the UK to the US without raising any red flags.

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Gates thought Pompolo was only open for a few months before being closed by HSBC UK for receiving a wire from Telmar.

[REDACTED] introduced Manafort to UBS where she had relationships. Manafort told Gates he met with UBS account managers [REDACTED] last name unrecalled (LNU) and [REDACTED] LNU in Los Angeles. Manafort told Gates he explained to [REDACTED] the nature of his work in Ukraine and how he was paid for that work from foreign countries. [REDACTED] told Manafort they were fine with this.

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St. Vincent and Grenadines Accounts

[REDACTED] had relationships at a St. Vincent and Grenadines bank which had branches in Cyprus. [REDACTED] opened Global Endeavor and Juenet accounts at this bank. These accounts worked the same way as the Cyprus accounts in that Gates would provide instructions to [REDACTED] would handle the transactions. Manafort may have provided some instructions to [REDACTED] as well.

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Early on in the relationship with [REDACTED] he may have reached out to Manafort to confirm the transaction, but over time, these confirmations diminished. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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Gates did not have any interaction with the St. Vincent and Grenadines bank.

[REDACTED]

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Gates was shown an email from [REDACTED] to Gates dated [REDACTED] [REDACTED] with the subject line, "TAX QUESTIONS" (Tax Tab 25).

Gates stated that he filed amended returns with [REDACTED] When asked by [REDACTED] if he had any foreign assets or bank accounts in 2013 or 2014, Gates

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #3, On 01/31/2018, Page 8 of 21

told [REDACTED] he did not, but with a caveat. The caveat Gates provided to [REDACTED] came from Gates' former attorney, [REDACTED]

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When Gates originally filed his 2013 tax returns, he told his tax preparer, [REDACTED] that he did not have any foreign accounts because Gates thought these accounts were closed. However, when Gates filed his amended returns, he told [REDACTED] about the Cypriot and UK bank accounts.

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Gates never told [REDACTED] about the existence of any foreign accounts. Gates wasn't sure [REDACTED] ever asked about foreign assets or bank accounts. Gates reviewed his returns and signed them. Gates stated there was no specific reason he did not disclose the foreign accounts to [REDACTED]

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Gates was asked why his 2013 amended tax returns still indicated that he did not have any foreign assets or bank accounts. Gates stated that he was not sure when the accounts were closed. When Gates first met with [REDACTED] he told [REDACTED] he did not have any foreign accounts. Gates estimated this was in early 2017. However, later in 2017, when Gates learned about the status of his UK accounts, he told [REDACTED] he had foreign accounts.

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Gates was asked why his 2013 amended tax returns indicated he did not have any foreign accounts if he told [REDACTED] he did have foreign accounts. Gates stated that when he told [REDACTED] he had foreign bank accounts, he also provided [REDACTED] with a written caveat. On the advice of counsel, [REDACTED] Gates had [REDACTED] include the caveat with his amended returns.

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Gates was asked again why he did not indicate he had foreign bank accounts on his 2013 amended tax returns. Gates stated that there was no specific reason he was not disclosing his foreign accounts on his tax return.

Gates was asked if his lack of disclosure of foreign accounts was related to his lack of disclosure of income derived from those accounts. Gates stated that this was not the reason he did not disclose his foreign accounts on his tax returns. Gates then stated that he thought if he disclosed the foreign accounts, there would be questions about funds coming from those accounts, which he was not claiming as income.

Tax Returns

2010

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #3 , On 01/31/2018 , Page 9 of 21

Gates was shown his 2010 tax returns (Tax Tab 27).

Gates stated that his wages in 2010 came from a W2 from DMP. On his Schedule B, Gates falsely indicated that he did not have any foreign accounts.

A break was taken from approximately 11:10-11:20 AM.

Gates was shown a series of wire transfers from Seragon and other Cypriot entities to Gates' HSBC UK accounts in 2010 (Tax Tab 28).

Gates stated that the transfers from Seragon and other Cypriot entities into his HSBC account in 2010 were "bonuses" received by Gates. Gates moved money from the Cypriot accounts to his HSBC UK accounts to pay various living expenses. These funds were income and were not reported on Gates' tax return. The total of unreported income for 2010 was approximately \$510,000.

Some of the wire remittances characterize the purpose of the wires as "investment" or "business purpose". The purpose of the wires was not for investments or business purposes. The purpose of the wires was to transfer income to Gates. The reason the wires were characterized in this fashion was because [Redacted]

[Redacted] Gates ultimately decided how to characterize the wires and there was no rhyme or reason as to why he indicated "investment" on some wires and "expenses" on others.

The amounts wired were dependent on the amounts Gates needed at that time. Gates was living beyond his means and moved money from the Cypriot accounts to his HSBC UK accounts to cover living expenses when necessary.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #3, On 01/31/2018, Page 10 of 21

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[REDACTED]

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At one point, Gates' monthly salary from DMP was increased, however this increase was not reported on Gates' W2 and was not reported to [REDACTED] or KWC in preparation of DMP's tax returns. The reason the increase was not reported was so Gates could avoid paying taxes on this excess amount.

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Gates was asked if he and Manafort ever coordinated on what to report and what not to report to [REDACTED] and/or KWC. Gates stated that he only recalled one conversation with Manafort about this matter. [REDACTED]

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2011

Gates was shown his 2011 tax returns (Tax Tab 29).

Gates stated that his Schedule B falsely indicated no foreign accounts, but he did indeed have foreign bank accounts in 2011 which he did not report. Gates' reported income in 2011 came from a W2 from DMP and a 1099 from Eyelock.

Gates was shown a series of wire transfers totaling approximately \$149,000 from Cypriot entities to Gates in 2011 (Tax Tab 30).

Gates indicated these wires were for "bonuses" he received from DMP. These bonuses were not reported as income on his tax returns. Gates believed \$48,500 of this amount was for "legitimate business expenses" he incurred such as, meals, travel and entertainment. Gates was able to track this amount to his [REDACTED] statements for that time period. Gates used his [REDACTED] for both business and personal expenditures. Gates thought some of the \$48,500 he characterized as "legitimate business expenses" may have really been personal expenses.

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #3, On 01/31/2018, Page 11 of 21

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[REDACTED]

Gates stated that he did not track his expenses until sometime later when [REDACTED] paid Gates' expenses directly. Prior to this, Gates did not break down the expenses paid from his [REDACTED] account in detail.

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Gates was asked about a memo from Pericles LP regarding a wire to Gates in 2011 which read, "Please allow this letter to serve as notification that Richard W. Gates has received a dividend proceed from an investment in our portfolio company, Peranova Holdings for 2011. The amount of the dividend is GBP 64,000.00 and was deposited into his HSBC account ending in 4159 with an effective date of 16/12/11."

Gates initially stated he did not know the purpose of this memo. Gates did not know why the funds were characterized as a "dividend". Gates was told that this memo was found among paperwork submitted for Gates mortgage refinance. Gates then said the memo was created because he needed to show increased income in order to qualify for his refinance. This income was not reported on Gates' tax return.

When Gates obtained his mortgage refinances in 2011/2012 and 2015, [REDACTED] which Gates used as down payments. Gates did not repay these loans. There was no documentation for these loans. One of the loans was [REDACTED] but not claimed as income on Gates' tax returns until Gates' amended his returns recently.

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In 2011/2012, Gates needed additional funds in order to close his mortgage refinance. These funds came in the form of [REDACTED] and were not repaid. Gates believed the amount was approximately [REDACTED] Gates did not notify the bank that the closing funds came from [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #3, On 01/31/2018, Page 12 of 21

In 2015, Gates similarly needed additional funds in order to close his mortgage refinance. These funds also came in the form of [REDACTED] and were not repaid. Gates believed the amount was approximately [REDACTED]. Gates did not notify the bank that the closing funds came from [REDACTED].

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Gates had Manafort [REDACTED] to establish Gates' increase in income. For a period of time, Gates' W2 showed the increase in salary.

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2012

Gates was shown his 2012 tax return (Tax Tab 31).

Gates stated that his Schedule B falsely indicated no foreign accounts, but he did indeed have foreign bank accounts in 2012 which he did not report. Gates' reported income in 2012 came from a W2 from DMP and [REDACTED].

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Gates was shown a series of wires to his accounts in 2012 totaling approximately \$651,000 (Tax Tab 32).

Gates was asked about a memo from Pericles LP regarding a wire to Gates' HSBC UK account for \$100,000 which read, "Please allow this letter to serve as notification that Richard W. Gates has received a proceed of \$100,000 USD into his UK bank account on 09/01/2012 from one of our holding companies, Global Highway Limited."

Gates stated that when he was obtaining his mortgage refinance in 2012, he needed to explain to HSBC the purpose of certain deposits. The actual purpose of the \$100,000 wire was income to Gates which was not reported on his tax returns.

Gates was asked why this memo and the previously shown memo were from Pericles LP when the wiring entities were Peranova and Global Highway. Gates stated that he represented to the bank that he worked for a private equity fund called Pericles LP. Pericles LP was still technically an active entity at this time, but it was not conducting any business. Gates believed telling the bank he worked for a private equity fund called Pericles sounded better than saying, "I work for Ukrainian oligarchs".

In 2012, Gates' income increased from [REDACTED] per pay period to [REDACTED] per pay period. Some of the funds wired from Cypriot accounts to Gates' accounts in the UK represented this increase. The remainder of the funds

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[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #3, On 01/31/2018, Page 13 of 21

wired from the Cypriot accounts to Gates' accounts in the UK during 2012 were amounts Gates added to cover his living expenses. All of the funds wired from the Cypriot accounts to Gates' accounts in the UK in 2012 were income which was not reported on his tax returns.

Gates used a portion of these funds to pay for renovations to his house in [REDACTED] Virginia, to cover his kids' private school tuition and pay for other living expenses.

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2013

Gates was shown his 2013 tax returns (Tax Tab 33).

Gates stated that his Schedule B falsely indicated no foreign accounts, but he did indeed have foreign bank accounts in 2013 which he did not report. Gates' reported income in 2013 came from a W2 from DMP and [REDACTED]

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Gates was shown various wires sent in 2013 to accounts controlled by him which totaled over \$1 million. Gates stated that the funds transferred to him in 2013 represented income which was not reported on his tax returns. [REDACTED]

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The \$250,000 wire from Pompolo to Gates was a "bonus" which Gates received [REDACTED]. This income was not reported. The wires to Gates' Jemina account were also income which was not reported. Gates submitted invoices from Jemina indicating the payments were for various reasons. Gates only submitted these invoices from Jemina because documentation was required by the banks in Cyprus in order to release the funds. Jemina did not do any work for DMP and the descriptions listed on the invoices were made up by Gates.

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Gates received some payments from [REDACTED] directly. When the banking crisis occurred in Cyprus in 2013, some of the banks shut down and there were limited accounts available. [REDACTED] suggested that DMP consolidate their various entity accounts into his "client account". Manafort agreed to this and funds were transferred from the various DMP entity accounts to [REDACTED] client account. [REDACTED] managed the client account on behalf of DMP. As with the previous DMP accounts in Cyprus, Gates still provided [REDACTED] with instructions for transactions.

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Gates was shown an email and attachments from his current tax preparer, [REDACTED] to Gates dated [REDACTED] with the subject line, "2013" (Tax Tab 23). Gates was asked about the attached ledger for Jemina which showed a capital contribution from him. Gates was asked why these funds

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #3 , On 01/31/2018 , Page 14 of 21

were listed as a capital contribution into Jemina when the funds came from Smythson and were then distributed to Gates.

Gates stated that he did not have details when he was amending his 2013 tax returns. Gates was trying to recreate what had happened using the records he had in 2017. Gates had not maintained a ledger for Jemina, but rather created it in 2017.

2014

Gates was shown his 2014 tax returns (Tax Tab 35).

Gates stated that his Schedule B indicated no foreign accounts. By 2014, Gates' accounts in the UK had been closed. Gates did not consider the Cypriot or St. Vincent and Grenadines entity accounts to be his accounts and therefore he did not think he needed to disclose them on his tax returns. Therefore, Gates did not believe his answer of "no" to the question of whether he had foreign assets or bank accounts on his 2014 tax returns was a false statement. In 2014, Gates' reported income came from a W2 from DMP and [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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Gates was shown a series of wire transfers to accounts controlled by Gates in 2014 (Tax Tab 36). Gates indicated all of these wires represented income which was not reported on his 2014 tax returns.

Gates received \$120,000 as a bonus and \$65,000 as income from Global Endeavor. Gates told [Redacted] the \$120,000 was distributions he earned from an investment in [Redacted]

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Global Endeavor and Juenet were the last accounts opened. These accounts were funded by Ukrainian oligarchs and were used to receive payment for DMP's political consulting services in Ukraine. Gates believed [Redacted] were the primary funders of these accounts. In 2014, DMP's work for PoR was primarily a micro-targeting campaign.

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[Redacted]

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Gates was involved in [Redacted] investment. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #3, On 01/31/2018, Page 15 of 21

[REDACTED] Gates was paid out approximately [REDACTED] in 2013 or 2014 from this investment. The funds were paid into his BADE account.

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Gates was shown his ledgers for BADE (Tax Tab 21) which showed a [REDACTED] and \$120,000 credit for [REDACTED] Gates was told that the \$125,000 credit into BADE came from [REDACTED] account. Gates was asked why he indicated this was a credit from [REDACTED] [REDACTED] on his ledger. Gates stated he was "guessing" about the purpose for various deposits he saw into his BADE account.

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Gates believed the [REDACTED] from DMP's SunTrust account was sent to BADE when the SunTrust account closed. Gates used [REDACTED] of this to [REDACTED] [REDACTED] and the remaining [REDACTED] was income to Gates. Gates was told that he did not use [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Gates then stated he was not sure what he did with the [REDACTED]

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Gates created a consultancy agreement between Jemina and Global Endeavor. Jemina did not actually provide any consultancy services to Global Endeavor, but Gates created this agreement to justify the transfers from Global Endeavor to Jemina.

Gates created invoices from BADE to Global Endeavor for professional services. BADE did not actually provide professional services to Global Endeavor, but Gates created these invoices to justify transfers from Global Endeavor to BADE.

Gates reiterated that [REDACTED] told him to create agreements and/or invoices to justify to the bank the reason for the transfers.

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2013 Amended Return

Gates was shown his 2013 amended tax return (Tax Tab 37).

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Gates did not amend his Schedule B to declare his foreign bank accounts in the UK. Gates did not amend his income to include income received by his UK accounts. Gates stated he did not amend his Schedule B or his income because he did not have records for his UK accounts at the time he was amending this return. Gates was only able to see the funds which came from his UK accounts into his US accounts.

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Gates was asked why he did not include the funds which came from his UK accounts to his US accounts as income on the amended return. Gates stated he believed he included all of this income when he amended his return. Gates was reminded that he received well over \$1 million in

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #3, On 01/31/2018, Page 16 of 21

unreported income in 2013 which was transferred from his UK accounts to his US accounts. Gates stated he did not know why this was not included in his amended 2013 return.

Communication Methods

Gates has used the following email accounts: [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] Gates also used a [REDACTED] account between 2012 and 2014 for the "Anti Crisis" project in Ukraine. Gates, [REDACTED] Manafort, [REDACTED] had [REDACTED] accounts.

Gates uses a DropBox account to store documents for personal and business purposes. On occasion, Gates moves items out of DropBox.

There were other email accounts set up throughout the years, but not used for extended periods of time. The use of multiple emails and the change in email address was to avoid getting hacked.

Manafort, Gates, [REDACTED] used Hushmail to communicate. Specifically, draft messages were created in Hushmail and shared with the other participants. The purpose was to avoid sending the information over servers to reduce the possibility of getting hacked. The information shared via Hushmail pertained to DMP's work in Ukraine. Hushmail may also have been used to deal with communications related to the Skadden Report and FTI consulting. It was [REDACTED] idea to start using Hushmail and draft documents to communicate.

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Manafort maintained a laptop computer which he used in Ukraine, but did not connect to the internet while overseas.

Viber was an application used to message while in Ukraine. The precursor to Viber was Threema. Both applications were introduced to Gates and Manafort by [REDACTED] and were widely used in Ukraine.

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Proton Mail was an account maintained by Gates under the account, [REDACTED] This account was opened approximately 2 years ago, but Gates did not use it frequently. Gates did not use Proton Mail for DMP related matters.

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Whatsapp was used to communicate with [REDACTED] various Ukrainians working on PoR campaign matters and others related to the ECFMU. Gates' Whatsapp account was identified by his cell phone number, [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #3, On 01/31/2018, Page 17 of 21

Gates did not recall using an application called Telegram.

Silent Phone and Silent Circle were secure telephone applications. Silent Phone was used temporarily for DMP work, but it did not have a good connection. One of Manafort's friends recommended the use of Silent Phone. Silent Circle was used while Gates was working on the Trump Campaign and when Gates worked for America First Policies. Gates also used Whatsapp and Confide during the campaign and Inauguration.

"Bat phones" were how Gates and Manafort referred to certain phones maintained by Gates, Manafort [REDACTED]. Manafort required new phone numbers to be issued after DMP was hacked one time. The bat phones were normal phones, but had different phone numbers.

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Communication with Kilimnik During the Trump Campaign

Gates communicated with Kilimnik via Whatsapp. At Manafort's direction, Gates sent Kilimnik the polling data and other updates on the Trump Campaign through Whatsapp. Gates also sent this information to [REDACTED] [REDACTED] is a former colleague of Gates' from [REDACTED] [REDACTED] lives and works in [REDACTED] and is [REDACTED]

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Manafort first told Gates to send Kilimnik polling data in April, or early May 2016. Gates continued sending Kilimnik this information somewhat frequently through August. After Manafort resigned, Gates sent information to Kilimnik less frequently. After sending Kilimnik the information via Whatsapp, Gates deleted the communication. Gates' regular practice was to delete Whatsapp communications daily.

Gates did not know why Manafort wanted him to send Kilimnik the polling information. Gates presumed Kilimnik was passing the information on to people in Ukraine as a way of showing the strength of Manafort's position on the campaign.

Gates did not believe Manafort sent Kilimnik anything about the Trump Campaign other than the polling data. Gates thought Manafort may have sent Kilimnik some documents related to getting paid for DMP's work for the Opposition Bloc and possibly message for Deripaska.

Deleted Documents

Gates' former attorney, [REDACTED] imaged Gates' hard drive when the Special Counsel's investigation began. Gates was advised not to delete anything. The hard drive image would have information from Gates' current laptop, as

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #3, On 01/31/2018, Page 18 of 21

well as older computers. Each time Gates bought a new computer, he moved the information from his previous computers onto his new computer's hard drive before wiping the old computer. Gates used his laptop for DMP work, campaign work and personal matters.

Gates was asked if he destroyed any documents or emails when he learned of the Special Counsel's investigation. Gates stated he has eliminated many emails over the years, but none since learning of the Special Counsel's investigation.

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[Redacted]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #3, On 01/31/2018, Page 19 of 21

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[REDACTED]

Gates was asked again if he has deleted anything since learning of the Special Counsel's investigation. Gates stated that he did not believe so, but "maybe".

Gates maintained some hard copy documents, but he provided most of them over to his former counsel, [REDACTED]. These documents included bank statements, incorporation documents, tax returns, and some other personal files. Gates did not maintain any photographs of his work in Ukraine.

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Gates did not delete anything related to the Trump Campaign. Gates knew these documents would be saved by the campaign.

Gates deleted emails and documents when he learned of the inquiries by the FARA Unit. Gates did not want the press, the Ukrainian authorities, or any subsequent investigation to find these emails and documents. The emails and documents deleted by Gates were mostly communications with [REDACTED] [REDACTED] and [REDACTED].

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[REDACTED]

Gates did not delete any documents because of his interview with the FBI in 2014. At that time, the FBI was looking for Gates and Manafort's help in learning how Yanukovich moved assets out of Ukraine. Gates did not think he needed to purge any emails or documents for this matter.

Project Hapsburg

Manafort pitched Viktor Yanukovich on an idea known as Project Hapsburg. The idea was to use former European leaders to enhance Ukraine's lobbying and public relations campaigns. The former leaders would purport to be independent supporters of Ukraine and Yanukovich. Gates recalled the former Polish Prime Minister, Alexander Vishnevsky, the former Austrian Chancellor Alfred Gusenbauer, a former

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #3, On 01/31/2018, Page 20 of 21

Turkish leader, and the former Italian Prime Minister Romano Prodi were identified to be a part of Project Hapsburg.

Manafort told Gates that Yanukovich agreed to the project and assigned [REDACTED] as the paymaster. [REDACTED] was responsible for approving the budget and wiring the funds to DMP accounts in Cyprus and St. Vincent and Grenadines. DMP then handled the costs associated with the project. The fact that PoR funded Project Hapsburg was not disclosed.

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Most of the work done by these former leaders was in Europe. They met with other government officials, gave speeches, wrote op-eds, and generally used their positions to have private conversations with other leaders to bolster support for Ukraine. Some work was done in the US as well. By way of example, Gates recalled Vishnevsky spoke at the Atlantic Council and met with various US government officials the following day.

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[REDACTED]

Gates was shown a document title "CONFIDENTIAL: EYES ONLY" and referred to a "SUPER VIP GROUP OF FORMER EUROPEAN HEADS OF GOVERNMENTS AND VIP OFFICIALS TO ENGAGE IN PROMOTION OF VR ELECTION RESULTS AND UKRAINE INTEGRATION INTO EUROPE". Gates stated Manafort created this document. The document contained a list of key participants, some of whom, like [REDACTED] did not end up being involved. The document referenced a budget of \$1.5 million, but in actuality, the budget was higher than that. This document accurately described how Project Hapsburg operated. The reference to an independent NGO being created in "Stage 2" was not a reference to the ECFMU, but rather to another NGO. Ultimately, another NGO was not created.

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Gates was shown a document titled "Washington, DC Visit Alfred Gusenbauer June 4th - June 7th, 2013". Gates helped the Podesta Group (PDG) and Mercury Clark & Weinstock (MCW) set up the meetings for Gusenbauer in the US. Gates did not independently recall doing this, but various emails show that he did indeed assist with this. Gates did not recall if Gusenbauer ended up coming to the US or not. Gates though Prodi may have come to the US in Gusenbauer's stead.

Generally, Gates was tasked by Manafort and [REDACTED] with assisting PDG and MCW with arranging the Project Hapsburg meetings in the US.

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

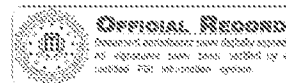
Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #3, On 01/31/2018, Page 21 of 21

Gates explained that when Yanukovych was elected President in 2010, Manafort began advocating for a global public relations program designed to get Ukraine into the European Union. This program including hiring lobbying and public relations firms as well as the Project Hapsburg project. Yanukovych agreed to the program in late 2011 or early 2012 and directed Manafort to work with [REDACTED] to implement it.

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This was when Manafort and Gates arranged for PDG and MCW's hiring. Prior to the hiring of PDG and MCW, individuals members of PoR had hired their own lobbying and public relations consultants. Similarly, [REDACTED] had already created the ECFMU for his own purposes.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 03/16/2018

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.

FARA

Gates' first introduction to the Foreign Agent's Registration Act (FARA) was in 2007. At that time, Gates and DMP were working in Ukraine and meeting with the US Ambassador regarding that work. Gates was tasked with determining whether contact with the US Ambassador in Ukraine triggered FARA. To this end, Gates spoke with different people while searching for a FARA attorney.

During this process, Gates was told that if he, or DMP was not influencing legislation or budget bills, or meeting with a US government official they did not need to register under FARA. At that time, Gates did not read the FARA statute and the explanations he was given were broad. Gates believed he spoke with [Redacted] and [Redacted] lobbyists who previously worked for Black, Manafort, Stone and Kelly.

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In 2007, DMP did not register under FARA because it was determined that FARA was not triggered by the meetings with the US Ambassador.

Gates was shown an email from Gates to Manafort dated April 14, 2007 with the subject line, "FARA Registration" in which Gates detailed the FARA statute and broke down DMP's options under FARA.

Gates stated that he wrote this document at Manafort's request. Manafort had asked Gates to reach out to a FARA attorney about

Investigation on 02/02/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)
File # [Redacted] Date drafted 02/07/2018
by [Redacted]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #5, On 02/02/2018, Page 2 of 16

the issue relating to contact with the US Ambassador in Ukraine. This email was Gates' overview of what he had learned. Gates initially stated that the portion of the email with the FARA statute was cut and pasted from information provided by an attorney at Akin Gump.

Gates was directed to the portion of the email which indicated he had not yet met with an attorney at Akin Gump. Gates stated he must have cut and pasted the information from the internet. Gates believed he obtained the information from the US Department of Justice (DOJ) FARA website, but he was not sure.

Gates was asked why he thought FARA was only triggered if he was making direct contact with a government official when this email clearly showed that FARA was triggered when one "engages directly or indirectly" in lobbying or public relations (PR) in the US.

Gates stated that he was indirectly engaged in the Podesta Group (PDG) and Mercury/Clark & Weinstock (MCW) lobbying and PR efforts for the government of Ukraine. Gates understood now that his indirect engagement would trigger FARA. Gates explained that when he prepared this email in 2007, he did so in the context of work in the Ukraine. In addition, Gates did not review every section and he was not sure he even read every section which was cut and pasted from the internet.

Gates was asked about another section of his email which referred to collecting or soliciting payment in the US. Gates was asked if his role paying PDG and MCW for their work with the government of Ukraine fell into this category. Gates stated that he believed it did.

Gates was asked why his role influencing legislation as it related to the Durbin and Inhofe Amendments, Kaptur Resolution and other Senate and /or House resolutions did not trigger FARA. Gates stated he did not directly contact anyone in an attempt to influence these amendments or resolutions, but rather, he directed PDG and MCW to do so.

In 2007, Manafort asked Gates to research FARA because this was a new issue for DMP and Manafort wanted to know if the Ambassador contacts triggered FARA. At this time, the McCain campaign was going on and there were a number of articles in the newspaper about lobbyists and their relationship to McCain.

Gates found information on the internet and provided the email analysis to Manafort. Gates also spoke with counsel at Akin Gump about the matter and it was determined that DMP did not need to file FARA.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #5, On 02/02/2018, Page 3 of 16

Prior to 2012, DMP had not been involved in a US based lobbying effort on behalf of Ukraine. DMP's work was only in Ukraine.

Gates then stated that it was possible that Manafort [REDACTED] lobbied McCain prior to 2012, but he was not sure. Gates believed McCain may have been lobbied as it related to Montenegro. Gates knew McCain traveled to Montenegro and met people there [REDACTED]. Gates was not sure if this had anything to do with US policy, but McCain was a US Senator at the time.

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Gates also thought DMP may have done some US outreach on behalf of Ukraine through Edelman prior to 2012, but he was not sure.

Gates was asked why, when the US based lobbying effort began in 2012, he did not revisit the issue of FARA. Gates stated he relied on PDG and MCW's process. In Gates' mind, PDG and MCW were doing the outreach.

Gates was asked why he did not contact counsel on the matter, or simply look on the internet like he had before. Gates stated he "should have" looked into it, but he did not because he was not directly lobbying. Gates was told this did not make sense and that he had no basis to believe FARA was only triggered by direct contact. Gates was told he had access to the answers at his fingertips and had shown the ability to locate those answers before.

Gates then stated that the work with PDG and MCW "wasn't a major deal for DMP" and DMP was not doing the lobbying. Gates did not even contemplate reaching out to counsel about the matter.

Congressman Dana Rohrabacher

Gates believed the meeting between Manafort and Rohrabacher required DMP to register under the FARA. At the time, Manafort told Gates that the meeting did not require DMP to register under FARA because Manafort and Rohrabacher had a long standing friendship. Manafort said their 25+ year relationship allowed Manafort to "circumvent" registering under FARA.

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In addition, after the meeting, both [REDACTED] and Manafort told Gates that they did not talk about the Ukraine. The "Engage Ukraine" strategy was the intended topic of conversation with Rohrabacher, but they ended up not talking about this. According to [REDACTED] and Manafort, Rohrabacher went off on a tangent and talked about China and Russia during the meeting.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #5, On 02/02/2018, Page 4 of 16

Gates was shown an email from Gates to [REDACTED] among others, dated [REDACTED] and further identified by bates number [REDACTED] which read,

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[REDACTED]

Paul is meeting with the President on Monday of next week. We need to put together a quarterly report with all of the highlights. I need you guys to prepare the draft report by COB Friday. The report should include key progress made, all relevant meetings (State, Rohrabacher [sic], etc). We need to showcase what we have done in the last 3 months. Let's include as much as possible and then we can edit down."

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Gates was asked why he listed the meeting with Rohrabacher as a "relevant meeting" which needed to be included in a report to Yanukovich if Ukraine was not discussed. Gates stated he thought Manafort and [REDACTED] tried to talk to Rohrabacher about Ukraine. Rohrabacher held an important position which was a target of the Engage Ukraine strategy. Gates did not know if any substantive conversations about Ukraine occurred during the meeting with Rohrabacher and Manafort, but thought it was possible there were no such substantive conversations.

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When Manafort said his 25+ year relationship with Rohrabacher could be used to "circumvent" registering under FARA, Gates understood that this was a "grey area" in the FARA statute. Gates believed someone said Manafort was "walking the line" of the FARA statute. Gates did not recall who said this. Gates understood Manafort was looking for a "loophole", or way to avoid registering under FARA.

Gates was asked why [REDACTED] set up the meeting with Rohrabacher and Manafort if Manafort and Rohrabacher were such long-time friends. Gates stated that the meeting with Rohrabacher was part of the lobbying outreach and therefore [REDACTED] handled the arrangements.

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Gates was asked why Manafort was present at the meeting with Rohrabacher. Gates stated that in addition to having an established relationship with Rohrabacher, Manafort also had the ability to communicate information on Ukraine as it related to recent elections. Gates believed [REDACTED] recommended Manafort attend the meeting to help build the relationship and get Rohrabacher "on board" with the Engage Ukraine strategy. [REDACTED] suggested Manafort do a number of other meetings, but Manafort did not do all of them.

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DMP had no intention of registering under FARA.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #5 , On 02/02/2018 , Page 5 of 16

Gates did not think it was his responsibility to make sure DMP registered under FARA. When Manafort and Rohrabacher met, it was Manafort's decision. Gates believed if Manafort wanted to register, he would register and if Manafort did not want to register, he would not register. It was not Gates' role to enforce FARA on Manafort or DMP.

Gates took Manafort at "face value" when Manafort told Gates Ukraine had not been discussed in the meeting with Rohrabacher. Gates did not think it was his job to contradict what Manafort had said.

Gates was asked why the meeting with Rohrabacher was included in the memorandum to Yanukovych if they did not discuss Ukraine. Gates stated the memorandum listed any substantive meetings with people in targeted positions in the US.

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #5, On 02/02/2018, Page 6 of 16

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #5, On 02/02/2018, Page 10 of 16

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The Trump Campaign

In January 2016, Gates was working mostly on [REDACTED] film project. Gates was also doing some work on films with [REDACTED] looking for new DMP clients, and helping Manafort pull material together to pitch Donald Trump on becoming campaign manager. Roger Stone and Tom Barrack were acting as liaisons between Manafort and Trump in an effort to get Manafort hired by the campaign. Barrack had a good relationship with Ivanka Trump.

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During this time, Gates was paid his normal salary by DMP. Gates also made some money doing film projects with [REDACTED] including receiving payment for a Swiss documentary in which he invested in 2015. Finally, Gates received the proceeds of an investment in ID Watchdog (IDW) in 2016.

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Manafort had few US political relationships at the time and other than working to help Manafort with his pitch to Trump, Gates was not doing much for DMP.

In March 2016, Manafort went to Mar a Lago to meet with Trump, Hope Hicks and Corey Lewandowski. After this meeting, Manafort told Gates "we're on board". The following week, Manafort and Gates went to New York to meet with others from the Trump Campaign.

Gates and Manafort talked about what it would mean for Manafort to be hired by the Trump Campaign. Manafort told Gates it would be "good for business" and a potential way for DMP to be made whole for work done in Ukraine for which they were not paid. Manafort thought being hired by the Trump Campaign would get him back on his feet and help develop future business.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #5 , On 02/02/2018 , Page 11 of 16

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Gates was shown an email between Gates and Kilimnik dated March 20, 2016 and four letters which were attached to this email. Gates stated he was the person who drafted the letters on Manafort's behalf. Manafort reviewed and approved the letters.

Manafort wanted Gates to draft letters announcing he had joined the Trump Campaign. Manafort thought the letters would help DMP get paid by OB and possibly help confirm that Deripaska had dropped his lawsuit against Manafort. Manafort wanted Kilimnik to let Deripaska know he had been hired by Trump and he needed to make sure there were no lawsuits against him.

Gates was asked why Manafort could not have employed counsel to find out if the Deripaska lawsuit had been dropped. Gates stated Manafort wanted to send Deripaska a personal note and to get a direct answer from Deripaska. Gates also thought this letter was a bit of "bravado" on Manafort's part.

Gates was asked if the purpose of the letter to Deripaska was to determine if the lawsuit had been dropped, why didn't the letter mention the lawsuit. Gates stated that Manafort did not want to put anything about the lawsuit in writing. Manafort discussed the idea of getting Deripaska to drop the lawsuit with Kilimnik verbally.

Gates was shown an email between Manafort and Kilimnik dated April 8, 2016, on which Gates was copied. Gates explained that at Manafort's direction, he reached out to Kilimnik to find out information on OB. Manafort wanted to know if there was a future for Manafort in Ukraine if the work with Trump did not work out.

Gates was asked if he and Manafort ever discussed the optics of Manafort as Convention Manager making these contacts in an effort to monetize his position. Gates stated he "surmised" these contacts would be made known. Gates believed everyone was trying to monetize their position early on in the campaign. Had Trump not won the nomination, the opportunity to monetize the position would have passed. That said, Gates and Manafort never talked about how these contacts would be viewed.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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Manafort and Gates did talk about how to answer questions from reporters regarding Manafort's work in Ukraine. Manafort asked Gates to draft a letter to Trump describing Manafort's work in Ukraine. The initial version of this letter was drafted shortly after the meeting in Mar a Lago. There were subsequent iterations of the letter in anticipation of questions potentially posed by the media.

Gates was shown an email between Gates, Manafort and Kilimnik dated April 11, 2016 in which Manafort asked if Kilimnik had "shown our friends the coverage" and how it could be used to "get whole". Manafort made specific references to Deripaska's operations seeing the coverage on Manafort's work for Trump.

[REDACTED]

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Gates was asked what Deripaska had to gain from Manafort's position. Gates stated that Deripaska wanted a visa to the US and having Manafort in a position inside the campaign might be helpful to Deripaska. Manafort's position could help Deripaska develop a relationship with Trump, which could have been helpful to Deripaska in other ways as well. Manafort never told Gates anything specific as to what he was offering Deripaska.

[REDACTED]

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Gates was shown an email thread between Kilimnik to [REDACTED] Purcell at the US State Department dated April 26, 2016 through May 4, 2016. Gates was asked to whom "Boyko" was a reference.

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Gates stated that Boyko was Yuri Boyko, a senior PoR official who was aligned with [REDACTED] and Lyovochkin. Boyko had assets in the gas industry and was close with Yanukovych. Boyko was a pro-Russian PoR official who pretended to be pro-European.

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Gates was directed to the May 4, 2016 email which referenced a meeting between Kilimnik and Manafort. Gates stated that he was not present for

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[REDACTED]

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this meeting. Manafort told Gates that Kilimnik was coming to the US for a meeting. Gates could not recall if he even knew that Manafort and Kilimnik were meeting. Gates did not think he talked to Manafort about the meeting.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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Gates believed the message from Yanukovych was delivered to Manafort by Kilimnik during the meeting in August. Gates did not know if this was also a topic of discussion in a May meeting. Gates did not talk to Manafort about this topic prior to the August meeting.

Gates was shown an email thread between Kilimnik and Manafort dated July 7, 2016 through July 29, 2016.

Gates stated he saw some of these email in the news. Gates did not talk to Manafort about the emails when they were leaked to the press. In July 2016, the topic of conversation with Manafort was the Deripaska lawsuit.

Gates was asked what was meant by the following statements in the email: "any movement on this issue with our friend?" and "I'm carefully optimistic on the question of our biggest interest". Gates stated "our friend" was likely a reference to Deripaska. Gates did not know what the "question of our biggest interest" meant.

Gates believed "V" referred to Viktor Boyarkin and "V boss" referred to Deripaska. Gates did not know why Deripaska would have been reaching out to Manafort regarding a "time sensitive matter". Gates was reminded that these emails were written just before the Republican National Convention.

Gates was asked about Manafort's statement, "Tell V boss if he needs private briefing we can accommodate". Gates stated he thought Manafort was trying to curry favor with Deripaska to make the lawsuit go away. Gates was asked why Manafort would need to curry favor with Deripaska to make a dormant lawsuit go away and why such a topic would be "time sensitive". Gates stated that Manafort and Deripaska's relationship had been dead a long time and Manafort was probably using his position within the Trump Campaign to reach out to Deripaska.

When Gates first saw this email, he was surprised Manafort would write something so [REDACTED] in an email. Gates never asked Manafort about the

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #5 , On 02/02/2018 , Page 14 of 16

email and Manafort never told Gates what he meant when he said he would offer Deripaska "private briefings". When this email came out in the news, Manafort told Gates, Brad Parscale and [Redacted] that the article was "B.S."

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As far as the reference to "Black Caviar", Gates recalled Manafort telling a story about a party thrown by Akhmetov. Manafort told Gates that at the party, Akhmetov gave Manafort a very large bowl of black caviar worth between \$20,000 and \$30,000. Based on this story, Gates assumed "Black Caviar" was a reference Akhmetov.

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Meeting at Havana

When Gates joined Manafort and Kilimnik at the Havana restaurant in August 2016, Kilimnik said he had come to deliver Yanukovych's message. In addition to Yanukovych's presidential run, Kilimnik and Manafort also discussed the Deripaska lawsuit, the money due to DMP and the Trump Campaign.

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Manafort looked at internal, external and digital polling data to identify the battleground states. Internal data came from Fabrizio & Ward and Kellyanne Conway's polls. Internal polling data was confidential information. External data came from Gallup, Rasmussen and Real Politics polls. Digital data came from Parscale's online polls.

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Gates was asked why confidential polling data derived from internal polls was released to Kilimnik. Gates stated that the internal polling data did not differ from the external polling data very much and it was used mostly to confirm the external polling results.

Post Manafort Resignation

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Gates explained that in Ukraine, Manafort had created a "parallel system" of people loyal to him inside PoR. Manafort did the same thing in the Trump Campaign with Parscale, [REDACTED] Dearborn and others. Manafort maintained these connections when he left the campaign. [REDACTED] the campaign after Manafort left, but Parscale, Dearborn [REDACTED] all stayed on the campaign.

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Gates believed Manafort also had some contact with Kushner about strategy after Manafort left. Gates knew Manafort sent strategy memos to Kushner prior to the election.

Gates had minimal contact with Manafort after Manafort left. [REDACTED]

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Gates also talked to Manafort about the US policy on Ukraine. Manafort claimed President Poroshenko was behind the media campaign to "smear" Manafort. Manafort said Poroshenko had fabricated the "black ledger" and was supporting Hilary Clinton.

Manafort asked Gates to reach out to [REDACTED] who had a relationship with the Ukrainian Ambassador. Manafort offered to assist the Ambassador in repairing relationships Poroshenko had damaged. Gates was aware that Poroshenko had been trying to set up meetings with Trump at Trump Tower. Manafort said the Ambassador needed to get involved in those meetings.

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2017

In January 2017, Manafort reached out to Gates through [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Gates heard Manafort was doing business in China and South

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #5, On 02/02/2018, Page 16 of 16

America. Gates heard Manafort had traveled to Madrid sometime in or around December 2016 with [REDACTED]. Gates believed this trip was to look at a telecommunications company.

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In February 2017, while Gates was working for Barrack, Manafort reached out to ask Gates about Trump's policies in Cuba. Manafort had work in Cuba and wanted to know what Trump's intended stance on the country was. Gates did not know if Manafort had any foreign travel, meetings with [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

Gates did not know if there was ever any resolution to the Deripaska lawsuit. Gates did not follow up with Manafort about this matter.

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Dates

Gates reviewed his financial records and calendar to determine the following:

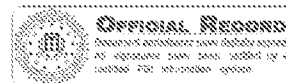
On February 2, 2016, he was in Chicago. On February 3, 2016, he returned from Chicago to Richmond, Virginia where he stayed until February 5, 2016. From February 5, 2016 through February 7, 2016, Gates was in New York. From February 7, 2016 through February 9, 2016, Gates was in Richmond, Virginia except for the day of February 8, 2016, when Gates was in Washington, D.C.

On February 23 -24, 2016, Gates was in Richmond. On February 25, 2016, Gates was in Washington, D.C.

On March 10, 2016, Gates returned from Turks and Caicos to Richmond. Gates remained in Virginia through March 16, 2016.

On October 20, 2016, Gates returned from Las Vegas, Nevada to Richmond where he remained through October 22, 2016.

[Redacted]



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 03/21/2018

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Richard William Gates III, previously identified, was interviewed by FBI Special Agent [Redacted] Supervisory Special Agent [Redacted] and Special Counsel Prosecutors Andrew Weissmann, Greg Andres, Jeannie Rhee and Aaron Zelinski. Present for Gates were [Redacted] [Redacted] After being advised of the identities of the interviewing parties and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

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.

April 27, 2016 Foreign Policy Speech

Gates was involved in the planning and preparation of Donald Trump's foreign policy speech at the Mayflower Hotel on April 27, 2016. The Mayflower Hotel speech was the first major policy speech for Trump. The idea for the speech originated during a conversation between Manafort, Jared Kushner and Steve Miller about which policy initiatives needed to be tackled. Kushner and Manafort were tasked with handling foreign policy decisions for the campaign.

Kushner appointed Gates and Dmitri Simes to be in charge of planning and logistics for the speech. Specifically, they needed to determine where, when and who.

Gates first met with Simes in Simes' office in Washington, D.C. a few weeks before the date of the speech. Gates had not met Simes before this. Simes was a Trump supporter who ran a think tank called the Nixon Foundation, or something similar to that.

Initially, the speech was supposed to take place at the National Press Club. The list of participants was generated partially by a list from Simes and partially by a list from the Trump Campaign. Manafort, Kushner, Miller, and Gates all reviewed and had input on the list from the campaign. Gates believed Kushner invited some people from New York in addition to people from the campaign.

Investigation on 02/07/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 02/08/2018

by [Redacted]

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #6, On 02/07/2018, Page 2 of 15

After reviewing the initial list of RSVPs, it was determined that the National Press Club was too small of a venue. Gates believed the National Press Club only sat 120 people and the RSVP list showed 110 confirmed. For this reason, the venue changed to the Mayflower Hotel at the last minute. There were three or four other venues considered before settling on the Mayflower Hotel. Ultimately, it was decided that the location needed to be in the same area as the National Press Club. There were no discussions about using the Trump Hotel as it was not yet open.

Gates may have tried to obtain additional space at the National Press Club, but beyond that, Gates did not play a role as it related to this venue. The campaign's Advance Team, which was led by [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] were the people responsible for looking at venues.

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DOCUMENT 1

Gates was shown an email from Manafort to Kushner and others dated April 19, 2016 and further identified by bates number NOSC00005959-NOSC00005960 which read, "Rick Gates will be the internal point of contact for us. He and our Comm Dir will then interact with the National Press Club."

Gates served as the campaign's internal point of contact for the event. Gates helped Simes organize the event and introduced Simes to the campaign's Advance Team.

The decision to move the venue from the National Press Club to the Mayflower Hotel was made by Kushner and Manafort based upon information Gates relayed from the Advance Team. Gates could have made the decision on his own, but he did not. Gates ran it by Manafort and Kushner because this was the first policy speech and it was important to get it right.

The belief was that the original location could not fit the number of attendees. Also, the initial plan was to offer a lunch and that definitely would not have been feasible in the National Press Club space.

The list of invitees from Simes was circulated by Gates to Manafort and Kushner. Additions were made to the list and sent back to Gates. The issue of who needed to handle foreign attendees arose. It was decided that Jeff Sessions, Kushner and Rick Dearborn would handle any outreach and communication with foreign attendees, such as ambassadors.

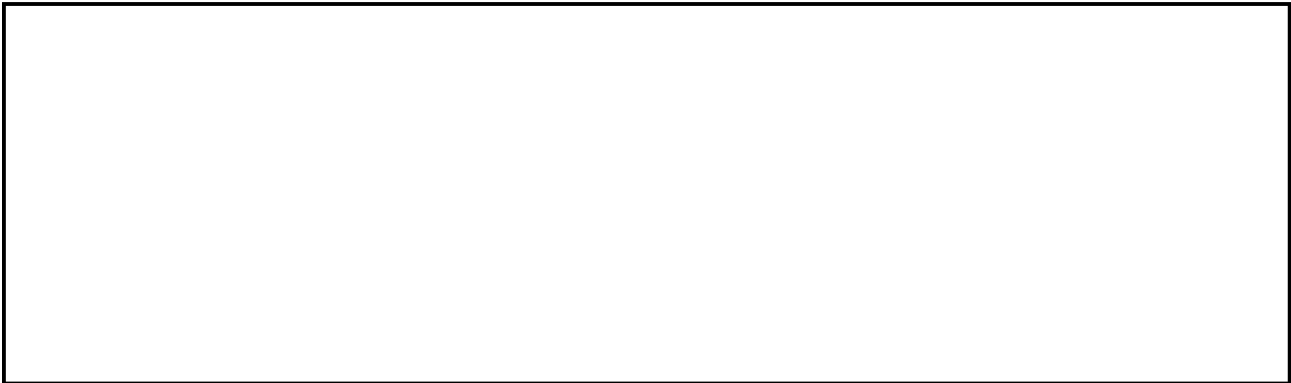
Gates indicated the goal was to get as many ambassadors as possible to attend. Simes took the "first pass" at reaching out to

[REDACTED]

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ambassadors. Sessions and Dearborn followed up on ambassador invites, but Gates was not clear which ambassadors were contacted by Simes and which ambassadors were contacted by Sessions and/or Dearborn.

In preparation for the speech, Gates went to the Mayflower Hotel on the morning of the event. Gates entered off Connecticut and looked at the first room on the left which accommodated approximately 200 people.



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DOCUMENT 3

Gates was shown an email from Gates dated April 25, 2016 with the subject line "FP Prep Meeting".

Gates did not specifically recall the meeting referenced in his email. Gates speculated the meeting was to review the content of the foreign policy speech. The email was addressed to Corey Lewandowski, Hope Hicks, Kushner, Miller, Dearborn and Manafort.

Lewandowski had minimal involvement in the content of the speech, but he was the point of contact for Trump as they always traveled together.

Hicks was the Communications Director who coordinated with the press.

Kushner was involved in the content of the speech. Kushner had input on the topics on which the speech was focused.

Miller was the speech writer and he drafted the first version of the speech.

Dearborn was involved in inviting participants to the event.

Gates was responsible for sending the list of invitees around to people inside the campaign to see if there were any additional requests for people to attend. Gates primarily coordinated with Manafort, Dearborn and possibly Kushner to finalize the list of invitees.

[REDACTED]

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April 27, 2016

Gates began the morning of April 27, 2016 at Trump Tower in New York with the entire Trump Campaign team. Gates clarified that Dearborn, Manafort and possibly Kushner were already in D.C. on that day. Gates flew to D.C. with Trump, Hicks, Lewandowski, and Miller on the campaign plane.

During the flight, Trump read the speech. Gates initially thought this may have been the first time Trump read the speech. Gates then recalled that Manafort and Miller had met with Trump at Trump Tower on either April 25th or April 26th to review the speech. Gates was not present for this meeting, but he heard about it from Miller. Miller told Gates that Trump made a number of changes and he needed to work on a new draft to circulate. Gates would have seen the various iterations of the speech, but he could not recall exactly what changes had been made.

During the flight, Trump made additional edits and "tweaks" to the speech.

When they landed in D.C., they went to the Capitol Hill Club. Manafort, Sessions, Dearborn and the Advance Team were there as well. Dearborn was introduced to Trump at this time. Kushner may have been present at the Capitol Hill Club, but Gates was not sure.

Gates did not talk to Sessions about the speech. Gates and Sessions talked about some Congressional meetings with Senators Mitch McConnell, Paul Ryan, the National Republican Senate Committee (NRSC) and the National Republican Congressional Committee (NRSCC). During the Congressional meetings, Gates, Manafort, Dearborn and the Advance Team were in the hold room.

From the Capitol Hill Club, the motorcade traveled to the Mayflower Hotel. Gates then recalled that there may have been a luncheon on the Hill first. Gates went directly to the Mayflower Hotel by himself in an Uber to view the venue. Gates met up with Dearborn at the Mayflower Hotel. Gates could not recall if Manafort was there or not. Gates looked at the storage and reception rooms.

Gates left the Mayflower Hotel and later returned in the motorcade with Trump, Lewandowski, Hicks, Dearborn, Sessions, Miller, and [REDACTED] Kushner and Ivanka Trump came separately from the motorcade.

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #6, On 02/07/2018, Page 5 of 15

Originally, the plan was to have a VIP line or reception, but it never materialized. Due to the long list of VIPs in attendance, it was going to be too difficult to accommodate a VIP line. The decision was made to focus on the speech instead.

The layout of the venue was a stage which looked out onto the ballroom. Adjacent to the ballroom was a room where a standing luncheon was held. Behind the stage, there was a very small backstage area. There was not a hold room behind the stage like in most venues. Linking the backstage and the other rooms was a long hallway.

When Gates entered the venue with Trump, he remained with Trump until Trump took the stage. Miller, Dearborn, Manafort, Lewandowski, Hicks and [REDACTED] were all waiting behind the stage with Trump prior to the speech. There were no "outsiders" behind the stage with Trump prior to the speech.

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The 20-30 minutes prior to Trump taking the stage was spent with Trump preparing to speak. Manafort checked the podium and [REDACTED] checked the sound. This was the first time Trump was using a teleprompter so people were making sure that was working properly. Some of the campaign team left the backstage area and took seats in the first two rows of the ballroom. Gates watched the speech from the backstage area.

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There was a section of seating blocked off for the ambassadors. Gates did not see any of the ambassadors meet with Trump. Gates did not recall any meetings between Trump and anyone outside the campaign team prior to the speech. However, at one point, Gates left the backstage area to check something. Gates estimated he was gone for 10-15 minutes and when he returned, Trump was still backstage with only campaign staff.

Typically, Trump would do a "meet and greet" prior to the event, but that did not happen at the Mayflower Hotel. It was possible there was a reception after the speech, but Gates did not know for sure.

DOCUMENT 4

Gates was shown an email from Kushner to Gates, Manafort, Lewandowski, Miller, and Hicks dated April 27, 2016 and further identified by bates number NOSC00012319. Gates was directed to the portion of the email which read, "We worked through some curveballs, but by communicating and adjusting as a team, we made it happen." Gates was asked what Kushner meant by "curveballs".

[REDACTED]

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Gates thought Kushner was referring to the fact that Trump edited the speech up until the last minute. Miller was uploading the edited speech to the teleprompter at the last moment. The speech started a little bit late, but other than that, there was nothing out of the ordinary with the venue or media. Gates noted there was a significant number of members of the media present and the space had to be reorganized to accommodate all of their cameras.

Simes was backstage prior to the speech along with campaign staff. Simes was introduced to Trump by Kushner at that time. Sessions may have been introduced to Simes as well. Gates did not think Simes had met Trump previously. Gates did not recall any specific reaction by Trump to meeting Simes.

After the speech, Trump went backstage. Sessions brought a few Senators and Congressmen backstage to meet Trump. Trump stayed backstage for approximately 30 minutes prior to the luncheon. During this time, there were a number of people moving in and out of the backstage area, but Gates believed they were mostly campaign staff. Gates went into the ballroom area immediately after the speech to say hello to people before going backstage. Gates saw Trump come off the stage and head backstage. After approximately 15-20, when Gates returned backstage, Trump was still there.

Trump returned to New York after leaving the Mayflower Hotel. Gates was still at the hotel when Trump left out the side entrance. Gates explained that he saw Trump walk out the stairs which led to the side entrance, but he did not actually see Trump leave the hotel. Gates, Dearborn, Sessions, and Simes stayed backstage for a bit after Trump left and before returning to the D.C. campaign office.

Gates was asked again if anyone, other than campaign staff, was backstage, in the hallway, in the luncheon room or anywhere other than the ballroom prior to the speech. Gates stated that only campaign staff, US Secret Service, the Advance Team, Sessions and Simes were in these areas. Gates believed Kushner was in the hallway area prior to the speech. US Secret Service was controlling access to the backstage areas.

SPEECH CONTENT

Miller wrote the first draft of the speech. Gates believed he received a copy of the first draft either directly from Miller or from Kushner. Gates then thought he may not have seen the first draft at all, but may have only seen the second draft. Gates recalled Manafort telling him about the first draft and that it needed a lot of work.

[REDACTED]

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Gates believed he reviewed the second draft and circulated it to Manafort and Kushner. Gates had to send Miller a few emails in order to get a copy of the second draft. Gates thought the second draft was "pretty good". The purpose of the foreign policy speech was to show Trump as knowledgeable on the topic and the speech did a good job of showing broad knowledge. Gates edited the second draft for grammar, but not content. Manafort and Kushner made content edits.

Gates did not know if Manafort ever met with Trump to discuss any edits to the speech. Gates was only aware of meetings with Trump on either April 25th or 26th which was discussed earlier and the plane ride to D.C. on the 27th.

Gates did not believe Simes, or anyone at Simes' think tank had any input on the content of the speech. However, Simes would have received an advanced copy of the speech. Simes reached out to Gates multiple times to get a copy of the speech, but Gates did not send one until shortly before the day of the speech. Gates wasn't sure what day he first sent Simes a copy.

Gates recalled Trump wanted a "tougher" speech which portrayed a "stronger" stance on foreign policy. Virtually everyone on the Trump Campaign viewed President Obama as weak on foreign policy and viewed Obama's inaction in this area as damaging to the country. The goal was to make Trump seem like he was coming in to fix the issues created by Obama's inaction. There was focus on statistics, such as the number of US deaths in the Middle East and the economic damage weak foreign policy had caused.

Prior to the Mayflower Hotel speech, Trump's speeches had been "great on optics, but weak on policy". Trump's policy team was not strong with only Dearborn and Manafort.

In April 2016, there was virtually no vetting process on the campaign. Gates did not think Simes or Simes' think tank was investigated prior to the Mayflower Hotel speech. Simes was a Trump supporter who was friends with Kushner. Gates did not think any further due diligence was done on him. After the Mayflower Speech, Simes was not very involved in the campaign. Gates estimated he spoke with Simes 1-2 times after April 27th.

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Gates was also shown an email from Kushner to Gates, Manafort and Miller dated August 10, 2016 and further identified by bates number NOSC00005369. This email contained a forwarded email from Simes and an attachment titled "Russian Policy".

Gates did not recall the email or Russian Policy talking points from Simes. Gates did not recall Simes having any substantive involvement in the campaign after the Mayflower Hotel. Thousands of emails per day were sent to people on the campaign with ideas about policy and other topics. This email may have been circulated because it was sent by Kushner, but Gates did not recall this.

Gates noted that Kushner regularly "flooded" Gates' inbox with forwarded emails. This was Kushner's way of delegating tasks. It was not uncommon for Kushner to send emails from a non-campaign email account.

[REDACTED]

Manafort and Simes may have known each other prior to the Mayflower Hotel event, but Gates was not sure of this.

Gates did not get involved in foreign policy matters and did not recall being interested in any Russian Policy talking points that may have been circulated. Trump did not take much interest in foreign policy and did not have much interest in having meetings about foreign policy either.

Gates was directed to Simes' forwarded email which read,

"Dear Jared,

As we have discussed, attached is my memo on what Mr. Trump may want to say about Russia. We will call your office tomorrow to try to schedule an appointment. As I mentioned to you, there is an interesting and in many respects well-documented story of highly questionable connections between Bill Clinton, the Clinton Foundation and current Hillary [sic] Clinton advisors with not just Russian oligarchs, but also with the Russian government, and earlier, with Soviet Intelligence. Apparently, parts of the story were even discussed with the CIA and the FBI in the late 1990s and shared with the special prosecutor at the end of the Clinton presidency."

Gates did not recall discussing these issues with Simes. Similar information was coming from other avenues, but unrelated to Simes.

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Gates speculated that Simes may have had a meeting at which Gates was not present. Gates did not recall hearing about any such meeting. Gates was traveling a lot with Trump around the time of this email.

In August 2016, there was a daily discussion about Clinton's connection to Russia. Trump's beliefs were that the reporting on this matter was a "joke", but he knew the media was running with it.

In general, when it came to Russia, Trump's view was "why have an enemy when you can have a friend?" Kushner and Sessions advised Trump on how to approach Russia. Gates described Trump's approach to Russia as "softer" than one would expect. Gates clarified that Trump did not really take it seriously. Trump did not push back much when claims circulated about Trump and Russia being "friends".

There was the feeling that Trump could mend the US relationship with Russia and other foreign countries and people on the campaign may have taken steps to encourage this. However, Trump was not really interested in foreign affairs.

There were people on the campaign that took Russia more seriously and advocated for Trump to take a stronger stance, but Trump had no initiative when it came to this topic. Sessions and Flynn were among those advocating for a firmer stance on Russia.

Eventually, Sessions "bent" to Rudy Giuliani and Steve Bannon's views that the relationship with Russia needed to be repaired, but if Russia was going to "play games" then "screw them". Gates then clarified that Bannon felt like Russia was a "bully" and Trump needed to deal with them and not give into their demands. Bannon had "hostile" views on Russia and was generally and "anti-globalist".

Gates was asked what he meant when he said Sessions' views on Russia bent. Gates stated that during the debates, Sessions helped formulate foreign policy talking points with Keith Kellogg, Flynn, Bannon and Gates. Over time, Session was less interested in Russia and more interested in fighting ISIS and immigration issues.

Gates' personal views on Russia were more pragmatic. Gates thought Trump should build up the US image and avoid addressing any Russia-specific issues, such as the invasion of Crimea. Gates believed the lack of US leadership under Obama allowed for Crimea to occur. Gates wanted Trump to exude an image that he would act in such a situation. Gates was opposed to sanctions "across the board" because he did not believe they worked. That said, Gates believed if sanctions were going to be used,

[REDACTED]

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they had to be "all or nothing", rather than partial like they were under the Obama Administration. Gates also believed in sending more NATO troops to the border and building up a larger international presence in the area to keep Russia in check.

Most people on the National Security Council favored sanctions against Russia.

Gates was asked how sanctions on Russia or anyone else for the invasion of Crimea would have impacted those oligarchs who owed Manafort money. Gates stated that the conflict in Crimea had affected the Ukrainian oligarchs "very badly". Crimea was Ukraine's resource base and much of Ukraine's industry was located there. Resources were getting looted, industry was being stifled and generally Ukrainian businesses were profoundly impacted by the conflict.

Gates was not aware of any outreach from [REDACTED] to assist in a resolution to the conflict or the sanctions. Gates then stated that [REDACTED] once or twice. The first time was to discuss a [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] Gates was not aware of any other contact from [REDACTED] Gates thought it may have happened had Manafort not been kicked off the campaign.

Gates was asked if Manafort tried to use his position and/or influence within the Trump Campaign to [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] Gates stated that Manafort never told Gates this. Gates was aware of Manafort's [REDACTED] [REDACTED] but Manafort never mentioned this to Gates. Manafort did not talk about sanctions because it was "taboo".

Gates was asked why he referred to the topic of sanctions as "taboo". Gates stated that the National Security Coalition took the position that Trump needed to deal with Russia and the issue of sanctions in an effort to repair the US/Russian relationship. As a result, sanctions became a "key word" on the campaign. The constant question was whether Trump supported the continuation of sanctions or not. Some advisors advocated for a less stringent approach and some advocated for a more stringent approach.

Ultimately, Trump had to revisit the sanctions against Russia because they were implemented by Obama. Trump's stance was that Obama had screwed up the relationship with Russia and Trump was going to fix it. In order to do this, the topic of sanctions had to be revisited. The logical answer seemed to be to lessen sanctions.

[REDACTED]

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Gates was asked again why he referred to the topic of sanctions as "taboo". Gates stated that "internally" the word sanctions was avoided because it implied a connection to Russia. The experienced members of the campaign staff realized sanctions had to be discussed.

Gates did not recall if the Mayflower Hotel speech dealt with the topic of sanctions. Gates believed the concept of repairing the relationship with Russia was conveyed. Gates recalled talking points relating to extending an olive branch to Russia and bringing them to the table.

Gates did not know for sure, but speculated that Manafort was pro-sanctions because Manafort understood the optics involved. Specifically, Manafort understood that he was seen as connected to Russia because of his work for Yanukovych. This frustrated Manafort because the media assumed Manafort's work for PoR was inherently pro-Russian. Gates explained that some PoR were not pro-Russian, such as Lyovochkin. That said, Manafort was probably very conscious of not seeming sympathetic to Russia. Gates never specifically asked Manafort what his view on this matter was, but he based his speculation on many discussions related to this topic. If Manafort were to have discussed policy with anyone, it would have been Miller.

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Manafort alluded to Gates that his position within the Trump Campaign and, if Trump won, his connection to President Trump could be used to make Manafort money. Manafort thought he could go back to Ukraine and run the OB campaigns. Gates believed OB would want Manafort because they thought Manafort had access to Trump. However, Manafort did not influence policy to his financial benefit while working on the campaign. Manafort's idea was to leverage Trump's win in order to get other jobs.

Manafort and Gates talked about what they would do after a Trump win. Gates intended to work for the administration while Manafort intended to work [REDACTED]. Had Trump lost, Gates still believed he would not have gone [REDACTED]. When Manafort left the campaign, Gates stayed because he knew [REDACTED]. [REDACTED] Gates' only hope was to see the Trump campaign through.

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Gates was asked why Manafort did not [REDACTED] [REDACTED] after leaving the Trump campaign. Gates speculated that [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] That said, Manafort did not have the ability to leverage his work with Trump because he was fired.

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Gates and Manafort never talked about how to leverage the Trump Campaign if Trump lost. The reason Manafort [REDACTED] in April 2016 was because he knew Trump might not get the nomination and then he would have no leverage. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Gates speculated [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Gates did not know if Manafort [REDACTED] after April 2016. Gates didn't understand how Manafort was going to get paid while working on the campaign. Gates asked Manafort this question and Manafort said he was going to talk to the campaign attorney about the matter.

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Gates was asked if in light of the June 2016 Trump Tower meeting with Russians and the Simes Russian Policy memo, there were discussions among campaign staff about the Clintons and Russia. Gates stated he did not recall receiving Simes' email or memo. As for the Trump Tower meeting, Gates recalled Manafort's reaction to the meeting was "don't put too much stock in it". Manafort only attended the Trump Tower meeting because he felt obligated to since Donald Trump Jr. had arranged it and invited Manafort.

In Gates' opinion, the Clintons were "politically savvy" and "masters" at covering their tracks and dealing with the media. In contrast, the Trump Campaign was inexperienced and not politically savvy.

There was an extreme lack of experience on the campaign when Manafort and Gates first joined. Gates believed this inexperience caused people to focus on the Clinton/Russia issue. The more experienced people on the campaign did not focus on this issue.

A lot of information came to the campaign about the Clintons' connection to Russia, but nothing ever materialized from this information. Gates stated that "9 times out of 10" there was no proof, such as documents. Even if there had been documents, they could have been forged. People didn't understand how Eastern Europe worked and how easily documents could be falsified. People also didn't "consider the source" of the information. For example, if it was a random person or someone inside the Clinton Campaign. Ultimately, the Trump Campaign was interested in any opposition research or intelligence which could be used to sway the polls.

Gates was asked what he meant when he said, "9 times out of 10" there was no proof. Gates was asked what the 10th time was. Gates stated that the DOJ Investigation into the Clinton Foundation was the 10th time.

[REDACTED]

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Sam Clovis

Gates saw very little of Sam Clovis during the campaign. Gates thought he saw Clovis once the Campaign Headquarters.

Clovis was involved in the first round of National Security Coalition prior to Manafort and Gates coming on board. Clovis was an early supporter of Trump, but he did not play a substantive role in the campaign.

Clovis did not have an active role in the Mayflower Speech.

A break was taken from approximately 3:35 PM to 3:45 PM.

Yanukovych

Once the Maidan riots started, Yanukovych fled to Russia. Gates heard Yanukovych [REDACTED]

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Other

After the Mayflower Hotel speech, Manafort and Simes talked about doing another event which Simes' think tank would sponsor.

Gates was not aware of Henry Kissinger having any input on the Mayflower Hotel speech. KT McFarland had set up a meeting with Trump and Kissinger in mid-April 2016 in New York. The purpose of the meeting was to talk about foreign policy. Gates did not know if the speech was influenced by this meeting. Gates recalled McFarland saying Trump went off topic and talked about real estate during the meeting.

Polling Data

As early as March 2016, states were categorized as "must hold", "battleground" and "potential". States were put into one of these categories based upon polling data. Manafort was a strong believer in polls.

It was believed that the best chance for Trump to win traditionally Democrat states was to focus on those states with a large contingency of blue-collar Democrats. Historical data along with earlier polling data was used to whittle the states down. Then Brad Parscale's digital campaign was used to focus in on those states.

Parscale's digital polling model differed from traditional polling in that it was more simplistic, cheaper and gave insight into millennial and

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elderly demographics. The digital polls were used to balance the traditional polls and to micro-target specific groups.

Gates brought Parscale to New York so he could integrate with Fabrizio, Kellyanne Conway and Cambridge Analytica's polling teams. [REDACTED] worked for Cambridge Analytica and was brought in to represent their polling product.

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Conway's polls targeted specific demographics in certain states and were issue-specific. Generally, they dealt with issues which were important to women voters. Conway was able to identify key words which resonated with female voters and then use these words in speeches.

Cambridge Analytica did a more comprehensive online poll. They claimed to be able to do "psychological polling". Gates did not know if psychological polling worked.

Data Trust was the Republican National Committee's (RNC) polling shop. They used a combination of traditional and online polling.

All of the data was compiled and analyzed to identify states in which Trump was close. Parscale, [REDACTED] Gates, [REDACTED] Avi Berkowitz, [REDACTED] Fabrizio and others from the RNC participated in this analysis. Manafort focused mostly on Fabrizio's data as Manafort did not really understand the digital data. The analysis was done by discussion and not by an algorithm. Once the team had discussed the raw data, it was moved up the chain to a larger group including Eric Trump, Ivanka Trump, Bannon, Kushner, Conway, Priebus, Donald Trump Jr., Sean Spicer, [REDACTED] Steve Miller, Hicks, [REDACTED] and Mark Short among others.

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For the most part, the data drove decisions made on the campaign, but there was some divergence. For example, polling data showed Trump was close in Virginia, but those who understood how Virginia worked knew Trump could not win in Virginia in spite of the data.

Fabrizio's polling questionnaires were traditional and more specific than the other forms of polling. Fabrizio's polls identified Wisconsin as a "steal state" early on. Cambridge Analytica and Data Trust were consistent with this as well. In general, Fabrizio's model was the most conservative and Cambridge Analytica's was the most aggressive. Data Trust was more level and had a more historical basis.

In early to mid August, Kushner directed campaign resources to concentrate on Florida and Pennsylvania. Trump thought he could win Florida because of his business connections there. Florida was a "must

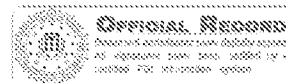
[REDACTED]

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #6, On 02/07/2018, Page 15 of 15

win" state. Pennsylvania, on the other hand, was "fool's gold" and Trump was unlikely to win there.

Manafort instructed Gates to send Kilimnik information from Fabrizio's polls. Gates sent Kilimnik both publically available information and internal information from Fabrizio's polls.



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] [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] UK Accounts

Gates was asked about his accounts [Redacted] in the United Kingdom (UK) [Redacted] Specifically, Gates was asked why he said in his previous proffer that his accounts [Redacted] were only open for a few months in 2010 when in actuality, they were open for a few years until 2013.

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Gates stated [Redacted]

[Redacted]

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Gates stated that there are things he cannot recall clearly. For example, Gates could not keep all of Paul Manafort real estate properties straight. Gates knew Manafort was misrepresenting various things to the banks in order to get the loans, but he did not have extensive conversations with Manafort about these misrepresentations.

In general, Manafort did not share everything with Gates. Gates may not have the full picture of everything Manafort was doing.

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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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer # 2, On 01/30/2018, Page 2 of 16

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, 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 to 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.




Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer # 2 , On 01/30/2018 , Page 4 of 16

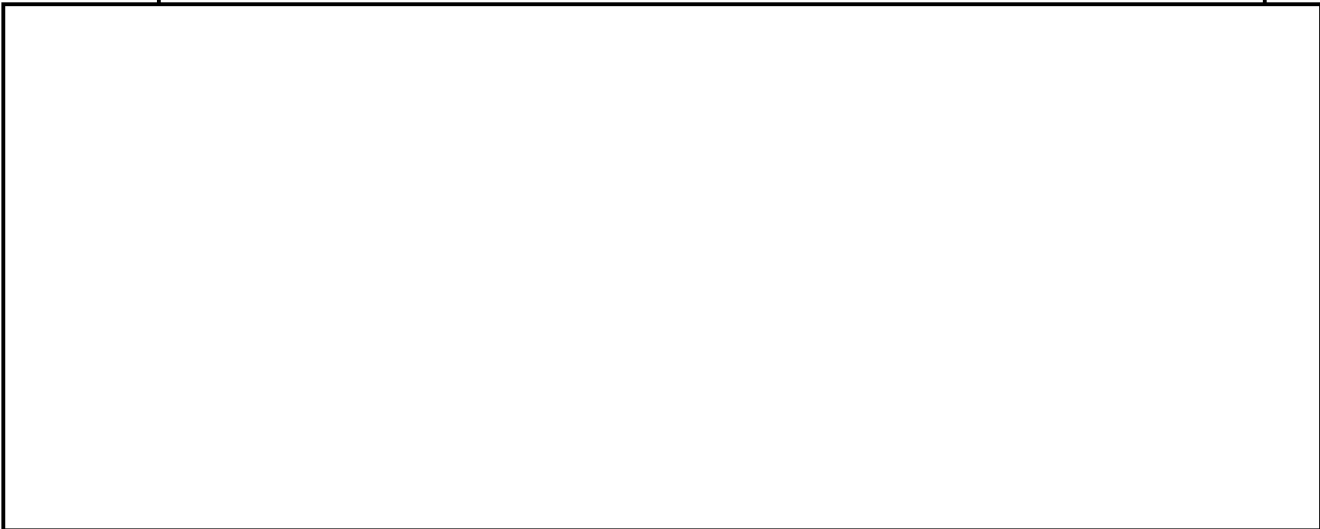
By way of background, Steve Bannon and Kellyanne Conway had different strategies on how to obtain sufficient electoral votes. Neither of their strategies involved flipping the battleground states Manafort identified.

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.

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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 why Manafort would provide strategy information on the Trump Campaign to someone he thought was Russian Intelligence. Gates stated that the information on the battleground states and strategy was not secret.

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.

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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.



Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer # 2 , On 01/30/2018 , Page 6 of 16

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 Yanukovich 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 Yanukovich would want the message delivered in person.

Gates, Manafort and Kilimnik used various nick names for Yanukovich, 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" about 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.

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer # 2, On 01/30/2018, Page 7 of 16

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.

Roger Stone

Stone told Manafort, or possibly Trump that he could get information on the missing Hilary Clinton emails as well.

Stone was the person who initially provided information on

Stone's strategy during the campaign was to focus on certain states crucial to win the general election. Stone regularly talked about having to win Ohio. Trump said he wanted to win New York, but Stone said he

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b7E

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer # 2, On 01/30/2018, Page 8 of 16

could not win New York without spending \$100 million, which Trump was not willing to do.

Wikileaks

Gates' only information on Wikileaks was from news articles. Stone never talked about Wikileaks to Gates. Gates was not aware of Stone talking about Wikileaks to Manafort.

Gucifer

Gates' only information on Gucifer was from new articles.

John Podesta

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

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Gates heard John Podesta [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] John Podesta's [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The campaign did not have the bandwidth to handle opposition research so it was run through the committee.

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

b6
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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 where they came from. Negative information on Hillary Clinton and her campaign were gleaned from the hacked emails and used. Gates recalled one of the pieces of negative information was that Hillary 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.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b7E

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer # 2, On 01/30/2018, Page 9 of 16

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.

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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] [REDACTED] Gates believed the officials were the Election Committee Chairman and one other. Gates did not believe the Ukrainian officials attended.

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

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b7E

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer # 2, On 01/30/2018, Page 10 of 16

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

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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

Gates was not aware of any [Redacted]

[Redacted] Gates did not begin

[Redacted]

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Gates and [Redacted]

[Redacted]

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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]

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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]

[Redacted]

b7A

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.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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]

[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]

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

Gates [Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

Gates thought it was "odd" that Manafort was using foreign funds to purchase real estate in cash. When Manafort wired funds directly from

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b7E

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer # 2, On 01/30/2018, Page 12 of 16

Cyprus to third parties, he often characterized the wires as "investments". Gates knew Manafort was wiring the funds directly to avoid paying taxes on the income. Manafort never specifically said this was why he wired money directly from Cyprus, [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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Gates [Redacted]

[Redacted]

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

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

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Genesis Capital

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

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Gates believed this email was a request for [Redacted] and Gates

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b7E

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer # 2, On 01/30/2018, Page 13 of 16

Manafort had previously

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

Manafort tasked Gates with helping manage

[Redacted]

In late 2015 and 2016,

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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b7C

Gates did not have much information regarding

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Manafort told

Gates he was

[Redacted]

who

b6
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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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b7C

[Redacted]

asked Manafort for help with

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b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Manafort wanted Gates to reach out to [Redacted] to address an issue of whether Howard St. was treated as a second home or a rental property on Manafort's taxes. Gates knew Howard St. was a rental property and not a second home. However, Manafort wanted Howard St. to look like a second home so he could obtain a better interest rate from the bank. Gates believed he had a specific conversation with Manafort about the fact that a second home would result in a better interest rate and the "maximum benefit" to Manafort.

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[Redacted]

[Redacted] Gates then stated that Manafort needed [Redacted] to corroborate the fact that Howard St. was a second home and not an investment property. Gates recalled some conversation about reclassifying how Howard St. and Manafort's other properties were treated on Manafort's taxes. The purpose of reclassifying which property was designated as his primary residence and which properties were second homes or rental properties was so Manafort could obtain the maximum benefit.

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Gates did not believe he ever spoke with [Redacted]

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b7C

[Redacted]

Gates did reach out to [Redacted] Gates explained that Manafort needed Howard St. to be classified as a second home because he was trying to get the maximum benefit from the loan. Gates did not tell [Redacted] that Howard St. was a rental property. [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

Manafort and [Redacted]

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b7C

[Redacted]

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

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[Redacted]

Gates stated that he knew he was sending Citizens Bank false information about 377 Union St. so that Manafort could obtain a loan. [Redacted]

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b7C

[Redacted]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer # 2, On 01/30/2018, Page 15 of 16

b7E

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 377 Union St. prior to the mortgage being added. Gates did not think this was "devious" and did not understand the implications of providing the old documentation to the bank.

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Gates was asked why he sent [REDACTED] old documentation for 377 Union St. which showed the property free and clear, but characterized it as the "correct information" [REDACTED]. Gates stated he was asked by Manafort to send these documents to [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 falsify profit and loss statements.

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b7C

Gates understood Manafort was having trouble getting the [REDACTED] loan because he did not have sufficient income. Gates initially stated that he knew Manafort needed to show more income, but he did not realize Manafort needed to show he had less debt as well. Gates understood why Manafort would need to show less debt, but he did not realize that was what Manafort was trying to do.

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Gates then stated he knew Manafort needed to show [REDACTED] that he had less debt than he actually did. In fact, Manafort told Gates he needed to show the least amount of debt possible. Manafort had to show his properties did not have liens against them so he could get the [REDACTED] loan.

b6
b7C

Gates was asked again about his communication with [REDACTED]. Gates stated he knew there was a mortgage on 377 Union St. and he knew Manafort was asking for a document which falsely showed there was no mortgage on 377 Union St. At Manafort's request, Gates asked [REDACTED] for that document. Gates then sent that document to [REDACTED] to mislead them into thinking there was no mortgage on 377 Union St.

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Manafort did not have cash to pay off his loans so he was trying to pay off his loans with other loans, but he couldn't do this. Manafort tried to do "side agreement loans" to pay off other debt.

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

[REDACTED]

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[Redacted]

b7E

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer # 2, On 01/30/2018, Page 16 of 16

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

Gates was asked

[Redacted]

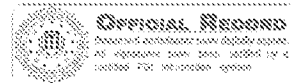
[Redacted]

b6
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Gates was asked why Manafort continued to pursue bank loans after the [Redacted] loan. Gates stated Manafort was unable to obtain some of the loans he pursued. Manafort needed money to pay for his business operations and his lifestyle. [Redacted]

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[Redacted]



UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 11/07/2018

On or around 10/10/2018, SA [Redacted] SA [Redacted] Assistant United States Attorney [Redacted] Trial Attorney [Redacted] [Redacted] from DOJ's Counterintelligence and Export Control Section, and Special Counsel Prosecutor Andrew Weissmann interviewed RICK GATES at the offices of his counsel, Tom Greene. Greene was present for the interview. After providing the identities of the interview team, GATES provided the following information:

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Call with [Redacted]

b6
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Someone at Mercury had suggested that the company get an opinion from [Redacted] [Redacted] regarding the decision on whether or not to file FARA. [Redacted]

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b7C

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

The goal in talking to [Redacted] At this time, Mercury was leaning toward not registering under FARA.

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Prior to the call with [Redacted] GATES had indicated to [Redacted]

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At this time, the firms' client was clearly GoU; ECFMU was not yet a topic of discussion.

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

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

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File # [Redacted] Date drafted 10/21/2018

b7C

by [Redacted]

b7E

[Redacted]

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b7E

[Redacted]

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

Continuation of FD-302 of [Redacted] on 10/10/2018 SDNY, On 10/10/2018, Page 2 of 12

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

b6
b7C

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

[Redacted] should have been informed that GATES would [Redacted]
[Redacted]

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b7C

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

Durbin Resolution

When information surfaced about the Durbin Resolution, GATES received marching orders from at least MANAFORT to stop the resolution and get it killed. The lobbying effort focused on the administration and Congress, with Mercury and Podesta handling most congressional lobbying efforts. Additionally, there was a campaign in Illinois, of which [Redacted] was aware.

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Skadden Arps

Skadden did not want to do media because they were not Public Relations (PR) experts. Additionally, they did not want to do Government Relations (GR) work. Skadden recommended FTI as a firm who could handle PR for report.

EX 119 PDG00054091 - 96

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[Redacted] GATES had [Redacted]
[Redacted]

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UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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

Continuation of FD-302 of _____, On 10/10/2018, Page 3 of 12

[Redacted]

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PDG00054093 is the final version of the attestation.

1B was inaccurate in the attestation for the following reasons:

[Redacted]

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The intention of the attestation was to say that the ECFMU was the sole director of the firms' Ukraine work. The ECFMU was hiding the participation of GoU politicians.

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

Foreign visits conducted through the ECFMU bypassed the Ukrainian Embassy without the Embassy's knowledge.

EX 12 PD0000284

Now that the attestation had been signed, the matter seemed settled and Podesta Group was filing an LDA. By doing so, Podesta Group would not have to disclose their meetings with government officials. The lobbyists were less concerned about revealing the policies they were advocating than revealing their supporters. By registering LDA, they would be able to keep the oligarch funders concealed.

EX 13 PD0000300

GATES believed that the ECFMU would come across as more credible if it was more balanced. The ECFMU Facebook page was too pro-Party of Regions (PoR).

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

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[Redacted]

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

Continuation of FD-302 of _____ on 10/10/2018 SDNY , On 10/10/2018 , Page 4 of 12

As a result of the information conveyed in the email thread, the ECFMU page was taken down. [Redacted]

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GoU, not POR, led ECFMU. The ECFMU's interests were highly aligned with the GoU. GATES discussed this with [Redacted]

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ECFMU was not a secret organization. [Redacted]

b6
b7C

Podesta Group and Mercury were aware that [Redacted] wanted his role to be secret. GATES suspected that if [Redacted]

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[Redacted] There was no legitimate business reason for [Redacted]

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b7C

EX 129

It was never specified to GATES who had to register.

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b7C

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

EX 15 PDG00010911

GATES was the main person coordinating [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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

Continuation of FD-302 of _____ on 10/10/2018 SDNY , On 10/10/2018 , Page 5 of 12

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Mercury was filing an LDA at this point.

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[Redacted]

EX 16 PD0000310

b6
b7C

It was clear to [Redacted] that GATES and MANAFORT were receiving direction from YANUKOVYCH.

EX 18 PD0000030

b6
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b3
b6
b7C

[Redacted]

b3
b6
b7C

[Redacted]

b3
b6
b7C

[Redacted]

b3
b6
b7C

[Redacted]

b3

[Redacted]

b3
b6
b7C

[Redacted]

b3
b6
b7C

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[Redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

b7E

[Redacted]

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

Continuation of FD-302 of _____ on 10/10/2018 SDNY , On 10/10/2018 , Page 6 of 12

[Redacted]

b3
b6
b7C

EX 108

GATES did not recall seeing Podesta Group's LDA filing - he would not have looked at the LDA anyway. There was no discussion of how to respond to any questions on the filing.

EX155

ECFMU did not charge any membership dues.

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

[Redacted]

This job fell on the shoulders of Mercury and Podesta Group, and they took over prepping for interviews and correcting statements.

EX 20 PDG00045623

[Redacted]

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b7C

[Redacted]

b6
b7A
b7C

Information about the financial backing of ECFMU was known to be an issue.

[Redacted]

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At around this time, Ukrainian politicians were coming over to push Ukraine policy. Podesta and Mercury were taking direction from GATES.

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[Redacted]

EX 156

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

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

Continuation of FD-302 of _____ on 10/10/2018 SDNY , On 10/10/2018 , Page 7 of 12

It could be true that PoR did not technically fund ECFMU. That statement would not be a lie, but it would be misleading. It would have been more of a clear lie if it had said the GoU did not fund ECFMU.

EX 30 PD0001876

In or around September there were rumors about the Durbin Resolution.

Directions related to the Durbin Resolution came straight from YANUKOVYCH.

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b7C

GATES was supposed to [Redacted] but did not. Instead, [Redacted]

[Redacted]

EX 49 PD0000016

The Ukrainians were able to get information through their embassy before MANAFORT, GATES and the other lobbyists. In this instance, the embassy had been notified by the Department of State.

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

b3
b6
b7C

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[Redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

b7E

[Redacted]

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

Continuation of FD-302 of on 10/10/2018 SDNY, On 10/10/2018, Page 8 of 12

[Large Redacted Block]

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b6
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EX 122 PDG00061680

b6
b7C

At the time of this document, it was known to PODESTA that MANAFORT was a consultant to the POR. It was likewise known that [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Large Redacted Block]

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b6
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EX 74 PDG00049338-42

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

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

Continuation of FD-302 of _____ on 10/10/2018 SDNY , On 10/10/2018 , Page 9 of 12

At this time, [Redacted] GATES did not know if [Redacted]

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At this time, [Redacted]

b6
b7C

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

EX 82 PDG0043023-28

b6
b7C

[Redacted]

At this time, [Redacted]

b6
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted] The ECFMU continued to run after YANUKOVYCH fled Ukraine. Mercury and Podesta Group were likewise still working at this time.

b6
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[Redacted]

EX 110 PDG00054218-21

b6
b7C

After this email, [Redacted]

Those included on the email were aware that [Redacted]

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b7C

[Redacted]

Because the firms had been filing LDA, there was no concern about backlash at Podesta Group and Mercury if ECFMU folded.

[Redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

b7E

[Redacted]

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

Continuation of FD-302 of _____ on 10/10/2018 SDNY , On 10/10/2018 , Page 10 of 12

EX 84 PDG00042957-62

[Redacted]

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b7C

EX 88 PDG00038424

Mercury and Podesta Group had mostly stopped working at this time.

GATES did not recall which lawyers [Redacted] was referencing.

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b3
b6
b7C

EX 112 [Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

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[Redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

b7E

[Redacted]

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

Continuation of FD-302 of on 10/10/2018 SDNY, On 10/10/2018, Page 11 of 12

GATES

[Redacted]

[Large Redacted Area]

b6
b7C

[Large Redacted Area]

b3
b6
b7C

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

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

Continuation of FD-302 of _____, On 10/10/2018, Page 12 of 12

[Redacted]

b3
b6
b7C

EX 175 (Government Exhibit 714)

MANAFORT had asked GATES

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

MANAFORT and

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

MANAFORT and GATES called

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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GATES

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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GATES talked to

[Redacted]

and they determined that

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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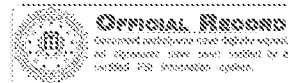
At the time,

[Redacted]

was disclosed, they

[Redacted]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 01/22/2019

On or around October 10, 2018, SA [Redacted] SA [Redacted] SA [Redacted] and Department of Justice (DOJ) attorneys James Mann, Nicole Lockhart, and Ryan Ellersick interviewed RICHARD GATES III at the offices of Sidley in Washington DC. Present for the interview, was GATES' counsel, Thomas Greene. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing parties, GATES provided the following information:

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Introduction to [Redacted] and work in Gabon

GATES had been introduced to [Redacted] through a project in Gabon. In late 2014, [Redacted]

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[Redacted] provided GATES a binder full of information from [Redacted]. Their initial investigation had been complex and determined that the Minister of Energy for Gabon was close to [Redacted] but [Redacted] and would likely take away [Redacted] s concessions. At that point in time, [Redacted] had worked for 3 or 4 months to reach a solution. [Redacted] was trying to get JOSEPH BIDEN to reach out to the president.

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GATES was brought in to help for his contacts on congressional foreign relations committee, including BOB CORKER and others. [Redacted] offered a significant success fee to clear the issue but would not pay unless GATES was successful.

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GATES tried but there was not a lot that he could do. GATES tried to set up a meeting with the US ambassador to Gabon and also brought the issue to [Redacted] to get BIDEN involved. GATES realized it would be a difficult endeavor.

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[Redacted]

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Trump Campaign

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

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File # [Redacted] Date drafted 11/20/2018

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by [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of RICK GATES 10/10

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018 PIN , On 10/10/2018 , Page 2 of 7

In June 2016, [Redacted]

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GATES saw [Redacted] and they spoke for approximately 20 minutes. They met again in Washington, DC two weeks later. At that time [Redacted]

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The campaign set up approximately twelve finance vice chairs with [Redacted] as the lead finance chair. [Redacted]

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[Redacted] knew STEVE MNUCHIN. [No further information (NFI)]

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Inauguration

The Trump Campaign's fundraisers received tickets for the inauguration based on the amount of money they brought in. [Redacted] and would have kept a list of every event. Later, [Redacted] from the RNC took over as record keeper. The RNC should have records including how much money was donated and who received credit for the donations.

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The RNC would vet any entities or individuals who donated but would not have looked into who received tickets to the events.

Post-Campaign

GATES formed Konik Madison (KM) as a lobbying firm with [Redacted] KM had multiple clients.

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America First Policies (AFP) was an outside entity used to advertise for policy initiatives. AFP was unrelated to the work GATES performed for [Redacted]

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[Redacted] did not know the logistics of Washington. In or around April of 2017, [Redacted] GATES for [Redacted]

[Redacted] GATES was [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b4 per DOC
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UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of RICK GATES 10/10

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018 PIN , On 10/10/2018 , Page 3 of 7

b4 per DOC

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b4 per DOC

b6 per FBI/DOC

b7C

In the Spring or Summer of 2017, a Romanian governmental delegation attended a dinner with approximately 25-30 people at Trump Tower.

[Redacted]

were among the attendees. According to [Redacted] one of the Romanians at the Trump Tower dinner had attended the inauguration. GATES tried to get

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[Redacted]

[Redacted] had connections in Washington DC and "on the Hill" and, around the time of the Inauguration, took Romanian individuals to "the Hill" for introductions and meetings. [Redacted] was rising up in the government of Romania and had come to the US, but GATES never met him.

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[Redacted]

b4 per DOC

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[Redacted] and DONALD TRUMP had played golf in 2009 and had hit it off. In April 2017, Malaysia was scheduling bilateral meetings in the US. [Redacted] had talked to TRUMP about playing a round of golf with [Redacted] and had been told to organize it with REINCE PREIBUS. PREIBUS had been blowing off [Redacted] said he would only come for the bilateral meetings if golf was involved.

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In August 2017, JOHN KELLY took over as TRUMP's Chief of Staff. Around this time, [Redacted] saw TRUMP at a fundraiser in Dallas. TRUMP told [Redacted] that he would play a round of golf with [Redacted] Later, H.R. MCMASTER and KELLY both vetoed the idea.

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[Redacted] came to the US for a half-day bilateral meeting.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of RICK GATES 10/10

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018 PIN , On 10/10/2018 , Page 4 of 7

In the Fall of 2017, [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED] TRUMP was taking a trade mission
 to Malaysia and [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED]

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GATES helped [REDACTED] edit talking points for a meeting with REX TILLERSON.
 The talking points covered topics related to Malaysia and were written for
 TILLERSON's meeting with [REDACTED]

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b7C1MDB

The 1MDB project was tied to the Malaysian delegation that arrived for the
 bilateral meetings.

GATES understood that DOJ was seizing money related to ongoing litigation
 against 1MDB in the US. [REDACTED] told GATES to have it taken care of. GATES
 understood this to be a request for GATES to find out where DOJ was with
 regards to the investigation. GATES understood that [REDACTED] was
 willing to give up assets, but that he wanted the investigation to be
 resolved.

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After [REDACTED] saw TRUMP at the Dallas fundraiser, [REDACTED] arranged a
 meeting for [REDACTED] with TRUMP in the White House. [REDACTED] went to GATES for
 advice before the meeting. The meeting occurred sometime around May. KELLY
 had attended a portion of [REDACTED] meeting but had left before the
 discussion of 1MDB. [REDACTED] later told GATES that he brought 1MDB up with
 TRUMP and that TRUMP responded that he would take care of it. [REDACTED] asked
 if he should bring it up with JEFF SESSIONS and TRUMP responded that he
 absolutely should not. TRUMP was willing to help because TRUMP liked
 [REDACTED] left with no action items.

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After his meeting with TRUMP, [REDACTED] and GATES discussed strategy. GATES
 informed [REDACTED] that the people at DOJ with the most influence over the
 1MDB case would be the head of civil division, RACHEL BRAND, and the head
 of the National Security Division, JOHN DEMERS.

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DEMERS had worked for [REDACTED] before joining DOJ. [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] asked GATES if he should get SESSIONS to address the issue, and
 GATES said no. [REDACTED] told GATES he was thinking about writing an email to
 Sessions. To the best of GATES' knowledge, [REDACTED] did not meet with
 SESSIONS.

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of RICK GATES 10/10

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018 PIN , On 10/10/2018 , Page 5 of 7

GATES understood [Redacted] was helping resolve 1MDB as a favor to [Redacted] [Redacted] did not tell GATES that [Redacted] GATES did not believe that [Redacted] shared a personal stake or interest in 1MDB. b6 b7C

[Redacted] had a contact in Malaysia but never mentioned the name of who it was. [Redacted] referred to this contact as his guy. b6 b7C

By the time news came out about 1MDB, the issues had been resolved. [Redacted] told that GATES that if anyone asked to tell them that they never got anything off the ground. b6 b7C

When [Redacted] GATES had asked [Redacted] if he should be concerned. [Redacted] told GATES not to worry and that he did not have any [Redacted] with GATES because they only used Whatsapp. GATES asked what time [Redacted] did not know. The biggest concern had been the fact of GATES and [Redacted] being connected. b6 b7C

GATES did not press [Redacted] was GATES' only [Redacted] b6 b7C

[Redacted]

[Large Redacted Block]

b6 b7C

Other Appointments

Early on, [Redacted] for an appointment as a United States Attorney. [Redacted] b6 b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6 b7C

FARA and other GATES troubles

GATES had legal concerns of his own and was contemplating pleading guilty to the charges against him. As [Redacted] [Redacted] GATES talked to [Redacted] b6 b7C

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(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of RICK GATES 10/10

Continuation of FD-302 of [REDACTED] /2018 PIN [REDACTED], On 10/10/2018, Page 6 of 7

[REDACTED] But the two did not discuss the specifics of the Foreign Agent Registration Act (FARA) charges against GATES. But GATES believes that [REDACTED] was aware of FARA [NFI].

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b7CMiscellaneous

GATES had last spoken to [REDACTED] in August 2018.

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The Viceroy Hotel in California had been bought and sold by THOMAS BARRACK.

GATES and [REDACTED] had used Whatsapp, Wickr, and Confide to communicate. Documents usually came through Whatsapp.

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[REDACTED]
GATES advocated using encrypted communications and had been using [REDACTED] previously.

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[REDACTED]
This was information from a colleague of [REDACTED] close to someone in GRASSLEY's staff.

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[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] had asked for information over the phone for the top two people at DOJ who could influence the 1MDB case. GATES had conducted research. [REDACTED] had reached out to someone regarding [REDACTED] but GATES did not follow-up.

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[REDACTED]
At some point after [REDACTED] meeting with TRUMP, [REDACTED] and GATES had conversed telephonically about talking points for a future [REDACTED] meeting. GATES had drafted the talking points as they spoke.

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The National Security Council at this time was headed by MCMASTER. GATES told [REDACTED] that ultimately the 1MDB lawsuit would be resolved by DOJ.

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TRUMP support would ensure that [REDACTED] was re-elected.

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The first of GATES' talking points was not true. The third and fourth points were accurate to GATES' understanding, but there was no corroboration beyond [REDACTED] statements.

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References to DEMERS were puffery.

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of RICK GATES 10/10

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018 PIN _____, On 10/10/2018, Page 7 of 7

[Redacted]

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The "M" issue referred to Malaysia.

At this time, [Redacted] was still looking for a contact at DOJ regarding the 1MDB issues. RACHEL BRAND was known to be a supporter of President Trump at DOJ and could be friendly contact.

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[Redacted] was reaching out to DOJ on behalf of [Redacted] was aware of what they were working on but did not have as much detail as GATES. The outreach never materialized as [Redacted] cooled off on the issue.

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[Redacted] referred to putting out headlines related to US Senator DIANE FEINSTEIN.

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[Redacted] referred to Malaysian companies involved in the summit.

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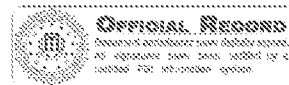
[Redacted]

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[Redacted] had considered joining Mar-a-lago at GATES' suggestion.

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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:

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MANAFORT's China Efforts

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

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[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.

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MANAFORT Ukraine Work

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

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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.

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

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

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

by [Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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

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

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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

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

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

[Redacted]

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VIKTOR BOYARKIN and DERIPASKA

VIKTOR BOYARKIN [Redacted] did a lot of work for DERIPASKA.

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[Redacted]

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BOYARKIN spoke good English.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

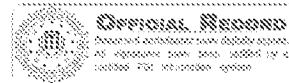
[Redacted]

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Miscellaneous

[Redacted] 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].

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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] [Redacted] After being informed of the official identities of all present, Gates provided the following information:

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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.

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The de facto campaign "CFO" during this time was [Redacted] [Redacted] would track projects expending funds, and served as the first check on such expenses. Gates recalled an instance when [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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] [Redacted] Manafort explained to Gates that [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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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]

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UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of RICHARD GATES IIIContinuation of FD-302 of 10/29/2018, On 10/29/2018, Page 2 of 5b6
b7C

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

 The company utilized a software application in which Lewandowski, Manafort, or Gates could go on-line to approve budget requests. Gates worked closely with and his partner, 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.

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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.

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UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of RICHARD GATES IIIContinuation of FD-302 of 10/29/2018, On 10/29/2018, Page 3 of 5

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 increments paid in advance. Gates believed Trump may have

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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 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.

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

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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.

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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

Continuation of FD-302 of 10/29/2018 , On 10/29/2018 , Page 4 of 5

[Redacted]

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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.

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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]

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[Redacted]

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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]. [Redacted] also worked on the campaign.

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[Redacted] was a [Redacted] donor to the Trump campaign and raised a ton of money for the [Redacted]. [Redacted] Gates opined that [Redacted].

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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

Continuation of FD-302 of 10/29/2018 , On 10/29/2018 , Page 5 of 5

[Redacted]

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[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

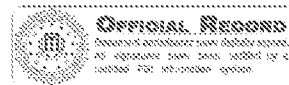
The [Redacted] per month pay schedule possibly included [Redacted]

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At some point in time, [Redacted]
[Redacted]

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

[Redacted]



UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

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:

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[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]

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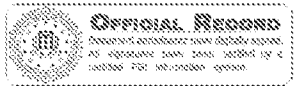
UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

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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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:

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

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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.

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[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] [Redacted] asked GATES about it.

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GATES last spoke to [Redacted]

*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.

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

Investigation on 11/14/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (Phone) [Redacted]
File # [Redacted] Date drafted 11/19/2018
by [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of RICK GATES 11/14

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018 , On 11/14/2018 , Page 2 of 2

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.

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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]

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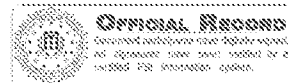
[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]



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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 01/17/2019

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On 11/7/2018, SA [Redacted] SA [Redacted] FOA [Redacted] 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] 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.

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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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

by [Redacted]

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b7E(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of RICK GATES 11/7

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018 [REDACTED], On 11/07/2018, Page 2 of 2

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] 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 [REDACTED] 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.

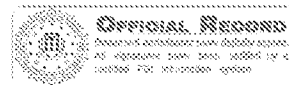
By inauguration time, the list had been substantially expanded.

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

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[Redacted]



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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:

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Great America

Great America was a PAC run by COREY LEWANDOWSKI. Great America had been started with a donation of [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[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]

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UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of RICK GATES 11/7

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018 SCO , On 11/07/2018 , Page 2 of 4

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

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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] introduced MANAFORT to [redacted] in hopes that MANAFORT could assist with [redacted] PR goals. GATES was not sure if MANAFORT knew [redacted] personally.

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In 2013, [redacted] reached out regarding payment.

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

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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].

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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

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UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of RICK GATES 11/7

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018 SCO, On 11/07/2018, Page 3 of 4

MANAFORT drafted the memo in preparation for a meeting with TRUMP. He had discussed the memo with STONE. 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]

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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]

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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]

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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.

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"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

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018 SCO

, On 11/07/2018 , Page 4 of 4

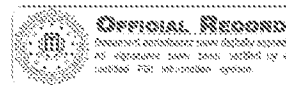
[Redacted] while [Redacted]

[Redacted] was referred to as [Redacted]

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[Redacted]



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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 11/19/2018

On 11/7/2018, SA [Redacted] Senior Financial Investigator [Redacted] [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.

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

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YANUKOVYCH's "Family"

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[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]

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

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

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018 MLARS, On 11/07/2018, Page 2 of 3

[Redacted]

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GATES could not recall specifically, [Redacted]
[Redacted]

BOYKO

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

Additional Individuals

[Redacted] previously had worked for [Redacted]

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[Redacted] had talked about acquiring [Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018 MLARS, On 11/07/2018, Page 3 of 3

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GATES had heard rumors that [Redacted] had been involved in [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted] were doing work in the US (NFI).

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ALEX VAN DER ZWAAN had told GATES [Redacted]

[Redacted]

After POR Fled

When POR fled, [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted] Many of those who fled

[Redacted]

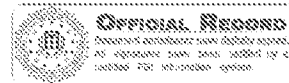
GATES had heard rumors that YANUKOVYCH had to pay [Redacted] price of [Redacted] [Redacted] for his home.

[Redacted] a lower level person in Party of Regions (POR), had looked at a property in [Redacted]

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AKHMETOV [Redacted]

[Redacted] had looked at property in [Redacted] (NFI).



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 03/15/2018

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.

US Consultants Program Background

After Viktor Yanukovych won the 2010 Presidential election in Ukraine, Manafort began presenting the idea of creating a US and European government relations (GR) and public relations (PR) campaign aimed at promoting Ukraine's entry into the European Union (EU). Manafort was the driver behind Ukraine's Association Agreement and Free Trade Agreement with the EU.

When Yanukovych agreed to Manafort's idea to implement a coordinated GR /PR strategy, Manafort and Gates began doing research on which firms in Europe and the US would be used. During this process, Manafort and Gates learned some members of the Party of Regions (PoR) had already hired their own GR/PR firms to represent individual business interests. For example,, the Minister of Finance had hired APCO; another PoR minister had hired Edelman; yet another PoR minister had hired [Redacted] and the Minister of Agriculture had hired a different GR/PR firm.

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In response to the disorganization caused by different PoR ministers having different GR/PR firms, Yanukovych held a "big meeting". Gates was not present at this meeting, but Manafort was. Manafort relayed to Gates that during the meeting, Yanukovych decided to consolidate the GR/PR effort. Yanukovych appointed Sergei Kluyiev to manage the effort with Manafort. The program was referred to as the "Anti Crisis" program.

Investigation on 02/01/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 02/01/2018

by [Redacted]

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[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #4, On 02/01/2018, Page 2 of 23

Manafort and Gates made a list of various firms in Europe and the US and came up with a budget for the Anti Crisis program. Project Hapsburg was included under the umbrella of this program.

The ECFMU

When Manafort and Gates began working with Kluyiev, they learned he had already created the European Centre for a Modern Ukraine (ECFMU). It was typical for Ukrainian politicians to set up non-governmental organizations (NGOs) like the ECFMU to handle lobbying efforts. The reason for this was to avoid Ukraine's procurement process. Ukraine's procurement process prohibited the hiring of lobbying firms in general and also limited the budget for government contracts to \$1 million. To get around these limitations, government officials would use NGOs as the vehicle to hire lobbying firms, or manage contracts in excess of \$1 million. Generally, the NGOs were established outside of Ukraine. By way of example, Rinat Akhmetov's had an NGO in the US in which US Senators were involved.

Kluyiev asked Manafort to meet with [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] was also involved in the

[REDACTED] Prior to this, Gates had never met [REDACTED]

Later, [REDACTED] started working for Prime Minister Azarov. In contrast to Kluyiev, Azarov did not believe in aligning Ukraine with Europe. This caused tension because [REDACTED] was trying to do the bidding of both Azarov and Kluyiev, but their missions were not aligned.

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[REDACTED] ended up working together a lot as they were both on the ground in Ukraine, but they did not get along. Gates described [REDACTED]

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Manafort and Gates met with [REDACTED] It was decided that [REDACTED] would handle the European based firms while Manafort and Gates handled the US based firms. Gates and [REDACTED] interviewed a number of consulting firms in Brussels, London and Paris. Kluyiev had strong ideas as it related to the European firms. Gates and [REDACTED] looked at Fleischman Hillard, APCO, Burson Marsteller and other firms Gates could not recall. Gates believed

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #4, On 02/01/2018, Page 3 of 23

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he and [REDACTED] looked at 7-8 different firms and ultimately settled on 3 or 4 of them.

Manafort chose the US consultants. Manafort felt strongly about hiring [REDACTED] Mercury/Clark & Weinstock (MCW) to handle the Republican side. [REDACTED]

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Manafort also identified 3 firms for the Democrat side and ultimately settled on [REDACTED] The Podesta Group (PDG). Gates recalled he and Manafort looked at [REDACTED] Prime Policy, as well as Burson Marsteller and one other firm before deciding on PDG. Gates believed Manafort chose PDG because they did a significant amount of international business.

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Gates looked at a firm in New York called NP3, or something similar to that, [REDACTED] There was one other firm in New York which Manafort looked at, but they already had a contract with Gazprom and therefore had a conflict of interest.

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When asked what [REDACTED] was in choosing the consultants, Gates stated he and Manafort took the lead on interviewing the firms in the US, but [REDACTED] joined in that effort at some point. Gates stated that [REDACTED] was "in control", but she deferred to Manafort on the US firms.

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Gates made the initial contact with PDG and MCW, but Manafort participated in the initial meeting to provide overview. [REDACTED] also met with PDG and MCW, but at a later time. Gates believed PDG and MCW were hired shortly after [REDACTED] met with them. Initially [REDACTED] was not very involved with PDG and MCW, but [REDACTED] became more involved over time.

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Gates was asked why the ECFMU was used as the "client" for PDG and MCW. Gates explained that Manafort was "mandated" to work with Kluyiev on the Anti Crisis project. Kluyiev had already set up the ECFMU prior to Manafort and Gates working with him. The ECFMU had been set up so Kluyiev could avoid procurement issues. Gates did not know if Yanukovych even knew what the ECFMU was, or that it existed.

Gates learned about Ukraine's procurement process when he started working on the Skadden Report. Gates was reminded that the client for the Skadden Report was the Ukrainian Ministry of Justice.

Gates was asked why an NGO was not used for the Skadden Report if the purpose was to avoid procurement issues. Gates stated that the GR/PR campaigns were going to cost more than the \$1 million allowed by the Ukrainian procurement process and therefore an NGO was used to avoid this

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #4, On 02/01/2018, Page 4 of 23

limitation. Gates was reminded that Skadden was paid more than \$1 million for the Skadden Report.

Gates stated that Skadden was paid \$1 million directly by the Ministry of Justice and then paid an additional \$4 million through Manafort controlled accounts in Cyprus. Manafort and [REDACTED] arranged for the additional payments through Manafort controlled accounts in Cyprus to supplement the payments which came directly from the Ministry of Justice.

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Gates was asked why an NGO was used for the GR/PR firms, but not for Skadden Report if the purpose for using an NGO was to allow for payments in excess of \$1 million. Gates stated that the Ministry of Justice paid Skadden a "nominal amount", but an oligarch funded the additional \$4 million paid to Skadden through Manafort's accounts.

Gates explained that the GR/PR firms were paid between \$3-\$5 million total. For this reason, an NGO was needed to bypass Ukraine's procurement process. Oligarchs financed the payments to the GR/PR firms by wiring money to Manafort controlled accounts in Cyprus. Manafort then wired the money to the GR/PR firms. Gates believed some of the funding from the oligarchs also went to the ECFMU which was responsible for paying the GR/PR firms in Europe.

Gates was asked again why an NGO was used for PDG and MCW, but not for the Skadden Report since both avoided the procurement issue by funneling oligarch money through Manafort's accounts in Cyprus.

Gates stated that the Ministry of Justice needed to be the client for the Skadden Report. The purpose of the Skadden Report was to make it appear that the Ukrainian government was hiring Skadden to do an independent review of the Tymoshenko matter.

In contrast, if the government of Ukraine were the client for PDG and MCW, it would reduce the credibility of the message. PDG and MCW's lobbying campaigns were more credible if their client was an independent NGO and not the government of Ukraine.

Kluyev was using the ECFMU for the lobbying campaigns in Europe and he directed Manafort and Gates to use the ECFMU for the contracts with PDG and MCW. Gates initially said he did not know why Kluyev wanted this. Gates then said, the ECFMU provided the appearance of an arms length distance between PDG and MCW's lobbying and the government of Ukraine. The ECFMU provided an appearance that the positions for which PDG and MCW were lobbying were independent from the government of Ukraine and PoR. One reason for using the ECFMU was for this air of legitimacy.

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #4, On 02/01/2018, Page 5 of 23

The use of the ECFMU was not Manafort or Gates' decision, it was Kluyiev's. The ECFMU served a dual purpose, it helped avoid the procurement issue and it legitimized the message being spread by PDG and MCW.

The ECFMU was originally designed for work in Europe, hence the name and the mission statement being focused on outreach to Europe. The reason lobbying shops in the US were hired was because the US had the ability to leverage their influence on European governments in favor of Ukraine.

The ECFMU was a small organization with 4 staff members: [redacted] [redacted] had good contacts within European parliaments. [redacted] was aggressive, but her English was weak and she had to hire a translator to work with the ECFMU. [redacted] spoke German and Ukrainian.

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Gates' relationship with [redacted] was "pretty good" as they spent a considerable amount of time together. Gates thought [redacted] was "competent", but rough around the edges. [redacted] did not understand the nuances of politics, but she was tough.

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The ECFMU was supposed to pay PDG and MCW directly, but Kluyiev and Manafort decided that they would be paid through Manafort controlled accounts instead. Gates believed this was because one oligarch paid for the US lobbying campaign and a different oligarch paid for the European lobbying campaign.

This became a problem in 2013 and 2014 when the Cypriot banking crisis occurred and Manafort and Gates had difficulty moving large sums of money out of the Cypriot accounts.

There were discussions with MCW about setting up a US Center for a Modern Ukraine for outreach in the US; however, this never materialized. Gates recalled meeting with [redacted] and others at MCW about this issue. Gates thought [redacted] may have participated in this conversation via conference call. Gates was not sure, but thought he may have included [redacted] in this conversation as well.

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Initially, Gates had a closer and more open relationship with MCW [redacted] However, over time, Gates found PDG to be more organized and to produce more relevant work product than MCW. Gates' speculated that PDG was more successful because they were a Democrat firm working within the Obama Administration.

PDG was bigger, more experienced and had a larger foreign client base. MCW was weak on Congressional outreach, but strong on think tanks

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #4, On 02/01/2018, Page 6 of 23

and NGOs. [REDACTED] but MCW was still weaker on the Hill than PDG. Gates tried to get PDG and MCW to compete for the PR piece of the contract. MCW had recently merged with a PR firm, but in the end PDG ended up with the PR contract.

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The Client

Gates was shown an email from him to [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Gates was directed to the portion of his email which read:

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[REDACTED]

Thank you for your time on Friday. As discussed, I would like to meet with you and some of your team in regards to representing the Government of Ukraine in DC."

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Gates could not recall when he first mentioned the ECFMU to PDG and/or MCW. Initially, Gates told [REDACTED] that the client would be the government of Ukraine.

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By the time of the email above, Gates already knew that the ECFMU was being used for the European lobbying firms, but he did not think the decision to use the ECFMU for the US lobbying firms had been made yet. Gates believed sometime in, or around March 2012, Manafort and Kluyiev had a conversation in which it was decided that the ECFMU should be used for the US lobbying firms as well.

Regardless of whether the client was the ECFMU or the government of Ukraine, the lobbying firms would be representing the government of Ukraine. Yanukovich had designated Kluyiev to handle this matter and Kluyiev wanted to use the ECFMU. With, or without the ECFMU, the lobbying campaign was for PoR and was authorized specifically by Yanukovich.

Gates was shown an email from [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Gates was directed to a portion of [REDACTED] email which read:

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"In a short conversation with Rick Gates this evening I have the following update:

1. The contracting body will be the newly registered European Centre for Modern Ukraine. This was recently registered in Brussels. Rick said that its basis is to be open and transparent as possible.

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #4, On 02/01/2018, Page 7 of 23

2. It has been established by the ruling Party of the Regions. The actual money "will come from the Government". Payment will be in advance."

Gates had contact with [redacted] when he was interviewing Fleischman Hillard to be one of the European based lobbying firms. [redacted] [redacted] Fleischman Hillard to handle the entire European campaign as they had good contacts in the UK parliament and cabinet positions and had affiliates in Paris, France.

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Ultimately, Burson Marsteller ended up doing a better job on the GR side and Fleischman Hillard was used primarily to do the digital campaign.

[redacted] about the ECFMU. Gates told [redacted] the ECFMU had been established by PoR and that the government of Ukraine was the client. Gates clarified that the ECFMU was established by Kluyiev and not by PoR. Kluyiev established the ECFMU on behalf of the government of Ukraine and in his capacity as the First Prime Minister of Ukraine. PoR was the ruling party at the time, but Gates thought it was more accurate to describe the ECFMU as established by the government of Ukraine as opposed to by PoR.

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With respect to how Fleischman Hillard would be paid, Gates believed he told [redacted] that the funds would come from various business interests, but he could not recall for sure. Gates did not think he would have provided specific information to [redacted] about who was funding the lobbying campaign. Gates understood that the paymaster oligarchs did not want to be named.

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The "Agreement"

Gates was shown email communication between [redacted]

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[redacted] Attached to this email was a document titled "Agreement" which read as follows:

"In consideration of services to be rendered by the Podesta Group:

1. The European Centre for a Modern Ukraine ("the Centre") does represent and certify the following be true and correct to the best of my knowledge:

[REDACTED]

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a. The Centre is is [sic] "a partnership, association, corporation, organization, or other combination of persons organized under the laws of or having its principal [sic] place of business in a foreign country" under 611(b) (3).

b. None of the activities of the Centre are directly or indirectly supervised, directed, controlled, financed, or subsidized in whole or in major part by a government of a foreign country or a foreign political party.

2. Should the representations made under Paragraph 1 no longer be true and correct, or should the facts underlying the representations change, I agree to inform the Podesta Group immediately."

Gates was also shown email communication between Gates and [REDACTED] dated [REDACTED] Attached to that email communication was the executed version of the "Agreement" [REDACTED]

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Gates was asked if paragraph 1B of the "Agreement" was accurate. Gates stated that per [REDACTED] Kluyiev, in his capacity as an individual, financed the ECFMU. [REDACTED] told Gates funding for the ECFMU did not come from PoR or the government of Ukraine. Gates explained that "perception can be muddled" because Kluyiev was both the First Prime Minister of Ukraine and a private citizen. Gates believed Kluyiev was working as a private citizen with regards to the ECFMU.

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Gates was asked if the lobbying and public relations effort conducted by PDG and MCW was done for Kluyiev, as a private citizen, or for PoR or the government of Ukraine. Gates stated that there was "no question" the government of Ukraine, including Kluyiev and other government officials "weighed in" on how to direct PDG and MCW.

Gates was asked why he and Manafort updated Yanukovich on PDG and MCW's activities and communicated with Yanukovich on strategy for the lobbying effort in the US if PDG and MCW were working for Kluyiev as a private citizen. Gates stated that these updates were to Yanukovich, in his capacity as President of Ukraine. Furthermore, Yanukovich had designated Kluyiev to handle the Anti Crisis program on behalf of PoR.

Gates was the day-to-day point of contact for PDG and MCW's lobbying effort. Gates provided directions and feedback to PDG and MCW. Gates was not employed by the ECFMU and did not work for [REDACTED] Gates was not paid by the ECFMU either. Although [REDACTED] had some input on the direction of the Anti Crisis program in the US, Gates did not take orders from her.

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[REDACTED]

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Gates' orders came from Manafort. Gates also relayed information to Manafort. On occasion, Gates updated [REDACTED] as well.

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Gates worked for DMP. DMP worked for PoR. Gates' work as it related to the Anti Crisis program was on behalf of DMP and DMP's contract with PoR.

[REDACTED] was minimally involved in the Anti Crisis program in the US. PDG and MCW were chosen by Manafort and Gates, not [REDACTED]. Gates recalled [REDACTED] questioning Manafort about the decision to hire PDG and MCW. Specifically, [REDACTED] asked Manafort if he was comfortable with the the firms.

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Given the fact that the ECFMU was under the direction and control of the government of Ukraine and/or PoR, Gates was asked if he told PDG and MCW that paragraph 1.b. of the "Agreement" was indeed false. Gates did not tell PDG and/or MCW that 1.b. was false, [REDACTED] clear who was behind the ECFMU. Gates had originally represented to [REDACTED] that the client would be the government of Ukraine. When the ECFMU was brought up, nothing changed but the name of the client. [REDACTED] knew the client was still the government of Ukraine.

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While working with the ECFMU, Gates took direction from Manafort who was relaying instructions from Kluyiev, Lyovochkin and sometimes [REDACTED].

The instructions were for Gates to implement the "mission" of the ECFMU. At the time the "Agreement" was signed, Gates did not know anyone within PoR was involved, other than Kluyiev.

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Gates was reminded that he knew Yanukovych had approved the Anti Crisis program and designated Kluyiev to lead that effort on behalf of the PoR and government of Ukraine. Gates stated that he knew Yanukovych had "green lighted" the Anti Crisis program and put Kluyiev in charge of it. Gates also understood that DMP was tasked to work with Kluyiev and the ECFMU to further the Anti Crisis program.

Gates was asked again if paragraph 1.b. was an accurate statement. Gates stated that he thought it was an accurate statement at the onset, but overtime, he realized it was not truthful.

Gates was reminded that he previously said Yanukovych directed the Anti Crisis program and the ECFMU was only used to avoid procurement issues and provide legitimacy to the lobbying campaign as being independent from PoR and/or the government of Ukraine. Gates was also reminded that he previously said the lobbying effort was originally going to be for the government of Ukraine directly until it was decided that the ECFMU could be used. Finally, Gates was reminded that he told [REDACTED] the ECFMU was an arm of PoR and/or the government of Ukraine.

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[REDACTED]

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Gates stated he knew paragraph 1.b. was incorrect and they were "being cute". Gates knew Kluyiev reported to Yanukovych. Kluyiev may have had some personal reasons for being involved, but ultimately, Kluyiev was acting under the direction of Yanukovych.

Gates was shown email communication between Gates, [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Gates was directed to the portion of his email which read:

"3. Reviewing the last 6-months what are the strengths and weaknesses you have seen (this can include those of the team and those of the client. For example, the Durbin resolution showed us that the client is extremely weak in Congress even with an Embassy present)".

Gates stated that in this email the reference to the "client" was the government of Ukraine and not the ECFMU.

Gates was clear with PDG and MCW that the client was the government of Ukraine. Gates made references to information provided to Yanukovych and gave a clear understanding that updates from PDG and MCW were going to those inside Yanukovych's government like Lyovochkin and Kluyiev. Gates told PDG and MCW about Manafort's meetings with the "President", or the "big guy" and made references to instructions coming from "Kiev", Yanukovych, or Yanukovych's office. Gates did not hide the fact that the government of Ukraine was the client. No one from PDG or MCW ever questioned why the work was for the government of Ukraine or why Yanukovych was receiving updates on the lobbying effort.

From the beginning, PDG and MCW knew the lobbying effort was on behalf of the government of Ukraine because Gates told them this. No one from PDG or MCW ever questioned if the ECFMU was separate from the government of Ukraine.

FARA Versus LDA

[REDACTED] were "absolutely aware" that the ECFMU was controlled and directed by the government of Ukraine. Early on, PDG was moving toward a FARA filing somewhat "aggressively". Gates recalled PDG was only waiting on a copy of the contracts to complete their filing.

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Gates stated "in the end, we got cute". The ECFMU was an NGO based in Brussels and it was funded by oligarchs. However, the oligarchs financing the ECFMU were doing so as instructed by Yanukovych and on behalf of the government of Ukraine. Initially, the ECFMU "checked the boxed" to avoid

[REDACTED]

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FARA, but as time progressed, it was clear that paragraph 1.b. was not correct.

Break

A break was taken from approximately 12:10 PM until approximately 1:40 PM. During that break, not in the presence of his counsel and without any question posed to him, Gates made the following statements to SA [REDACTED]

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Gates asked SA [REDACTED] how FD 302s were approved. Gates heard allegations in the media that Andrew McCabe had directed agents to alter their FD302s. When Gates reviewed the FD302 from his 2014 interview with the FBI in discovery, he noted inaccuracies. Gates' attorney's notes from the interview corroborate the fact that the FD302 had inaccuracies. Gates asked if he was permitted to review the FD302s from his interviews. Gates asked what his recourse was if the information in the FD302s was inaccurate.

Gates was told the following by SA [REDACTED]:

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FD302s were prepared by agents and approved by supervisors before being finalized in the FBI's database. Witnesses did not review their FD302s. As to Gates' question about what recourse he had if an FD302 was inaccurate, if an agent testified to information that Gates deemed inaccurate, Gates' attorney could cross examine the agent on the information. In addition, in Gates' defense, he could bring in evidence, such as attorney notes, or testimony by anyone present during the interview.

When the interview resumed at around 1:40 PM and Special Counsel Prosecutors and Gates' counsel were present, the above information was relayed to Gates' counsel, in Gates' presence. Gates confirmed that the relayed information was accurate and represented the totality of the substantive conversation which occurred outside the presence of counsel.

FARA Versus LDA Continued

Gates was asked if the "Agreement" was created so PDG and MCW could avoid registering under FARA. Gates stated he did not think so. As stated before, PDG was preparing to file FARA prior to the "Agreement". Gates did not think MCW had prepared a FARA filing. During this time, [REDACTED] said they were going to have Skadden attorney [REDACTED] give an opinion on whether FARA was needed. Gates was told [REDACTED] was a FARA expert.

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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In the first meeting with [REDACTED] sometime in March or April 2012, the details of the GR and PR work were laid out to [REDACTED] said FARA needed to be filed. Sometime after this, [REDACTED] went back to [REDACTED] with more information on the ECFMU. [REDACTED] if the ECFMU was not a foreign government or political party, they would not need to file FARA.

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[REDACTED] created the "Agreement" to obviate the need for a FARA registration. [REDACTED] wanted something in writing from the ECFMU which they could use as "CYA". The "Agreement" was just that as it allowed PDG and MCW to say, "Look! They said they're not a foreign government or foreign political party."

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[REDACTED] opinion that PDG and MCW did not need to register under FARA was premised upon the facts listed in the "Agreement", to include paragraph 1. b. However, those facts were not accurate. No one told [REDACTED] that the ECFMU was directly, or indirectly controlled, directed or supervised by the government of Ukraine and/or PoR.

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Gates was asked if he ever affirmatively told [REDACTED] that the ECFMU was not connected to the government of Ukraine. Gates stated he could not recall. Gates believed it was possible he told [REDACTED] there was no connection between the two, but he could not recall for sure. Gates then stated he "could easily have represented this" to [REDACTED]

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Gates characterized the misrepresentations and/or omissions regarding the ECFMU's connection to the government of Ukraine as "being cute". Gates said the argument could be made that the ECFMU was not connected to the government of Ukraine. However, Gates knew the ECFMU was indeed connected to the government of Ukraine. The goal was to make the ECFMU the direct client for the lobbying campaign and keep the government of Ukraine out of it. The lobbying campaign needed to appear to be at arms length from the government for its message to be more credible.

Gates knew [REDACTED] recommendation to file LDA was based upon misrepresentations of the facts. Gates, [REDACTED] all knew the facts were misrepresented.

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A break was taken from approximately 2:38 PM until approximately 2:48 PM.

The misrepresentations in the "Agreement" allowed PDG and MCW to avoid a FARA filing. Gates knew he was participating in their evasion of FARA

[REDACTED]

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by providing false and misleading information to [REDACTED] Gates understood that his false and misleading information resulted in PDG and MCW's violation of FARA.

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The main issue was having the GR/PR message appear legitimate and at arms length from the government of Ukraine. Central to the ECFMU's legitimacy was that they appear independent from the government of Ukraine. Had PDG and MCW filed FARA, they would have had to disclose the direction and control of the ECFMU by the government of Ukraine. This would have "killed", or undermined any credibility of the ECFMU's message.

Gates added that disclosure on the FARA filing is more detailed than disclosure on the Lobbying Disclosure Act (LDA) filing. In addition, to the other reasons stated, registering under FARA gives your opponents insight into your firm's activities.

Originally, Gates did not care if PDG or MCW filed FARA. This was why Gates initially proposed the representation as for the government of Ukraine. However, when [REDACTED] said there was a way to avoid registering under FARA if the ECFMU attested they were not directed or controlled by the government of Ukraine, this changed things.

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Gates talked to [REDACTED] about the options of FARA and LDA. [REDACTED] was concerned that FARA would disclose the names of various Ukrainians controlling and financing the ECFMU. Specifically, [REDACTED] did not want Kluyiev's name on the filing. [REDACTED] was also concerned that the disclosures in FARA would undermine the ECFMU's credibility.

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Ultimately, the decision to not file FARA and use the LDA option instead was made by [REDACTED]. The only way to accomplish this was to misrepresent the facts in the "Agreement". The "Agreement" was created as a means to allow PDG and MCW to avoid FARA.

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Gates was shown an email dated January 29, 2013 from [REDACTED] [REDACTED] which read as follows:

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[REDACTED]

Gates recalled a second meeting with [REDACTED] but he did not realize it occurred so much after the first meeting. Gates vaguely recalled participating in the meeting. [REDACTED] someone who worked for MCW, told [REDACTED] he was uncomfortable with the representation of the ECFMU and government of Ukraine. This raised a discussion with PDG and MCW about how to structure the representation and how to handle FARA registration.

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Gates reiterated that [redacted] knew from the very beginning of the representation that the client was the government of Ukraine. Gates recalled a conversation with [redacted] in which [redacted] asked to whom Manafort was relaying information about the GR/PR campaigns. Gates told [redacted] that Manafort was communicating with the President of Ukraine.

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Congressman Dana Rohrabacher

Gates was shown an email between him and [redacted] [redacted] Gates was directed to the portion of his email which read:

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[redacted]

Gates asked [redacted] to assist in finding an American to put on the ECFMU's board. This conversation arose from concerns that there were two PoR members on the ECFMU's board. [redacted] told Gates that it was difficult to make the ECFMU look independent from PoR when the board was PoR. Although there was talk of putting someone from the US and someone from Europe on the board, it never happened. Gates believed [redacted]

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Gates was shown a document from Mercury/Clark & Weinstock (MCW) to Gates dated December 14, 2012 and further identified by the bates number MercGJ_10583-MercGJ_10591.

Gates stated that [redacted] asked him to obtain strategy documents from MCW and the Podesta Group (PDG). [redacted] told Gates the contracts with the lobbying firms were renewed on an annual basis and the strategy document was needed to understand a summary of the previous year's activities to "pass up the chain". [redacted]

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Gates was directed to the portion of the document with the heading "Key Stakeholder Relationship Building Program" and specifically, Gates was directed to subheading, "Session 2: State of Ukraine with Paul Manafort" which read,

"In our second meeting with each office, where we see it appropriate, Mr. Manafort will join our lobbying team on the Hill and in the greater Washington community to effectively narrate the progression of Ukraine through the last ten to fifteen years. With his depth of knowledge on the

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

nation, we hope to be able to engage Members and senior staff on just how important Ukraine is in the greater geo-political context, and how close the country is to truly becoming a full-fledged member of the European community. We will also work to set meetings for Mr. Manafort with potential Republican candidates for President in 2016.

Congressional Meetings:

Sen. Bob Corker (R-TN): 2013 Ranking Member, Senate Foreign Relations Committee

Rep. Ed Royce (R-CA): 2013 Chairman, Foreign Affairs Committee

Chairman, Subcommittee on Europe & Eurasia, House Foreign Affairs Committee [Rep. Burton retiring, replacement TBD]..."

Gates stated that the listed names were targets of MCW's lobbying campaign. Shortly after this was written, Congressman Rohrabacher was named as the Chairman, Subcommittee on Europe & Eurasia, House Foreign Affairs Committee.

The Chairman of the Subcommittee on Europe & Eurasia was important to the lobbying campaign because Ukraine was handled by this committee.

Gates was shown an email from him to [Redacted]

[Redacted]

which read,

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[Redacted]

Gates helped set up a dinner between Manafort, [Redacted] Rohrabacher. [Redacted] had given Gates a list of potential people for Manafort to meet with and Rohrabacher was one of the people on that list. Gates believe [Redacted] and one other person were identified by [Redacted] for meetings with Manafort. [Redacted]

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Gates was shown an email between Gates, [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Gates was directed to [Redacted] email which read,

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[Redacted]

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Gates stated the

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Gates was shown an email thread dated April 19, 2013 between Gates,

Gates was directed to his email
which read,

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Paul is meeting with the President on Monday of next week. We need to put together a quarterly report with all of the highlights. I need you guys to prepare the draft report by COB Friday. The report should include key progress made, all relevant meetings (State, Robrbacher [sic], etc). We need to showcase what we have done in the last 3 months. Let's include as much as possible and then we can edit down."

Gates stated he was asking PDG and MCW for updates on what had been done so Manafort could brief Yanukovych. These updates included meetings with [redacted] at the State Department and Congressman Rohrabacher.

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[redacted] was the Deputy Chief of Staff to John Kerry. The purpose for reaching out to [redacted] was to discuss the State Department's policy issues as it related to Ukraine and Ukrainian government officials. One of the reasons the government of Ukraine commissioned the Skadden Report was to combat the US State Department's view that Ukraine had violated Tymoshenko's rights and the fear that the State Department was going to take action against Ukraine, or Ukrainian government officials in response.

Skadden attorneys told Gates they found evidence that Tymoshenko's due process was violated during her trial. In addition, they found legal procedural violations by Tymoshenko's defense team. Skadden found that

[REDACTED]

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the statute under which Tymoshenko was charged was not appropriate because Tymoshenko did not have the authorization to sign the contract in question. Skadden looked at a series of other government officials in Europe who had done similar acts to Tymoshenko, but had not been prosecuted. Ultimately, the Skadden Report did not go as far as the government of Ukraine would have wanted in justifying Tymoshenko's imprisonment. However, the government of Ukraine and Skadden went back and forth "to massage" how the report was worded.

As for the meeting with Rohrabacher, [REDACTED] told Gates the meeting went well, but was focussed on Russia and China. Rohrabacher felt strongly that the only way to keep China "in check" was to work with Russia. [REDACTED] did not tell Gates that Ukraine came up during the meeting.

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Manafort later told Gates that Ukraine did not come up during the meeting with Rohrabacher.

The original intention of the meeting between Manafort, [REDACTED] and Rohrabacher was to talk about Ukraine. Rohrabacher was named the Chairman of the Subcommittee on Europe and Eurasia and was an important contact for the lobbying campaign. However, Manafort said the conversation never turned to Ukraine. Manafort told Gates that Rohrabacher only talked about China and Russia.

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Gates was shown email communication between Gates and [REDACTED] dated January 16, 2013 which included an attached memo from Manafort to Yanukovych and if further identified by bates number MercGJ2_16855-MercGJ2_16857.

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Gates stated that the purpose of the memorandum from Manafort to Yanukovych was to address the resolutions proposed in US Congress which condemned Ukraine for the handling of Yulia Tymoshenko's imprisonment.

Gates was directed to the portion of the memorandum which read,

"In addition, we have reached out to Rep. Rohrabacher, Chairman of the Subcommittee on Europe, Eurasia and Emerging Threats, as an added measure in case H.R. 28 is referred to his subcommittee. We will brief his office and staff on the resolutions and ensure that they are not considered."

Gates stated that Representative Marcy Kaptur had introduced two resolutions regarding Ukraine. Kaptur was the Co-Chairman of the Ukrainian Caucus and her resolutions were not that strong. PDG and MCW had been directed to reach out to Representative Smith, who headed the Helsinki Commission, as well as Congressman Rohrabacher in an effort to influence Kaptur to "back off".

[REDACTED]

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Most of Congress was against the government of Ukraine. Gates had PDG and MCW create a target list of potential allies who could be used to obtain information on potential resolutions and who would influence other Congress members' views. Prior to Kaptur's resolution, Senators Durbin and Inhofe had proposed resolutions which were supported by Senator McCain. MCW and PDG reached out to allies in the Senate, to include Mnuchin and Corker to try and stop the Durbin and Inhofe resolutions. Mnuchin and Durbin ended up getting in a fight over this matter so Mnuchin backed down.

The strategy shifted from influencing senators directly to influencing constituents in districts with large Ukrainian-American populations. This was done in Illinois.

Attempts were made to lobby McCain as well. The feeling was that McCain would be more open to the conversation after the Skadden Report was released and he could see there were two sides to the story. Gates did not know if Manafort ever reached out to McCain directly, but [REDACTED] did. [REDACTED] told Gates he met with McCain and tried to talk to him about Ukraine. [REDACTED] said McCain's response was not good.

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In the US, the ECFMU was seen as a "front" for PoR, or at least PoR-leaning. There were some who thought the ECFMU was at least a good start.

The FARA Unit

In 2016, after Manafort had left the Trump Campaign, the FARA Unit began looking into DMP's work as it related to PDG, MCW and the ECFMU. In response to requests for documents related to this representation, Gates provided DMP's [REDACTED] with a document titled, "Email Retention Policy".

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Sometime in or around 2012 or 2013, DMP had been hacked. As a result, Manafort had Gates contact DMP's [REDACTED] to implement an email retention policy. Gates downloaded a copy of an email retention policy from the internet. Gates believed he created this document in or around April 2014.

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In response, [REDACTED] put parameters and settings on DMP's server which deleted emails after a set period of time. Gates believed the emails were deleted every 30 days. If Manafort or Gates wanted to keep the emails, they could archive them by putting them into a folder. However, if not moved to another folder, the emails would be permanently deleted from the server.

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In addition to this policy, which automatically deleted many emails, Gates had also "purged" ECFMU related emails prior to 2016.

When the FARA Unit requested documentation, Gates provided some documents and Manafort said he did not have any to provide. Gates provided [redacted] with a copy of the email retention policy to explain why so few documents were provided. b6 b7C

In Gates' search for emails and/or documents relevant to the FARA Unit's inquiry, he did not "scour" his files and did not reach out to [redacted] for assistance in searching or retrieving emails and/or documents. Gates only searched on the key word "ECFMU". Gates found some documents as a result of this search. Gates did not look for, or provide, any documents or emails related to DMP's work for PoR. Gates did not search his laptop for any emails which may have been saved. Gates did not conduct a search for any key words other than ECFMU. b6 b7C

The email retention policy implemented by Manafort was "not very adhered to". The original reason for the policy was to clean up DMP's server.

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[redacted] arranged for the server to delete emails ever 30 days, but Manafort and Gates could maintain emails on their computers and/or phones, or put the emails into folders to keep them from being deleted. b6 b7C

A break was taken from approximately 3:20 PM until 3:30 PM.

Tom Green Statements

After the break, Gates' counsel, Green made the following statements:

Within the last few days, Gates contacted [redacted] in an effort to retrieve emails from DMP's server. Gates' counsel, Green, [redacted] were listening to his call with [redacted]. On the call, Gates asked [redacted] when the policy went into effect and [redacted] said sometime in 2014. [redacted] also said that emails are deleted off the server unless they are put into an archive folder. [redacted] confirmed that emails deleted from the server, which were not saved elsewhere, could not be retrieved. Gates did not ask [redacted] about any specific emails and did not address the issue of emails saved on laptops or phones. b6 b7C

[REDACTED]

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The FARA Unit Continued

Gates was asked if the purpose of providing [REDACTED] with the retention policy was to give the impression that there were only a minimal number of responsive documents. Gates stated that was the purpose. Gates only provided a minimal amount of documents to [REDACTED] and the retention policy answered the question as to why there were so few. The retention policy was misleading and used as an excuse to not provide more documents.

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Gates had other responsive documents in his possession and control which he did not provide. Gates specified that he only had a few emails, but he had more documents which he did not provide.

Gates knew Manafort was not providing any documents. Manafort said he could not find any responsive documents. Gates was surprised that Manafort did not provide any documents, but Manafort was not technologically advanced. Manafort said he had searched for documents, but could not find any. Gates did not know if this was true or not.

Prior to providing any documents to [REDACTED] Gates went through the responsive documents Gates had in his possession and control with Manafort. Manafort asked Gates not to provide some documents. Specifically, Manafort asked Gates not to provide the incorporation documents for the ECFM, or the contracts with PDG and MCW.

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DMP FARA Obligation

Gates believed if he was not the person directly lobbying, he did not have an obligation to file FARA. Gates now knows this is not the case. If Gates or Manafort were directly participating in the lobbying or public relations campaign in the US, DMP would need to file FARA. Gates stated he was only an employee of DMP and not responsible for DMP's FARA filings.

Gates' understanding of FARA came from conversations with an attorney many years ago. However, at the time of this conversation, DMP was only doing work in Ukraine and there was no need to register under FARA.

The reason DMP hired PDG and MCW to handle the lobbying campaign was because Manafort did not want to engage in lobbying in the US and therefore have to register under FARA.

In 2006 or 2007, when the issue of FARA originally came up, Manafort told Gates he did not want to have to disclose contracts with PoR, or payments to DMP pursuant to those contracts. At that time, Manafort had meetings with the US Ambassador in Ukraine and there was a question as to

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whether that triggered FARA. Ultimately, it was decided that it did not. Generally, Manafort did not want to register under FARA, but by 2012, Gates believed Manafort's feelings about FARA were not as strong as they were in 2006 and 2007.

Gates did not seek out any advice from counsel during the 2012-2014 time frame regarding his, or DMP's work with the ECFMU, PDG, MCW, the Skadden Report, or Project Hapsburg.

Gates was asked why DMP did not file FARA given Manafort's meetings with Rohrabacher. Gates was reminded he helped set up the meetings between Manafort and Rohrabacher and was therefore aware of the contact and the the ensuing need to register under FARA.

Gates stated that Manafort had a 25 year long relationship with Rohrabacher and therefore the meeting did not trigger a FARA obligation.

Gates then stated that the meeting with Rohrabacher was set up by MCW because of Rohrabacher's position as the Chairman of the Subcommittee of Europe and Eurasia. Rohrabacher was a target of MCW's lobbying campaign. Gates understood lobbying Rohrabacher would trigger FARA. The intended purpose of the meeting between Manafort and Rohrabacher was to talk about the "Engage Ukraine" strategy.

The use of Manafort in the lobbying effort as detailed in MCW's strategy document (see MercGJ_10583-MercGJ_10591) would have triggered FARA had it been implemented. Gates was not aware of Manafort ever raising any objections to his participation in the lobbying effort as proposed by MCW because it would have trigger FARA.

The Skadden Report

There were efforts to get Greg Craig and others at Skadden more involved in the roll out of the Skadden Report, but they resisted because Skadden did not want to file FARA.

Craig was supposed to use his contacts to help disseminate the Skadden Report. Manafort and Craig agreed that Craig would do a "Hill Tour" and be involved in the press outreach, but Craig backed out of this. Craig did one interview with a reporter at the New York Times and may have made 1-2 phone calls to Democrats in Congress, but Gates was not sure about the phone calls.

[REDACTED]

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Craig told Gates he did not want to be involved in any public outreach. Craig said his involvement in the PR campaign would make the Skadden Report seem like it was not an independent review. Craig recommended FTI Consulting be hired to handle the PR campaign.

Gates could not recall if Skadden's engagement letter specifically addressed the fact that they would not engage in any GR or PR. Gates did recall a conversation with Craig in which Craig said he did not want to do anything which would necessitate a FARA registration. Craig understood that the New York Times interview he did would trigger FARA. Craig had someone inside Skadden review this issue.

Craig never told Gates that FARA would only be triggered if Gates was personally involved in the contact. Gates did not recall having any conversations with Craig about Gates' personal understanding of FARA.

Gates did not learn that his prior understanding of FARA was inaccurate until April 2017 while dealing with the FARA Unit.

Think Tanks

Reaching out to think tanks, such as the IRI, Wilson Center and others, was an important part of the lobbying and public relations campaign. Many think tanks had experts on Ukrainian affairs. The goal was to establish relationships with these individuals so when the Ukrainian elections occurred, they could be called upon to give their opinion on whether the elections were free and fair. There were many issues getting the think tanks on board because they tended to view Yanukovich as pro-Russian and many believed Yanukovich's election was unfair.

The Association Agreement

Yanukovich did not sign the Association Agreement with Europe because the US and EU "dropped the ball". Gates blamed failed policies on the part of the US government and EU, specifically, Gates identified the US and EU's failure to provide sufficient financial support to Ukraine. Gates explained that Ukraine had a \$15 billion loan to repay and the US only offered to pay a small portion of that. The US needed to contribute more. Ukraine's economy was 45% dependent on Russia and could not survive a break with Russia without the economic support of the US and EU.

The US government was stuck on the issue of Tymoshenko. Senators McCain and Durbin, along with Ambassador Victoria Nuland did not believe Ukraine would live up to the reforms necessary. Gates believed this

[REDACTED]

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influenced the US government's decision to only lend Ukraine a small portion of the money.

The US State Department under Hilary Clinton was also pro-Tymoshenko. [REDACTED] invited Clinton to speak at the Yalta Conference. Clinton was prepared to give a speech in favor of Tymoshenko until a large donation was paid to the Clinton Foundation and Clinton decided not to speak at the conference. [REDACTED]

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Gates explained that Yanukovych was supposed to go the Vilnius Summit to sign the Association Agreement, however, on Yanukovych's way back from a trip to China, he stopped in Russia. This stop over occurred two days before the Vilnius Summit. Russia offered Ukraine money, loans and gas agreements to try and prevent Yanukovych from signing the Association Agreement at the Vilnius Summit.

Gates was asked why the ECFMU did not come out against Yanukovych when he didn't sign the Association Agreement. Gates stated that the ECFMU wasn't going to criticize "itself".

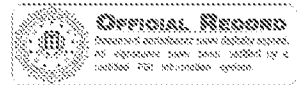
Gates was asked if the ECFMU's mission was truly to move the Ukraine to the EU. Gates explained that PoR was split on this issue. Some, like Kluyiev and Akhmetov, were in favor of the Ukraine aligning with the west and joining the EU because it benefited their business interests. However, others were not. Gates noted that toward the end of his presidency, Yanukovych appointed a number of people from the Dontesk clan who were not in favor of aligning with the west.

Other

Gates used Manafort's credit card to purchase Manafort's New York Yankees season tickets. The season tickets were for Manafort and were purchased at Manafort's direction with Manafort's credit card. Gates knew the charge led to a delinquency on Manafort's credit card of a couple hundred thousand dollars.

Gates knew Manafort represented to a bank that the charge and the ensuing delinquency were a result of Manafort lending his card to Gates so Gates could purchase the tickets. Gates knew this was false. Gates signed a letter attesting to this false representation.

[Redacted]



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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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]

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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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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #8 , On 02/12/2018 , Page 3 of 20

[Redacted]

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[Redacted] had an associate named [Redacted]

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

Bank Fraud

When Gates was applying for his mortgage refinance loans through [Redacted]

[Redacted] he asked Manafort [Redacted]

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Gates clarified

that [Redacted]

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 [Redacted] into BADE.

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Gates knew that his net worth was listed as [Redacted] on documentation sent to [Redacted]. This number was based upon the value of Energy Today's stock. Gates' [Redacted] 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 [Redacted] 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 [Redacted] account. Gates changed the EIN number and the managing member from Gates to Manafort.

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[Redacted]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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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] [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.

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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]

[REDACTED]

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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]

[REDACTED]

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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] [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.

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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]

[REDACTED]

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Specifically, Manafort told Gates to say

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #8 , On 02/12/2018 , Page 5 of 20

that

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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The reason for this lie was to make it appear that

[Redacted]

[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

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

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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]

[Redacted]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #8, On 02/12/2018, Page 6 of 20

Gates explained that the purpose of the Skadden Report was to

[REDACTED]

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Gates had insight into the Skadden Report throughout the process. [REDACTED] and Manafort were in frequent contact. Additionally, Gates and [REDACTED] were in frequent contact with a Skadden associate, Alexander van der Zwaan, who worked with [REDACTED]. 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, Gates was aware that journalists and bloggers were paid to write favorable pieces. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was responsible for the Skadden Report media payments. Journalists were mainly paid to write articles in Ukraine. Some oligarchs also paid reporters to write articles criticizing [REDACTED].

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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, [REDACTED] 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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[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #8, On 02/12/2018, Page 7 of 20

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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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]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #8 , On 02/12/2018 , Page 8 of 20

[Redacted]

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

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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] the reporting would negatively affect [Redacted] too and he needed to have the person "back off".

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

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Gates did talk to [Redacted] 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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[Redacted]

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The Skadden Report

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #8 , On 02/12/2018 , Page 9 of 20

[Redacted]

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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]

[Redacted]

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

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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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]

[Redacted]

Gates did not claim these funds on his tax returns.

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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.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #8, On 02/12/2018, Page 10 of 20

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]

[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.

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #8, On 02/12/2018, Page 11 of 20

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]

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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]

[REDACTED]

[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.

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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]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] This had been brought up in media reporting for years, mostly by pro-Russians who claimed Yanukovych had been "illegally removed".

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

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #8, On 02/12/2018, Page 12 of 20

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]

[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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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #8, On 02/12/2018, Page 13 of 20

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]

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.

Gates had not heard of Bergamont Ventures.

Manafort and Policy

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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]

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[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.

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[redacted] Gates did not know what happened.

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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.

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Roger Stone

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[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #8, On 02/12/2018, Page 15 of 20

Gates joined the lobbying firm of Black, Manafort, Stone and Kelly

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Gates worked on the firm's media/campaign strategies. Gates worked mainly for [REDACTED] 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. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] The firm did extremely well in the 1980s. In 1994 the firm was acquired Berson which fractured the partnership and led to Manafort and Stone starting their own lobbying firm. Stone also left the firm because of [REDACTED].

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 [REDACTED]

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

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

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

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, [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Even though Stone was kicked out of the campaign, he was still advising Trump.

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

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #8, On 02/12/2018, Page 16 of 20

himself, he would often call Gates. At Manafort's direction, Gates would sometimes call Stone to find out information on various press reports. Stone 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 he needed to speak to Stone or that he met with Stone, but Manafort often did not provide anymore detail. Stone provided Manafort with information on people working on the campaign. Stone [REDACTED]

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Sometimes, Manafort would have Gates follow up on strategic recommendations provided by Stone. Some strategic issues Stone was involved in included: providing advice on structure for the primaries and building coalitions; advice to Gates on which states Trump needed to target and who he needed to meet with in those states; and Stone wanted to

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] Stone was upset with Gates because [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]
Gates did not want to [REDACTED] to Stone because he thought [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Gates spoke to Manafort about this issue and Manafort directed Gates not to [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

Hacking

Gates described Stone as [REDACTED] 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 Stone actually got the hacked information because usually he's usually just [REDACTED] Gates asked Manafort where Stone obtained the information. Manafort stated he was surprised that Stone pulled it off and that Trump would be pleased if he did not already know. Manafort told Gates that Stone took credit for the DCCC hack. Gates stated that Stone had a direct line to talk to Trump whenever he wanted but he does not know if Stone told Trump. Gates did not know who hacked the DCCC or how the information was obtained other than what has been reported in the press. There were rumors that it was done by an insider at the the DCCC or the Russians.

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Prior to the DCCC hacked emails were released publicly, Gates was at Manafort's Trump Tower apartment and Manafort stated that Stone advised that something big was coming down and it would help with our

[REDACTED]

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position. After the hacked emails were released publicly, Gates thought that Stone was referring to the DCCC hacked emails, but Gates never discussed his belief with anyone and never obtained any confirmation that this is what Stone was talking about. 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 Stone 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. [REDACTED] 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, [REDACTED] 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 Stone. Gates was in Bannon's office numerous times when Stone called Bannon. Gates does not recall any conversations with Bannon regarding hacked emails.

Stone conducted opposition research and it was mostly focused on Hillary Clinton, but Gates does not recall anything specific or that he, Gates, was involved in conducting any opposition research.

Stone "harped" on the Hillary Clinton email controversy. Stone believed there was more to the story regarding the Clinton missing emails than had been disclosed. Stone told Manafort that it was almost impossible to find emails unless someone had access to them.

Gates stated that Stone supposedly [REDACTED] [REDACTED] 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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Stone attempted to get people outside the campaign access to Trump. Stone attempted to set up a meeting between [REDACTED] and Trump because [REDACTED] stated he had a lot of information on Hillary Clinton. However, Gates is not aware of ever obtaining anything negative on Clinton from [REDACTED] Stone attempted to get [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] to meet with Trump. [REDACTED]
was connected to [REDACTED]

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

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

Stone did not believe Manafort [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] During the campaign, there were numerous reporters who were making allegations against Manafort and Stone thought Manafort needed to fight back against these negative articles like Trump would. Stone thought Manafort should have pushed back against the media even if he did not have anything substantive to push back with. However, Manafort did not take Stone's advice.

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Stone wanted Manafort to hire someone he recommended in South Carolina to conduct work on social media, but Manafort did not hire this individual. Stone believed that Lewandowski did not do anything related to social media for the campaign and Stone believed this was an important vehicle.

[REDACTED]

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)

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #8, On 02/12/2018, Page 19 of 20

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] [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.

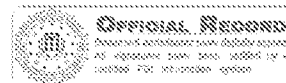
[REDACTED]

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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.

Manafort [REDACTED]

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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] [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

Investigation on 02/12/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)
File # [Redacted] Date drafted 02/26/2018
by [Redacted]

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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]

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[REDACTED] Gates worked on the firm's media/campaign strategies. Gates worked mainly for [REDACTED] and rarely worked with Stone. Gates worked on [REDACTED]

[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]

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[REDACTED] 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 Manafort 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]

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[REDACTED] In 1997, Gates worked as [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Gates main role was to sell lottery systems to foreign countries. In 2000, Gates returned to the U.S. and worked for [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] was close friends with Stone. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Gates left to work for Davis Manafort Inc. While working at Davis Manafort Inc., Gates occasionally saw Stone with [REDACTED] and Manafort. Gates' direct interaction with Stone only began to flourish during the campaign.

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

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Rick Gates , On 02/12/2018 , Page 3 of 15

[REDACTED]

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

[REDACTED]

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Opposition Block

Gates advised that in 2014 DMP's Ukrainian work started to "fizzle out". This was a result of the Ukrainian President, Viktor Yanukovich, 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.

Manafort/DMP was hired and paid by two Ukrainian oligarchs, Serhiy Lyovochkin and Rinat Akhmetov, to work for the OB. Yuriy Boyko, who worked with Lyovochkin, and [REDACTED] who worked with Akhmetov, also worked with Manafort on OB matters. Lyovochkin and Akhmetov were supposed

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Manafort treated this payment as a loan, even though it was income, to avoid paying taxes on the

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Rick Gates , On 02/12/2018 , Page 4 of 15

income because the money came in during a new tax cycle. [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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Lyovochkin appointed [Redacted] and Gates worked with

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[Redacted]

Gates

worked on micro-targeting projects. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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Gates believed [Redacted]

[Redacted]

DMP

DMP had an office in Kiev and [Redacted]

[Redacted] Other individuals who worked at DMP were [Redacted]

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[Redacted] two translators (Gates could only remember the name of one translator, [Redacted])

[Redacted]

DMP Post Ukraine

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Rick Gates , On 02/12/2018 , Page 5 of 15

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

[Redacted] DMP was not making any money and had no political clients, [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]

[Redacted] Gates was not aware of [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Large Redacted Block]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Rick Gates , On 02/12/2018 , Page 6 of 15

[Redacted]

Gates worked for [Redacted] Initially, [Redacted] were shareholders in [Redacted] via a company called [Redacted] originally established the business. [Redacted] brought in [Redacted] as the A/COO and then [Redacted] was ousted from the company. [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted] Gates provided some consulting services to [Redacted] team by assisting with business development; specifically targeting U.S. government agencies.

I.D. Watchdog

In 2011, [Redacted] 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 [Redacted] they asked [Redacted] 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 [Redacted] Gates initially invested approximately [Redacted] in I.D. Watchdog. Subsequently, Gates bought out some other investors for approximately [Redacted] From one of their investments in I.D. Watchdog, Gates and [Redacted] had convertible notes. In 2016, Gates and [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted] 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.

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

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

[Redacted]

[Redacted] had a falling out during the John McCain campaign. [Redacted] Manafort

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Rick Gates, On 02/12/2018, Page 7 of 15

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".

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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.

[REDACTED]

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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]

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Manafort had a body guard during the campaign. Initially, his body guard was [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] 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.

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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

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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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 [REDACTED] provided Manafort and Gates with updates regarding the international monitor delegation. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] The RNC did not pay for the international monitors so they needed sponsors to pay for their expenses. Gates recalled that the [REDACTED]

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 [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] 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 [REDACTED]

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.

[REDACTED] 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. [REDACTED] was upset that they picked her over him. Gates advised during the Arizona Republican Primary, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] As a result, he was viewed as someone who should not speak at the RNC. Gates also stated that he personally saw [REDACTED]

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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. Manafort directed Gates to work with Roger Stone to help develop an idea for [REDACTED] [REDACTED] Gates drafted a paper to explain to Trump the benefits of a super PAC and why it was

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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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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.

[REDACTED]

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Manafort Removed as Campaign Manager

On the morning of 03/19/2016, 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 savvy 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. Manafort 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. Trump and Manafort 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]

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[REDACTED]

[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

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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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]

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[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.

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

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Rick Gates , On 02/12/2018 , Page 13 of 15

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.

[REDACTED]

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Rick Gates , On 02/12/2018 , Page 14 of 15

Gates

[Redacted]

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Post Inauguration

Gates was interested in working for the White House after the inauguration. Gates told [Redacted] 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. [Redacted] questioned why Gates would want to be part of the new administration because it was so hectic. [Redacted] told Gates that he [Redacted]

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[Redacted] Part of Gates' role was to facilitate meetings between [Redacted]

[Redacted]

Gates

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America First

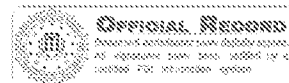
[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Rick Gates, On 02/12/2018, Page 15 of 15

Gates advised [REDACTED] that he was going to start a nonprofit called America First while Gates worked at Colony Capital. [REDACTED] did not object. While working for America First, Gates met with [REDACTED] and Johnny Destefano at the White House.

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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:

[Large Redacted Area]

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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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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #9 , On 02/27/2018 , Page 2 of 17

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[REDACTED]

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

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

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

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] account was used for Gates' work on the Hapsburg Project and work with Mercury/Clark & Weinstock (MCW) and The Podesta Group (PDG). Manafort's email for these projects was [REDACTED]

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

FBI(19cv1278)-2409

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #9, On 02/27/2018, Page 3 of 17

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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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #9, On 02/27/2018, Page 4 of 17

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #9, On 02/27/2018, Page 5 of 17

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[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #9, On 02/27/2018, Page 6 of 17

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 encrypted app they were using it was often because [REDACTED] told them the app they were using had been compromised.

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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.

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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]

[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).

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #9, On 02/27/2018, Page 7 of 17

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]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #9 , On 02/27/2018 , Page 8 of 17

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.

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[REDACTED]

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.

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #9, On 02/27/2018, Page 9 of 17

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] [REDACTED] and Manafort about how these would impact the Special Counsel's investigation.

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[REDACTED]

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

FBI(19cv1278)-2416

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #9, On 02/27/2018, Page 10 of 17

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] or the Clinton Foundation investigation, that might impact Gates and Manafort's case.

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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] 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.

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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

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #9, On 02/27/2018, Page 11 of 17

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.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #9, On 02/27/2018, Page 12 of 17

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] 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 [REDACTED] 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 [REDACTED] 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 [REDACTED] and what he told [REDACTED] about the acquisition. Gates said he needed to look through his communications to determine if he spoke with [REDACTED]. Gates thought he met with [REDACTED] in person. Gates thought he did not meet with or speak to [REDACTED] about the acquisition until it was publically announced.

Gates had told [REDACTED] that he hoped IDW would sell. Over the course of a few months leading up to the acquisition, Gates had told [REDACTED] that there was a potential purchase.

[REDACTED] had shares in IDW from 2011. [REDACTED] had shares as well. Gates did not know [REDACTED] had shares in IDW until he received a letter from the SEC.

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Gates did not talk to [REDACTED] about the pending acquisition. Gates had one conversation with [REDACTED] early on. Gates thought [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] talked about IDW.

Gates "definitely had several conversations" with [REDACTED] about "positive things happening" with IDW. Gates did not know if he told [REDACTED] specifically about the acquisition by Equifax before it was publically announced.

Gates then stated if he met with [REDACTED] after he learned of the Equifax acquisition and before the public announcement, he "definitely" would have spoken with [REDACTED] 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 [REDACTED]. Gates received a second letter

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #9 , On 02/27/2018 , Page 13 of 17

from the SEC asking for the nature of Gates' interaction with [Redacted]
[Redacted]

Gates stated he did not know [Redacted] invested until the letter. Gates thought [Redacted] "must have told them something".

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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]

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A break was taken from approximately 3:37 PM until approximately 3:39 PM.

Akhmetov [Redacted]

[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.

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #9 , On 02/27/2018 , Page 14 of 17

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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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.

[Redacted]

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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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #9, On 02/27/2018, Page 15 of 17

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[Redacted]

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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

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #9, On 02/27/2018, Page 16 of 17

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]

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.

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.

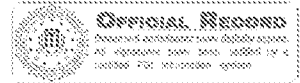
Other

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #9, On 02/27/2018, Page 17 of 17

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.



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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:

[Redacted]

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[Redacted] Gates stated that Reince Priebus was aware of this, [Redacted]

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UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

Investigation on 02/28/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 06/11/2018

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by [Redacted]

[REDACTED]
UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[REDACTED]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Richard Gates on 2-
Continuation of FD-302 of 28-2018 , On 02/28/2018 , Page 2 of 2

[REDACTED] Gates was directed by Jared Kushner to try to clear all payments. Gates estimated he last spoke to [REDACTED] in either [REDACTED]

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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]

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[REDACTED]

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Gates stated that he was contacted 1 1/2 weeks ago by [REDACTED] [REDACTED] close with [REDACTED] told Gates that [REDACTED] passes on his best."

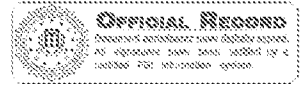
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The day Gates pleaded guilty, [REDACTED] contacted him and stated that [REDACTED] asking about you." Gates stated that [REDACTED] was the [REDACTED] for the Trump Inauguration who now works at [REDACTED] The two had spoken a few weeks ago to discuss the Inauguration.

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[Redacted]

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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 Subcommttee 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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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #7, On 02/09/2018, Page 2 of 12

Gates stated he "made a mistake" in representing his conversation with [Redacted]. 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 [Redacted] 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 [Redacted] told Gates the meeting "went fine". At that time, neither Manafort, nor [Redacted] told Gates that Ukraine was not discussed during the meeting.

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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Energy Today

Gates acquired 1,750,000 shares of Energy Today stock from [Redacted] [Redacted] granted Gates and [Redacted] these shares as compensation for government relations (GR) and public relations (PR) work Gates and [Redacted] were doing for one of [Redacted] companies. Gates clarified that [Redacted] was an investor in Energy Today and the shares granted to Gates and [Redacted] were a portion of [Redacted] 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 [Redacted] through [Redacted] met [Redacted]

[Redacted]

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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 [Redacted] 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 [Redacted] and [Redacted]

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #7, On 02/09/2018, Page 3 of 12

Gates to lobby in California, New Mexico and Arizona. Specifically, [redacted] and Gates were tasked with targeting these states' energy contracts.

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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.

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The stock certificates given to Gates and [redacted] were issued to the name

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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.

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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.

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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.

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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.

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #7, On 02/09/2018, Page 4 of 12

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.

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[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]

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[Redacted]

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]

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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.

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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]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #7, On 02/09/2018, Page 5 of 12

[Redacted] was supposed to invest capital for the JVA, but he did not do so. As a result, this business never materialized.

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[Redacted] FARA

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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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.

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #7, On 02/09/2018, Page 6 of 12

[Redacted]

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Gates did not recall having a conversation with [Redacted] about FARA. [Redacted].

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[Redacted]

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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.

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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.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #7, On 02/09/2018, Page 7 of 12b6
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b7CID 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 Arthur Cohen left. Beyond [redacted] and Gates sitting on IDW's board, Gates did not know of any other connection between the two companies.

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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.

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #7, On 02/09/2018, Page 8 of 12

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.

[REDACTED]

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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.

Cohen 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.

Sometime between 2012 and 2014, Gates and Cohen purchased outstanding warrants in IDW. These warrants were from investors who had pulled out.

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[REDACTED]

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.

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #7, On 02/09/2018, Page 9 of 12

Gates and Cohen's 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 Cohen agreed to extend the note to 2016. The extension agreement involved interest payments above those already due from the original note.

[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.

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After leaving IDW's board, Gates maintained contact with [REDACTED] to present. In or around May or June 2017, [REDACTED] called Gates and Cohen's 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.

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[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 Cohen's representatives submitted proxy forms allowing IDW to vote their shares. [REDACTED]

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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]

Prior to the acquisition by Equifax, IDW's stock was trading at \$.03 to \$.12 per share. When Equifax's purchase was complete, [REDACTED]

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Gates used his between [REDACTED]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #7, On 02/09/2018, Page 10 of 12

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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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 [Redacted] had originally acquired shares in IDW in 2011. Gates did not know if [Redacted] still had those shares in 2017.

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[Redacted]

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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: [Redacted]

[Redacted]

The second letter asked Gates for his relationship to [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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Gates stated [Redacted] was the only person he told about the pending acquisition of IDW. When Gates learned about the acquisition from [Redacted]. Gates could not recall for sure if he told [Redacted] that Equifax was the purchaser.

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Gates and [Redacted] had discussed IDW throughout the years. In 2011, [Redacted] had shares in IDW. Gates did not know [Redacted] maintained those shares.

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[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #7, On 02/09/2018, Page 11 of 12

Gates did not tell [REDACTED] when he received the list of names from the SEC. Gates has not talked to [REDACTED] about IDW.

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In Gates' response to the SEC's second letter, Gates said he knew [REDACTED] [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.

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Gates did not know if [REDACTED] acquired shares in IDW before the acquisition. Gates did not know how much [REDACTED] [REDACTED] had made off any shares they may have purchased. Gates has not spoken with either [REDACTED] about this matter.

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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]

[REDACTED] Gates'

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[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.

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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.

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[REDACTED]

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

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[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #7, On 02/09/2018, Page 12 of 12

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.

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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.

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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]

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[REDACTED]

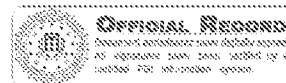
Gates had planned to purchase the warrants earlier, but he didn't. Gates had actually signed the paperwork, but he had not wired the funds. Gates could not recall for sure, but believed the date on the paperwork was backdated to make it seem like he had exercised his warrant options at an earlier date.

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]

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[Redacted]



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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:

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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]

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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]

[Redacted]

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[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

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Investigation on 03/01/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 04/05/2018

by [Redacted]

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UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Richard WilliamContinuation of FD-302 of Gates III, On 03/01/2018, Page 2 of 4

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.

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b7C**DNC Hack/Roger Stone:**

Gates was shown his telephone toll records and stated that the majority of his telephone calls with Stone pertained to electoral databases.

Gates stated that he had been told (including by Rhonda Graff) that Roger Stone remained in frequent contact with Donald Trump, even after Stone officially left the campaign. Gates himself was present on several occasions in a vehicle with Trump when he (Trump) would telephone Stone. In April or May of 2016, Gates accompanied Manafort to a meeting with Stone.

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. Stone himself had stated that "something big is going to happen that we can use." 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.

Stone (at some point) told Gates in a telephone conversation that "Podesta is going to be taken down." Gates recalled that he was in Trump Tower at the time he took Stone's call. At no point did Stone mention Julian Assange or Guccifer to Gates. 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 Stone 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.

Following news of the hack, Gates spoke with Stone, who gloated about the news. Gates added that whether Stone did have advanced knowledge or

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[REDACTED]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Richard William
 Continuation of FD-302 of Gates III , On 03/01/2018 , Page 3 of 4

not, the release of the emails would help both Trump and [REDACTED]
 [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."

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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]

[REDACTED]
 [REDACTED] Gates added that Stone spoke to both Steve Bannon and
 Michael Cohen frequently. [REDACTED]

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{NOTE: Supervisory Special Agent [REDACTED] entered the room.}

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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, as Stone alluded to more material being released.

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Throughout the entire matter, Manafort told the campaign that [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED]

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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

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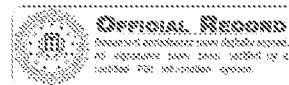
[REDACTED]
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(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Richard WilliamContinuation of FD-302 of Gates III, On 03/01/2018 , Page 4 of 4

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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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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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]

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[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of RICK GATES 3/12

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018 , On 03/12/2018 , Page 2 of 11

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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GATES' and MANAFORT'S Relationship

GATES was strictly on business terms with MANAFORT, whereas people like

[Redacted]

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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]

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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

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[REDACTED]
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[REDACTED]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of RICK GATES 3/12

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018, On 03/12/2018, Page 3 of 11

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.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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In 2007, Party of Regions won 35-40% of the parliamentary elections vote and VIKTOR YANUKOVYCH became the prime minister.

[REDACTED]

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GATES spent 2.5 months in Ukraine from 2009 to 2010 to support the presidential election.

[REDACTED]

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MANAFORT shut down their Alexandria offices in 2012 at which point GATES started receiving calls from vendors.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

In 2013, DMP hired Obama's pollsters.

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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 [REDACTED] 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.

[REDACTED]

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Multiple US companies including Cargill, Microsoft, Pepsi, and Delta did business in Ukraine and some had considered hiring MANAFORT as a lobbyist

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Continuation of FD-302 of [REDACTED] /2018, On 03/12/2018, Page 4 of 11

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]

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LOAV was an entity for real estate and was associated [REDACTED]

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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.

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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]

[REDACTED] or GATES set up [REDACTED] businesses.

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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.

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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]

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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.

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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] [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.

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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]

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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]

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.

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KWC also did [redacted] returns.

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[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.

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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.

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[redacted] kept MANAFORT's books at First Republic Bank.

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[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]

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In 2011 or 2012, [REDACTED] switched his audit firm.

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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.

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Novirex Sales LLP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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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).

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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.

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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.

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[REDACTED]
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[REDACTED]

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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.

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[REDACTED]

AKHMETOV Work

When MANAFORT had a contract with RINAT AKHMETOV, 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.

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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]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] worked on the Visa project and did public relations work for DERIPASKA.

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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]

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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.

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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.

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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.

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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.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of RICK GATES 3/12

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[Redacted]

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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]

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[Redacted]

[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] of the law firm, Schlam, Stone & Dolan, with an address of 26 Broadway, New York, NY. MANAFORT's attorney, [Redacted]

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[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.

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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.

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[Redacted]

Smythson was created in order to move money from Cyprus into the US.

DMP and MANAFORT Associates

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of RICK GATES 3/12

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted] and LYOVOCHKIN came to Florida sometime between 2013 and 2014 (NFI) .

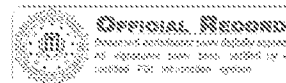
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[Redacted]

Other

[Redacted]

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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]

[Redacted]

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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]

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Ukraine:

Gates stated that he and Manafort had a number of Ukrainian 'paymasters,' to include Rinat Akhmetov, [Redacted] [Redacted] Among the items the group worked on was brokering a truce between Viktor Yanukovich and [Redacted] for the 2020 elections in the country.

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Gates stated that in the 2010 elections in Ukraine, Manafort had brought in election observers and had provided polling data to [Redacted]

[Redacted]

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Serhiy Lyovochkin was viewed as a centrist who had conducted business deals with [Redacted]

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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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UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Richard William

Continuation of FD-302 of Gates III on 3/16/2018, On 03/16/2018, Page 2 of 2

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] [REDACTED] Barrack provided examples to Gates of past instances when Kushner had screwed over business partners.

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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] Gates stated that Trump and Kushner agreed that Christie would never serve in the administration.

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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.

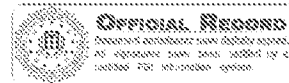
Gates last saw Kushner in October 2017 at Café Milano in Georgetown. The two discussed Tom Barrack. He has had no contact with Kushner since that day.

Deripaska's Visa:

[REDACTED]

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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]

[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.

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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.

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

Investigation on 03/18/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

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File # [Redacted] Date drafted 04/02/2018

by [Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates

, On 03/18/2018 , Page 2 of 5

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When Manafort met with [REDACTED] 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 [REDACTED] on how to respond to media inquiries regarding Manafort/Gates/DMP's work in Ukraine, [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] had business interests in Malaysia and a preexisting relationship with the Malaysian Prime Minister.

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Gates understood that [REDACTED] 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.

In 2012, the Malaysian Prime Minister played golf with Donald Trump. In late January 2018 or February 2018, [REDACTED] 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 [REDACTED] asked Gates to help him resolve the 1MDB issue between the Malaysian government and the U.S. government. [REDACTED] 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. [REDACTED] 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.

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After the election, [REDACTED] met with Trump and discussed the 1MDB issue with him. Trump told [REDACTED] 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

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates, On 03/18/2018, Page 3 of 5

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.

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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.

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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]. [REDACTED] Gates was not aware of any relationship between Ross and Manafort.

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Gates was shown an email dated 01/05/18 titled "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 .

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates, On 03/18/2018, Page 4 of 5

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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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

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates, On 03/18/2018, Page 5 of 5

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.

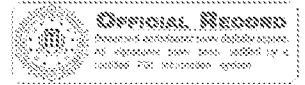
Gates has an agreement with [REDACTED] whereby [REDACTED] pays Gates a monthly retainer for his services. Gates is providing [REDACTED] with advice on how "things work within the Trump administration." The advice Gates provided [REDACTED] related to 1MDB was part of the services he provided [REDACTED]

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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]



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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]

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UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

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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[Redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Richard Gates Interview 03/21

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018, On 03/21/2018, Page 2 of 7

Gates indicated Corey Lewandowski was not a fan of Stone.

[Redacted]

[Large Redacted Block]

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[Redacted Block]

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[Redacted Block]

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[Redacted Block]

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[Redacted Block]

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[Redacted]
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[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Richard Gates Interview 03/21

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018 , On 03/21/2018 , Page 3 of 7

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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JEROME CORSI

Gates said Jerome Corsi [Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[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]

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MICHAEL COHEN

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Richard Gates Interview 03/21

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018 , On 03/21/2018 , Page 4 of 7

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.

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CAMBRIDGE ANALYTICA

[Redacted]

[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]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[Redacted] Gates thought the use of psychological profiles was, "bullshit."

[Redacted]

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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.

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Richard Gates Interview 03/21

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018, On 03/21/2018, Page 5 of 7

[Redacted]

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COREY LEWANDOWSKI

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Richard Gates Interview 03/21

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018

, On 03/21/2018 , Page 6 of 7

[Redacted]

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MICHAEL FLYNN

Gates was shown an email dated [Redacted] and provided additional detail. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

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ROGER STONE PROJECTS

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Richard Gates Interview 03/21

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018, On 03/21/2018, Page 7 of 7

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

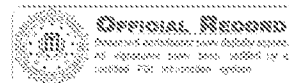
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Gates said he never interfaced with anyone who worked under Stone, nor did he have a relationship with [Redacted]

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[Redacted]



UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

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] [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 interview, Gates provided the following information:

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Gates indicated that [Redacted] had worked with Paul Manafort and [Redacted] on the [Redacted] project. [Redacted]

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In 2014, Davis Manafort Partners (DMP) started winding down, having unsuccessfully sought to assist Opposition Block efforts in Ukraine. [Redacted]

[Large Redacted Block]

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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.

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Gates understood that [Redacted] had additional separate projects he was not familiar with. He did at some point meet [Redacted] a former [Redacted]

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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
by [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Richard William Gates III, On 03/27/2018, Page 2 of 2

[Redacted] who partnered with [Redacted]

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[Redacted] Gates stated that he last spoke to Williams approximately 3 years ago.

{NOTE: Gates was shown a one page letter dated 2/12/2014 from Gates to [Redacted] The letter is marked with an "A."}

Gates wrote the referenced letter (A) regarding [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

{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 [Redacted]}

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[Redacted]

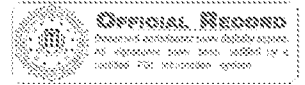
{NOTE: Weissmann and Andres departed the room briefly.}

[Redacted]

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{NOTE: Weissmann and Andres return to the room and the interview concluded.}

[Redacted]



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UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

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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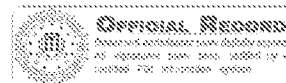
Investigation on 04/17/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 04/17/2018

by [Redacted]

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[Redacted]



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]

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

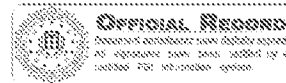
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Investigation on 04/17/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

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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] and Assistant Special Counsels Greg Andres and Aaron Zelinsky 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:

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(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 MCLAUGHLIN was on a subcommittee of CPAC which GATES said he could find by looking at open sources related to CORSI. [Redacted] [Redacted] They had no discussions related to the hack of DNC emails or Wikileaks.

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(U) GATES was sure there was an opposition document related to TRUMP but did not recall any specifics. He did not recall anyone, including ROGER STONE, 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] [Redacted]

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(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.

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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[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Richard Gates, On 04/17/2018, Page 2 of 3

(U) STONE stated Wikileaks had the Clinton emails in May 2016. It was an offhand reference Julian Assange had and could get the emails. Nobody in the TRUMP campaign urged the procurement of the emails but someone else out there had them.

(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.

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(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.

(U) STONE talked about voter registration data tied to a TRUMP list. GATES recalled PAUL MANAFORT did not have a large amount of information about what took place with STONE and how he got the dump of data.

(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]

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(U) STONE took victory laps with the release of the Clinton emails. 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

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Richard Gates , On 04/17/2018 , Page 3 of 3

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]

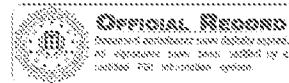
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(U) Third party companies like Fusion GPS had suspect sources. [REDACTED] was clear that all the information they recieved was public. GATES does not know how much they paid. The RNC was putting money and research into the House and Senate races more than the Presidential election.

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(U) STONE had a distrust of the RNC, they never had a relationship.

[Redacted]



~~UNCLASSIFIED//FOUO~~

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:

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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

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[Redacted]

[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.

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.

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GATES said JEROME CORSI was offering information on foreign contributions to the HILARY CLINTON campaign. GATES said CORSI seemed to be a staple and hung around TRUMP TOWER often. GATES recalled CORSI talking about CLINTON's missing emails, but not WIKILEAKS. GATES said STONE was often pushing the WIKILEAKS narrative. GATES said in the May /June 2016 timeframe, CORSI indicated he had domestic resources, in the United States, who could get access to the emails. According to GATES, TRUMP liked CORSI, but did not mention CORSI in relation to the missing emails.

[Redacted]

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Investigation on 04/19/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 04/23/2018

by [Redacted]

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UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~(U//~~FOUO~~) Richard Gates Interview 04/19

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018 , On 04/19/2018 , Page 2 of 3

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GATES opined STONE changed his theory that Russian's hacked the Democratic National Committee (DNC) emails because TRUMP changed his theory. GATES thought the change could have possibly been driven by MICHAEL FLYNN.

GATES said STONE was trying to hunt down the emails all the way through the election. STONE's theory on the culprit of the email theft changed from the Russians to an inside job over time. GATES said that before and after the 07/22/2016 release of DNC emails by WIKILEAKS, TRUMP was telling PAUL MANAFORT to get in touch with STONE regarding the emails. This task was ultimately delegated to GATES. GATES said MANAFORT asked GATES to contact STONE regarding the emails approximately three times, at least once at the behest of TRUMP. GATES said he reported his responses from STONE back up the chain.

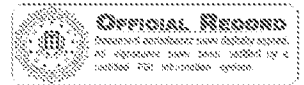
GATES said the campaign team would formulate strategic messaging based on what they thought the email releases would contain, however, GATES said the timing of the releases were unknown to the team. GATES said strategy meetings involving KUSHNER, REINCE PRIEBUS, [REDACTED] STEPHEN BANNON, KELLYANNE CONWAY, 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.

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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. GATES advised STONE consistently said the emails were coming soon, but didn't

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FBI(19cv1278)-2476



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:

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[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].

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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Investigation on 04/19/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 04/24/2018

by [Redacted]

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Richard Gates, On 04/19/2018, Page 2 of 2

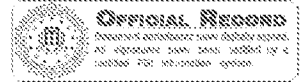
[Redacted]

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Roger Stone

[Redacted]

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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. After being advised of the identity of the interviewers and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information: b6
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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
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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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Work with Poroshenko:

In 2014, following the departure of Viktor Yanukovich 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]:
[Redacted]

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[Redacted]
[Redacted]

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Investigation on 05/24/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person) b7E
File # [Redacted] Date drafted 06/04/2018
by [Redacted] b6
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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Richard Gates on 5-

Continuation of FD-302 of 24-2018 , On 05/24/2018 , Page 2 of 2

ECFMU:

Gates recalled that Paul Manafort had asked him to reach out to [Redacted] prior to his (Gates') guilty plea to obtain documents pertaining to ECFMU which illustrated (in Gates' opinion) that it was a legitimate organization. Gates reached out to [Redacted] on two occasions: following a September 2016 letter Manafort received from the Department of Justice and in April 2017.

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In June or July of 2016, the Associated Press ran an article discussing Manafort's lobbying activities in Ukraine. [Redacted]

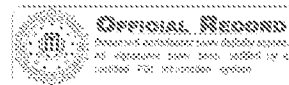
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[Redacted]



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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] [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]

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Gates stated that following the election of Viktor Yanukovich 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.

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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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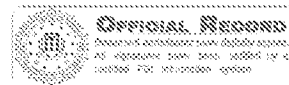
Continuation of FD-302 of (U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Richard William Gates III on 5/3/2018, On 05/03/2018, Page 2 of 2

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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FBI(19cv1278)-2483

[Redacted]



UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

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] 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] 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

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Investigation on 05/03/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

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File # [Redacted] Date drafted 05/07/2018

by [Redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Richard WilliamContinuation of FD-302 of Gates III, On 05/03/2018, Page 2 of 2

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 Corsi and Roger Stone had also claimed to try to do this. 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] [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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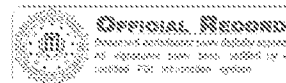
Gates stated that at some point between the campaign and subsequent transition, a bill was paid to a Flynn-affiliated company (possibly Colt).

{NOTE: The documents shown to Gates were placed in a 1A.}

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FBI(19cv1278)-2485

[Redacted]



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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.

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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]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Richard Gates on 5-
Continuation of FD-302 of 3-2018 , On 05/03/2018 , Page 2 of 2

[Redacted]

On other occasions Gates sent invoices directly to the Party of Regions on DMP letterhead. These typically included wiring instructions for payments to be sent to Cypriot accounts.

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[Redacted]

Actinet was a DMP company in Cyprus. Badel was owned by [Redacted]
Plymouth by [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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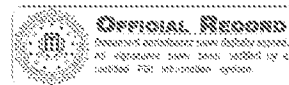
[Redacted]

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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."

[Redacted]



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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]

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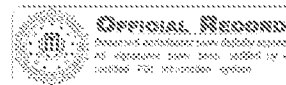
Investigation on 05/03/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 06/11/2018

by [Redacted]

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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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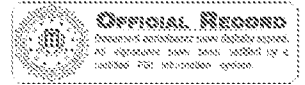
Investigation on 05/03/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 06/08/2018

by [Redacted]

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[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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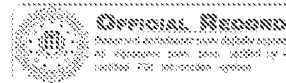
Investigation on 05/31/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

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]

[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]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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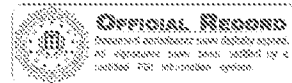
Investigation on 06/13/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 06/18/2018

by [Redacted]

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[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]

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[Redacted] Also present were Senior Assistant Special Counsel Greg D. Andres and Gates' attorney, Tom Green. The following information was furnished:

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 Manafort directed him not turn over documents in his possession relating to the ECFMU, Podesta and Mercury and to destroy them. Gates did not comply and kept copies of them on his hard drive because he thought they would be important one day.

Manafort knew the 30-day email retention policy as stated in their FARA submission was not correct.

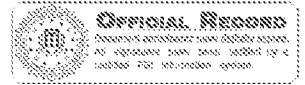
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Investigation on 06/20/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

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]

[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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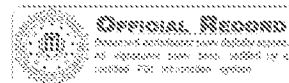
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Investigation on 06/27/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 06/28/2018

by [Redacted]

[Redacted]



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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]

[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] [Redacted] took over.

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[Redacted]

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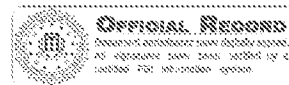
Investigation on 07/12/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 07/14/2018

by [Redacted]

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[Redacted]



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 09/18/2014

Richard Gates, date of birth (DOB) [Redacted] [Redacted] was interviewed at the law offices of Miller & Chevalier, 655 15th St, NW, #900, Washington, DC. Also present were Assistant Deputy Chief, Asset Forfeiture Money Laundering Section, DOJ, Dan Claman, and attorneys for Richard Gates, [Redacted] and [Redacted] [Redacted]. 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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Gates stated that he was employed by DMP International. Gates stated that he originally worked for Davis Manafort Partners starting in September 2006. Gates stated that [Redacted] left the business in [Redacted] and the company was renamed DMP International. Gates stated that he provided political and campaign consulting services to international political candidates. Originally the company provided these services to US and foreign candidates, but by 2006 the majority of their work was with international clients, including candidates in the Ukraine. Gates stated that they also worked on parliamentary elections.

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Gates stated that in 2006 he was hired by Paul Manafort to develop a party format in Ukraine that was based on western platforms.

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Gates added that [Redacted] [Redacted] His background was in international business.

Gates stated that Paul Manafort (Manafort) was a strategist and he (Gates) worked on structure. Gates worked on the day to day strategic documents. Gates stated that the principals of DMP were Manafort, himself, and Konstantin Kilimnik (Konstantin). Gates stated that Konstantin was a Russian citizen who lived in Ukraine and worked on the day to day operations of DMP in Ukraine. Konstantin had worked for Davis Manafort before 2006 and is still employed by DMP. Gates stated that technically he is employed by DMP but he is not an employee. Gates stated that Konstantin's job was to interact with party members. He was their person on the ground in Kyiv.

Gates stated that when they needed work done on a campaign such as

Investigation on 07/02/2014 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 07/09/2014

by [Redacted]

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[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of Richard Gates, On 07/02/2014, Page 2 of 8

advertising, polling or speech writing, they contracted US companies to work on the campaign.

Gates opined that after working on elections they transitioned into providing policy advice to the Party of Regions. They did not have a contract but worked from a proposal. Gates added that although the proposal was accepted, they were never paid on time, but they did eventually get paid. They were hired to help move the platform toward more western governance.

Gates stated that the Party of Regions changed over the years. Boris Kolesnikov was the campaign manager for Victor Yanukovych in 2010. The Party of Regions still exists but Manafort and Gates helped develop the Ukraine Development Party, which was a younger and more progressive party.

Gates stated that the Party of Regions was only designed to serve the South and East regions of Ukraine. It was a regional party which is why it was not successful. The new party was formed on a platform that included anti-corruption and covered all the regions of Ukraine. [REDACTED] worked with this new party.

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Gates stated that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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Gates stated that in his position he worked with mid-level people. [REDACTED] was on the Party of Regions. Manafort worked with the higher ranking officials.

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Gates stated that he met Rinat Ahkmetov a few times, not in meetings, but at a hotel lobby. Gates stated that he never did business with him.

Gates stated that he did meet [REDACTED] two or three times. He met him while he was working on the campaign for Andrei Kluyev. Gates added that he met Sergei Kluyev as well.

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Gates stated that they worked to get the Ukraine to sign a deal with the European Union in 2013, but that it never happened. Sergei Kluyev was in the US at least twice in 2013 -- once at a US-Ukraine dinner, where Sergei was a speaker.

Gates stated that he did know the US-Ukraine Business Council and had worked with them at least twice in 2010 after Yanukovych was elected.

Gates stated that [REDACTED] was loyal to [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of Richard Gates, On 07/02/2014, Page 3 of 8

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Gates stated that Paul Manafort was the boss of DMP. [REDACTED] did not know about operations in Ukraine.

IRI, the International Republic Institute, is a US bi-partisan group.

National Party not a regions party. From IRI, Konstanin Klimnik was the person on the ground for DMP in Kyiv.

[REDACTED] worked on the first campaign as a [REDACTED] not as an employee. [REDACTED] worked for Manafort prior to Gates working there.

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Gates stated that he and Manafort didn't really work for officials, but were working for the Party of Regions. After 2010 they also offered policy advice. Gates stated that they were hired as consultants to assist with campaigns and they they transitioned off of campaigns and into providing direction on policy matters. Gates stated that they provided suggestions on western reform policies.

Gates stated that they worked with Sergey Lyovochkin ,Yanukovych's Chief of Staff on devising a political agenda between 2010 and 2014. After 2014 they worked with the Party of Regions on policy matters.

Gates was a [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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Gates stated that they were directed to open accounts in Cyprus because it was easier for the candidates to pay them from a Cypriot account to a Cypriot account.

Gates stated that invoices for campaign assistance were paid into the account in the name of Lucicle in Cyprus.

Invoices for policy advice was paid into Global Endeavor account in Cyprus. Telmar paid into this account.

Gates stated that the oligarchs would pass the hat to collect funds to pay for the work DMP performed on consulting proposals. Different campaign projects were paid into different accounts. Gates stated that people in Ukraine did not want other candidates to know who was working on their campaigns.

Gates stated that they were told to open accounts in Cyprus for ease of payment. He was told it would be easier for DMP to be paid from a Cypriot account to another Cypriot account. Gates stated that they used standard

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of Richard Gates, On 07/02/2014, Page 4 of 8

English common law contracts and the fee was included on the contract. Then they would invoice the customer for payment.

Gates stated that Bletilla Ventures Ltd. and Leviathan Advisors Ltd. were used to invoice for services. Gates stated that Lilred LLC was used for Paul Manafort's investments. Lilred LLC was not related to DMP, only to Paul Manafort.

Gates stated that Yiakora Ventures Ltd was set up in Cyprus and was associated with DMP. Gates added that Loav Advisors Ltd was also associated with DMP. Gates stated that one of the companies was set up in Virginia. Global Endeavor was set up in St. Vincent. Another company, Jeynet was also set up in St Vincent.

Gates stated that Manafort did not have other business interests in the Ukraine, only political consulting and policy consulting.

Gates stated that there were no real estate investments in the Ukraine. They looked into investing in the Underground Mall, but they did not invest in it. Ukrainians wanted US investors to invest in Ukraine real estate and industries.

Gates stated that [REDACTED] did a lot of business in Ukraine.

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Gates stated that Rinat Ahkmetov [REDACTED] but he added that not many Ukrainian oligarchs [REDACTED]

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Gates stated that he met former President Victor Yanukovych on two occasions. Gates heard rumors about Yanukovych, but did not have any first hand knowledge about his criminal activities.

Gates stated that he never met [REDACTED] and did not have any information about him.

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Gates stated that, from 2005-2012, there was the same "group of player" in Ukrainian politics. By 2012, "the Family" members were being brought into place in government positions. Gates stated that things changed in 2012. Gates stated that people close to the Yanukovych family were being placed in key government positions. They were the "Donetsk Clan". Older established politicians were being replaced with Yanukovych family members.

Gates stated that he never met [REDACTED] Gates heard that [REDACTED] organized all the deals in Ukraine but he never had contact with him.

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Continuation of FD-302 of Richard Gates, On 07/02/2014, Page 5 of 8

Gates stated that Andrei Kluyev was one faction of the Party of Regions. Kluyev was the Chairman of the National Security and Defense Counsel. Gates said that [REDACTED]

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Gates stated that he never met Sergei Arbuzov, [REDACTED]

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Gates stated that he met Yuri Boyko twice. Once at a business dinner. Gates stated that Boyko was viewed as an educated businessman and that he had a good working knowledge of the Ukrainian energy sector.

Gates stated that he never met [REDACTED] or [REDACTED]. Gates added that he met [REDACTED] twice while he was working on the presidential campaign.

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Gates stated that he never met [REDACTED]

Gates stated that he knew that [REDACTED] was a member of the Yanukovych family and was involved in the [REDACTED] sector.

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Gates stated that in order to score the next election, Yanukovych was moving "family members" into key positions.

Gates stated that Manafort and Konstantin had contact with the US Embassy in Kyiv. Manafort had contact with the US Ambassador, but did not have contact with the US Economic Section personnel. Gates stated that he did not have contact with the embassy and he was not the person on the ground in Kyiv.

Gates stated that he never met Victor Pshonka, and did not think Manafort had met him either.

Gates stated that he did not have any contact with Alexander Yakymenko.

Gates stated that he knew that [REDACTED] was a member of the Party of Regions. Gates did not have any knowledge of [REDACTED] business deals but Konstantin might have.

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Gates stated that he did not know [REDACTED] or [REDACTED]

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Gates stated that Global Highway Ltd was a DMP company. Actinet Trading was a Ukrainian company, and Smythson LLC was a US company.

Gates added that Evo Holdings was a company used for working on

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of Richard Gates, On 07/02/2014, Page 6 of 8

elections.

Gates stated that they never had any contracts with [Redacted]

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Gates stated that Sergei Lyoavochkin contacted Manafort and they met with [Redacted] Lyovochkin was a behind the scenes guy. [Redacted] wanted to be more western. Gates stated that [Redacted] worked with [Redacted] wanted to improve his image in [Redacted] Manafort and Gates met with [Redacted] with a few of his men and a translator.

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[Redacted]

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EurAsia 21 is a US based think tank in Eastern Europeans trying to establish themselves on the international stage.

Gates stated that he had no knowledge of [Redacted] [Redacted] Gates stated that they pitched ideas to [Redacted] but that he passed on their ideas. Gates stated that [Redacted] introduced them to [Redacted] was the point of contact [Redacted] related to [Redacted] worked for [Redacted] Gates stated that Manafort did not have any other deals with [Redacted] Gates stated they only worked on political consulting after that point.

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Gates stated that he had no knowledge of Ukrainians investing money in the US or moving money out of the Ukraine. Gates was not involved in lobbying in Ukraine and did not get involved in business deals. Gates stated that he was never approached to move money to the US. Gates stated that the accounts they had were used to receive payments for services.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Gates stated that the amounts they received would match the amounts they invoiced for services. Gates added that they were always paid late and in tranches.

Gates stated that all the people used by DMP to work on campaigns were selected by DMP and were US companies.

Gates stated that in 2010-2014, President Yanukovych's Chief of Staff, Boris Kolesnikov, ran things. Manafort told the Chief of Staff that they were not going to work on the campaign if they did not get paid.

Gates stated that he worked with Konstantin. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted] Gates stated that [Redacted]

[Redacted] Gates reiterated that he only worked with mid-tier officials. Gates stated that DMP kept campaign work and policy work separate.

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Gates stated that [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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Gates stated that they were directed to set up accounts in Cyprus and St Vincent. The Ukrainians told them it was easier to pay them into accounts in Cyprus or to pay in US dollars or Euros. Boris Kolesnikov said it was easier to pay from a Cypriot account to a Cypriot account. The law firm also suggested setting up accounts in St. Vincent. Gates stated they also opened an account in the UK. This account was not used for payment for policy work.

Gates stated that the Smythson account was set up for this reason.

Setting up these accounts was at the request of the Ukrainians who wanted to keep it quiet that they were paying DMP.

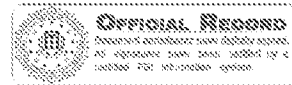
Gates stated that a Ukrainian introduced them to a Cypriot law firm and ran the Presidential election from Cyprus.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of Richard Gates, On 07/02/2014, Page 8 of 8

[Redacted]



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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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]

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[Redacted] Gates also did not like [Redacted]

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]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates follow up, On 08/18/2018, Page 2 of 3

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates follow up , On 08/18/2018 , Page 3 of 3

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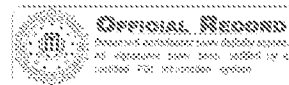
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Subsequent to this call, Gates sent the writer an email with a series of attachments. That email and the attachments have been attached to this FD302.



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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 10/16/2018

On Tuesday, September 11, 2018, Richard Gates was interviewed at the law offices of Sidely Austin, 1501 K Street N.W., Washington, DC 2005. Gates was being interviewed pursuant to an ongoing cooperation agreement entered into with the Office of the Special Counsel. Present for the interview were DOJ Senior Financial Investigator [redacted] FBI Spec Agent [redacted] Assistant United States Attorneys [redacted] [redacted] and [redacted] from the Southern District of New York; and Assistant United States Attorney [redacted] DOJ National Security Division. Also present was Gates' attorney, Thomas Green. After being advised the identity of the interviewing parties and the purpose of the interview, Gates furnished the following information:

Note: Prior to the interview commencing, AUSA [redacted] reminded Gates that he had to be truthful with the interviewing parties and at anytime he wished to consult with his attorney (Thomas Green) he could do so. Gates verbally acknowledged that he understood.

Skadden Report Background:

Gates' initial involvement with Skadden Arps and the subsequent Skadden Report was when Paul Manafort (Manafort) contacted Gates about using one of their (Davis Manafort Partners) Ukrainian funded bank accounts in Cyprus to pay for an independent review of the imprisonment of former Ukrainian Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko. To the best of Gates' recollection, Manafort was put in contact with Greg Craig of Skadden Arps after speaking with [redacted] Gates was unsure why [redacted] referred Craig to Manafort.

Skadden Report Media Strategy:

Gates recalled Craig initially agreed to be involved in the overall media strategy, but FTI Consultants was subsequently hired to handle it. FTI was referred to Manafort via Craig.

Craig went back and forth on his role with the overall media strategy, but eventually agreed to talk with [redacted] of the New York Times. It was

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Investigation on 09/11/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 09/17/2018

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[REDACTED]

(U//~~LES~~) Richard Gates - September 11,
2018

Continuation of FD-302 of _____, On 09/11/2018, Page 2 of 12

Gates' recollection that Craig mentioned having a good relationship with [REDACTED] while at a meeting in DC. Craig believed his relationship with [REDACTED] would give them a shot at a fair interview.

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When FTI ultimately drafted their initial media strategy/plan, it had Craig playing a more active role. Craig pushed back, but compromised to reach out to a few media and political contacts.

Gates recalled that a few United States Legislators were contacted prior to the release of the Skadden Report; however, he could not recall who they were. Initially Craig was willing and felt comfortable reaching out to these elected officials, but Gates was unsure if he ever ended up doing so. However, Gates said Manafort told him Craig contacted people identified on the list of contacts.

Alex Van Der Zwaan was a Skadden Associate based in London and was brought on board because Skadden needed a Russian speaker. Van Der Zwaan ultimately became Craig's right-hand man in Ukraine and reported directly to Craig.

Gates was unsure why Skadden didn't file under FARA, but recalled they hired FTI because Craig and Skadden didn't want to be involved in a full blown media strategy. Gates recalled Manafort telling him Skadden was going to look into whether they needed to file under FARA.

Gates recalled having approximately two one-on-one meetings with Craig. He also attended meetings with Craig, Manafort and others in NYC once or twice. Manafort had more direct/regular interaction with Craig; however, Gates would regularly receive downloads from Manafort.

Emails/Documents Shown to Gates:

Tab 11 - Gates was shown an email chain with Bates stamps SAU 020823 - 020825 which was a conversation between Gates and Van Der Zwaan on May 1, 2012 with the subject "Re: Call". Gates was unsure the origin of the PR information; however, he believed this was around the time FTI was hired.

Tab 21 - Gates was shown an email chain and attachments with Bates stamps SAU 021116 - 021130 which was a conversation between Gates and Van Der Zwaan on July 17, 2012 with the subject "Project Veritas - Communications Strategy". [REDACTED] was Gates' initial contact at FTI; however, he was replaced by Jonathan Hawker because he [REDACTED] was difficult to deal with.

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Gates was questioned about the Skadden Report Strategy Section starting on page 5 of the attachment. Although the Report was not yet finalized, Gates

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(U//~~LES~~) Richard Gates - September 11,

Continuation of FD-302 of 2018, On 09/11/2018, Page 3 of 12

said Craig provided an outline of the project to Manafort. It was around this time Manafort was pressuring Hawker to finalize the Media Plan.

Gates said it was "aspirational" the Skadden Report would conclude the trial of Tymoshenko was valid. In fact, the Skadden Report did not conclude the trial was valid.

The journalists identified on pages 9-10 came from Hawker and FTI. It wasn't until later on that Craig advised he had a better contact at the NY Times [REDACTED]

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Tab 22 - Gates was shown an email chain with Bates stamps SAU 021132 - 021133 which was a conversation between Gates and Van Der Zwaan on July 18, 2012 with the subject "Project Veritas - Communications Strategy". Gates said the reference from Van Der Zwaan that Greg and [REDACTED] wanted him to speak with Gates urgently involved two separate conversations Van Der Zwaan had with each.

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As it related to his conversation with Craig, Van Der Zwaan told Gates that he sat down with Craig to discuss the plan and he (Craig) had concerns with the overall intensity of the plan.

As it related to his conversation with [REDACTED] Van Der Zwaan told Gates [REDACTED] wanted additional people added.

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Tab 24 - Gates was shown an email chain with Bates stamp SAU 030158 which was a conversation between Gates, [REDACTED] Hawker and Van Der Zwaan on July 29, 2012 with the subject "Re: Media Plan". Van Der Zwaan requested all discussions about the media plan be sent via private email. Van Der Zwaan indicated that after speaking with Craig about this arrangement he felt more comfortable with it.

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Gates was also shown an attachment to Tab 24, a Memorandum from [REDACTED] to PJM, dated July 27, 2012 with the subject "SA Report - Media Plan (Bates stamps SAU 030154 - 030157)". Item number 6 in the Report Release section referenced briefing a small number of international journalists in advance of the publication of the Skadden Report. Gates said at this stage they were still having discussions with Craig on what or what not he would be willing to do. Those discussions were primarily between Manafort and Craig and Gates would subsequently be briefed down by Manafort.

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As previously mentioned, on occasion Gates communicated with Van Der Zwaan and Hawker via private email. They also communicated via telephone and in-person. Gates said they would use private emails to send draft sections of the Skadden Report to the Ministry of Justice (MOJ) and to also highlight

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(U//~~LES~~) Richard Gates - September 11, 2018

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changes to the Media Plan and Report. It was Gates' understanding that Van Der Zwaan was sharing all changes and updates with Craig. The private emails were used more as an intermediary so the conversations weren't sent through a Skadden server. Skadden wanted to maintain the perception of independence.

Gates never had a conversation with Craig about the use of private emails.

Tab 25 - Gates was shown an email from Gates to Van Der Zwaan with Bates stamp SAU 021141 on July 30, 2012 with the subject "Call". Gates assumed this was in reference to the revised Media Plan. When asked if Craig would have approved Van Der Zwaan furnishing an advance/draft copy of the Skadden Report, Gates said absolutely.

Tab 34 - Gates was shown an email from Gates to Van Der Zwaan with an attachment with Bates stamps SAU 147989 - 147994 on September 19, 2012 with the subject "Here". Gates said the attachment was a memo written by Manafort for Craig following up on suggested changes to the Skadden Report.

Gates was questioned about the Harvard Club (NYC) meeting between Manafort, Gates, Hawker and Craig. It was his recollection the purpose of the meeting was to push for the finalization of the Report and to discuss what Craig would be willing to do as part of the GR (Government Relations) and PR (Public Relations) rollout. Prior to the meeting, Manafort and Craig met alone to discuss Craig's assistance in the rollout. Manafort told Gates and Hawker he would be able to get Craig to agree to do a few things.

The actual meeting at the Harvard Club lasted approximately two hours, of which 45 minutes was spent discussing the Media Plan. In the end, although they were unable to get as much assistance from Craig on the Media Plan rollout, Craig agreed to provide an advance copy of the report and brief it to [REDACTED] (NY Times). Gates said it was critical to have what was perceived to be a neutral article written by a prominent media outlet like the NY Times.

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[REDACTED] name came up during both at the pre-meeting and the actual meeting. Gates said the reason for [REDACTED] and the NY Times was for perception right out the box. Gates recalled Craig saying if he used [REDACTED] he could help guide the story and set the stage. While Craig never expected the article to be 100% positive, he wanted the Report to be taken seriously and to not be considered a whitewash.

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Tab 95 - Gates was shown an email and attachments which was a conversation between Hawker, Manafort, Gates, Konstantin Kilimnik, Craig and Van Der

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Zwaan with Bates stamps FTI 005805 - 005834 on September 23, 2012 with the subject "Documents". The documents referenced included an agenda for the Harvard Club meeting to discuss the proposed media plan. Gates confirmed a copy of the agenda was distributed to everyone in attendance at the meeting. Gates recalled they went through every item on the agenda to include the role of Craig. It was Gates' understanding Craig felt more comfortable talking with politicians (GR) on the background of the Skadden Report more than he did with the media (PR).

Action number 7 on the Master Control Grid called for the "Engagement with Bloomberg". Gates believed Craig volunteered to contact Bloomberg and it was on his list of items to do; however, he doesn't think he did.

Action Number 6 on the Master Control Grid called for Craig to meet with [redacted] and [redacted] Gates did not believe these meetings ever took place.

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The SA Report Media Plan Overview proposed leaking a copy of the Skadden Report to the Bloomberg Bureau in Washington, DC. As previously stated, Gates believed Craig volunteered to contact Bloomberg and while it was on his list of items to do, he doesn't think he did. That being said, Gates said if anyone would have leaked the Skadden Report to Bloomberg it would have been Craig.

Action Number 21 Master Control Grid called for Craig to brief the Ukrainian Commissioner for Human Rights. Gates did not recall Craig agreeing to do this.

Action Number 22 Master Control Grid called for Craig to Brief [redacted] and [redacted] Gates recalled Craig agreed to do this prior to the Harvard Club meeting. As previously stated, Gates did not believe these meetings took place.

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Action Number 24 Master Control Grid called for Craig to engage with US Media. Besides the NY Times [redacted] Gates did not recall any other US Media contacted by Craig.

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Action Numbers 25-30 Master Control Grid called for Craig travel to Brussels and Moscow for roundtable discussions. Gates believed Craig agreed to do this prior to the Harvard Club meeting; however, he said it never took place.

Action Number 21 Master Control Grid called for Craig to engage with US Political Stakeholders and the UK Ambassador to the US. Gates could not recall if Craig ever did this.

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One of the documents attached by Hawker was the Project Veritas - Master Questions and Answer Document. Gates said this document was prepared by Hawker for the MOJ and would have been discussed at the meeting. Gates could not recall if Craig raised any concerns it.

Tab 40 - Gates was shown an email which was a conversation between Hawker, Gates and Van Der Zwaan with Bates stamps SAU 026067 dated September 24, 2012 with the subject "Problem". Gates did not recall what the problem was.

Tab 41 - Gates was shown an email and attachments which was a conversation between Hawker, Craig, Manafort and Gates with Bates stamps SAU 026698 and SAU 026701 - 026710 dated September 24, 2012 with the subject "Draft Messaging". Gates said this email and documents were shared post (after) the Harvard Club meeting in an effort to shore up the Media Plan.

Gates was shown an email chain with Bates stamps FTI 004504 - 004505 dated September 24-25, 2012 which was a conversation between Hawker, Craig, Manafort and Gates with the subject "Draft Messaging". Gates believed Craig had a follow-up call with Hawker and he (Hawker) then sent out a revised Media Plan.

Tab 96 - Gates was shown an email chain with Bates stamp FTI 002246 dated September 25, 2012 which was a conversation between Gates and Hawker. Gates recalled one of the issues Hawker needed to discuss with Craig was the validity of the Tymoshenko Trial. The MOJ wanted the Skadden Report to say the trial was valid.

Tab 42 - Gates was shown an email chain with Bates stamp PDG 00045001 which was sent by Gates to Mercury and Podesta on September 26, 2012 with the subject "Meeting Agenda". The body of the email referenced a meeting agenda for the DC Consultants (Mercury and Podesta). Gates said Mercury and Podesta had better connections for outreach to US Politicians and that Mercury would provide their recommendations for media outreach.

Tab 98 - Gates was shown an email chain and attachments between Gates and Hawker with Bates stamps SAU FTI 001385 - 001395 dated September 24, 2012 with the subject "Document". The documents attached were the Project Veritas Media Plan as modified after review by Mercury and Podesta. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Bloomberg, was identified as a US journalist to receive a background brief by FTI and Skadden. Gates believed [REDACTED] name was furnished by [REDACTED] [REDACTED] but that it might have also come from Craig. Gates said there was no reference to the NY Times because it was already in the works and they didn't want anyone to know about the NY Times, to include Mercury and Podesta. Gates recalled having discussions about this matter with Manafort and Hawker.

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Gates was questioned about the names of US contacts identified to be briefed (Bates stamp FTI 001392). Gates believed Harry Reid and Richard Durbin were included because Craig had a past relationship with them. Gates recalled Craig saying he would reach out to them. The other contacts came from Mercury and/or Podesta and Gates was unsure if they were ever briefed.

Tab 45 - Gates was shown an email and attachment which was a conversation between Hawker, Manafort, Gates and Kilimnik with Bates stamps FTI 003739 - 003743 dated October 2, 2012 with the subject "Master Grid". Gates stated the attachment was the European media rollout. According to Gates, the messaging would say the Skadden Report was independent and determined the Ukrainian Government did some things right and some things wrong. However, the Skadden Report would not state the Government was totally in the right.

The Domestic Strategy as referenced on Bates stamp 0037742 was a reference to the Ukrainian Domestic Strategy.

Tab 97 - Tab 45 - Gates was shown an email and attachment from Gates to Hawker with Bates stamps FTI 007384 dated October 2, 2012 with the subject "Matrix - Actions". Gates identified the attached document as the DC Consultant (Mercury and Podesta) Media Plan. Gates recalled at some point Mercury and/or Podesta expressed some hesitancy to use the NY Times because they did not think it would be a positive article.

Tab 48 - Gates was shown an email chain which was a conversation between Manafort, Gates, Hawker and Kilimnik with Bates stamp FTI 003135 dated October 5, 2012 with the subject "update". In the email Manafort requested a copy of the most recent Media Plan and referenced that GC (Craig) was coming back from the Middle East that day. Gates recalled Craig and [redacted] shared a client in the Middle East and were there together.

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When questioned about the delay in releasing the Skadden Report, Gates recalled Craig asked them to hold-off so he could attempt to interview Tymoshenko again. Gates also recalled the MOJ had some concerns with the Skadden Report and there was talk about them not releasing it. Podesta also had concerns with how the Skadden Report would be perceived in the US.

It was also around this time Mercury was looking into reaching out to the media, to include [redacted] speaking with [redacted]

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Tab 99 - Tab 42 - Gates was shown an email chain and attachments between Gates and Hawker with Bates stamps FTI 025794 - 025807 on November 26, 2012 with the subject "Report". The Master Control Grid had a noted task

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at 1700 for GC to provide background briefing at the request of the US Journalist on Tuesday at 1700. Gates said this was a reference to Craig reaching out to [REDACTED] (NY Times).

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The Master Control Grid also had a noted task at 2200 for Bloomberg to release story for print on Tuesday morning. To the best of his recollection this was going to be handled by [REDACTED] (Mercury).

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Gates said it was around this time, or maybe even in October, Manafort had him tell [REDACTED] about Craig and the NY Times. [REDACTED] pushed back and asked why not the Washington Post.

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Gates recalled the closer they got to the release of the Skadden Report it became clear Craig was going to be less involved in the overall Media Plan rollout.

Gates was unsure who put the reference to John Kerry on Bates stamp 025798 although they were aware Craig was close with him.

Gates could not identify anyone referenced from the USA Section (Bates stamps 025804 - 025807) that Craig agreed to reach out to.

Gates said it was Hawker's idea for a possible Vanity Fair article on Craig as referenced at 1900 on Bates stamp 025808. It was never pursued as far as Gates was aware.

Tab 100 - Gates was shown an email chain and attachment which was a conversation between Gates, Kilimnik, Manafort and Hawker with Bates stamps FTI 026136 on December 5, 2012 with the subject "Updated Docs". The attached Master Control Grid called for courtesy calls on December 12th. One of the individuals identified to call was Obama. Gates did not recall any discussions about reaching out to President Obama and opined it was most likely a reference to the Obama Administration.

Gates did not recall if Craig or anyone reached out to (Harry) Reid. It was also his understanding Mercury was going to reach out (John) Boehner.

The attached Master Control Grid called for the Report to be given to [REDACTED] of the NY Times who would then have an exclusive on the material for 24 hours. Gates recalled being aware of the date of this email that Craig had already reached out to [REDACTED]. A copy of this Master Control Grid would have been sent/shared with Craig, Gates, Manafort and Kilimnik. Kilimnik would have then had it translated to share with the Ukrainian Government.

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(U//~~LES~~) Richard Gates - September 11,
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Gates opined that individuals might have been added to the distribution list to help bolster the Media Plan to the MOJ.

It was the idea that either the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or Craig would reach out to the key stakeholders. However, Gates was unaware if anyone was actually contacted.

[REDACTED] and an UNSUB were also hired by Manafort to conduct outreach during the rollout.

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TAB 101 - Gates was shown an email from Hawker to Gates with Bates stamps FTI 026230 December 6, 2012 with the subject "Docs". Hawker informed Gates everything has gone to Alex's (Van Der Zwaan) gmail, but that he can't get a hold of Greg (Craig). Gates was unsure why Hawker was unable to get a hold of Craig. Gates said he can't say for sure that Craig saw the attached Master Control Grid; however, he recalled being told by Van Der Zwaan around the time of this email that Craig received the assignments.

Gates never heard Craig didn't want to talk with the NY Times.

Tab 55 - Gates was shown an email chain and attachment which was a conversation between Gates, [REDACTED] Hawker, Kilimnik and Van Der Zwaan with Bates stamps SAU 030582 - 030592 on December 10, 2012 with the subject "Master Control Grid consult - SA Report.xlsx". Gates did not know if Craig saw the attached Master Control Grid, but said he sent it to Van Der Zwaan and opined he forwarded it to Craig.

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Hawker was tasked to organize Craig's schedule to start (implement) the Media Plan rollout.

Tab 56 - Gates was shown an email chain which was a conversation between Gates, [REDACTED] Van Der Zwaan and [REDACTED] with Bates stamps SAU 038013 on December 11, 2012 with the subject "Warsaw". It was Gates' understanding Craig was going to travel to Europe to brief a select group of European leaders, but had an issue with his flight. [REDACTED] wanted Van Der Zwaan to meet with members of the media, but Craig would not approve it. Gates said it was his speculation, and speculation only, Craig did not want anyone from Skadden besides himself doing any media outreach.

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Gates did not know what happened regarding the off the record briefing request by ANSA.

It was Gates' understanding that Craig took a middle of the road approach when speaking with the NY Times [REDACTED] Per a debrief by Manafort, he (Manafort) pushed Craig to be on record when speaking with the NY Times.

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Craig's willingness to engage the media showed a level of credibility for the Report and for the overall public perception of the findings. Manafort knew it was critical for Craig do it. Gates recalled there was a lot of give and take leading up to what Craig finally agreed to do. According to Gates, Craig was not only trying to please the client, but he also didn't want to damage his reputation.

Gates said Craig approached Manafort during the Summer (2012) to discuss additional work opportunities in the Ukraine. Those discussions continued into early 2013 and centered more on the business side and not GR. Van Der Zwaan was going to be Skadden's point person. Gates recalled Manafort telling him he helped arrange meetings between Craig and few Ukrainian Oligarchs.

Tab 102 - Gates was shown an email from Hawker to Gates with Bates stamp FTI 026366 on December 11, 2012 with the subject "In reception". Gates did not recall this email or what it was about.

Tab 103 - Gates was shown an email chain and attachment between Gates, Hawker and Van Der Zwaan with Bates stamps FTI 025218 - 025223 on December 11, 2012 with the subject "Contact List". To the best of his knowledge, no one from this list was contacted.

Tab 57 - Gates was shown an email from Gates to Van Der Zwaan with Bates stamps SAU 247167 on December 11, 2012 with the subject "Report". After reviewing this email and the last tab reviewed (Tab 103), Gates recalled instructing Van Der Zwaan to send a copy of the Skadden Report to those contacts identified. Gates opined that Mercury and Podesta would have done the advanced outreach.

Tab 58 - Gates was shown an email chain and attachment which was a conversation between Gates, Kilimnik, Van Der Zwaan, [redacted] and Hawker with Bates stamps SAU 007652 - 019858 on December 12, 2012 with the subject "Report - Information. Gates recalled being told by Van Der Zwaan that [redacted] didn't want Van Der Zwaan meeting with any reporters. Gates also recalled there was concern about Manafort's and MOJ's input to the Skadden Report.

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Tab 104 - Gates was shown an email chain and attachment which was a conversation between Gates, Kilimnik, Manafort, [redacted] and Hawker with Bates stamps FTI 027120 - 027124 on December 13, 2012 with the subject "Report Coverage". Gates recalled Manafort was a little upset with the NY Times article because it started off by saying Skadden concluded

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Tymoshenko's legal rights were violated and that she was wrongly imprisoned. The compromise was the article stated the prosecution wasn't politically motivated.

While Manafort wasn't happy with Craig's quote about leaving it to others the question whether the prosecution was politically motivated, the news article(s) would have been a lot worse if not for Craig speaking to [REDACTED] (NY Times). According to Gates, this was the strategy and it was worth the risk.

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Gates could not recall if Craig was upset about the article published in the Telegraph.

Gates was shown an email chain which was a conversation between Gates, Manafort and [REDACTED] with Bates stamps ES 00012 - 00015 on September 19, 2012 with the subject "an urgent request ON IT". Gates recalled this involved a pending US Senate Resolution re: Tymoshenko. Initially Gates could not recall having any discussions with Craig about reaching out to Durbin; however, it's possible during one of his one on one meetings with Craig he brought up the topic. Gates recalled Craig might have told him he would look into it and that he knew the people in the State Department. Although his take was Craig was reluctant to help at all, Gates still believed Craig was going to make the call.

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Tab 35 - Gates was shown an email chain between Gates and [REDACTED] with Bates stamp PDG 00045091 on December 19, 2012 with the subject "URGENT". Gates acknowledged reaching out to [REDACTED] and briefing him on the pending resolution and asking for his assistance. Gates recalled [REDACTED] expressed a willingness to assist, but was unsure if he contacted anyone. However, Gates believed [REDACTED] attempted to contact (John) Kerry.

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As previously stated, Gates recalled Skadden was looking into whether or not they needed to file under FARA and that they might have spoken with [REDACTED].

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(Note: It was agreed to meet with Gates at a later date to further discuss FARA.)

Miscellaneous:UNCLASSIFIED//~~LES~~

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[REDACTED]

(U//~~LES~~) Richard Gates - September 11,
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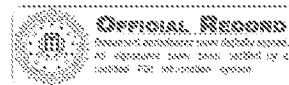
As mentioned in previous interviews, Gates used several encrypted email applications to include Viber. Gates would often use Viber to talk with Van Der Zwaan. He never used Viber or any encrypted application to communicate with Craig.

Gates identified the following two telephone numbers he had saved in his cell phone for Craig : [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]

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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]

[Redacted]

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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]

[Redacted]

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Investigation on 09/27/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

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File # [Redacted] Date drafted 10/01/2018

by [Redacted]

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

Continuation of FD-302 of _____ on 9/27/2018 SCO _____, On 09/27/2018, Page 2 of 3

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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 _____

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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 occasions, 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.

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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 _____ while on the campaign. GATES was surprised when MANAFORT traveled overseas so quickly after leaving the campaign.

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

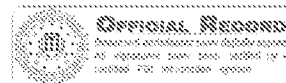
(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of RICHARD GATES III

Continuation of FD-302 of on 9/27/2018 SCO, On 09/27/2018, Page 3 of 3

MANAFORT told GATES that he would not join the administration. MANAFORT said that he and [Redacted]

[Redacted]

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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] [Redacted] and Trial Attorney [Redacted] [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 LYOVCHKIN 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]

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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]

[REDACTED]
UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[REDACTED]
(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of RICHARD GATES III

Continuation of FD-302 of [REDACTED] on 9/27/2018 SDNY, On 09/27/2018, Page 2 of 8

YANUKOVYCH and KLUYIEV [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]
ECFMU needed at least one EU citizen to be a founder. [REDACTED]

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After MANAFORT and KLUYIEV met, they decided to use ECFMU to contract both EU and US work.

[REDACTED]
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[REDACTED] told GATES [REDACTED]

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MANAFORT and GATES called their lobbying effort the "Anti-Crisis" program because of a monetary policy crisis in Ukraine at the time and because the objective of the campaign was to counter issues that Europe had with Ukraine around this time.

The goals of the effort included:

- 1. Sign the Association Agreement
- 2. Sign a free trade agreement with Europe
- 3. Ukraine joining the EU

The last step would likely take 10 years to be realized.

ECFMU had a physical office in Brussels and a staff of three. There was a hardline at ECFMU's offices, but [REDACTED]

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GATES learned of [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]
[REDACTED] did not understand US politics and so deferred to MANAFORT for any decisions related to the US. MANAFORT very rarely if ever received direction from [REDACTED]

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[Redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

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

Continuation of FD-302 of [Redacted] on 9/27/2018 SDNY, On 09/27/2018, Page 3 of 8

MANAFORT 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.

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[Redacted] ran point on the [Redacted] ran point on the [Redacted]

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Lobbying Firms

GATES conducted initial interviews with lobbying firm candidates. MANAFORT conducted interviews with the finalists.

Nobody from ECFMU conducted interviews with the US lobbying firms. [Redacted] told MANAFORT that the choice about which US lobbying firm to hire was his.

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GATES told others that he worked with ECFMU and that he did not work for ECFMU.

MANAFORT decided to go with Mercury and the Podesta Group with GATES' input.

In the initial meetings, MANAFORT and GATES told [Redacted] that the client was the Government of Ukraine (GoU). At some point later, they discovered an issue related to Ukrainian procurement laws, and the client switched to ECFMU.

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MANAFORT controlled the US lobbying effort.

[Redacted]

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GATES always reported to MANAFORT. On some occasions, MANAFORT would tell GATES not to share certain information with [Redacted]

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Had there been a disagreement, [Redacted] and [Redacted] would have followed the direction of MANAFORT over that of [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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

Continuation of FD-302 of on 9/27/2018 SDNY , On 09/27/2018 , Page 4 of 8

Introduction to Mercury

[Redacted]

[Redacted] It was clear early on that MANAFORT would use Mercury for Republican lobbying.

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted] MANAFORT had recently run a successful YANUKOVYCH campaign in Ukraine. GATES told the participants of the meeting that the government of Ukraine would be the client and that they were looking for a full Government Relations (GR) and PR campaign. GATES told the participants that MANAFORT had hired a different firm for lobbying in the EU.

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[Redacted]

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Introduction to The Podesta Group

The first Podesta Group meeting included PODESTA at his office. GATES informed him that the GoU would be the client and that they were looking for someone to provide a full GR and PR campaign. When GATES left the meeting, he understood that the next step was for the firms to present full proposals with fees.

[Redacted]

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After Introductory Meetings

Following GATES' meetings with Mercury and The Podesta Group, the firms sent proposals to him that he forwarded to MANAFORT. [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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

Continuation of FD-302 of [Redacted] on 9/27/2018 SDNY, On 09/27/2018, Page 5 of 8

Early on in the engagement, there had been a strategic debate over whether the GoU or ECFMU could more credibly represent Ukrainian interests. On one hand, GoU was not liked, but on the other, ECFMU was not established. GoU seemed unable to credibly represent that [Redacted] was not political. On the contrary, ECFMU would have a more difficult time representing Ukraine's economic policy. In the end, all parties decided to move forward with ECFMU as the outward-facing client.

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Initially The Podesta Group had been given the PR work, but as the work commenced, they were not getting the job done so the PR work was given to Mercury.

At the start of the firms' consultancy, the objective had been to expand awareness of Ukraine-European integration in the US. As time went on, the US was seen as a more valuable target of influence and took more of a driver's seat role.

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[Redacted]

At one point in time, GATES, along with [Redacted] and others, spoke to [Redacted] on the telephone from [Redacted]. [Redacted] had the general idea about ECFMU and GATES filled in information as needed. At this point in time, [Redacted] was far along with the legal analysis of the situation.

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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At the conclusion, the participants decided not to file FARA.

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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

Continuation of FD-302 of on 9/27/2018 SDNY , On 09/27/2018 , Page 6 of 8

EX 2 PD000371

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GATES did not recall whether or not [Redacted] had been involved until the proposal process.

At the time of the email, [Redacted] would have understood the Ukraine client to be GoU.

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EX 3 [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

EX 154 [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted] did not communicate clearly so MANAFORT did not want [Redacted] involved in the US.

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[Redacted]

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EX 4 [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

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

Continuation of FD-302 of on 9/27/2018 SDNY , On 09/27/2018 , Page 7 of 8

[Redacted]

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EX 5 PDG00490782

ECFMU had been identified at the time of this email but people were still working on the details.

[Redacted]

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The belief at this time within The Podesta Group was that they would need to file FARA.

[Redacted]

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Items 8 and 9 both seemed accurate.

EX 7 PD0003934

At the time of this email, The Podesta Group was still planning to file FARA.

[Redacted]

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Around this time, GATES had told

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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EX 120 PDG00054110

[REDACTED]
UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~[REDACTED]
(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of RICHARD GATES III

Continuation of FD-302 of [REDACTED] on 9/27/2018 SDNY, On 09/27/2018, Page 8 of 8

At this point in time, The Podesta Group was still moving forward with filing FARA. GATES spoke to MANAFORT about how to handle.

At this time, [REDACTED] and GATES were discussing how to handle filing.

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[REDACTED] was briefing [REDACTED] on the discussions.

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GATES was disseminating information from MANAFORT. GATES would usually get [REDACTED] on the phone at the same time.

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[REDACTED] was in the office more often.

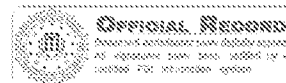
b6
b7C**EX 9 PD0000186**

GATES' reference to "tactical items" refers to MANAFORT's need for documentation for GoU.

"Top guy" in the email referred to YANUKOVYCH who was also referred to as the Big Guy.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 03/23/2018

Richard William Gates III was interviewed by Supervisory Special Agent [Redacted] Special Agent [Redacted] Supervisory Special Agent [Redacted] and Special Counsel Attorneys Andrew Weissmann and Greg Andres. Gates' attorney, [Redacted] of Sidley Austin LLP, was present. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agents and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

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ID Watchdog

The initial investment in ID Watchdog was from funds held in a Cypriot bank account in the name Global Sites. The funds were wire transferred from Global Sites to an account in the name of Jupiter and then wire transferred to ID Watchdog. Gates subsequently bought warrants in ID Watchdog from [Redacted] To pay for these warrants, Gates took out a loan (Gates signed a promissory note) [Redacted] and subsequently paid back the loan.

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McCain Campaign

During the John McCain presidential campaign, [Redacted] a 501c (4) called Americans for Patriotism to support the McCain campaign. Gates stated he heard that a Paul Manafort controlled Cypriot account, LOAV, contributed money to the 501c(4), and the funds in the LOAV account were from Oleg Deripaska, a Russian oligarch.

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Manafort and Rick Davis also set up a company, 3EDC, to provide social media/digital advertising support to the McCain campaign, and 3EDC received a percentage of the ad payments. LOAV fronted the money for 3EDC. Gates stated that LOAV was funded by Deripaska but Gates did not know if the money sent from LOAV to 3EDC was actually funds provided by Deripaska.

Submarine Deal

[Redacted] worked with Manafort on the sale of two nuclear submarines from France to Pakistan. [Redacted] was alleged to receive kickbacks from this deal and Manafort was paid between

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Investigation on 02/28/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 03/06/2018

by [Redacted]

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[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Richard Gates , On 02/28/2018 , Page 2 of 7

\$250,000 - \$400,000 in kickbacks. Gates advised that these allegations were from a newspaper and he did not know if the allegations were true. Manafort never discussed this with Gates.

Energy Today

According to [REDACTED] Energy today was a company that [REDACTED] invested in and subsequently [REDACTED] also invested in. [REDACTED] had ties to Russia and Kazakhstan. [REDACTED] set up a telephone call between someone who worked at Energy Today and Gates where they discussed opportunities for Gates to conduct lobbying and PR work for the company. Specifically, Gates' role was to formulate a strategy to work with state government regulators to obtain oil drilling licenses and conduct PR/GR lobbying. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

The owner of Energy Today hired [REDACTED] Gates and paid them approximately approximately 1.7 million shares of Energy Today stock. Gates stated that he [REDACTED] never actually performed any significant work for Energy Today. They developed a PR/GR strategy but they never actually reached out to any state government regulators to execute on their strategy. The plan was to initiate a pilot project utilizing the proprietary technology and then issue press releases about the pilot project to generate hype. However, they were never able to initiate any actual deals or projects. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

Gates also attempted to secure investors from Ukraine to invest in Energy Today and obtain oil licenses to drill in Ukraine. However, Gates never obtained any new investors or licenses in Ukraine. Gates stated that the cost of the licenses in Ukraine was cost prohibitive.

[REDACTED] told Gates that if they could get the company two or three state ventures and execute on a PR strategy, the price of the shares would increase and they could sell the stock and make a lot of money, or conversely the company would get acquired and they would make money. Gates thought [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] Gates stated he had

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Richard Gates , On 02/28/2018 , Page 3 of 7

no reason to believe Energy Today was not a real viable company. In the end, the contracts never actually materialized.

The President of Energy Today and [Redacted] got into an argument, and [Redacted] told Gates and [Redacted] that he was making changes to the company and he needed them to return their stock so they could be exchanged for new shares in the new company. However, Gates never received any new shares. Gates utilized Morgan Stanley to facilitate these transactions.

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Gates described [Redacted] as a well-connected legitimate businessman who was constantly working on deals and meeting with legitimate executives such as the president of Sony Latin America. [Redacted] was always working on the next great deal.

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Richard Gates , On 02/28/2018 , Page 4 of 7

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted] Gates Plea

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[Redacted] initially called Gates and Gates called [Redacted] back the Friday after Gates pleaded guilty to explain to him what he did and why he decided to plead guilty. [Redacted]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Richard Gates , On 02/28/2018 , Page 5 of 7

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[REDACTED]

Cyprus Accounts

Manafort was aware of the Cypriot companies, Cypriot bank accounts, and that money was moving in and out of these accounts. Gates and Manafort had constant conversations about these accounts and the movement of money in these accounts. Gates stated they had hundreds of conversations about these accounts and the status of the money in these accounts. There were review sessions where they discussed which accounts had money and then Manafort would direct Gates where to transfer the money. These review sessions were usually conducted over the phone, at Manafort's New York apartment, DMP's office, or via emails. Moreover, Manafort directed Gates when to open new accounts. Then, Gates would contact [REDACTED] in Cyprus via telephone or email and would tell [REDACTED] that Manafort was instructing him to open accounts for him in Cyprus. [REDACTED] came up with the names of the nominee Cypriot companies controlled by Manafort.

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Gates worked with [REDACTED] (handled the day-to-day operations) in Cyprus. Gates initially met [REDACTED] through the political work DMP conducted for him in Cyprus. Deripaska initially introduced [REDACTED] to Manafort in 2007. The Ukrainian oligarchs instructed Manafort that he needed to open accounts in Cyprus in order to get paid. Manafort told Gates that [REDACTED] was responsible for setting up accounts in Cyprus for Manafort. Deripaska financially supported [REDACTED] [REDACTED] DMP's work for [REDACTED] Gates met [REDACTED] approximately 8 times in person in Cyprus. Gates went once with Manafort to Cyprus to meet with [REDACTED] to discuss political work and set up the Pericles structure.

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In 2012, Gates traveled to Cyprus at Manafort's direction to remove Manafort from the Cypriot bank accounts, certificates of trust, and incorporation documents and put them in either Gates or Kilmnik's name. Gates instructed Kilmnik to fill out the necessary documentation to place the accounts in Kilmnik's name and then Gates forwarded those documents to [REDACTED] to set up the accounts. Gates told [REDACTED] Manafort wanted his name removed from the Cyprus accounts because of the Tymoshenko lawsuit and he was concerned that she would locate his accounts in Cyprus. Gates stated there was no validity to Tymoshenko's lawsuit and that Manafort was not money laundering for Firtash. Although Manafort had his name removed from the accounts, he still controlled and owned the accounts. Gates also had Kilmnik travel to Cyprus once to open an account in his name so they could transfer money from Cyprus to Ukraine.

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[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Richard Gates, On 02/28/2018, Page 6 of 7

FBAR

Manafort told Gates that they did not need to disclose their foreign bank accounts because [REDACTED] and the people who work for [REDACTED] "layered them". Manafort advised that because they were not on the accounts from an "official point of view", they did not need to disclose these foreign bank accounts to their accountants. At some point, Manafort's accountants, KWC, started asking Gates if the Cyprus bank accounts were Manafort's. Gates told KWC that they needed to speak with Manafort. Gates was aware that these accounts were owned/controlled by Manafort and that Manafort was hiding them from his accountants.

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Gates eventually realized based on questions by KWC [REDACTED] that he needed to get his name off of Manafort's accounts because he was exposed. Gates subsequently had his name removed from the accounts and had nominees put in his place. Gates never discussed this with Manafort because Manafort already thought that Gates removed his name from the accounts, and that only nominee Cypriots were on the accounts. Manafort knew and understood that these were his nominees and that they were his accounts.

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U.S. Vendors and Real Estate

Manafort directed Gates to execute wire transfers to pay Manafort's vendors from the Cypriot bank accounts. Manafort advised that he would take care of handling [REDACTED]

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Regarding Manafort's real estate purchases, Manafort dealt with his accountants at KWC, but over time Gates became aware that Manafort was using money from his Ukraine work to purchase real estate and fund his families expenses directly from the Cypriot accounts. Gates stated that Manafort used the funds from Cypriot accounts to hide the income from his accountants.

KWC

KWC were Manafort's accountants. Generally, KWC sent DMP ledgers to Gates and KWC created DMP tax liability projections based on ledgers. At the end of the year, KWC would file an extension with the IRS for DMP and work on completing DMP's ledgers. [REDACTED] prepared the ledgers with the finalized categories and then sent them to KWC for review. KWC would review the ledgers to make sure the entries were appropriately categorized.

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Gates was getting more questions from KWC about the ledgers when [REDACTED] [REDACTED] took over the account. Gates had a couple of conversations with

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Richard Gates , On 02/28/2018 , Page 7 of 7

Manafort about the fact that both KWC [REDACTED] were asking a lot more questions about the ledgers. There were times when Gates did not know the answers to KWC's questions, so he would ask Manafort and Manafort provided the answers. Every year there was a review session, usually via conference call, with Manafort, Gates, and KWC about DMP/Manafort's taxes

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During the years when DMP/Manafort were making a lot of money, DMP /Manafort's tax liability was high. Manafort did not want to pay this tax liability and would speak to [REDACTED]. Subsequently, the income was categorized as loans rather than income. Gates was not directly involved in these conversations between [REDACTED] and Manafort, but Manafort told [REDACTED] that the some of the money obtained from the Ukraine were the "loans". However, Manafort and Gates knew that the "loans" were actually income and it was fraudulently being categorized as loans to Manafort's accountants.

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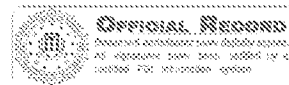
Sometime in 2014, Gates had a conversation with [REDACTED] where it became clear to Gates that they did not know that Manafort controlled the Cypriot bank accounts and entities. Gates stated that [REDACTED] had specifically questioned Manafort about the Cypriot bank accounts and entities, and Manafort stated that he was not the beneficial owner and Gates made the same representation. However, Gates stated that they both knew what they told [REDACTED] was not truthful.

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Regarding bonuses Gates received from Manafort's Cypriot accounts, Gates stated that Manafort asked Gates if he was "taking care of it", a reference to the taxes, and Gates interpreted that to mean Manafort was insuring that Gates was not claiming this as income because it was coming from Manafort's Cypriot accounts and could reveal Manafort's control over the accounts. Gates explained that he and Manafort did not need to have a specific conversation about this because they both knew what they were doing and understood that it was illegal.

Generally, Manafort would direct Gates to do something on his behalf and Gates would do it without question. For example, Manafort would task Gates to provide false information to the banks and Gates would follow his orders.

Generally, Manafort spent November through March at his home in Florida; March through May at is condominium in Virginia; and May through September at his home in the Hamptons.



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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 04/09/2018

Richard GATES, was interviewed at the 395 E Street SW, Washington, D. C. Also present in the interview were Senior Assistant Special Counsel (SASC) Zainab Ahmad, SASC Andrew Weissmann, ASAC [Redacted] and SSA [Redacted] Gates was interview as part of the terms of his plea agreement. GATES provided the following information:

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GATES joined the Donald J. TRUMP Presidential Campaign in March 2016. The financial health of the campaign was not good at the time because TRUMP was self-funding the expenses. TRUMP made a pledge to his supporters on this point which he wanted to uphold. GATES did not think there were any fundraising opportunities at the time. The campaign had apathy towards not doing anything else and the RNC [Republican National Committee] support was not yet there. Eventually the TRUMP Campaign started to build a fundraising mechanism.

[Steven] MNUCHIN joined the campaign and became the finance chair around May of 2016. Other people on the campaign had a problem with the decision to bring MNUCHIN on because he had never raised a fundraising penny in his life. TRUMP realized the magnitude of self-funding a campaign - it could not be done. Paul MANAFORT did not have much of a role in the campaign in March or April. MANAFORT became more involved after TRUMP won the primary. MANAFORT and Jared [KUSHNER] spoke often about how much it work it would be to fundraise. After the primary they were able to lean on the RNC to assist with fundraising.

There were many fundraising events. [Redacted]

[Large Redacted Block]

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Investigation on 03/20/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 03/20/2018

by [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Richard Gates Interview 3/20/2018 , On 03/20/2018 , Page 2 of 8

[Redacted]

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The campaign could never buy the advertising time they wanted because the financial expense was not in the ballpark of what they could afford to spend. The [James] COMEY email scenario helped - the last ten days before the election were good from a fundraising perspective. The money never really flowed. People contributed to big PACs due to the fact there were competitive House and Senate races. [Redacted] contributed.

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MANAFORT and [Redacted] knew each other for a long time. [Redacted] was hired on to the campaign. The campaign wanted [Redacted] to move to New York which was something he did not want to do. [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Richard Gates Interview 3/20/2018, On 03/20/2018, Page 3 of 8

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Richard Gates Interview 3/20/2018 , On 03/20/2018 , Page 4 of 8

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Richard Gates Interview 3/20/2018 , On 03/20/2018 , Page 5 of 8

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[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Richard Gates Interview 3/20/2018 , On 03/20/2018 , Page 6 of 8

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Richard Gates Interview 3/20/2018 , On 03/20/2018 , Page 7 of 8

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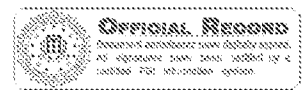
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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Richard Gates Interview 3/20/2018, On 03/20/2018, Page 8 of 8

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

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 07/11/2018

On Thursday, July 5, 2018, Richard Gates appeared at the Office of the Special Counsel in preparation for possible testimony at the trial of Paul Manafort (Manafort) in July 2018. Also present were Senior Assistant Special Counsel Greg D. Andres. The following information was furnished:

Since his last meeting with the Office of the Special Counsel on June 27, 2018, Gates has been in contact with [redacted]

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Gates was shown a photo that recently appeared in various news article (copy attached). Gates stated the photo was taken prior to his Ukraine tenure with Paul Manafort and Davis Manafort Partners. Gates identified the location of the photo as Davis Manafort's office in Kiev, Ukraine.

Gates was able to identify the following from the photo:

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Standing - Left to Right: [redacted] UNSUB and [redacted]

Sitting - Left to Right: Konstantine Kilimnik, UNSUB, possibly [redacted] [redacted] UNSUB (new articles identified this individual as [redacted] however, Gates said this was not [redacted] Paul Manafort and [redacted]

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Prior to his plea agreement with the Government, Gates stated Manafort told him that he was going to get help from SL (Sergei Lyovochkin) and his people.

Gates brought his laptop and while in the presence of Senior Financial Investigator [redacted] [redacted] Paralegal Specialists [redacted] [redacted]

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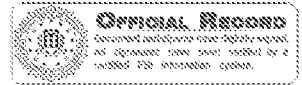
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Declassify On: 50X1-HUM~~

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Investigation on 07/05/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)
File # [redacted] Date drafted 07/11/2018
by [redacted]

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[Redacted]



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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 01/18/2019

On 10/25/2018, SA [Redacted] SA [Redacted], Special Counsel Prosecutor Andrew Weissmann, and attorneys from the US DOJ Public Integrity Section, James Mann, Nicole Lockart, [Redacted] and Ryan Ellersick at the offices of GATES' counsel. Additionally, SA [Redacted] SA [Redacted] and SA [Redacted] were present telephonically. GATES was represented by his counsel Tom Greene. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing agents, GATES provided the following information:

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[Redacted]

GATES believed [Redacted]

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GATES met [Redacted]

[Redacted]

Inauguration

GATES had nothing to do with congressional events.

The Presidential Inauguration Committee (PIC) used donors, not underwriters, to sponsor events. Chevron, Microsoft, and others donated.

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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Investigation on 10/25/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

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File # [Redacted] Date drafted 11/16/2018

by [Redacted]

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(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of RICK GATES 10/25

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018 PIN, On 10/25/2018, Page 2 of 6

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[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of RICK GATES 10/25

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018 PIN, On 10/25/2018, Page 3 of 6

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(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of RICK GATES 10/25

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018 PIN, On 10/25/2018, Page 4 of 6

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(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of RICK GATES 10/25

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018 PIN _____, On 10/25/2018, Page 5 of 6

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Other Work for [Redacted]

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[REDACTED]
UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~[REDACTED]
(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of RICK GATES 10/25

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018 PIN , On 10/25/2018 , Page 6 of 6

[REDACTED]
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GATES did not know anything related to [REDACTED] possible interactions with VTB Bank.

[REDACTED] had a call with ERIK PRINCE about possible relationships. [REDACTED] said that he had known PRINCE for a long time. PRINCE wanted to have a TRUMP event at his farm, but GATES did not want to do it.

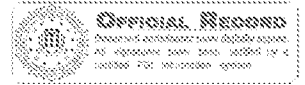
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b7CMiscellaneous[REDACTED]
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GATES' lobbying firm, Konik Madison had looked at potential international clients and had hired an attorney to look at FARA. [NFI]

[REDACTED] never asked GATES about his cooperation after the media announced that GATES was cooperating.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 11/14/2018

On 10/25/2018, 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:

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DCI Group

GATES met some people from DCI Group while he was at G-Tech. [Redacted] left G-TECH to work for DCI Group. DCI Group did grass roots work on the George Bush campaign.

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[Redacted] were all associated with DCI Group.

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In 2016 and 2017, there had been discussion of PAUL MANAFORT being hired at DCI group because the firm did not have anyone working their who could cover Donald Trump. A lot of the people at DCI Group were loyal to MANAFORT.

In 2017, [Redacted] told GATES that the interview of [Redacted] was an issue for CHUCK GRASSLEY. [Redacted] was GRASSLEY's guy. In the final conclusion, however, [Redacted] nomination did not move forward because DIANE FEINSTEIN and GRASSLEY had made a deal.

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[Redacted] to ROGER STONE.

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Ukraine

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

Investigation on 10/25/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 11/06/2018

by [Redacted]

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

Continuation of FD-302 of _____, On 10/25/2018, Page 2 of 3

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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Russia

The Republican position around the time of the election was that Russia's annexation of Crimea was bad. The Trump campaign did not have a position. The campaign employees believed Donald Trump's statement on Crimea would not have any effect.

[Redacted]

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MANAFORT's Work for Other Countries

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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MANAFORT Legal Fees

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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

Continuation of FD-302 of _____ on 10/25/2018 SCO _____, On 10/25/2018, Page 3 of 3

There had been a discussion of a joint legal defense fund, but that never happened.

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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Miscellaneous

GATES had encountered [Redacted] at some point in time. [Redacted] was a business related to MANAFORT'S and [Redacted]. The business had experienced legal issues between 2014 and 2015. GATES had no knowledge of [Redacted] related work in 2017.

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In late 2017, [Redacted]

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MANAFORT and GATES understood [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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At one point in time, JARED KUSHNER had asked GATES to meet [Redacted] (NFI).

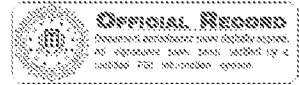
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EX 1

GATES' text message about a "WH war room" was a reference to STEVE BANNON's idea to handle several Public Relations crises by creating a strategic nerve-center to address them. This was after the Special Counsel's Office had been announced.

The recipients of the message were intended to be an advisory committee to handle MANAFORT's Public Relations hits and would have been separate from any efforts in the White House.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 05/07/2018

Richard William Gates III was interviewed by Assistant Special Agent in Charge [Redacted] and Senior Special Counsel Attorneys Andrew Weissmann and Greg Andres. Gates' attorney, Tom Green 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:

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[Redacted] Gates stated that [Redacted] According to Gates, [Redacted] [Redacted] asked Gates to put him in touch with [Redacted] [Redacted] Gates had previously retained [Redacted] following a recommendation from [Redacted] Gates stated that [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

Gates stated that [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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Investigation on 04/11/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)
File # [Redacted] Date drafted 04/28/2018
by [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Richard William

Continuation of FD-302 of Gates III, On 04/11/2018, Page 2 of 2

Contacts:

Gates stated that [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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Prior to the indictments against Manafort and Gates, Manafort assembled a team of contacts to manage his message and "re-focus the narrative."

Included in this group were [Redacted]

[Redacted]

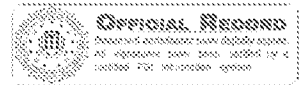
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 04/26/2018

Richard William Gates III was interviewed by Forensic Accountant [Redacted] and Senior Assistant Special Counsel (SASC) Greg Andres. Gates' attorney, Thomas Green of Sidley Austin LLP, was present. After being advised of the identity of the interviewees and the nature of the interview, Gates provided the following information:

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

Investigation on 04/18/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 04/18/2018

by [Redacted]

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Richard Gates Interview 04/18/2018 , On 04/18/2018 , Page 2 of 3

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Richard Gates Interview 04/18/2018 , On 04/18/2018 , Page 3 of 3

[Redacted]

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Administrative Note: There was a break from approximately 1:15pm to 1:45pm.

[Redacted]

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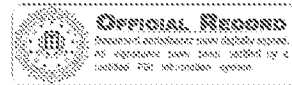
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Administrative Note: From approximately 2pm to 2:30pm SASC Andres went over general trial preparation background questions with Gates.

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[Redacted]



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 05/04/2018

Richard William Gates III was interviewed by FBI Supervisory Special Agent [Redacted] Forensic Accountant [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:

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Michael Cohen

Michael Cohen did not have a formal role at the Republican National Convention (RNC) but made requests for a lot of tickets.

Cohen wanted Corey Lewandowski fired from the campaign. Cohen told Paul Manafort that he supported Lewandowski being fired.

Gates did not have any information regarding [Redacted] and only heard about her in the news.

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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Investigation on 04/18/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 04/24/2018

by [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Richard Gates, On 04/18/2018, Page 2 of 2

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[Redacted]

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Obama's Call to Yanukovich

In 2010, President Obama called Viktor Yanukovich to congratulate him on his 2010 presidential election victory. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted] Manafort spoke [Redacted]

[Redacted] as well. Manafort believed that if President Obama did this, it would legitimize the election results. Manafort strategy [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]