

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FOI/PA

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Civil Action No.: 19-cv-1278 / 19-cv-1626

FOIA: 1432673-000 / 1433273-000

PDF Title: 19-cv-1278 Release 5 Bates 1662-2163

Total Withheld Pages = 215

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FBI(19cv1278) 1704	Referral/Consult
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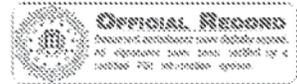
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 06/15/2017

James Rybicki, identifying information having previously been provided, was interviewed at the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), located at 935 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington, DC, pursuant to an e-mail sent by Rybicki to interviewing agent. Rybicki provided the following information:

Rybicki spoke with Comey on Wednesday, June 7, 2017, after FBI special agents visited Comey at his home to provide him, for his review, copies of documents Comey had composed. Comey had requested to review these documents in order to prepare for his appearance before Congress the following day.

During their conversation, Rybicki and Comey discussed the possibility of two additional e-mails not contained within the collection he reviewed: one regarding a January meeting between President Elect Donald J. Trump and Comey prior to the inauguration and one on a "purely business" matter memorializing a telephone conversation between then President Trump and Comey that Comey took at Liberty Crossing.

Sometime later, Rybicki remembered a personal e-mail he received from Comey via Rybicki's personal e-mail address. In this e-mail, Comey listed the interactions Comey had with Trump. Rybicki cannot recall whether he responded to the e-mail. Rybicki provided writer a printed copy of this e-mail. Rybicki and Comey are personal friends and have exchanged e-mails and text messages in the past.

When Rybicki located this e-mail, he contacted Deputy Assistant Director Peter Strzok, who informed Rybicki to contact writer. Rybicki e-mailed writer on Monday, June 12, 2017, to set up a time to provide this e-mail.

Rybicki believed he had not remembered this personal e-mail until after his conversation with Comey because it differed from the other documents. Rybicki distinguished between documents he previously provided to writer and this Gmail e-mail in that the previously provided documents were created by Comey contemporaneous or soon after his encounters with President (or President Elect) Donald Trump, and Rybicki preserved those documents pursuant to a verbal agreement Rybicki and Comey reached

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Investigation on 06/13/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 06/13/2017

by [Redacted]

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of James Rybicki , On 06/13/2017 , Page 2 of 3

regarding their preservation. The Gmail e-mail was only a list of those contacts.

Rybicki reviewed the Gmail e-mail with writer and opined one contact was missing, and described a meeting in March 2017 between Reince Priebus and Comey, after which Priebus brought Comey to meet Trump.

Rybicki then commented on several of the eight contacts with Trump that Comey listed in this e-mail:

Item 2: Item 2 describes a telephone call Comey received from Trump. Rybicki does not think Comey memorialized this telephone call. Rybicki believed this message was one of two that Rybicki provided to Strzok.

Item 5: There was no e-mail or memorandum documenting this exchange because the exchange was purely operational. Rybicki described it as "the LX phone call."

Item 6: Rybicki described this document as "the original extra e-mail."

Items 7 and 8: Following these two exchanges, Comey telephoned and briefed Dana Boente.

Since Comey's termination, Comey's computers and calendar were all locked, meaning they cannot be edited. He has not tried, but Rybicki believed he still could access the calendar.

On the evening Comey was terminated, Andrew McCabe was summoned to the Department of Justice, then the White House. Rybicki had left his office around 4:00 pm, heard about the termination on the news, and returned to FBI HQ around the same time McCabe returned from the White House. McCabe told Rybicki that when he met with Trump at the White House, Trump was upset Comey was permitted to return to Washington on the FBI's airplane. Trump also commented he did not want Comey "in the building again." Before permitting Comey to return on the FBI airplane, Rybicki and others consulted with the FBI's Office of General Counsel and determined Comey's use of the airplane was de minimus given the need for the pilots, Director's detail, and the airplane itself to return to Washington.

After Comey's February 14, 2017, meeting with Trump, Comey discussed with Attorney General Jeff Sessions the fact the FBI Director should not be meeting personally with Trump. Rybicki later contacted Sessions' Chief of Staff Jody Hunt by e-mail to make sure Sessions fully understood Comey's concerns. Following that exchange between Hunt and Rybicki, whenever Trump

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of James Rybicki, On 06/13/2017, Page 3 of 3

contacted Comey, either Comey or Rybicki notified Hunt. Rybicki will search for and segregate any such e-mails to provide to writer.

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[Redacted]



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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 06/28/2017

James Rybicki, identifying information having previously been provided, was interviewed at FBI Headquarters (FBIHQ), located at 935 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington, DC. Rybicki provided the following information:

The February 14 Memo

After Rybicki's last meeting with interviewing agents, Rybicki remembered Comey talking about Michael Flynn and the subject matter of the February 14 memorandum (memo) in person with FBI leadership. However, Rybicki cannot remember exactly who was there during these Flynn discussions, but they ordinarily would have included at least Deputy Director Andrew McCabe, Jim Baker (Office of the General Counsel), and Rybicki give or take were present for most of these meetings. Rybicki does not think Bill Priestap, the Assistant Director for Counterintelligence Division, was around during these meetings because part of the discussions focused on insulating the FBI investigative teams from hearing about these conversations between Comey and Trump so as not to influence the investigation in any way. These meetings were unscheduled, in person, and usually occurred after the regularly scheduled morning meetings.

It would be very difficult for someone to inform the President a topic of conversation was inappropriate, such as the conversation during which Comey informed the President Flynn was a good guy. During these impromptu meetings, Rybicki, Comey, and others in attendance also discussed how to make sure such meetings don't occur again. As a result, Comey asked to speak with Attorney General Jeff Sessions. On February 15, 2017, Comey asked Rybicki to contact Jody Hunt. On Monday, Wednesday and Friday, FBI leadership depart from their morning briefings at FBIHQ to attend intelligence briefings at the Department of Justice's Command Center.

When Rybicki contacted Hunt on February 15 to discuss the private meetings with Comey initiated by Trump, Hunt agreed to the meeting and added Sessions wanted to talk with Comey about another matter, possibly media leaks. Rybicki accompanied Comey and was present for the meeting. Comey told Sessions, "I work for you, and you should not be asked to leave meetings like that" and leave me alone with Trump, or words to that

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Investigation on 06/22/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 06/22/2017

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of James Rybicki , On 06/22/2017 , Page 2 of 3

effect. Comey's goal was to encourage Sessions to make sure Session's was there when Trump was with Comey.

After the meeting, on the way back to FBIHQ either in the car or elevator at FBIHQ, Rybicki expressed to Comey his concern that he didn't think Sessions really understood the point of Comey's message and asked Comey if Rybicki should contact Hunt to reiterate this concern. Rybicki does not remember anything in particular as to why he thought Sessions did not understand Comey's concern, but just did not think Sessions fully comprehended the importance of being there when Trump and Comey were together. Rybicki's recollection was that he began notifying Hunt whenever there was a contact between Trump and Comey, or would make sure such meetings were scheduled so Sessions could attend.

The March 30 and April 11 Memos

Rybicki requested to revisit two items from his June 9, 2017 interview. First, regarding the memos drafted by James Comey, Rybicki originally said he received them on the day Comey signed or initialed them. Upon further reflection, Rybicki recalled they were all received by him close in time to the day they were written but not necessarily on the same day they were signed.

Secondly, Rybicki wanted to discuss his recollection of the March 30 and April 11 memos. Rybicki believes he previously "conflated" the two memos. Specifically, in the March 30 memo, President Donald J. Trump talked about the cloud of the Russia investigation and whether there was anything Comey could do. Rybicki previously said he could not recall the April 11 memo but now he remembers on that day, Comey and Rybicki were both on leave.

[REDACTED] called Rybicki to say Trump was trying to reach the Director (Comey).

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b7C

The manner of Trump's call to Comey was strange for reasons Rybicki could not recall, but thought it might have been because it was an unfamiliar telephone number, possibly because Trump was traveling. Because they weren't certain it was Trump calling, they telephoned the White House Situation Room and after they confirmed it was a legitimate call, they provided the Situation Room a telephone number for Trump to call to reach Comey.

On April 11 but after his conversation with Trump, Comey called Rybicki to tell him the call was about the same material as on March 30.

Specifically, Trump discussed the cloud of the Russia investigation hanging over him and to ask whether Comey followed up on his "request." Comey wrote in his April 11 memo that the best way for Trump to handle the Russia investigation was for the White House Counsel to contact the Acting

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of James Rybicki, On 06/22/2017, Page 3 of 3

Attorney General for the Russia investigation, Deputy Attorney General Dana Boente.

With Comey's approval, Rybicki then called Boente on April 11 from his work telephone. Rybicki informed Boente that a conversation occurred between Trump and Comey. Rybicki did not need to discuss the details of the April 11 call with Boente because it was clear Boente remembered the substance. Rybicki also informed Boente that White House Counsel might be calling him because, as Comey told Trump during the March 30 conversation, the best way for Trump to find out about the Russia investigation was to have White House Counsel call Boente. Boente said something along line of, "I was hoping he had forgotten about that," or words to that effect. Comey contacted Boente after the March 30 meeting to relay the substance of that meeting and request guidance. That was probably what Boente meant when he said, "I thought he forgot about it," referring to Trump forgetting about the cloud of the Russia investigation.

Pete Strzok, in theory, was the only one who knew Rybicki was meeting with interviewing agents on this date, although Strzok did not know when. Also, [REDACTED] unlocked the door for Rybicki to meet interviewing agents, but did not know why Rybicki needed the room.

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b7C

Administrative

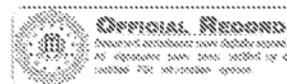
During the interview, Rybicki possessed and referenced his copies of the March 30 and April 11 memos.

Rybicki is reviewing his work email and calendar accounts for additional information related to the memos. So far, Rybicki has discovered information that is logistical in nature. Rybicki will notify interviewing agents when his searches have concluded.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 11/09/2017

FBI Deputy Director Andrew McCabe was interviewed at FBI Headquarters, located at 935 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, DC. Present for this interview were Senior Assistant Special Counsel Andrew Goldstein and Counsel to the Special Counsel, Michael Dreeben. Having provided him the identities of the interviewing agents and the reason for the interview, McCabe provided the following information.

January 2017 Engagements at the White House

McCabe telephoned [National Security Adviser] Michael Flynn on January 24, 2017, to schedule his interview with FBI special agents. During that same week, Flynn was present at a briefing with McCabe and [FBI Assistant Director] Bill Priestap. McCabe did not recall the meeting being on that date but did not dispute it occurred and deferred to a calendar notation recording the date.

During that time, the FBI was providing a lot of information on [Redacted] and their perspective on [Redacted] McCabe went to the White House for two briefings, and recalled seeing Flynn present for at least one of them, along with [Deputy National Security Adviser] KT McFarland, one of Flynn's military aides, and possibly others. McCabe did not have any sidebar conversations with Flynn about their previous contact that week.

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Regarding McCabe's January 31, 2017, memorandum, in which he described his meeting with Steve Bannon as a follow up to a discussion McCabe had with Flynn the previous week, was a "totally separate issue." He might have said something to Flynn about wanting to brief Bannon on the unrelated issue, but reiterated he and Flynn did not discuss anything related to the issues surrounding Flynn. Their only relevant conversation was McCabe's phone call to Flynn to set up his January 24 FBI interview.

McCabe could not clearly recall these briefings, but knew the January 27, 2017, briefing he attended at the White House was purely about [Redacted]

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McCabe and Bannon did discuss the [January 27, 2017] dinner between President Donald Trump and then FBI Director James Comey. Bannon told McCabe the FBI was doing great and asked whether Comey told McCabe about

Investigation on 09/26/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 09/26/2017

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by [Redacted]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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the dinner and whether Comey had a good time. McCabe responded yes, but did not say anything further about it because he was not sure how much Bannon already knew. McCabe knew Comey did not have a good time, but answered that way in order to "move the issue off the table."

May 9 2017 - Termination of FBI Director Jim Comey

Tuesday, May 9, 2017, began as a pretty standard Tuesday. Comey was on official travel to Los Angeles, and McCabe was holding his regular end of day "wrap" meeting with FBI executives. Shortly after the meeting started, around 5:10pm or 5:15pm, one of his staff (probably [REDACTED]) opened the door and told McCabe Attorney General Jeff Sessions wanted to speak to him. Assuming Sessions was on the phone, McCabe got up from his meeting, asked the people in his meeting to stay put, and went out to ask what line Sessions was on so he could pick up the call.

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McCabe's staff told him Sessions was not on the phone, but had requested McCabe come across the street to DOJ immediately to speak with him. McCabe and [REDACTED] walked across the street to DOJ. As McCabe and [REDACTED] reached the corner of Pennsylvania Avenue and 10th Street, McCabe saw news trucks and wondered why they were there. There had been some news earlier in the day about a CID case, but McCabe did not know why the news trucks would still be there.

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McCabe was not sure why Sessions wanted to see him but assumed the FBI had done something to upset DOJ leadership and McCabe had been summoned to get "yelled at." McCabe did not contact Comey or anyone else on his way to see Sessions.

When McCabe arrived at Sessions's reception area, a staff member told him Sessions was not yet ready for him. She led McCabe and [REDACTED] to a small conference room or dining room near Sessions's office.

McCabe and [REDACTED] waited for around ten minutes before Sessions summoned him into his office. [REDACTED] did not go into Sessions's office with McCabe. When McCabe walked in, Sessions was standing, accompanied by Deputy Attorney General Rod Rosenstein and [then-acting Principal Associate Deputy Attorney General] Jim Crowell. All were wearing their jackets and it seemed very formal. Sessions said "I don't know if you've heard, but we've had to fire the director of the FBI." McCabe specifically recalled the language Sessions used. McCabe responded that he had not heard.

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Sessions told McCabe "they" would need him to lead the FBI as the acting director. Sessions said he wasn't sure what they were going to do with the position. Sessions said they were considering making McCabe the interim

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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director, or just selecting a new director, but either way, "they" would "let him know." Sessions asked McCabe to run the FBI until they made a decision.

McCabe agreed to serve as Acting Director and asked whether he "should make some kind of an announcement to the workforce" about Comey's termination. Rosenstein responded that McCabe should not mention the termination to "anyone, not even your wife." Rosenstein added "let's wait and see what the White House says first."

Rosenstein clearly allowed Sessions to do the talking in the meeting. b6 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] McCabe was not sure why he was there. McCabe did not recall anyone taking notes.

Sessions asked McCabe if he had any questions, and McCabe informed Sessions he did not have any questions at that time, as he was not prepared to ask any. McCabe and [REDACTED] then returned to the FBI.

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McCabe was shocked by the news and went into "crisis management mode." You could have "knocked [him] down with a feather." Having been told not to share the news with anyone, he did not tell [REDACTED] the details of the meeting, but said *oh my God* was running through his head the whole way back.

The attendees at his wrap meeting were still in his office when he returned from DOJ, and by then, word of Comey's firing was all over the news. McCabe sat down with the executives from his meeting, and told them what happened at DOJ. While he was recounting the meeting with Sessions, [REDACTED] Comey's [REDACTED] entered the room to tell McCabe she had received multiple messages there was a letter at SIOC for Comey and asked McCabe what she should do. McCabe told her to retrieve the letter.

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[REDACTED] retrieved the letter and provided it to McCabe, who opened the envelope. Inside he found three documents: a memorandum written by Rosenstein, a letter written by Sessions and addressed to Trump that referenced Rosenstein's memorandum, and a letter from Trump to Comey. Neither Sessions nor Rosenstein had mentioned these documents to McCabe during their meeting.

Based on news accounts and photographs he saw, McCabe believed Comey learned of his termination when it was released by the media. At the time,

[REDACTED]

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Comey was meeting with a group of Los Angeles field office employees. There was a television in the room displaying CNN or some other news station when a headline appeared informing the public Comey had resigned. Thinking it was a joke, Comey continued to speak. Then the headline changed to read Comey was fired. Comey continued to speak for a few more minutes, then was directed to a side office by his staff. Comey then probably called his chief of staff, Jim Rybicki. McCabe heard Deirdre Fike (then-Assistant Director in charge of the Los Angeles field office) was very upset by the news. More Los Angeles field office employees gathered in the area, and Comey returned to speak to the crowd for a few more minutes, then departed for the airport.

McCabe cannot remember whether he got through to Comey the first time he tried, or whether they connected a while later. McCabe believed he talked to Comey when Comey was on the preparing to depart for Virginia. When Comey and McCabe spoke, Comey had not spoken to anyone from the White House and only knew what Rybicki and McCabe told him. Comey's reaction was "almost what you'd expect" from him; he was in good spirits and even joked with McCabe about it, saying "It's all on you now. Don't screw it up." McCabe believed the reality of what was happening had not really set in for them at that point.

McCabe knew his employees would be upset if he did not send a message regarding Comey's termination. McCabe recalled seeing people in the hallways of the FBI "bawling" and described the termination as "very emotional" for employees.

May 9, 2017 - Meeting Between McCabe and Trump at the White House

Around 6:00 pm and after returning to the FBI from DOJ, McCabe was informed by one of his staff that someone from the White House called to say Trump wanted to see McCabe. McCabe did not call Rosenstein to let him know he had been summoned to the White House, and noted he "probably should have" but it was a "crazy night."

[REDACTED] drove McCabe to the White House. Once there, McCabe was escorted to the Oval Office. [REDACTED] waited in the car. It was McCabe's first visit to the Oval Office. In the Oval Office were Trump, White House Counsel Donald McGahn, Chief of Staff Reince Priebus, possibly Vice President Michael Pence, and possibly others from the White House Counsel's Office including James Burnham.

When McCabe entered, Trump was seated behind his desk sitting on the edge of his chair, hunched forward, with his hands together in front of him on the desk. There were two chairs on the opposite side of the desk, and McCabe sat in one of them. There were other, smaller, chairs arranged

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[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

around the desk, and the others occupied those chairs. McCabe added "It was not like you see in the pictures" where everyone is sitting on the couches. The dynamic he encountered during that meeting was similar during each of his visits to the Oval Office.

McCabe described Trump as an "overwhelming communicator" who does not leave room for other parties to speak when he talks. Trump launches into a topic and never leaves space for others to reply or ask questions.

Trump probably said something like "I fired Director Comey" because of the investigation last summer "and many other reasons." Trump specifically left it open as to exactly why Comey was fired. McCabe only nodded while Trump talked.

At one point, Trump asked McCabe "Are you part of the resistance?" McCabe didn't know what Trump meant, and Trump explained he wanted to know if McCabe was one of the people who disapproved of Comey's decisions on the Hillary Clinton e-mail investigation. McCabe told Trump no, he had worked very closely with Comey and was involved in those decisions.

Trump asked McCabe if he (McCabe) was aware Comey told Trump three times he was not under investigation. McCabe couldn't specifically remember the number of times Comey informed Trump, but knew it happened so he just said "Yes, I understand that." McCabe recalled Trump's letter to Comey also mentioned Comey told Trump he was not under investigation.

McCabe did not believe Trump mentioned Russia or any other specific investigations.

Trump raised the issue of McCabe's wife's [Virginia Senate] campaign during this meeting and in subsequent discussions. It was clear to McCabe that Trump mentioned McCabe's wife repeatedly to make a point and send a message, like a bullying tactic. Trump probably raised the issue in order to give McCabe an opportunity to "walk away from it" and tell Trump it was mistake for his wife to have run for office. Instead, McCabe took the opportunity to defend his wife's decision to run.

McCabe recalled the next day, "literally twelve hours later," Trump again brought up McCabe's wife's campaign "out of the blue" and "rubbed his nose in it," asking McCabe how his wife felt about losing, insinuating she was a loser. McCabe believed it was Trump's way of telling him he "had something on him" and to insinuate McCabe had a connection to [Virginia Governor] Terry McAuliffe.

McCabe felt Trump wanted McCabe to express his loyalty to Trump by distancing himself from his wife, almost as if it was required to become

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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acting director. McCabe noted when he "pushed back" on Trump by not acquiescing, Trump "backed down in a weird way" by just letting it go and saying he had heard nice things about McCabe's wife. McCabe had the clear sense his responses to Trump's comments about his wife's campaign were not what Trump wanted, so Trump continued to bring up the issue.

McCabe only attended three meetings with Trump at the Oval Office. During these meetings, Trump described how people were glad Comey was no longer director. Trump also made the comment "I have so much support in the FBI, 80% of the people there voted for me." McCabe did not respond or engage with Trump on this subject, but he did not believe Trump's statements to be true.

McCabe memorialized his interactions with Trump because he knew the whole narrative and series of events would likely be important to remember with detail. It was "bizarre," and "unconventional things" kept happening over and over. McCabe therefore followed Comey's example of writing memoranda documenting his conversations with Trump.

May 10, 2017 Interactions between McCabe and Trump

McCabe absolutely believed Comey was fired because of the Russia investigations. His view solidified over the next several days, and certainly over the next two weeks. He knew Trump "detested" the FBI investigating possible connections between his campaign and Russia.

McCabe believed Trump had asked Comey to "back off" Flynn and "put the whole thing away." McCabe knew Comey and Trump had had passive-aggressive conversations and Comey had a history of giving Trump answers he did not want to hear, much like McCabe experienced during his first interaction with Trump at the White House.

After Comey's termination and McCabe's conversations with Trump, he felt it was highly likely he would be sent "elsewhere" in the FBI, and with that in mind, he began to think "very defensively" about the FBI investigations. McCabe wanted to solidify the investigations to ensure they would continue even if McCabe was gone. Comey's termination convinced McCabe a special counsel was necessary. McCabe also wanted to inform Congress of the FBI's open investigations and to open any other investigations for which they had predication in order to "draw an indelible line" around their work.

McCabe recalled having discussed with Comey the possibility of Comey being fired and even making jokes about it after Comey's interactions with

[REDACTED]

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Trump. McCabe should not have been surprised by Comey's termination. When it actually happened, McCabe became convinced he had to set the investigations on a course to move forward if he himself was fired.

Since Comey was fired, McCabe and Comey have spoken periodically, but McCabe has not shared any of the details of his own interactions with Trump, or the memoranda he drafted after Comey's firing.

Trump called McCabe the day after Comey was fired and said something like "This is great, have you seen all the coverage, we are hearing from hundreds of people how happy everyone at the FBI is, is that what you're seeing, too?" McCabe told Trump it was not exactly what he was seeing, and Trump asked "Do you think people are happy?" McCabe responded he "guessed it was possible" people in the FBI were happy. Trump and McCabe set up a meeting for later that day at the White House to discuss whether Trump should visit FBI Headquarters.

[Assistant General Counsel] [REDACTED] [General Counsel] Jim Baker, and possibly others were present in McCabe's office during this call. They would have heard his half of the conversation. McCabe did not recall the purpose of his meeting with [REDACTED] and Baker but surmised it was probably a team meeting to discuss the Russia investigations because he knew he had participated in several meetings about Russia, Trump, and related matters during that period.

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McCabe and others met several times after the termination to discuss whether there was predication to open an obstruction investigation on Trump, but that was not their primary concern. McCabe first wanted the team to look at the four or more open Russia investigations at the time and to decide if there were others that should be opened.

During the period immediately following the termination, they discussed obstruction only in its most academic terms. One of the topics they discussed was the fact that by investigating the Trump campaign, they were, by definition, "sort of" investigating Trump. As such, they wondered whether it would be accurate to tell Trump he was not under investigation. These conversations had been ongoing, but the termination caused them to focus on whether to take the next step and open a case on Trump himself and whether it was necessary, given the existing investigation into the campaign.

McCabe explained Sentinel was the FBI's official system of record, and once an investigation was opened in Sentinel, it cannot just "go away." McCabe's intention was to make sure cases that needed to be opened were opened and in doing so, ensure the investigations had a "clear, un-erasable footprint" in case he was fired the next day and someone with a

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different view of the case was put in charge of the FBI. McCabe described the opening of an investigation in Sentinel as a "watermark" you cannot easily erase or cover up.

Later, on May 10, 2017, McCabe and Trump met in person at the White House. Also present were Priebus and McGahn. The conversation was "totally awkward." As in his previous conversations, Trump did not really ask questions in order to get answers but rather in order to push conversations in a particular direction. McCabe did not think it was a good idea for Trump to visit the FBI, as employees were still emotional about Comey's firing, but he could tell the others in the room, including Trump, wanted McCabe to say the FBI wanted Trump to come. It is hard to say no to the President of the United States, so McCabe said if Trump wanted to come to the FBI, he of course had the right to do so.

McGahn did not say anything in the meeting until Priebus prompted him. McCabe compared their interactions to a "goofy organized crime movie" and McGahn was the "straight man." There was no question in McCabe's mind they were twisting McCabe's arm to get the response they wanted to hear, which was "I think it's a good idea for you to come to the FBI and give them a speech."

McCabe believed the White House wanted to be able to say publicly the acting Director of the FBI invited the President to come and speak to the workforce to further support their narrative the FBI wanted Comey fired. McCabe personally felt it would be an "absolute disaster" because people were literally crying on the hallways of the 7th floor of the FBI's Headquarters building and the reaction would be the opposite of what Trump expected.

McCabe did not tell Trump it was a bad idea to come because "He's the President of the United States," and had "just fired my boss" the day before, and McCabe did not want to argue with him on the first day of his tenure as acting Director. McCabe tried subtly to suggest Trump not come, but the message did not seem to have been received.

McGahn said something like "Let's be perfectly clear about this, the President should only do it if Andy says it's a good idea." Priebus remained silent. At that point, McCabe felt he had no choice but to say yes. McGahn and Priebus seemed "on edge," as McCabe also felt.

McCabe and Priebus had a less than positive interaction the previous month, and McCabe thought Priebus may have held a grudge against him.

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During this visit, Trump asked McCabe "out of nowhere" for whom he voted in the last Presidential election. McCabe responded he "played it straight down the middle," but thought to himself, "I'm not sure he's supposed to ask me that." McCabe did not actually vote in the 2016 election, but did not want to tell Trump.

At the end of the meeting, it was decided Trump would visit FBI Headquarters the following Friday, May 12. However, Trump did not end up coming.

Later in the evening on Wednesday, May 10, McCabe continued to worry about Trump visiting the FBI because he was sure it would be a disaster. McCabe's chief of staff, Troy Sowers, had been discussing logistics with the White House and told McCabe the next morning (Thursday) the White House was wavering on whether to have Trump come visit. McCabe told Sowers to capitalize on their wavering and encourage the White House to cancel the visit, citing bad weather impacting the opportunity for a large crowd and a photo op, and that emotions were running high at the FBI. McCabe was not sure exactly when the visit was cancelled, but he believed he knew before he left for the Worldwide Threats hearing before the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (SSCI).

McCabe was up all night Wednesday night preparing for the hearing which Comey was originally scheduled to attend. McCabe testified at SSCI "all day" Thursday. Neither DOJ nor the White House gave McCabe guidance on how he should answer questions, and McCabe didn't ask.

May 12, 2017 - Meeting between McCabe and Rosenstein

McCabe met with Rosenstein two times on Friday, May 12, 2017.

On the morning of Friday, May 12, 2017, McCabe attended a briefing at DOJ with Sessions and Rosenstein. During the briefing, Sessions told McCabe "You did a fine job yesterday." McCabe asked Rosenstein to remain after the briefing ended. At that time, the FBI was seeking help from DOJ in resisting multiple Congressional requests regarding the FBI's Russia investigations. Prior to that day, DOJ had provided no assistance to the FBI on these requests.

Rosenstein and McCabe met privately in a small conference room outside the Command Center. [REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]
b6 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] b6 per DOJ/OIP

At the time, McCabe did not understand why Rosenstein was so upset, but reflecting back, McCabe opined Rosenstein was under a lot of stress and was not comfortable with the way Comey's termination "played out." Rosenstein seemed genuinely surprised at how directly the White House "fronted" his memorandum as the reason for Comey's termination. Rosenstein told McCabe Trump ordered him to write the memorandum. McCabe then qualified he could not recall whether Rosenstein told him Trump "asked" Rosenstein to write his memorandum or "ordered" him to do so. It is possible Rosenstein made a gesture as if to say terminating Comey was not his idea. Rosenstein brought up this topic spontaneously.

Rosenstein also talked about all the media attention focused on him. News crews possibly were parked outside Rosenstein's home, creating a very stressful situation for him. [REDACTED] b6 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

McCabe was surprised by the content of this conversation. McCabe thought it was naïve for Rosenstein not to have realized his memorandum would be used to support the decision to terminate Comey.

Rosenstein acknowledged "We [Rosenstein and Sessions] had been talking about it since January." McCabe understood "it" to be terminating Comey. Rosenstein had been effusive in his praise of Comey, but disagreed with Comey's announcement in the Clinton investigation. Rosenstein struggled with the public perception he was the "hatchet man."

Rosenstein told McCabe several times how he looked up to Comey and that they were friends. Later in his conversation, Rosenstein stated he did not really know Sessions, but he seemed like a "great guy."

Rosenstein mentioned possibly appointing a special counsel in this meeting but expressed concern about being fired for appointing one. Rosenstein asked for McCabe's thoughts and McCabe said he thought it would be helpful. Rosenstein's biggest concern was that he (Rosenstein) could be fired, because he wanted to stay involved in the investigation and the selection of a new FBI Director.

At some point in their discussion, Rosenstein commented how much he treasured Comey's intellect and asked McCabe to speak with Comey to get his opinion as to whether a special counsel should be appointed. Rosenstein's request to McCabe began as an "offhand comment" that McCabe should solicit Comey for his thoughts on the concept of a special counsel,

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but Rosenstein followed up on it a few times. McCabe recalled Rosenstein mentioning it at both of their Friday meetings.

McCabe believed Rosenstein was legitimately upset about Comey's termination. [REDACTED] b6 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

Rosenstein took a moment, then said he was ok, steeled himself, and they left the conference room. McCabe felt Rosenstein's regaining of his composure was genuine.

McCabe believed a follow up meeting would be a good opportunity for him to plant the seed for Rosenstein to "think productively" about getting a special counsel appointed. McCabe feared it would cost Rosenstein his job, but decided it would be worth it for the sake of the investigations, so he set up a 4:00 pm meeting to discuss it.

When McCabe and Rosenstein met again at 4:00 pm, he encouraged Rosenstein to appoint a special counsel to bolster the investigation. McCabe told Rosenstein things would have turned out very differently for everyone if a special counsel had been appointed to handle the Clinton email investigation. McCabe refreshed his memory of the meeting from a memorandum he drafted and affirmed the contents, which described Rosenstein's concern he would be fired and how bad his firing would be for the Department. Rosenstein wanted to remain actively involved in the selection process for the next Director.

McCabe had discussions with Baker regarding whether there was sufficient predication to open an investigation into Trump's possible collusion with Russia and for obstruction of justice against Trump for terminating Comey. After their discussions, they decided to open an obstruction investigation. McCabe also decided he would notify DOJ of the opening of the investigation, then inform Congress.

Interviewing agents asked McCabe to explain his reference in his memorandum to Rosenstein's use of "coded language" in his May 14 conversation with Rosenstein. McCabe explained Rosenstein asked McCabe "Did you talk to your friend," or words to that effect, and explained Rosenstein was asking whether McCabe had discussed the appointment of a special counsel with Comey. McCabe eventually informed Rosenstein he would not solicit Comey's advice on the subject, but could not recall whether he informed Rosenstein via telephone or during his next in person meeting with him.

May 16, 2017 - Meetings between McCabe and Rosenstein

McCabe had two meetings with Rosenstein on Tuesday, May 16, 2017.

[REDACTED]

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In his first meeting with Rosenstein that day, Rosenstein was accompanied by Crowell and [Associate Deputy Attorney General] Tashina Gauhar. McCabe was surprised to see Crowell and Gauhar [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Rosenstein told McCabe he [REDACTED] b6 per DOJ/OIP could trust them.

[REDACTED] and an investigation of Trump for obstruction and collusion. Rosenstein immediately started to question McCabe about his basis for opening the cases, his legal theory, and similar questions. They also discussed whether the investigations would be perceived as revenge.

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[REDACTED]

What changed McCabe's calculus on whether to open an obstruction case on Trump was Lester Holt's interview of Trump, when Trump said he was thinking about Russia when he fired Comey. The timing of the opening of the investigation right after Comey's termination was "concerning" but the facts lined up to support it.

During this meeting, Rosenstein retold his story (presumably for the benefit of Crowell and Gauhar) about re-writing the memorandum supporting Comey's termination, and noted he had been summoned to the White House the day before. McCabe could not remember Gauhar's or Crowell's reactions. Rosenstein described his May 8 meeting at the White House as follows:

Rosenstein was called to the White House and went by himself. Rosenstein said the White House was "chaotic." First Rosenstein stopped by McGahn's office. McCabe was not sure whether Rosenstein knew why he had been called to the White House beforehand, but opined Rosenstein and McGahn may have discussed the purpose in McGahn's office. McGahn told Rosenstein Trump wrote a letter to Comey explaining the reasons for the termination and McGahn told Trump not to send it.

After their conversation, McGahn and Rosenstein left the White House Counsel's Office and went to see Trump. Trump told Rosenstein he wrote a letter and asked McGahn whether he showed the letter to Rosenstein. McGahn then shared the letter with Rosenstein. Rosenstein told McCabe he read the letter and described it as long, rambling, and all over the place.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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Rosenstein told McCabe he told Trump he did not need so much detail. Trump then asked Rosenstein to write a memorandum to explain why Comey was being fired, and told Rosenstein to make sure he referenced the Russia investigation. Rosenstein told Trump he did not need the Russia investigation in the memorandum and Trump responded that he understood, but still wanted it to be included. McCabe did not know whether Trump's actual words to Rosenstein were to include "Russia" or "the Russia investigation."

Rosenstein told McCabe "I didn't put Russia in my memo."

During this meeting between Rosenstein and McCabe, Rosenstein said when he visits the White House, he is never searched because of his identification and the fact he has a detail driver, and offered to McCabe that McCabe could "Wire him up." Rosenstein said he could engage Trump in a recorded conversation to capture Trump's true intentions in firing Comey. McCabe could not believe Rosenstein was offering to make recordings against Trump. McCabe told him he would talk to his team and think about it. Gauhar and Crowell tried to back Rosenstein off his request to wear a wire. When Rosenstein later told Baker what Rosenstein said, Baker "had a coronary."

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

McCabe described it as "a crazy, wide ranging conversation" about Trump's true intentions and other matters. Gauhar and Crowell were present during the entire conversation and Gauhar had something in her lap and may have been taking notes.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Rosenstein's discussion with McCabe was in the style of a "stream of consciousness."

At some point, possibly in this meeting, McCabe opined to Rosenstein it was "highly likely" Rosenstein would end up as a witness in a case against Trump, but Rosenstein "blew it off."

McCabe returned to Rosenstein's office later on the evening of May 16. The meeting also included [REDACTED] Crowell, Gauhar, and [Acting Deputy Assistant Attorney General] Stuart Goldberg. Rosenstein probably had asked them to attend because of what McCabe had said that morning. During this meeting, Rosenstein covered many of the same topics they had discussed earlier that day, but with more detail. McCabe described Rosenstein as frenetic and

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hard to follow; he was "all over the map," bringing up various names of people and weaving everything together. Rosenstein commented on who should be the next FBI director and who should be special counsel. It was often difficult to understand what Rosenstein was trying to say.

During this visit, Rosenstein jumped from topic to topic and spoke quickly. McCabe was uncertain, but believed Rosenstein said he had been at DOJ when he got a telephone call from the White House Press Office asking Rosenstein to submit a press statement regarding Comey's termination. Rosenstein responded "absolutely not" or words to that effect. Rosenstein did not want to be the "face of the firing." Rosenstein also suggested it was not true he was the moving force behind the termination. In Rosenstein's mind there was a difference between writing the memorandum and taking responsibility for the firing. Rosenstein did not want to be known as "the guy who fired Comey," but he said he stood by what he wrote in his memorandum.

McCabe could not recall the specifics as to why he was invited to this meeting because they covered mostly the same topics as the previous meeting. McCabe was shocked to learn Rosenstein was considering appointing former FBI Director Robert Mueller as the special counsel because based on their previous conversations, McCabe had been under the impression Mueller was going to become the next FBI Director.

During this conversation, Rosenstein again mentioned he thought it possible he (Rosenstein) would be fired for appointing a special counsel because he knew Trump would not "take it well." Rosenstein knew how Trump reacted to Sessions's recusal and knew Trump yelled at him "You were supposed to protect me." Rosenstein told McCabe there were others in the room, including [Sessions's Chief of Staff] Jody Hunt, who heard Trump make this statement to Sessions.

b6 per DOJ/OIP

During McCabe's second May 16 meeting with Rosenstein, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] McCabe thought Comey's termination did not trigger Rosenstein getting upset; it was the fact Rosenstein was seen as the driving force behind it.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Rosenstein appointed b5 per DOJ/OIP

Robert S. Mueller as the Special Counsel. McCabe did not learn of Mueller's appointment until it was made public on May 17, when Rosenstein informed him via telephone.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

May 21, 2017 - Meeting between McCabe and Rosenstein

On Saturday, May 19, 2017, Rosenstein called McCabe because he wanted to have a meeting with McCabe and Mueller to discuss coordination and logistics. McCabe told Rosenstein he was busy, so they scheduled a meeting for the next day. McCabe later speculated the real reason Rosenstein requested the meeting was simply to have a conversation with McCabe.

[REDACTED]

(U) Interview of Deputy Director Andrew

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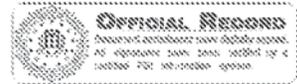
They did not discuss coordination and logistics during their meeting. Instead, Rosenstein focused on whether McCabe should recuse himself from any of the FBI's Russia investigations. McCabe explained to Rosenstein again that he had consulted with Assistant Director Kelley about whether his involvement in the investigations would present a possible conflict, and was told there were no issues with his staying involved. Rosenstein told McCabe he was not ordering him to recuse himself but rather suggesting he consider it. McCabe was angry with that line of discussion, as he felt it already had been resolved. It seemed to McCabe Rosenstein was just "delivering the mail" and "someone else" wanted him to get the message. McCabe thought there were several possibilities, including Sessions or anyone at the White House.

Over the course of their relationship, Rosenstein and McCabe have had strange interactions, such as going from McCabe being the "only one" Rosenstein could trust to McCabe being "radioactive."

Miscellaneous matters

When McCabe was acting FBI Director, the Director's Detail provided protection, and he relied on them to ensure his safety and to be vigilant for unusual behavior around his residence. McCabe never noticed anything unusual. Interviewing agents requested McCabe remain vigilant for such behavior and to inform them of any unusual activity. McCabe has not felt physically threatened since the opening of this investigation, but has perceived a concerted effort from the White House to attack his reputation.

Steve Bannon recently made a public statement that led McCabe to believe there may be a connection between Bannon and Circa News. McCabe also said the website TruePundit.com has reported extensively about McCabe, but none of the reporting accuses him of lying. For example, they negatively reported on McCabe's recent purchase of a personal vehicle.



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 11/16/2017

Sean Spicer was interviewed at the Special Counsel's Office, located at 395 E Street SW, Washington, D.C. Also present for the interview were Senior Assistant Special Counsel Andrew Goldstein, and Senior Counselor to the Special Counsel James L. Quarles III. Spicer was accompanied by his attorneys, [Redacted] and [Redacted] from the law firm of London & Mead. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing agents and the purpose of the interview, Spicer provided the following information:

b6
b7C

[Administrative note: This interview followed a separate interview conducted on the same day by FBI Special Agents and Attorneys from the Special Counsel's Office. During the separate interview, SA [Redacted] informed Spicer of his duty only to provide truthful information pursuant to 18 USC § 1001.]

b6
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Investigation on 10/16/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 10/20/2017

by [Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7E

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Sean Spicer , On 10/16/2017 , Page 2 of 17

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Sean Spicer , On 10/16/2017 , Page 3 of 17

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Sean Spicer , On 10/16/2017 , Page 4 of 17

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

January 27, 2017

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

Trump said he never asked Comey for loyalty, but added even if he had asked for it, "Who cares?"

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Sean Spicer , On 10/16/2017 , Page 5 of 17

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Sean Spicer , On 10/16/2017 , Page 6 of 17

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

March 20, 2017 Comey HPSCI Testimony

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Spicer's b5 per DOJ/OIP

impression was Trump thought the Russia story was developed to undermine the legitimacy of his election.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Sean Spicer , On 10/16/2017 , Page 7 of 17

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Sean Spicer , On 10/16/2017 , Page 8 of 17

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Sean Spicer , On 10/16/2017 , Page 9 of 17

Comey termination

[Redacted] He was summoned to the

Oval Office, [Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] When he arrived in the Oval Office, he was told "we're letting Comey go" and was shown letters written by Sessions and [Deputy Attorney General] Rod Rosenstein. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Sean Spicer , On 10/16/2017 , Page 10 of 17

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Sean Spicer , On 10/16/2017 , Page 11 of 17

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Sean Spicer , On 10/16/2017 , Page 12 of 17

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Sean Spicer , On 10/16/2017 , Page 13 of 17

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

May 10, 2017 White House meeting between Trump/Lavrov/Kislyak

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] and if it unequivocally did not happen, someone would have directed him to "go clean it up." No one did that in this case.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Sean Spicer , On 10/16/2017 , Page 14 of 17

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Sean Spicer, On 10/16/2017, Page 15 of 17

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Sean Spicer , On 10/16/2017 , Page 16 of 17

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Sean Spicer , On 10/16/2017 , Page 17 of 17

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

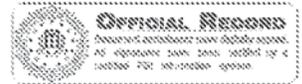
b6
b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]



b1
b3
b7E

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [redacted] (S)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

b6
b7C

Date of entry 04/06/2018

FBI INFO.
CLASSIFIED BY: NSICG [redacted]
REASON: 1.4 (C)
DECLASSIFY ON: 12-31-2043
DATE: 11-14-2019

(U) Reinhold "Reince" Priebus, was interviewed at 395 E Street SW, Washington, D.C., the Special Counsel's Office. Participating in this interview were FBI Special Agent (SA) [redacted] SA [redacted] [redacted] Senior Counselor to the Special Counsel James L. Quarles III, Senior Assistant Special Counsel Andrew Goldstein, Counselor to the Special Counsel [redacted] and Assistant Special Counsel Elizabeth Prelogar. Also present for this interview were his attorneys, [redacted] [redacted] office telephone [redacted] email address [redacted] and [redacted] Priebus was advised it is a crime to lie to the FBI in the course of an investigation and he acknowledged he understood. After being advised of the identities of the interviewers and the purpose of the interview, Priebus provided the following information:

b6
b7C

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

~~Reason: 1.4 (b)
Derived From: FBI NSISC-20090615
Declassify On: 20431231~~

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [redacted] (S)

b1
b3
b6
b7C
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Investigation on 01/18/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 01/18/2018

by [redacted]

[Redacted]

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [Redacted]

(S)

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Reince Priebus , On 01/18/2018 , Page 2 of 18

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [Redacted]

(S)

[Redacted]

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [Redacted]

(S)

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Reince Priebus, On 01/18/2018, Page 3 of 18

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] Priebus also may have learned from McFarland at this meeting the sanctions situation could be "cooled down" and not escalated. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

It is possible she mentioned Flynn's conversations with the Russian ambassador but Priebus was not "one hundred percent" sure.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

(U) PE Trump viewed the sanctions by the Obama administration as an attempt at embarrassing him by de-legitimizing the election. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [Redacted]

(S)

[Redacted]

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [Redacted]

(S)

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Reince Priebus , On 01/18/2018 , Page 4 of 18

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [Redacted]

(S)

[Redacted]

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [Redacted]

(S)

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Reince Priebus, On 01/18/2018, Page 5 of 18

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

Flynn Firing:

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

(S) b1
b3

(S)

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [Redacted]

(S)

[Redacted]

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [Redacted]

(S)

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Reince Priebus , On 01/18/2018 , Page 6 of 18

[Large redacted block with three 'X' marks on the left side]

(S) b1
b3

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted block]

(S) b1
b3
b7E

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [Redacted]

(S)

[Redacted]

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [Redacted]

(S)

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Reince Priebus , On 01/18/2018 , Page 7 of 18

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b7E

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b1
b3
b7E

(S)

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [Redacted]

(S)

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [redacted]

(S)

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Reince Priebus, On 01/18/2018, Page 8 of 18

[redacted]

b1
b3
b7E
(S)

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

b1
b3
b7E
(S)

b5 per DOJ/OIP

(S) [redacted]

b1
b3
b7E

(S)

b5 per DOJ/OIP

(S) [redacted]

b1
b3
b7E

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

(U) Trump went back and forth and equivocated on whether he should fire Flynn. Trump viewed the firing of Flynn as a loss because it would happen so soon into his term.

(U) Trump had been so upset with Flynn for some time that he wouldn't even look at Flynn during intelligence briefings.

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [redacted]

(S)

[Redacted]

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [Redacted]

(S)

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Reince Priebus, On 01/18/2018, Page 9 of 18

b5 per DOJ/OIP

(U) On Monday, [Redacted]

[Redacted] That day, Priebus met with Flynn and told him [Redacted]

[Redacted] You can resign [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] Priebus told the President Flynn wanted to say goodbye. The President kind of hugged Flynn, they shook hands, and the President said, "We'll give you a good recommendation. You're a good guy. We'll take care of you." [Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted] the President reached out to Priebus and asked Priebus to let Flynn know he (the President) cares about him (Flynn). [Redacted] Priebus told

Flynn he was an American hero and he was just checking in. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [Redacted]

(S)

[Redacted]

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [Redacted]

(S)

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Reince Priebus, On 01/18/2018, Page 10 of 18

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] The President did not want Flynn saying bad things about the President [Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

KT McFarland:

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [Redacted]

(S)

[Redacted]

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [Redacted]

(S)

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Reince Priebus , On 01/18/2018 , Page 11 of 18

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] Priebus told Trump he would only ask McFarland for the request if she was comfortable. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

(U) When Priebus told McFarland about Trump's request, McFarland told Priebus she was not comfortable with the request [Redacted] [Redacted] Priebus understood and recommended she talk to the White House Counsel's Office (WHCO) lawyers.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [Redacted]

(S)

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [redacted]

(S)

[redacted]
Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Reince Priebus , On 01/18/2018 , Page 12 of 18

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Special Counsel:

(U) From mid-May through the beginning of June 2017, Trump told Priebus that Special Counsel [Robert] Mueller had conflicts. Priebus said according to Trump there was a conflict because Mueller:

1. Was interviewed for the FBI Director position the day before he was named the Special Counsel
2. Worked in a law firm that represented [redacted]
3. Had a dispute with fees or membership with Trump International.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

[redacted]

(U) Trump may have asked McGahn to speak with Rosenstein about Mueller. b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [redacted]

(S)

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [redacted]

(S)

[redacted]
Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Reince Priebus, On 01/18/2018, Page 13 of 18

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

Attorney General Sessions:

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

(U) In July 2017, the day the President traveled to the USS Gerald Ford in Norfolk, Virginia {Agent Note: July 22, 2017}, Priebus was on Marine One with Trump, [redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [redacted]

(S)

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [redacted]

(S)

[redacted]
Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Reince Priebus , On 01/18/2018 , Page 14 of 18

[redacted]

[redacted] While on Marine One en route to Norfolk, Trump looked at Priebus and told Priebus he had to get Sessions to resign that day. b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

(U) Priebus knew there was a problem with Trump's request to have Sessions resign so Priebus called McGahn. [redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] It was decided Priebus would call [redacted] his personal attorney. Priebus thought he knew [redacted] also represented McGahn at the time.

b6
b7C

(U) While traveling on Marine One back to Washington D.C., Trump brought up Sessions' resignation again to Priebus. [redacted]

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [redacted]

(S)

[Redacted]

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [Redacted]

(S)

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Reince Priebus, On 01/18/2018, Page 15 of 18

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

(U) Priebus told Trump on Marine One he would get Sessions to resign, even though Priebus had no intention of following through with the request. [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted] Priebus called Trump immediately that afternoon. [Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] Priebus explained to Trump it would be a calamity if Sessions resigned. After Sessions resigned, Rosenstein and Rachel Brand would be next to resign. At that point, Trump would be unable to get anyone confirmed. Priebus advised Trump they could not ask Sessions to resign right before the Sunday shows as it would be all that was talked about. Trump agreed to get through the Sunday shows before doing anything.

(U) On Sunday, the next day, Trump relented and agreed not to ask Sessions to resign. [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [Redacted]

(S)

[Redacted]

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [Redacted]

(S)

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Reince Priebus, On 01/18/2018, Page 16 of 18

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [Redacted]

(S)

[Redacted]

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [Redacted]

(S)

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Reince Priebus, On 01/18/2018, Page 17 of 18

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~ [Redacted]

(S)

[Redacted]

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~

[Redacted]

(S)

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Reince Priebus, On 01/18/2018, Page 18 of 18

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~

[Redacted]

(S)



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ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-25-2019 BY [redacted] NSICG

~~UNCLASSIFIED//FOUO~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 06/19/2017

James Rybicki, born [redacted], residing at [redacted]
[redacted] personal mobile telephone [redacted] home telephone
[redacted] direct office telephone [redacted] was interviewed at the
Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), located at 935 Pennsylvania Avenue
NW, Washington, DC. Having provided him the identity of the interviewing
agents and the reason for the interview, Rybicki provided the following
information:

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Rybicki is employed as the Chief of Staff to the acting Director of the
FBI, Andrew McCabe. Prior to that assignment, Rybicki was Chief of Staff
to former FBI Director James B. Comey.

Rybicki believed he had six documents he received from Comey. The first
document was an e-mail and the remaining five documents were in the form
of memoranda (memos.)

The First Document

The first document was an e-mail in which Comey detailed his first meeting
with then President Elect Donald Trump. The meeting was in early January
at Trump Tower in New York. Prior to this meeting, Comey, Rybicki, FBI
General Counsel James Baker, Deputy Director Andrew McCabe, and possibly
other members of the FBI's senior leadership (the FBI team) met in person
to plan for Comey's meeting with Trump.

The FBI team agreed that Comey should memorialize his exchange with Trump
because of the sensitive subject matter, the fact it would be their first
meeting together, and because Comey anticipated he and Trump would be
alone.

In preparation for this meeting, Comey was provided a classified laptop
which he left in Comey's vehicle so he could memorialize the meeting
immediately after returning to his vehicle. Rybicki could not recall how
far in advance the FBI team discussed Comey's meeting with Trump, but
opined it was at least a few days.

~~UNCLASSIFIED//FOUO~~

Investigation on 06/09/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 06/09/2017

by [redacted]

b3
b6
b7C
b7E

[REDACTED]
UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~[REDACTED]
Continuation of FD-302 of (U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of James Rybicki, On 06/09/2017, Page 2 of 8

Rybicki and the FBI team were confident Comey would be meeting alone with Trump because prior to the meeting, principal leaders of the intelligence community had discussed who would deliver the information that would be presented. The community agreed Comey should deliver the information. Comey intended to suggest to Trump that the information be delivered one on one only to avoid embarrassment. In the end, it was therefore up to Trump to decide who would be present. In any event, Comey intended to deliver the information on behalf of the leaders of the intelligence community.

These intelligence community leaders included the Director of National Intelligence James Clapper, the Directors of the Central Intelligence Agency and National Security Agency, and the entire "known" group, all of whom were invited to Trump Tower. Rybicki was not present, and Comey provided the information alone with Trump.

On the same day as the meeting, Comey wrote the e-mail and sent it to Rybicki and "a couple others." Rybicki could not recall who was copied. SA [REDACTED] provided Rybicki a copy of a memorandum dated January 7, 2017, which Rybicki reviewed and acknowledged was an accurate copy of the e-mail to which he had referred. Rybicki refreshed his recollection of the e-mail and the memorandum contained within, and noted that Comey had sent the e-mail to Rybicki, Baker, and McCabe.

b6
b7C

Rybicki printed the e-mail (he was unsure on which day he printed it) and decided to maintain the printed copy in a "red well" folder which he labeled with the date it was received, then placed the folder in his desk drawer. This became Rybicki's regular practice with these memorandums, and he eventually created six such folders. Each one was signed or initialed by Comey in blue ink, dated, and provided to Rybicki. Rybicki did not maintain the original signed copies, having provided them all to the Records Management Division (RMD) on the Tuesday after Comey's termination.

The Second Document

Rybicki described from memory the second document, which detailed Comey's dinner with Trump at the White House on January 27, 2017. Rybicki noted that while the memorialization of the first meeting was a deliberate decision made by the FBI team, Rybicki was "fuzzy" as to whether the FBI team had discussed whether Comey should continue memorializing each meeting, but generally recalled Comey discussing how his interactions with the previous President were so limited compared to the frequency of meetings and telephone calls he received from Trump.

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FBI(19cv1278)-1822

[REDACTED]
UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~[REDACTED]
Continuation of FD-302 of (U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of James Rybicki , On 06/09/2017 , Page 3 of 8

Rybicki did recall a meeting during which the FBI team discussed the fact they should keep "tighter records" because there was a new administration, but recalled no "decisional meeting" to discuss the topic.

Comey always gave Rybicki the memos on either the same day of his interaction with Trump, or the day after, and he always provided them to Rybicki on the same day Comey signed and dated the document. For example, the memo dated January 27 was signed by Comey on January 28; therefore, Rybicki knew he received the memo from Comey on January 28. Comey gave him the document in person while they were at FBI Headquarters (FBIHQ). As was his practice, Rybicki created a new folder, labeled it with the date, then maintained the memo in his desk. Rybicki again stated he provided the original folders and their contents to RMD. Rybicki then noted Comey provided him a menu card from his dinner with Trump at the White House, which was also provided to RMD.

Comey made copies of "most" of the memos he created. Comey told Rybicki he made copies and Rybicki saw most of those copies. Comey usually gave Rybicki each original for his review. In some cases Comey gave the memos to McCabe or Baker to review. Rybicki reviewed, but never edited them. Once Comey provided Rybicki the documents for his review, Comey had already signed them in blue ink as was Comey's habit. Rybicki cannot remember whether Rybicki gave copies of the memos to McCabe, or whether Comey gave them to McCabe directly. In at least once case, Rybicki recalled Comey giving one of his memos directly to Baker, but cannot remember exactly which memos went to who.

Comey provided copies of each memo to Rybicki for Rybicki to store and maintain them. Rybicki read each memo as he received them.

The Third Document

The third document described a meeting between Comey and Chief of Staff Reince Priebus at the White House, after which Priebus brought Comey to the Oval Office to meet Trump some time in February 2017.

SA [REDACTED] provided Rybicki a copy of a memo, dated February 8, 2017. Rybicki noted the memo, like the other five memos, generally bear the page numbers and handwriting he recognized as that of Comey's. All had been written in blue ink, and appear to be accurate copies of the original memos Rybicki had possessed.

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Rybicki could not recall which day he received a copy of this memo, but generally recalled it would have been the same day or day after it was written. Like the first document, this memo was provided by Comey to

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Rybicki at FBIHQ either in the Director's suite, which Rybicki explained included both of their offices and the conference room.

In addition to the six memos discussed, Rybicki said there were "definitely" additional e-mails during which Comey discussed meetings with Trump. Although there may be some substance in these communications, Rybicki has not searched his inbox for them. All exchanges would be stored on FBI systems.

Rybicki did not specifically remember whether there was a FBI team meeting after this February 8 meeting between Comey and Trump, but said "I'm sure we talked about these meetings in various groups" to discuss the meeting's substance, and added that it would have been ordinary for the team to have discussed Comey's interactions with Trump as a group. By group, Rybicki meant the FBI team previously stated, which would have included some or all of the following individuals: the Director, Associate Deputy Director, Deputy Director, General Counsel, and Rybicki.

The Fourth Document

Rybicki recalled this memo related to a Homeland Session held at the Oval Office in February 2017. SA provided Rybicki a copy of this memo in order to refresh his recollection. Rybicki reviewed the memo and found it to be consistent with his memory of the original. Rybicki noted the meeting occurred on Valentine's Day. Comey gave the memo to him on the date he signed it. Rybicki handled the document as he handled the previous documents.

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Rybicki recalled specific details surrounding this meeting and commented to interviewing agents that it was important. There were in person discussions. Rybicki cannot recall whether there were any electronic discussions. Rybicki pointed to the bottom half of the second page in the document and stated most of the discussion centered on Michael Flynn, as Comey was receiving regular updates about Flynn and Russian influence. In the interest of time, Rybicki offered to discuss these conversations in more detail at another time.

After the February 14 meeting, Comey asked Rybicki, in person, to set up a meeting between Comey and Sessions to be scheduled after the next meeting they both attended. Rybicki either called or e-mailed the Chief of Staff for Sessions, who later returned his call and agreed to the meeting, as Sessions had separately wanted to meet with Comey for other reasons.

Comey wanted the meeting with Sessions because of the frequency of interactions he was having with Trump, and wanted the communications to go

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through normal channels because of the unusual frequency and because some of the conversations were case related.

Comey wanted to tell Sessions he (Comey) worked for him (Sessions) and that he (Sessions) should not have left the room at the February 14, 2017 meeting, to leave him (Comey) alone with Trump.

The meeting involved Comey, Jody Hunt (Chief of Staff to Sessions), Rybicki, and Sessions, and occurred in the Justice Command Center. First they discussed the matter for which Sessions had wanted to meet with Comey, then Comey brought up his concern about Sessions "providing interference." Rybicki could not recall the exact date of this meeting but knows it is marked on his calendar, and offered to expand on the details surrounding this meeting at another time. The

The Fifth Document

Rybicki recalled a telephone call received sometime in late March. SA [REDACTED] provided Rybicki a copy of a memo dated March 30, 2017, which Rybicki reviewed and acknowledged was consistent with his memory of the document.

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Having refreshed his recollection, Rybicki explained he was present in the room with Comey when he received a call from the Royal Crown. Rybicki explained Royal Crown was a reference to the White House switch board. The call was from Trump on Comey's yellow secure telephone. Comey took the call, and because he did not use the speaker phone function, Rybicki only heard Comey's side of the conversation.

The memo is an accurate recitation of the events of March 30, including Rybicki's recommendation to Comey that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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The Sixth Document

SA [REDACTED] provided Rybicki a memo dated April 11, 2017, which Rybicki reviewed and identified as an accurate copy of a memo drafted and provided by Comey to Rybicki. Rybicki recalled discussions that occurred after the April 11, 2017, telephone call with Trump, and Rybicki noted Comey had

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requested guidance from Dana Boente following Comey's March 30, 2017, telephone call from Trump, and had not yet received a response to his request.

Post Termination

Since Comey's termination, Rybicki has not provided anything else to Comey.

Comey was terminated on a Tuesday, and on the Wednesday following his termination, Lisa Page requested copies of all the memos, to be provided to McCabe. Rybicki asked her to confirm McCabe had requested them, and she replied in the affirmative. That morning, following this exchange with Page, Rybicki made three copies: one for Rybicki, one for Page, and one copy for Baker. Baker may have later given copies to the Department of Justice's Office of the Inspector General. Page gave her copies to McCabe. The memos were also uploaded into the case file.

"They" conducted an initial clear of Comey's office that same Wednesday. The following Monday (May 15, 2017), they turned over Rybicki's folders and memos along with additional folders, and gave everything to [REDACTED]. [REDACTED] There were "boxes" filled with records. [REDACTED] completed an inventory and provided everything to RMD on Tuesday (May 16, 2017). The records were all sealed before being provided to RMD.

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Three Other Calls

Rybicki also recalled three other telephone calls between Trump and Comey. Rybicki has various records he can provide to confirm these contacts.

After his termination, Comey reminded Rybicki of a previous incident sometime in March while Comey was on his way to Henrico County, Virginia (via helicopter), when he got a call from the White House. Rybicki could not remember the exact date but believes it was after the February 14 memo and before the March 30 memo. The date was marked on his calendar in his office. This was an unclassified call after which Comey sent Rybicki "a quick two line e-mail" with very little substance.

SA [REDACTED] provided Rybicki a copy of an e-mail, dated March 1, 2017 from Comey to Rybicki. Rybicki reviewed this e-mail and confirmed it was a copy of the e-mail he received to document Comey's March 1 conversation with Trump. Rybicki gave a printed copy to FBI Deputy Assistant Director Peter Strzok separately because he never created a file for the copy as he did with the other previously described e-mails and memos.

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After Comey's termination, Rybicki told Comey they were securing everything in Comey's office, and would be collecting things from Comey's SCIF at his home. Comey inquired about his memos, and Rybicki assured him they were secured. Comey asked about the March 1 e-mail, and Rybicki told him he gave a copy to Strzok. Based on this information, Rybicki searched his own FBI e-mail system and found the e-mail. Rybicki also checked his calendar and located an entry for the meeting, which he printed and provided to Strzok.

Rybicki explained in his FBI e-mail system, he flagged all e-mails from Comey with a category he titled "D Followup," which appears on this March 1 e-mail. Rybicki called this an "auto-rule" and added that each message was flagged in orange in the system. Rybicki cannot recall how Comey knew this message was missing from the collection of memos already in Rybicki's possession. The exact number of e-mails was probably not discussed.

On Wednesday of this week (June 7, 2017), Comey made two requests prior to his testimony before Congress. One was to be provided copies of his memos for review in preparation for his testimony. The second request was for Rybicki to locate at least two additional conversations Comey may have documented. Comey provided Rybicki two dates, and Rybicki spoke with Baker to refresh his recollection. Baker searched his e-mails and located an e-mail from Comey dated January 12, 2017. The actual call Comey was documenting may have occurred on January 11, 2017. Based on this information, Rybicki searched his e-mail system by date and located the message sent to him from Comey on January 11, 2017. Rybicki believes it was not flagged with his auto-rule because he was on [REDACTED] SA [REDACTED] provided Rybicki copies of the January 11 and January 12 e-mails for review. Rybicki confirmed they were the two e-mails mentioned above.

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The third conversation between Comey and Trump occurred sometime around March 9, 2017, and was likely recorded on his calendar. The telephone call was received while Comey and Rybicki were en route to Leesburg, Virginia. They stopped at [REDACTED] to return the call. Comey used his CMS phone. The substance of the conversation was purely operational. Rybicki was in the room with Comey when Comey had his conversation. Following the conversation, Comey telephoned FBI Assistant Director Bill Priestap to share with him the substance of the call. Then, while en route to Leesburg, Comey notified Sessions in a secure telephone call. The conversation between Comey and Trump was not memorialized. Rybicki will check to see whether there is an entry in his calendar for the call.

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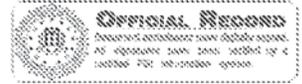
The documents provided to Rybicki for his review have been maintained in
the [Redacted]

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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, [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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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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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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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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[REDACTED]

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.

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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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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]

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

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]

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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]

Gates

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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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]

[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

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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 [REDACTED]. Lewandowski did not understand strategy very well and felt threatened by Manafort.

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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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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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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".

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]

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[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.

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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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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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Tab 12

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Tab 13

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Tab 14

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[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.

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[Redacted]

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

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

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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]

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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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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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]

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[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]

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]

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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.

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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

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.

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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 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.

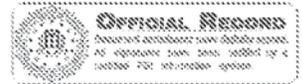
Trump attended the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) in New York in September 2016, but he does not know if he met with any foreign officials during this time. Gates did not know if Deripaska attended UNGA in 2016, but he did not think Deripaska could attend because he did not have a visa.



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



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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 03/13/2018

Richard William Gates III, previously identified, was interviewed by FBI Special Agent [redacted] Supervisory Special Agent [redacted] Forensic Accountant [redacted] and Special Counsel Prosecutors Andrew Weissmann and Greg Andres. Present for Gates were [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 [redacted] 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 [redacted] 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]

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]

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[REDACTED] 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]

[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

[Redacted]

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[Redacted] Similarly, Gates suspected [Redacted] benefited 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] Gates was rarely at

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[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).

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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]

[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]

[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]

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[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]

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]

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[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]

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[Redacted]

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #3, On 01/31/2018, Page 10 of 21b6
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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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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Gates Proffer #3, On 01/31/2018, Page 11 of 21b6
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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] Gates also had [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]

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]

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[Redacted]

[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

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]

[REDACTED]

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

[REDACTED]

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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]

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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 Yanukovych 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.

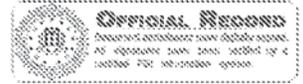
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This was when Manafort and Gates arranged for PDG and MCW's hiring. Prior to the hiring of PDG and MCW, individuals members of PoR had hired their own lobbying and public relations consultants. Similarly, [REDACTED] had already created the ECFMU for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

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[Redacted]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 04/26/2018

FBI INFO.
CLASSIFIED BY: NSICG [Redacted]
REASON: 1.4 (C,D)
DECLASSIFY ON: 12-31-2043
DATE: 10-01-2019

DANA BOENTE was interviewed at Patriots Plaza I, 395 E Street SW, Washington, DC 20546 by Special Agent (SA) [Redacted] SA [Redacted] Senior Counselor to the Special Counsel James L. Quarles, and Senior Assistant Special Counsel Andrew Goldstein. Also present were Counselor to the Special Counsel Michael Dreeben and Assistant Special Counsel Elizabeth Prelogar. Accompanying Boente were his attorneys [Redacted] from Schulte Roth & Zabel. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing officials and the nature of the interview, Boente provided the following information:

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

(S) [Redacted]

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~~Reason: 1.4 (b)
Derived From: FBI NSIC CG
Declassify On: 20431231~~

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~

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

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 03/05/2018

by [Redacted]

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Dana Boente , On 01/31/2018 , Page 2 of 11

[Redacted]

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Dana Boente , On 01/31/2018 , Page 3 of 11

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[Redacted] Boente did not discuss his views on Comey with anyone at the White House. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Dana Boente, On 01/31/2018, Page 4 of 11

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March 20, 2017 HPSCI Hearing

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Dana Boente , On 01/31/2018 , Page 5 of 11

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(U) Boente did not recall any discussions with the White House on March 21, 2017, the day after Comey's testimony. He recalled he had at least one conversation with McGahn but he did not remember when. McGahn called and asked if there was anything they could do to "move this forward," and that the President was under a cloud and it was hard for him to do business. McGahn wanted to know if they could speed it up and bring it to an end as quickly as possible.

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[Redacted] Boente told McGahn [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted] There was no good way to shorten it, [Redacted]

[Redacted] He also thought people might not have confidence in the conclusions if they interfered. McGahn agreed with Boente and dropped it. [Redacted]

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Dana Boente , On 01/31/2018 , Page 6 of 11

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[Redacted]

March 30, 2017 Telephone Call with Comey

(U) Comey called Boente on March 30, 2017. Comey said he was uncomfortable because the President had called. The President had asked Comey about a pending investigation, and while Comey told Boente it was not obstructive,

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Dana Boente , On 01/31/2018 , Page 7 of 11

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April 11, 2017 Telephone Call with Comey

[Redacted]

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(U) Boente spoke to McGahn at some point about the calls between the President and Comey.

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McGahn told Boente he agreed it was a problem that the President called Comey.

[Redacted]

McGahn said something to indicate he would take care of it and would do what he could. Boente sensed McGahn agreed it was a problem.

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Dana Boente , On 01/31/2018 , Page 8 of 11

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Dana Boente, On 01/31/2018, Page 9 of 11

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Dana Boente, On 01/31/2018, Page 10 of 11

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Dana Boente, On 01/31/2018, Page 11 of 11

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 11/01/2018

MICHAEL COHEN (COHEN), [Redacted]

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[Redacted] was interviewed at 655 Third Avenue, New York, New York, 10017. Present for the interview were Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) Special Agents [Redacted] [Redacted] Assistant United States Attorneys (AUSA) [Redacted] [Redacted] and COHEN's attorneys, Guy Petrillo, Amy Lester, and Phillip Pilmar. AUSA [Redacted] presented and explained a proffer agreement that COHEN and his attorneys reviewed and signed. After being advised of the identity of the interviewers and the nature of the interview, COHEN provided the following information:

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Investigation on 10/17/2018 at New York, New York, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 10/17/2018

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of MICHAEL COHEN, On 10/17/2018, Page 2 of 12

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of MICHAEL COHEN, On 10/17/2018, Page 3 of 12

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of MICHAEL COHEN, On 10/17/2018, Page 4 of 12

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of MICHAEL COHEN , On 10/17/2018 , Page 5 of 12

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of MICHAEL COHEN , On 10/17/2018 , Page 6 of 12

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of MICHAEL COHEN , On 10/17/2018 , Page 7 of 12

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of MICHAEL COHEN , On 10/17/2018 , Page 8 of 12

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of MICHAEL COHEN, On 10/17/2018, Page 9 of 12

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of MICHAEL COHEN , On 10/17/2018 , Page 10 of 12

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of MICHAEL COHEN , On 10/17/2018 , Page 11 of 12

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ADDITIONAL TOPICS

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[Redacted] COHEN did not want the payments to "come out," and COHEN felt that, after the search of his premises, he was "an open book" COHEN felt that his false statements to the House of Representatives and the Senate were "a big concern."

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of MICHAEL COHEN , On 10/17/2018 , Page 12 of 12

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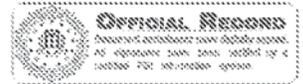
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FBI INFO.
CLASSIFIED BY: NSICG [redacted]
REASON: 1.4 (C)
DECLASSIFY ON: 12-31-2043
DATE: 11-26-2019

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 06/13/2018

Stephen K. Bannon was interviewed at the Special Counsel's Office, located at Patriots Plaza I, 395 E Street SW, Washington, DC. Bannon was accompanied by his attorneys [redacted] Present for the interview were Special Agent (SA) [redacted] SA [redacted] [redacted] Intelligence Analyst [redacted] Senior Counselor to the Special Counsel James L. Quarles, Counselor to the Special Counsel Michael Dreeben, Senior Assistant Special Counselor Andrew Goldstein, Assistant Special Counsel Aaron Zelinsky, and Assistant Special Counsel Elizabeth Prelogar. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agents and the nature of the interview, Bannon provided the following information:

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ADMINISTRATION TRANSITION PERIOD:

In the immediate aftermath of the 2016 presidential election and Donald Trump's unexpected win, things were disorganized. Bannon, Reince Priebus, and Jared Kushner split up the workload amongst themselves. The weekend after the election, President-Elect Trump announced Priebus as Chief of Staff and Bannon as Chief Strategist. Priebus was always going to be the Chief of Staff, as he was from the GOP establishment, while the rest of the campaign was from "the land of misfit toys."

There was no real transition team in place. People in the campaign thought it was not necessary to have a strong transition team going into the election, in part because they were so far down in the polls. Trump was also superstitious about things like that. Bill Hagerty, the director of the transition, had scheduled a trip to the Bahamas for after the election, assuming they would not win.

Bannon learned that they would need to identify 4,000 political appointees, 1,000 of which required Senate confirmation. Also, they would need to have 400 people in place on day one of the administration. One of Bannon's chief responsibilities was personnel. Another was day one executive orders. One of Kushner's main responsibilities was to have relationships with foreign governments, while Priebus coordinated everyone's efforts.

During the transition, Bannon worked out of Trump Tower in New York City. Bannon had a desk on the 14th floor of Trump Tower during the campaign,

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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(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

Continuation of FD-302 of 1), On 02/12/2018, Page 2 of 26

but moved to a conference room on the 26th floor during the transition. Trump's offices were on the 26th floor and he was the heart of the transition. The 14th floor conference rooms were turned over to [National Security Advisor-designate] Mike Flynn and the national security staff during the transition.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Early on in the transition,

Bannon did not have much of a role in foreign policy. No one expected them to win and the responsibilities of the administration came as a shock to a lot of people. His real focus was on personnel, not policy. [Former transition head] Chris Christie had people in mind who were "Never Trump" people and "Anyone but Trump" people, and they were never going to get billets.

Bannon was surprised at the number of calls and in person meet-and-greets that were scheduled. Kushner and Flynn took the lead on foreign leader contacts. It was initially chaotic, with Hope Hicks serving as essentially Trump's "body man" and handling the scheduling. This was not an ideal situation, and sometimes went poorly, such as when Bannon learned from the media Trump agreed to meet with the Japanese Prime Minister. At some point, it was decided foreign leader engagement would run through Kushner and Flynn.

Bannon had a good working relationship with Kushner during the campaign. Kushner was able to calm Trump down or deliver bad news. Kushner ran the digital operation and raised money during the campaign. When there was no overlap in their roles, they got along well. Bannon thought they never would have won if he and Kushner were not getting along during the campaign. Later, when their roles and responsibilities overlapped, they clashed.

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(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

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Then-Senator Jeff Sessions was a foundational member and leader of the populist movement. Sessions' early endorsement of Trump was huge and it was an unwritten rule that people like Sessions, Flynn, and Keith Kellogg, who had all been on board early, would get administration jobs.

Sessions and [former NYC Mayor] Rudy Giuliani both wanted to be Secretary of State. Bannon tried to talk Giuliani into taking the Attorney General or Secretary of Homeland Security positions, but he wanted Secretary of State or nothing at all. Bannon really wanted Giuliani as Attorney General and spent at least three hours once trying to talk him into it, but Giuliani said he was 70 years old and had no energy for the position. Bannon thought Giuliani would have issues in his confirmation if he was nominated as Secretary of State, however, because of some of his companies and foreign contacts.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

Bannon thought discussions of the Russia investigation immediately after the election were the result of Democrats being in shock over losing. He thought Democrats raised Russia as a way to delegitimize the win. It was not really about the investigation, but the Democratic excuse for losing and a way to make it so that Trump could not govern.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

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Bannon was invited to half a dozen or so meetings with foreign leaders during the transition, but he did not remember specifically the invitation

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(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

Continuation of FD-302 of 1), On 02/12/2018, Page 4 of 26

to the meeting with Kushner, Flynn, and Kislyak in November. He thought the meeting was set up just because they met with everyone who asked for a meeting at the time. Every nation on earth wanted a meeting. They were inundated with foreign contacts.

Bannon said Flynn went to see [then-National Security Advisor] Susan Rice and [her deputy] Ben Rhodes early on in the transition to talk about how to do things. He did not recall discussions about the "one president at a time" policy. They were not very organized and made it up as they went along.

Bannon did not get the sense Russia's reach outs to the transition were any different than any other country's. For example, the Japanese Prime Minister wanted to fly over and have a cup of coffee.

Bannon was not happy when the media reported that Kushner attempted to establish a back channel for communications with Russia during the transition. Neither Kushner nor Flynn mentioned the meeting. Bannon did not speak to Flynn after the story came out; he had not spoken to Flynn since Flynn left the White House. He did not speak to Kushner after the story came out, either. They were "not exactly speaking at the time." **b5 per DOJ/OIP**

To Bannon, the notion of security was more troubling than that of the back channel itself. Bannon questioned why they would need anything more secure than what the government already had. A back channel was not necessary. They did not need a big "cloak and dagger" deal. When the meeting with Kushner, Flynn, and Kislyak happened, they had eight weeks to go before inauguration and had no one on the team, and they needed to focus.

LTG (Ret) MICHAEL FLYNN

It was evident to Bannon there would be issues with Flynn. In the fall of 2016, Trump and Obama met and Trump reported the meeting went well and they got along. The meeting was longer than expected. Trump told Bannon

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(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

Continuation of FD-302 of 1), On 02/12/2018, Page 5 of 26

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

After the meeting with Obama, Trump attended the Army-Navy football game. He did an interview with Chris Wallace that weekend. Wallace brought up Flynn's son's tweets, which Trump had not heard about. It was embarrassing for Trump, and Fox agreed to cut out that part of the interview. [REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Flynn was not that organized. Bannon knew he needed to work on Flynn's organization. [Deputy National Security Advisor-designate] KT McFarland and [REDACTED] were solid Trump people, but were only second or third tier performers. Flynn and Trump had tension from the beginning.

b6
b7C**DECEMBER 2016/MAR-A-LAGO**

Bannon went on the trip to Mar-a-Lago with the transition team in December 2016. He went down around December 15 and made a trip back home for Christmas before returning to stay through New Year's Eve. Present the week before Christmas along with Bannon were Priebus, Kushner, Flynn, [Deputy Chief of Staff-designate] [REDACTED] [White House Spokesperson-designate] Sean Spicer, and Hope Hicks. After Christmas, Flynn left on a trip with his wife and Kushner went skiing, so McFarland joined them in Flynn's absence. Priebus, Spicer, and Hicks remained.

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McFarland served as a stand-in for Flynn. Flynn checked in with her a lot. Bannon did not recall conference calls with Flynn but thought Flynn was definitely keeping his hand on things while he was away. When the news broke of the Obama administration sanctions on the Russians because of election interference, Bannon was not concerned with the sanctions themselves but more the linkage between Russian interference and the election results. He had no idea what the sanctions would be, but knew they would be in office in five weeks and could do something about them then. He was more concerned with the drumbeat of delegitimizing the election. Bannon asserted the Trump win had nothing to do with Russia. He said, "I ran the campaign. We won because we hustled."

Bannon was nervous about McFarland. She had never had a senior level job and had been a Fox News Analyst prior to joining the administration. She had been an intern for Henry Kissinger. By late December, Bannon looked around and realized they had "no heavies." Bannon did not have a clearance at the time, so he did not attend PDBs [Presidential Daily Briefings]. He made sure Flynn and McFarland had it

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(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day
Continuation of FD-302 of 1), On 02/12/2018, Page 6 of 26

together regarding national security briefings, even though he did not attend. Bannon received his clearance in mid-to-late January.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Bannon reviewed an email with subject line "Russian hacking Obama" from McFarland to himself, Flynn, and others, dated 12/29/2016 (Bates stamped SB_21384). He did not remember receiving the email. He used his transition email and his personal email accounts at that time and acknowledged it went to him, but added, "If someone sends me an email this long I'm not reading it."

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Trump's posture on Russia at that time was he did not want the United States to have any more enemies. He wanted to end the Cold War, put America first, address the fact that the government had spent \$6B on wars they had not won, and address ISIS, which was on the rise. Trump thought it unwise to pick a fight with someone else.

Bannon added they were not a policy heavy group; they had campaigned on slogans like "Drain the swamp," "Build a wall," and "Lock her up." Trump used better relations with Russia as a campaign point and said the United States did not need another enemy. He thought it would resonate with the "deplorables," the blue collar people, the people paying the price for the wars, whose kids were dying in the war. They did not need another Cold War or to pick another fight, even with a bad guy. The reason Trump won was because people agreed with the campaign, not because of Putin.

Bannon did not recall whether he knew Flynn was going to talk to Kislyak the night the sanctions came out. McFarland may have said it but he was not sure.

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(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

Continuation of FD-302 of 1), On 02/12/2018, Page 7 of 26

Bannon reviewed an email dated 12/30/2016 at 7:03 am (Bates stamped SB_00021214). He did not recall the 12/29/2016 meeting referenced in the email. He did not remember whether McFarland told him anything about Flynn-Kislyak calls. He recalled he told McFarland she needed to get a little more engaged. Trump was not happy with some briefings he had received from Flynn and Bannon suggested McFarland get better control of things.

Bannon did not recall knowing about the Flynn-Kislyak calls while he was down at Mar-a-Lago. He could not say they did not happen, just that he did not remember them. They were not a big deal to Bannon. However, what did concern Bannon was he thought they were getting things dropped on them by the previous administration, such as an issue in the UN and drawing a link between Russia and the election.

When Putin put out a statement that Russia would not respond to the sanctions and Trump subsequently sent out a tweet calling Putin "smart," Bannon thought it was possible Trump sent that tweet out from the golf course, depending on the time of day. Bannon added Trump would often see something on the news or in the newspaper and tweet about it. There was no strategic discussion of his tweets.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] but it did not matter to Bannon what Putin did. What mattered to Bannon was that Obama had said there was a direct link between Russia and the election. He thought it was designed to delegitimize the government. Bannon was "pissed" and thought the Obama administration was "playing cute." He thought it was wrong that [then-Homeland Security Advisor] Lisa Monaco had not told [Homeland Security Advisor-designate] Tom Bossert in advance and that Priebus barely got a heads up. Bannon thought that's when he decided it was time to get the facts for themselves and asked that briefings with the intelligence people be set up.

McFarland or someone may have told Bannon on December 29, 2016 that Flynn planned to speak to Kislyak that night. McFarland did not tell Bannon what Flynn planned to talk about with Kislyak. Bannon had no concept of the likely topic of discussion between Flynn and Kislyak. He remembered hearing something about the assassination of a Turkish ambassador, but was not sure when he heard it. He thought he heard it from Spicer. He thought either Spicer or Hicks had asked Flynn, or that Flynn had offered it.

Bannon reviewed emails dated 12/31/2016 (not Bates stamped) between himself and McFarland. He explained the emails were giving her an "atta girl" in response to how the sanctions played out.

Bannon reviewed the December 29, 2016 transition statement about sanctions and said that was when they decided they needed to get briefings on

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(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

Continuation of FD-302 of 1) , On 02/12/2018 , Page 8 of 26

election interference from the Intelligence Community. Up to that point, Bannon may have had some briefings on Russian involvement in the election. He thought there may have been three or four briefings Christie and Giuliani had with the FBI, but he did not recall the election or Russia coming up.

The January 3, 2017 briefing on Russia was a big deal and an all hands on deck situation. Mike Pompeo had already been named CIA director, they had talked to NSA Director Mike Rogers, and agreed they needed to find out what was going on. Bannon was surprised by the scale of the sanctions and thought the United States had not even kicked out people in such a manner during the Cold War. They set up an official briefing with ODNI, CIA, NSA and the other intelligence agencies, because they thought Trump and Pence needed to be briefed. Some of the agencies had told them they needed to take things seriously and get briefed up on it.

During the campaign, Bannon thought the "Putin stuff was not a big deal." Trump admired certain strong personality types, like those of Putin, Xi, and Erdogan, but he did not talk to Bannon at any length about Putin. When Bannon joined the campaign, there were 85 days to go, they were 16 points down, and they had no money. Putin was not his priority. He added Trump was not a big policy guy, but rather a personality guy. Trump talked about Putin in the context of not needing any new enemies.

Trump was drawn to certain historical people. Trump ran on a populist campaign platform and Bannon told him to think of himself as Andrew Jackson. Bannon did not think Trump desired approval from Putin. With Trump, it wasn't about Putin himself, but that strong men like Putin embodied his view of leadership.

They campaigned on bringing an end to endless foreign wars, but Syria was only a tangential part of it. The focus was mostly on Iraq and Afghanistan. It was not until GEN Mattis came on board that things shifted to focus on ISIS in Syria. Mattis' strategy was annihilation versus attrition. Flynn may have brought up the idea of working with Russia against a common enemy during the campaign. He recalled a conversation with Flynn in passing either on a plane or late at night, coming back from a trip where it came up. Bannon wrote something about rejuvenating old allies and eradicating radical Islam from the face of the planet down at Mar-a-Lago during the transition. The idea really formed around then. The Syria part was really informed at first and then the ISIS component came about when Mattis came on board, maybe the second weekend after the election.

By mid-December, Mattis had a role in the plan to destroy ISIS. Syria itself was second or third order priority. Bannon did not recall any

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[REDACTED]

(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day
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discussion about a shared interest between the United States and Russia regarding the destruction of ISIS. He did not hear Trump discuss it, either. Bannon did not recall any detailed national security policy discussions during the campaign or the transition.

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

Bannon left Mar-a-Lago on Christmas Eve and went back after Christmas. He left Mar-a-Lago the second time late on December 30. He stayed in DC for a few days and then went to New York on the first or second of January.

Bannon met with Flynn in DC the first week of January. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] Bannon was sure Flynn did not mention telephone calls with Kislyak. Flynn never mentioned sanctions.

Bannon did not attend the January 3 or January 6 Russia briefings at Trump Tower in New York City, because he did not have a security clearance at the time.

After the briefings, he got the sense from other people [REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

Bannon thought the unclassified ICA "laid an egg" in that it insinuated a lot but did not say much. A lot of people, except partisan Democrats, read the report and thought it was not a big deal.

Trump, Priebus, and McGahn, told Bannon what had happened during the January 6 ICA briefing in a short meeting after the briefing. Bannon learned Comey had pulled Trump aside and given him something that was not part of the original presentation. Bannon was "hot about it." He thought

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

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he should have been at the briefing and if he had been there, he would not have allowed it to happen.

Bannon heard Comey asked for a private moment and Priebus, McGahn, and Pence all knew about it when it happened. [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

Bannon thought someone told him Comey had relayed there was some "disgusting stuff" out there about Trump. He did not get the impression that the other IC leaders at the meeting knew what Comey was going to share. Bannon was suspicious of that process, not suspicious of Comey specifically.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

Bannon was upset when BuzzFeed leaked the dossier on January 10. He did not know the media had the material and did not think Hicks or Spicer knew, either. If Comey had told Trump the media had the dossier and Trump had told Bannon, Bannon would have been "all over it." Bannon did not recall any conversations prior to the BuzzFeed article that indicated others had the dossier. He was surprised when BuzzFeed published the story.

Bannon thought the dossier was a joke. It showed people were ready to leak anything to make the incoming administration look bad. He thought the salacious nature of the content was driving the conversations, not the idea of sanctions relief.

Bannon recalled Tillerson's confirmation hearing was around the same time as the BuzzFeed article. He remembered there were a lot of questions about sanctions and that Tillerson did not have a lot of good answers, but he also thought at the time there was plenty of time to think about those things later.

Bannon first learned Flynn spoke to Kislyak about sanctions [Redacted]

b1
b3

[Redacted] Bannon

heard it from Hicks or Spicer. [Redacted]

(S)

[Redacted] He thought if it was true, it meant Flynn had unauthorized conversations about sanctions and it played into the narrative that the campaign had some sort of backdoor deal with the Russians. If it was not true, and no one thought it was true, they need to get the story out.

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(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

Continuation of FD-302 of 1) _____, On 02/12/2018, Page 11 of 26

Bannon knew a request for comment about the coming article had gone to Hicks, who then sent it to Monica Crowley, who dropped the ball. She missed the response deadline and the story went out without their comment. Flynn had said the call had been about Kazakhstan, a call with Putin, and another thing Bannon could not recall [REDACTED]. He [REDACTED] remembered there was also a push to get talking points to the people who were scheduled to be on the Sunday shows [REDACTED].

b1
b3

(S) [REDACTED] Bannon knew Spicer and Pence spoke to Flynn before the Sunday shows that weekend.

Before the article, Bannon knew in passing Flynn had calls with Kislyak. He heard something in passing about passing condolences. Bannon did not know if Flynn talked directly to Trump. Flynn could have given Trump a direct read out of the calls. Bannon thought Flynn would have "at least told Jared [Kushner]" if the reason Putin chose not to retaliate to the sanctions was because of Flynn's calls. Bannon thought Kushner may have told Trump. Foreign policy and reach outs to foreign leaders was Kushner and Flynn's responsibility and they worked together on it.

Bannon had no direct knowledge of the first time anyone talked to Flynn directly about the content of the calls, but he knew Spicer talked to him before the Sunday shows. Bannon thought the story should have been no big deal. When the article came out, Bannon did not ask Flynn what he talked about on the calls with Kislyak and did not hear anyone else ask him, either. Bannon did not talk to Flynn about the article or the Sunday show preparations. He was only involved related to the process of getting things done. He added it was clear to him then Monica Crowley was not competent and amateurish.

Bannon said if Flynn had said he had told people early on he had discussed sanctions, they would have had a meeting and talked about it. It would have been a big thing. Bannon thought if it had come up when Priebus, Pence, or Spicer had asked, he would have thought it was a big deal. He added that was why it was a big deal when Yates told McGahn later.

It was beneficial to have Pence and Priebus go on the Sunday shows and talk about the content of the calls on the Sunday shows because they were straight shooters and their statements confirmed what the transition team had already said. Bannon later spoke to Priebus and Spicer about how the events unfolded and understood what they said publicly was what they were told.

Bannon thought that in his first memory of a call between Flynn and Kislyak, the call had something to do with condolences. He thought he heard it in passing from McFarland. He did not know when [REDACTED]

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(S)

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[Redacted]

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

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On January 26, 2017, Bannon was in Priebus' office when McGahn came in and

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

McGahn told them Yates was coming back the next day.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

The FBI had been in to interview Flynn the third day of the new administration and the Acting Attorney General came over to tell them

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Bannon knew there was a lot going on and everyone was busy at that time so he thought it had to be a big deal for Yates to take the time to come talk to them.

[Redacted]

Bannon was not aware of anyone saying in those first few days that Flynn should be fired.

[Redacted]

it was probably time for Flynn to go. Bannon thought Flynn would probably lose his security clearance anyway, so it was inevitable he would have to go.

[Redacted]

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

Continuation of FD-302 of 1) , On 02/12/2018 , Page 14 of 26

[Redacted]

b1
(S) b3
b7E

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

Bannon did not know why Pence was not told. He thought he was brought into the loop shortly after the Yates meeting [Redacted]

b1
b3
b7E

(S) [Redacted] Bannon was not sure why he thought that, but it had never come up that Pence did not know.

Bannon did not recall whether Trump expressed any reason he would not want to fire Flynn. [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b1
(S) b3
b7E

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b1
(S) b3

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Bannon

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

Continuation of FD-302 of 1) , On 02/12/2018 , Page 15 of 26

thought the point of the article was to say the new administration was not on top of things.

[Redacted]

b1
b3

[Redacted]

(S)

The weekend before Flynn was fired [February 11-12], Trump was in Mar-a-Lago for the [Japanese Prime Minister] Shinzo Abe visit. Bannon remembered a meeting the week immediately prior to the trip

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Bannon said it had been a central tenet of the campaign to give the American people permission to vote for Trump as Commander in Chief and things were off to a rocky start.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

Bannon talked to Trump on the plane

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Bannon reviewed SB_111393. He had no awareness of the interview mentioned in the email. He was not aware if Trump told Flynn he should do more

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(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

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media. He had no recollection of [NSC Spokesman] Michael Anton asking about the article. Regarding Flynn's quote "cross no lines," Bannon thought Flynn meant he did talk about sanctions but he had crossed no lines.

Bannon added there was enough kicking around in the morning [of February 13] that it was not a done deal first thing. He acknowledged Conway had said Trump had full faith in Flynn early in the day. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] He thought maybe someone in the communications shop b5 per DOJ/OIP asked Flynn to do press. He was not the kind of guy to go out and do press on his own.

At some point in the early afternoon, they told Flynn it was time to go.

Bannon thought it was pretty scary when you looked around and McFarland was the National Security Advisor. Bannon knew they would get a new person in to take over for Flynn and that person would pick his own deputy and McFarland would leave. Bannon never heard anything about McFarland's resignation letter. He had never heard about McFarland documenting her interactions with Flynn. Bannon did not have personal contact with Flynn after he left, nor did he have direct knowledge of anyone else having any, but it would not surprise him if someone reached out to him. People were upset about it. Bannon did not remember if Trump wanted to send a message to Flynn, but thought he would go through [Flynn's temporary replacement] Keith Kellogg if he wanted to do so. Bannon was not aware of any conversations about pardoning Flynn.

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL EXECUTIVE ORDER:

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] Bannon had no interest in the NSC. He added he never went to NSC meetings when he was actually on the NSC, but had attended some after he left it. He was surprised it was such a big deal to people.

It was "not really" true that Bannon was there to baby-sit Flynn, which was what had been reported in the media. During the transition, Bannon did have to baby-sit Flynn somewhat, especially when Trump and Flynn's relationship was not as strong.

FORMER FBI DIRECTOR JAMES COMEY:

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

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Bannon had some conversations about Comey early on during the transition, but they were very general.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Bannon did not recall long conversations, just bits of them in snatches over time.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] Bannon did not connect Trump's dinner with Comey to the Yates notification, even though it happened the same day Yates had her second meeting with McGahn. Bannon never thought to be concerned about a link between the Yates notification and the dinner with Comey.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

A few days after the dinner, McCabe and another FBI official came to the White House for a meeting with Bannon. [REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

Bannon was present at the February 14 homeland threat briefing in the Oval Office. After the meeting concluded, Trump gave a hand signal or something to indicate he wanted Comey to stay behind. Sessions was there, as well; Bannon thought Sessions kept walking when Comey stayed behind. Bannon did not notice what Kushner did.

Bannon did not know Trump intended to have a long meeting with Comey. He thought it would just be a minute or two. If he had known otherwise, in keeping with the "Don McGahn rules of the road," Bannon would have said something to Sessions or someone about it. Bannon did not speak to Trump right after the meeting. The first time he really learned about the meeting was when it was reported in the New York Times in May after Comey was fired. Bannon also remembered Comey testified about nine different times he talked to Trump and the meeting was mentioned. Bannon also remembered he saw Comey at a law enforcement event on January 22 at the White House.

Bannon remembered that at some point before Comey was fired, Trump said to Bannon [REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

FBI INVESTIGATION INTO RUSSIAN INTERFERENCE IN 2016 ELECTION:

Bannon was not aware of the FBI's investigation into Russian interference until Comey announced it in Congressional testimony [in March 2017]. Bannon knew about the House and Senate investigations earlier. Senator Burr had come over to the White House to talk about the Senate investigation generally. Bannon thought McGahn and Priebus were also there for the discussion.

Bannon knew [House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence] Chairman Devin Nunes pretty well. Nunes was known as a Tea Party guy. Over at Breitbart, Pompeo and Nunes were seen as stars of the House of

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[Redacted]

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

Representatives. Bannon got to know Nunes [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted] He did not recall either Burr or Nunes saying what the FBI was doing. Bannon was not aware of what led Comey to make the announcement of the FBI's investigation. He may have heard something about Senator Grassley holding up nominations around then, but was not sure.

Bannon was not sure if Trump watched Comey's March 20 testimony. [Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted] Bannon thought the existence of an investigation should not surprise anyone.

[Redacted]

(S)

b1
b3

On May 22, the Washington Post published an article that said Trump asked the intelligence chiefs to push back on the investigation. Bannon was not aware of Trump's calls to any of them at the time. He thought the story was pretty explosive when it came out, but he did not remember if he talked to anyone about it. He did not hear anyone say it was false. Bannon did not recall whether anyone asked Trump about the calls. He did not remember any conversations about pushing back harder on the investigation. At the time he learned of them, the calls did not concern Bannon because there was so much going on. Bannon did not specifically recall talking to Spicer, Priebus or McGahn, but may have talked to Priebus.

Between Comey's March 20 testimony and May 3 testimony, Bannon and Trump

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

MAY 3 SENATE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE HEARING:

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] Bannon did not know in advance that Comey would testify. He thought Trump watched parts of the testimony. Bannon watched parts of the testimony.

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

Continuation of FD-302 of 1) , On 02/12/2018 , Page 20 of 26

On May 3, Bannon went to the Oval Office, where a meeting between Trump, McGahn, Sessions, and maybe Jody Hunt was in progress. Bannon did not remember whether Kushner was present. **b5 per DOJ/OIP**

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

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[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] Bannon thought they could actually fundraise off of
Comey if he was still in place.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

JARED KUSHNER:

Bannon and Kushner stopped getting along close to the beginning of the administration, even though they got along during the campaign. They worked well together when arranging the Riyadh summit but then it pretty quickly turned to not working well together. Bannon thought Kushner, Ivanka, and Gary Cohn were progressive Democrats and the opposite of what the Trump campaign ran on. The people who elected Trump did not vote for that. Bannon wanted to "drain the swamp." They would lose their base if they did not work toward ending DACA and building a wall.

Bannon recalled a time during an overseas trip to Saudi Arabia, Israel, and the Vatican when he left the trip early. He skipped going to Israel. At the time, the Special Counsel had been named and Trump did not have a personal attorney yet. [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted] Priebus also came back from the trip early. At that time, they were getting crushed on the international TV stations.

Bannon, Trump, Priebus, McMaster, and Powell were having a meeting when Kushner came in [Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] Priebus and
Bannon decided they were leaving the trip then. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

[REDACTED]

(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day
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Bannon reviewed a document Bates stamped SB_00003977 and said the second bullet point was not true. The bullet point said: "During transition you had an IT guy do email search of trump servers and discovered Jared met with Anbang and Qataris to raise money for 666 Fifth. You viewed the email that connected the dots. Those meetings left Jared exposed to Comey."

BEDMINSTER:

Bannon did not travel to New York with Trump the weekend after the May 3 testimony. Trump was fully occupied and Priebus and Bannon decided not to go.

Bannon got no indication from anyone on the trip to Bedminster Comey's termination was being planned. He had a feeling something was going on, but he did not know anything for sure. He was totally out of contact with everyone that weekend.

MAY 8-9, 2017:

The week of Monday, May 8, Bannon did not enter the Oval Office until the evening of Tuesday, May 9. Bannon did not participate in any meetings about Comey on Monday. Bannon suspected something was going on but wanted no part of it. Bannon did not think he should go and try one more time; he had already said his piece. History would show Bannon had no part of it.

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP
[REDACTED] Bannon thought firing Comey posed an existential threat to the Presidency. All the same, he did not go in and take one more shot at trying to stop things. He had the feeling if he went in and gave it another try, he would lose. He was "Dr. No," always saying no to crackpot ideas, such as sending 50,000 troops to Afghanistan, or staying in the Paris Accord, DACA, and prison reform.

On May 8 and 9, the West Wing was tense. Bannon was not sure if firing Comey was a done deal at that point. Bannon did not see Sessions in the West Wing, even though Sessions usually stopped by to say hi when he was in the building.

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

Bannon learned Comey was being fired when he saw it on TV while in Priebus' office. Spicer came in to the office, followed by Kushner.

[REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[Redacted]

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

Bannon reviewed a document Bates stamped SB 00003978. He did not know if it was true.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

Bannon did not tell any journalists that firing Comey was Kushner's idea.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

The FBI's interview of Flynn did not come up with Kushner in the context of Comey's role. Bannon thought two FBI agents had come over to talk to Flynn and had the authority to do so.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Bannon

thought the talking points were absurd; even if the rank and file hated him, to fire Comey would turn him into a martyr. They could never raise any money off of it. Bannon thought firing Comey would bring on a firestorm that would burn the place down.

Bannon reviewed SB_00003675, an email inquiry from a reporter that said: "I hear DJT is pissed at Jared. POTUS has told people he blames Jared for Comey and Manafort."

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

Regarding the Clinton investigation as rationale for firing Comey, Bannon said "we knew all of this on January 20." The DOJ memo was "ridiculous on its face." Bannon did not know why Trump was in a rush to fire Comey, but assumed someone got him worked up about something.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

Continuation of FD-302 of 1) , On 02/12/2018 , Page 24 of 26

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Bannon heard from McGahn

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

MAY 10, 2017 KISLYAK/LAVROV MEETING:

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

MAY 11, 2017 LESTER HOLT INTERVIEW:

Bannon thought Trump was prepped for the Lester Holt interview late at night on Wednesday night. Bannon was there while Hicks and Spicer prepped Trump. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

Continuation of FD-302 of 1), On 02/12/2018, Page 25 of 26

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

POST-COMEY TERMINATION:

When the New York Times published an article about the January 27, 2017 dinner between Comey and Trump, Bannon knew Trump had already said he called Comey to invite him over for dinner, not the other way around. Bannon did not bring up the concept of loyalty with Trump specifically after the article came out, [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

Regarding whether Trump valued people who stood by him, Bannon said "yes and no." Trump definitely remembered people who were loyal, but the loyalty was one way and transactional. Bannon pointed out that all of the people who stood by Trump during Billy Bush weekend had all been "served up."

Bannon recalled the May 16, 2017 New York Times article regarding the existence of a memo by Comey detailing the February 14, 2017 Trump-Comey meeting in the Oval Office. [Redacted] Bannon always doubted the story. He thought the meeting was not that long and the door was open. He added if the door had been closed, Sessions would have said something and would not have allowed it.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

Bannon's understanding of the meeting was that it was not a long discussion and the door was open. As he remembered it, Comey hung back to talk to Trump and there were people there waiting for the next meeting. Sessions and Bannon hung out for a second but Bannon did not wait.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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(U) Interview of Stephen K. Bannon (Day

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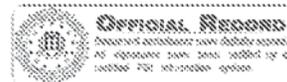
Bannon speculated Trump sent the tweet to "freeze Comey in place." Trump would do things like that when he was in the mood. Bannon remembered Trump was pretty proud of that tweet and thought it was a good thing to do. Bannon thought Trump probably knew there was no taping system.

Trump called people all night long. He would either call on landline through the switchboard or use his cell phone.

Administrative:

The agent notes and emails shown to Bannon will be maintained in the 1A section of the case file.

~~SECRET~~



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 07/06/2018

Reinhold "Reince" Priebus, was interviewed at 395 E Street SW, Washington, D.C., the Special Counsel's Office. Participating in the interview were FBI Special Agent [Redacted] FBI Intelligence Analyst [Redacted] [Redacted] Senior Counselor to the Special Counsel James L. Quarles III, Senior Assistant Special Counsel Andrew Goldstein, and Assistant Special Counsel Elizabeth Prelogar. Also present for this interview were his attorneys, [Redacted] [Redacted] Priebus was advised it is a crime to lie to the FBI in the course of an investigation and he acknowledged he understood. After being advised of the identities of the interviewers and the purpose of the interview, Priebus provided the following information:

b6
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Investigation on 04/03/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

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

by [Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7E

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Reince Priebus , On 04/03/2018 , Page 2 of 11

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7C

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Reince Priebus , On 04/03/2018 , Page 3 of 11

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Conflicts:

Priebus had discussions with Trump regarding whether Special Counsel Robert Mueller had conflicts [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

Priebus thought he probably told Trump that [Redacted]

the conflicts "don't

count." [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Sessions' resignation:

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Reince Priebus , On 04/03/2018 , Page 4 of 11

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b7E

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted] After his initial request, Trump followed up with Priebus to ask if he had obtained Sessions' resignation, saying something to the effect of, "did you get it? Are you working on it?" [Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

Trump did not tell Priebus specifically that his job depended on whether or not he followed Trump's orders, but said "if you were in my position you would think" it did. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

Priebus called McGahn [Redacted]

[Redacted] Priebus said he did not want to [Redacted] pull the trigger on something that looked bad. [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Reince Priebus , On 04/03/2018 , Page 5 of 11

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

Priebus told Trump they would never get a new Attorney General confirmed if they fired Sessions, and that the Department of Justice and the Hill would turn their backs on Trump. Trump raised the prospect of a recess appointment at that point,

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Trump tied his desire for Sessions to resign to Sessions' negative press and poor performance in testimony; however, Priebus did not think Trump truly wanted to get rid of Sessions just because Sessions was getting negative press. In Priebus' mind, the desire was driven by Trump's hatred of Sessions' recusal from the Russia investigation

[Redacted]

Priebus thought the idea of b5 per DOJ/OIP

forcing Sessions to resign was "all wrong."

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Trump would also talk about Roy Cohn. Trump said Cohn would win cases for him that had no chance, and b5 per DOJ/OIP that Cohn had done incredible things for him. Trump said he had been told his entire life he needed to have a great lawyer, a "bulldog," and added that Holder had been willing to take a contempt of Congress charge for President Obama.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Reince Priebus , On 04/03/2018 , Page 6 of 11

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Priebus vaguely recalled Corey Lewandowski told him at some point that in approximately May or June 2017 that Trump had asked him (Lewandowski) to get Sessions' resignation. Lewandowski told Priebus that his reaction had been something like, "What can I do? I'm not an employee of the administration. I'm a nobody."

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Attempted Resignation of Don McGahn:

[Redacted]

McGahn called Priebus

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Reince Priebus, On 04/03/2018, Page 7 of 11

[Redacted] Trump had b5 per DOJ/OIP asked them to "do crazy shit." [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted] Priebus thought McGahn deliberately did not tell him in order to protect him from what he did not need to know. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

June 9, 2016 Trump Tower meeting:

Priebus first learned of Donald Trump, Jr's June 2016 meeting in Trump Tower from Sean Hannity, [Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted] Priebus called [Redacted] and asked him to look into it. [Redacted] told Priebus he was already working on it. [Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Reince Priebus, On 04/03/2018, Page 8 of 11

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Reince Priebus, On 04/03/2018, Page 9 of 11

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Reince Priebus , On 04/03/2018 , Page 10 of 11

Reactions to January 25, 2018 New York Times article:

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

After Priebus was on Meet the Press, Trump called and said Priebus did a great job. Trump said something along the lines of, "I never said any of those things. I never said that [about Mueller]." [Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Reince Priebus , On 04/03/2018 , Page 11 of 11

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Pardons:

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] Trump never really liked Manafort [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U//FOUO) DAD Peter P. Strzok interview, On 07/19/2017, Page 2 of 5

there was a Presidential Daily Brief (PDB) being prepared to attempt to understand why.

[Redacted]

(S) b1
b3
b7E

[Redacted]

(S) b1
b3
b7E

(S) ~~(S)~~ ~~(S)~~ [Redacted] Part of Strzok's job was to prepare Comey and McCabe for their meetings with DOJ, so he was involved in discussions about whether to include DOJ in the decision about interviewing Flynn or even telling them about the interview. After weighing operational considerations, and aware of the risk that such an interview might be viewed politically, it was decided the FBI would not give DOJ advance notice of the interview.

[Redacted]

(S) b1
b3
b7E

[Redacted] There were discussions with DOJ about a possible Logan Act violation, but people within the FBI doubted DOJ had "the stomach" to pursue that kind of case and DOJ had been non-committal. Strzok believed the Logan Act was never prosecuted, and DOJ NSD official George Toscas told Strzok that all incoming administrations conduct outreach to foreign officials.

(U//FOUO) On January 24, 2017, McCabe told Strzok to interview Flynn. McCabe called Flynn at 12:30 p.m. and Flynn agreed to be interviewed that day at 2:30 p.m. McCabe may have documented the conversation. Comey was going to tell Yates right before the interview, but she called him first for another reason before he had a chance to

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~

[Redacted]

b3
b7E

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U//~~FOUO~~) DAD Peter P. Strzok interview , On 07/19/2017 , Page 3 of 5

call. When he told her the FBI was interviewing Flynn she was not happy.

(U//~~FOUO~~) Strzok and FBI SSA [Redacted] his interview partner, got access to the White House with the assistance of an FBI White House detailee. Flynn met them at about 2:15, which was earlier than agreed. Flynn was alone and "relaxed and jocular." He wanted to give them a little tour of the area around his office. During their walk through the West Wing, President Trump and some movers who were discussing where to place some art work walked between Strzok and [Redacted] but nobody paid attention to the agents. Flynn did not introduce them to anyone.

b6
b7C

(U//~~FOUO~~) Before the interview, McCabe, FBI General Counsel James Baker and others decided the agents would not warn Flynn that it was a crime to lie during an FBI interview because they wanted Flynn to be relaxed, and they were concerned that giving the warnings might adversely affect the rapport.

(U//~~FOUO~~) Flynn was unguarded and clearly saw the FBI agents as allies. He talked about various subjects, including hotels where they stayed during the campaign and the President's knack for interior design. He talked about the long hours of the job and complained about the politics surrounding it, but Flynn always seemed to work his way to the subject of terrorism. Flynn was so talkative, and had so much time for them, that Strzok wondered if the National Security Adviser did not have more important things to do than have such a relaxed, non-pertinent discussion with them.

(U//~~FOUO~~) It was decided before the interview the agents [Redacted] (S) [Redacted] but if (S) Flynn said he did not remember something they knew he said, they would use the exact words Flynn used, such as [Redacted] to try to refresh his (S) recollection. If Flynn still would not confirm what he said [Redacted] (S) [Redacted] they would not confront him or talk him through it. (S) [Redacted]

b1
b3
b7E

(S)

(U//~~FOUO~~) Strzok conducted the interview and [Redacted] was primarily responsible for taking notes and writing the FD-302.

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b7C

(U//~~FOUO~~) Throughout the interview, Flynn had a very "sure" demeanor and did not give any indicators of deception. He did not parse his words or hesitate in any of his answers. He only hedged once, which they

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~

[Redacted]

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U//~~FOUO~~) DAD Peter P. Strzok interview , On 07/19/2017 , Page 4 of 5

documented in the 302. Strzok and [Redacted] both had the impression at the time that Flynn was not lying or did not think he was lying. Flynn struck Strzok as "bright, but not profoundly sophisticated."

b6
b7C

(U//~~FOUO~~) The agents left Flynn in a collegial, positive way. There was no discussion of follow-up.

(U//~~FOUO~~) Strzok and [Redacted] returned to FBI Headquarters and briefed McCabe and Baker on the interview. McCabe briefed Comey. Strzok was aware that Baker and Principal Associate Deputy Attorney General Matt Axelrod later argued about the FBI's decision to interview Flynn.

b6
b7C

(U//~~FOUO~~) Shortly after the interview, Yates and McCord briefed White House staff on the Flynn calls.

(S) ~~(S//NF)~~ [Redacted] McCabe and FBI Counterintelligence Division Assistant Director Bill Priestap met with the incoming administration about the Flynn matter. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

(S)

b1
b3
b7E

(S) ~~(S//NF)~~ [Redacted] Strzok became aware of at least one inconsistency with what he had heard was McCord's recollection of the events. [Redacted]

[Redacted] That was when the discussions about the Logan Act first started. This is earlier than what Strzok had heard McCord recalled.

(S)

b1
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b7E

(U//~~FOUO~~) Comey never communicated with Strzok after Comey's interactions with the President, and Strzok was only present once when Comey mentioned a telephone conversation he'd had with the President.

(U) ~~(S//NF)~~ After Comey was fired, Strzok attended some meetings about whether the firing could constitute obstruction of justice. There were several FBI officials involved, but McCabe and Baker drove the discussions.

(U//~~FOUO~~) Strzok coordinated drafting and helped create talking points for Comey and McCabe when they testified before Congressional committees. He did not write them by himself or personally testify.

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~

[Redacted]

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U//~~FOUO~~) DAD Peter P. Strzok interview , On 07/19/2017 , Page 5 of 5

(U//~~FOUO~~) The FBI interacts with Congress based on Congress' oversight obligations. The FBI does not give investigative support or assist Congress in Congressional investigations. FBI and Congress do not collaborate on investigations.

Administrative

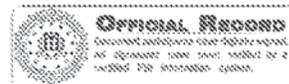
(U//~~FOUO~~)

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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b7E

~~SECRET//NOFORN~~



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 02/08/2019

RACHEL BRAND was telephonically interviewed by Special Agent (SA) [Redacted] [Redacted] Senior Counselor to the Special Counsel James L Quarles, III, and Senior Assistant Special Counsel Andrew Goldstein. Brand was joined on the call by her attorneys, [Redacted]

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b7C

[Redacted] After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agent and the nature of the interview, Brand provided the following information:

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Investigation on 01/29/2019 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (Phone)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 02/04/2019

by [Redacted]

b6
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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Rachel Brand (1.29.2019) , On 01/29/2019 , Page 2 of 2

Brand was never approached by anyone in a position of authority about serving as Acting Attorney General or assuming oversight of the Special Counsel's Office investigation.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

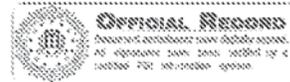
b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP



UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 02/28/2018

MARK CORALLO was interviewed at the Special Counsel's Office, located at 395 E Street NE, Washington, D.C. CORALLO was accompanied by his attorney [Redacted] Present for the interview were FBI Special Agent (SA) [Redacted] SA [Redacted] SA [Redacted] Senior Counselor to the Special Counsel James L. Quarles, and Senior Assistant Special Counsel Andrew Goldstein, Assistant Special Counsel Elizabeth Preloger and Counselor to the Special Counsel Michael Dreeben. CORALLO was advised it is a crime to lie to the FBI in the course of an investigation, which he acknowledged. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing agents and the purpose of the interview, CORALLO provided the following information:

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b7C

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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Investigation on 02/15/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 02/15/2018

by [Redacted]

b6
b7C
b7E

[Redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Mark Corallo , On 02/15/2018 , Page 2 of 11

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Mark Corallo, On 02/15/2018, Page 3 of 11

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

CORALLO first became aware of the June 9, 2016 Trump Tower meeting around June 21/22, 2017.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Mark Corallo, On 02/15/2018, Page 4 of 11

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Mark Corallo, On 02/15/2018, Page 5 of 11

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

JULY 8, 2017

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7C

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Mark Corallo, On 02/15/2018, Page 6 of 11

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Mark Corallo, On 02/15/2018, Page 7 of 11

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

JULY 9, 2017

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

CORALLO told TRUMP the statement was authorized

[Redacted]

CORALLO told HICKS and TRUMP the JUNIOR STATEMENT was inaccurate and there was a document to prove it. CORALLO deliberately used the term "document" and not "email"

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]
UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Mark Corallo, On 02/15/2018, Page 8 of 11

to protect the President and not explicitly say he knew about the emails.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6
b7C

CORALLO added there were documents about the meeting, and HICKS said "only a few people have it and it will never get out." CORALLO reiterated that he purposefully used the term "document" and not

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Mark Corallo , On 02/15/2018 , Page 9 of 11

email because he was protecting TRUMP, his client. CORALLO didn't know what TRUMP knew about the emails.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

documents would "never get out." CORALLO is 100% confident that he heard HICKS say that.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Mark Corallo , On 02/15/2018 , Page 10 of 11

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b7C

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Mark Corallo, On 02/15/2018, Page 11 of 11

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

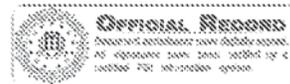
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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 03/16/2018

On March 1, 2018, attorneys from the law offices of Covington & Burling LLP provided information to the Special Counsel's Office regarding telephone calls and discussions with attorneys for President Donald J. Trump. Prior to the call, the Special Counsel's Office had been provided a recorded voicemail message to Kelner from John Dowd, Counsel to the President (see referenced serial). Participating in the call from Covington & Burling LLP were Rob Kelner, Steven Anthony, and [Redacted]. Participating in the call from the Special Counsel's Office were James L. Quarles, Brandon Van Grack, Zainab Ahmed, Andrew Goldstein, and Special Agent (SA) [Redacted]. Kelner and Anthony provided the following information:

b6
b7C

[Redacted] interrupted Cobb to inform him that their offices could no longer conduct confidential communications with Counsel to the President or Counsel to the White House. [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted] on November 23, 2017 [Redacted] he and [Redacted] jointly placed a call to [Redacted] in response to his voicemail. [Redacted] began the call by acknowledging receipt of the voicemail [Redacted] stating firmly they were no longer in a position to share information under any sort of privilege. [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] was "indignant" and [Redacted]

Investigation on 03/01/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (Phone)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 03/15/2018

by [Redacted]

b6
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b7A
b7E

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(U) Telephone call with attorneys for

Continuation of FD-302 of Michael T. Flynn, On 03/01/2018, Page 2 of 2

[Redacted] and added that he interpreted what they b5 per DOJ/OIP said to him as a reflection of Flynn's hostility and that he planned to inform his client of that interpretation. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] interpreted [Redacted]'s statement about Flynn's hostility as a message that [Redacted] thought it would be disturbing to Flynn in some way to hear that the message would be conveyed to the President. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

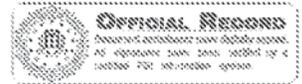
[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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FBI INFO.
CLASSIFIED BY: NSICG [redacted]
REASON: 1.4 (C)
DECLASSIFY ON: 12-31-2043
DATE: 01-14-2020

Date of entry 03/29/2018

Joseph "Jody" Hunt, was interviewed at 395 E Street SW, Washington, D.C., the Special Counsel's Office. Participating in this interview were FBI Special Agent (SA) [redacted] SA [redacted] Senior Counselor to the Special Counsel James L. Quarles III, Senior Assistant Special Counsel Andrew Goldstein, and Assistant Special Counsel Elizabeth Prelogar. Also present for this interview were Hunt's attorneys [redacted] [redacted] office telephone [redacted] email address [redacted] [redacted] office telephone [redacted] email address [redacted] and [redacted] with Sidley Austin, LLP. Hunt was advised it is a crime to lie to the FBI in the course of an investigation and he acknowledged he understood. After being advised of the identities of the interviewers and the purpose of the interview, Hunt provided the following information:

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[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted]

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[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

b6
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[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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Investigation on 02/01/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 02/06/2018

by [redacted]

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This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~ (U)

[Redacted]

~~SECRET~~ (U)

~~UNCLASSIFIED//FOUO~~

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) interview of Jody Hunt, On 02/01/2018, Page 2 of 26

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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b7C

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Hunt's Notes:

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Hunt's practice was to jot down what he remembered at an important meeting then return at a later date to enter the events [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

~~UNCLASSIFIED//FOUO~~

~~SECRET~~ (U)

[Redacted]

~~SECRET~~ (U)

~~UNCLASSIFIED//FOUO~~

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) interview of Jody Hunt , On 02/01/2018 , Page 3 of 26

Sessions' Recusal:

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] February [Redacted] 2017, Sessions [Redacted] discussions about recusing [Redacted] from the Russia investigation.

[Redacted]

DOJ

discuss

b5 per DOJ/OIP

recusal matters. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

(S)

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b3

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

~~UNCLASSIFIED//FOUO~~

~~SECRET~~ (U)

[Redacted]

~~SECRET~~ (U)

~~UNCLASSIFIED//FOUO~~

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) interview of Jody Hunt , On 02/01/2018 , Page 4 of 26

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted] before Sessions' recusal, Hunt had two brief conversations with [White House Counsel] Don McGahn [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

~~UNCLASSIFIED//FOUO~~

~~SECRET~~ (U)

[Redacted]

~~SECRET~~ (U)

~~UNCLASSIFIED//FOUO~~

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) interview of Jody Hunt , On 02/01/2018 , Page 5 of 26

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

~~UNCLASSIFIED//FOUO~~

~~SECRET~~ (U)

[Redacted]

~~SECRET~~ (U)

~~UNCLASSIFIED//FOUO~~

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) interview of Jody Hunt, On 02/01/2018, Page 6 of 26

James Comey:

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] Comey [Redacted]

[Redacted] said he had met privately with the President several times and Comey felt it was not appropriate, [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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~~SECRET~~ (U)

[Redacted]

~~SECRET~~ (U)

~~UNCLASSIFIED//FOUO~~

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) interview of Jody Hunt , On 02/01/2018 , Page 7 of 26

[Redacted]

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~~SECRET~~ (U)

[Redacted]

~~SECRET~~ (U)

~~UNCLASSIFIED//FOUO~~

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) interview of Jody Hunt, On 02/01/2018, Page 8 of 26

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) interview of Jody Hunt, On 02/01/2018, Page 9 of 26

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) interview of Jody Hunt , On 02/01/2018 , Page 10 of 26

Comey Termination:

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) interview of Jody Hunt, On 02/01/2018, Page 11 of 26

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) interview of Jody Hunt, On 02/01/2018, Page 12 of 26

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) interview of Jody Hunt, On 02/01/2018, Page 13 of 26

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) interview of Jody Hunt, On 02/01/2018, Page 14 of 26

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Second White House Meeting:

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

The b5 per DOJ/OIP

President wanted Miller to write the letter. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

The President wanted to include the statement about Comey telling the President on three occasions the President was not under investigation. McGahn told the President he should not include this

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) interview of Jody Hunt, On 02/01/2018, Page 15 of 26

statement [Redacted]

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[Redacted] The President disagreed [Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) interview of Jody Hunt, On 02/01/2018, Page 16 of 26

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

- [Redacted]
- [Redacted]
- [Redacted]
- [Redacted]

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) interview of Jody Hunt , On 02/01/2018 , Page 17 of 26

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Special Counsel Appointment/AG Resignation:

[Redacted]

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) interview of Jody Hunt , On 02/01/2018 , Page 18 of 26

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

Sessions

returned and said he needed to tell the President he just got off the phone with Rosenstein and Rosenstein said he appointed a Special Counsel on the Russia investigation [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) interview of Jody Hunt, On 02/01/2018, Page 19 of 26

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) interview of Jody Hunt , On 02/01/2018 , Page 20 of 26

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) interview of Jody Hunt , On 02/01/2018 , Page 21 of 26

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Priebus said it was not good for the President to hold on to Sessions' resignation letter indefinitely, which could be seen as a "shock collar" on DOJ

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) interview of Jody Hunt , On 02/01/2018 , Page 22 of 26

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) interview of Jody Hunt , On 02/01/2018 , Page 23 of 26

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted] Priebus called Hunt later that night and asked what Sessions was thinking and planning to do, [Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted] Hunt called Priebus back and relayed Sessions' statement and added that the President would have to fire Sessions because Sessions was not going to quit.

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Priebus called Hunt the night of July 21, 2017. After the call, Hunt took notes [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted] Hunt stated, in response to Priebus asking if Sessions intended to resign, [Redacted] | Addressed this previously [Redacted] no intention of | resigning."

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted] Hunt asked Priebus what did the President accomplish by removing

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) interview of Jody Hunt, On 02/01/2018, Page 24 of 26

Sessions [Redacted] because there was an investigation before and there would be an investigation after.

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted] Sessions drafted another resignation letter. [Redacted]

[Redacted] the President who was publicly bashing Sessions.

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[Redacted] Sessions to

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have the letter in his pocket every time Sessions went to the White House.

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) interview of Jody Hunt, On 02/01/2018, Page 25 of 26

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

- [Redacted]
- [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) interview of Jody Hunt, On 02/01/2018, Page 26 of 26

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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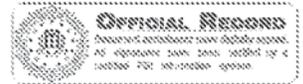
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 01/19/2018

THOMAS J. BARRACK JR. (BARRACK), date of birth [Redacted] was interviewed at the Office of the Special Counsel. Present for the interview were FBI Special Agents [Redacted] FBI Forensic Accountant [Redacted] and Special Counsel Attorneys Andrew Weissman, Zainab Ahmad, and Greg Andres. Also present were BARRACK's attorneys, [Redacted] with the law firm Steptoe & Johnson, LLP. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agents and the nature of the interview, BARRACK provided the following information:

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BARRACK was advised his participation in the interview was voluntary. BARRACK was also advised he needed to be truthful in his answers and lying to a Federal agent could constitute a Federal Crime. BARRACK acknowledged he understood these advisements.

PAUL MANAFORT

BARRACK first meet PAUL MANAFORT (MANAFORT) in 1973. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[Redacted] MANAFORT launched his own firm shortly after they met, BLACK, MANAFORT & STONE. BARRACK eventually met MANAFORT's business partners, [Redacted]

BARRACK's and MANAFORT's relationship evolved over the years since 1973 and they eventually became close friends. In the early years of their friendship, BARRACK relocated to Washington, D.C. and MANAFORT was helpful to him and his family getting settled in the area. BARRACK moved to D.C. to advise then U.S. President Ronald Reagan. MANAFORT, at the time, had built a successful political consulting career. They would get together every other year and MANAFORT would ask BARRACK for help and advice with

Investigation on 12/12/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)
File # [Redacted] Date drafted 12/14/2017
by [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Thomas Barrack , On 12/12/2017 , Page 2 of 19

business ventures. In approximately 2000, BARRACK moved to Europe. MANAFORT would visit him occasionally abroad.

BARRACK contended when MANAFORT needed something from BARRACK, they had a good relationship. BARRACK stated he tolerated MANAFORT because BARRACK is in the business of building relationships. BARRACK further stated he understood MANAFORT and if there was something simple BARRACK could do for MANAFORT to keep him in his good graces, he would do it.

[Redacted] Loan

In 2004, upon request from [Redacted], BARRACK made a loan to [Redacted] [Redacted] which [Redacted] himself guaranteed. In particular, BARRACK loaned [Redacted]

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[Redacted] BARRACK contended he did not want to make the loan to [Redacted] because he did not like to loan money to friends.

[Large Redacted Area]

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BARRACK stated MANAFORT made a number of other business proposals to him but nothing ever developed as a result of his ideas. BARRACK noted other business ideas also came up after MANAFORT's involvement with the DONALD J. TRUMP (TRUMP) Presidential Campaign.

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Thomas Barrack, On 12/12/2017, Page 3 of 19MANAFORT Involvement with the TRUMP Campaign

In January 2016, knowing of BARRACK's close association with then U.S. Presidential candidate TRUMP, MANAFORT asked BARRACK to intervene on his behalf to become the convention manager for the TRUMP Presidential Campaign. BARRACK initially thought this was MANAFORT being MANAFORT. In other words, BARRACK described MANAFORT as an opportunist. MANAFORT was a good political strategist and had good ideas. But MANAFORT's relationship with [REDACTED] would make it difficult for BARRACK to intervene on his behalf. BARRACK stated MANAFORT's biggest impediment to joining the campaign was [REDACTED] who BARRACK described as someone with brilliance and bizarreness all wrapped into one. Nonetheless, BARRACK met MANAFORT for coffee in Los Angeles, California to discuss the concept. MANAFORT told him TRUMP needed help and MANAFORT was the person who could help TRUMP. At this coffee meeting, MANAFORT also asked BARRACK whether he could do him a favor and give [REDACTED] a job interview with BARRACK's company.

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BARRACK eventually approached TRUMP with the idea of MANAFORT helping the Presidential campaign but TRUMP dismissed the idea because of MANAFORT's connection to [REDACTED]

MANAFORT followed up their coffee meeting with a briefing paper about why the Republican Convention and its delegates were so important to the TRUMP campaign. In February or the beginning of March 2016, BARRACK again approached TRUMP about MANAFORT's involvement with the Convention, which TRUMP eventually agreed. MANAFORT stated he did not need to be paid by the campaign for his work on the convention, which TRUMP liked because he was paying for the campaign out of his own pocket.

BARRACK stated then campaign manager COREY LEWANDOWSKI (LEWANDOWSKI) had done a good job with the campaign up to that point in time but the campaign needed the help of an experienced political professional. Others in the campaign, including IVANKA TRUMP (IVANKA) and JARED KUSHNER (KUSHNER), also agreed it would be beneficial to get some political professionals involved with the campaign and MANAFORT would be a good fit. MANAFORT's initial role on the campaign would be narrowly limited to the Republican Convention Manager. BARRACK specifically discussed MANAFORT's position with IVANKA and KUSHNER and provided them both with MANAFORT's convention position paper.

BARRACK stated the TRUMP campaign did not conduct any due diligence into MANAFORT's background before bringing him on to be the Convention Manager. BARRACK described the campaign at the time as amateur, which is why bringing on an experienced political professional like MANAFORT was

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Thomas Barrack, On 12/12/2017, Page 4 of 19

important. BARRACK also stated STONE, who had a continuing and intermittent relationship with TRUMP, weighed in on supporting MANAFORT as the Convention Manager.

BARRACK again described MANAFORT as an opportunist, but not in a demeaning way. MANAFORT was very commercial, had good instincts, and really sold the campaign that candidate TRUMP could be President TRUMP with his help. MANAFORT could harness a specific set of political tools which could benefit the campaign. At the same time, BARRACK saw this as MANAFORT taking advantage of the situation to restore his own political equities even if he was not paid to restore his political credentials.

The negative of bringing MANAFORT onto the campaign was his perceived inability to work with the then campaign manager LEWANDOWSKI. At times, it seemed the line blurred whether MANAFORT was with the campaign for the convention or for the candidate, the former being self-serving to get his name back on the political scene.

Another negative to the campaign was TRUMP's relationship with the REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE (RNC). TRUMP, at times, had a contentious relationship with the RNC and viewed MANAFORT as another instrument of the RNC. Nonetheless, the Chairman of the RNC, REINCE PRIEBUS (PRIEBUS), supported the idea of MANAFORT gathering delegates as the Convention Manager and writing convention rules.

MANAFORT's Ukraine Connection

BARRACK had numerous discussions with MANAFORT concerning his former business dealings in the Ukraine. They discussed Ukraine in person and over the phone. Before August 2016, MANAFORT told BARRACK a number of news stories would be coming out discussing MANAFORT's alleged illegal business dealings with the government of Ukraine. MANAFORT told BARRACK not to believe the news stories, which in MANAFORT's opinion were being orchestrated by democrats. MANAFORT also said the whole thing was instrumented by LEWANDOWSKI, who was trying to discredit him. BARRACK had warned MANAFORT before it was a bad idea for MANAFORT to challenge LEWANDOWSKI's role as the Campaign Manager.

When news broke in August 2016 of MANAFORT's involvement with former Ukraine President VIKTOR YANUKOVYCH (YANUKOVYCH) and illegal payments listed in a Black Ledger, MANAFORT told BARRACK the payments listed in the Black Ledger never happened. MANAFORT described his work in Ukraine as pro-democracy. MANAFORT was also helping YANUKOVYCH to get Ukraine to join the European Union. MANAFORT further told him the Black Ledger was a smear tactic by [redacted] and he had evidence the Black Ledger never existed. MANAFORT described being paid over a four to five year stretch by Ukraine

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Thomas Barrack, On 12/12/2017, Page 5 of 19

for work he did in the country over the course of several years. MANAFORT told him the Black Ledger was made up by opposing political parties in the Ukraine hostile to YANUKOVYCH's Party of Regions.

BARRACK response was 'fait accompli' because MANAFORT's time with the campaign was done anyway. By August 2016, TRUMP had vented about the bad news stories associated with MANAFORT for several days. MANAFORT and TRUMP never really had chemistry working together. TRUMP believed the natural conclusion to all the bad press with MANAFORT was to have him leave the campaign. BARRACK never spoke to LEWANDOWSKI about whether he was involved with the leaking of bad press concerning MANAFORT. BARRACK stated he liked LEWANDOWSKI.

In conversations BARRACK had with KUSHNER concerning MANAFORT leaving the campaign, KUSHNER presented the idea of having MANAFORT take a leave of absence from the campaign. KUSHNER reasoned losing both LEWANDOWSKI and MANAFORT as back-to-back Campaign Managers would not look good to the campaign. Ultimately, however, TRUMP made the call to get rid of MANAFORT because there was too much bad press surrounding MANAFORT.

Although BARRACK did not know TRUMP's mindset regarding MANAFORT, BARRACK's perception of what happened likely tipped when MANAFORT was interviewed for a television news morning show in early August 2016. In the interview, MANAFORT stated the Ukraine Black Ledger payments never happened. Additionally, MANAFORT took individual credit for turning around the campaign, which did not go over well with TRUMP. Also, TRUMP was close to LEWANDOWSKI despite earlier firing him and believed MANAFORT may have set up LEWANDOWSKI to get him fired. Ultimately, TRUMP had no affinity to MANAFORT. BARRACK believed MANAFORT tried to take too much control over the campaign and that did not go over well with TRUMP.

[REDACTED]

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[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Thomas Barrack , On 12/12/2017 , Page 6 of 19

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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BARRACK was shown an email dated August 24, 2016 from [Redacted] to BARRACK's private email account with the subject line "All hands on deck". BARRACK identified the people in the attached photo, from left to right, as [Redacted] BARRACK, MANAFORT, and [Redacted] took the photo.

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MANAFORT Business Experience

BARRACK stated MANAFORT did not have a lot of experience with private equity financing. MANAFORT had some experience with alternate investments. Although BARRACK and MANAFORT did not have much of a relationship for ten years before the campaign, BARRACK nonetheless wanted to help him after he left the campaign. BARRACK recognized involving himself with MANAFORT in business partnerships could go sideways. MANAFORT was a good promoter of himself. BARRACK was trying to be a nice as he could be with MANAFORT.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Thomas Barrack , On 12/12/2017 , Page 7 of 19

FIRST REPUBLIC BANK

BARRACK is the Board Director and a major shareholder for FIRST REPUBLIC BANK (FRB). COLONY had purchased FRB from Bank of America.

[Redacted]

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BARRACK stated compliance in the banking industry is a big deal and assumed because [Redacted] FRB became concerned and [Redacted] BARRACK added he had a fiduciary duty to FRB and could not discuss any additional banking regulations. BARRACK did not think [Redacted]

[Redacted]

Moreover, BARRACK opined what MANAFORT was doing [Redacted] [Redacted] was not in line with FRB's principals.

BARRACK did not think of the background behind FRB [Redacted] [Redacted] he joined the TRUMP campaign. BARRACK was not vetting MANAFORT for anything other than being the convention manager. He also relied on a network of others in the campaign to vet MANAFORT. BARRACK stated MANAFORT was the right guy for the convention at the time.

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MANAFORT [Redacted]

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BARRACK believed FRB had to deal with MANAFORT's [Redacted] BARRACK also believed he probably had an oral conversation with MANAFORT concerning [Redacted] but did not recall specifics. BARRACK stated their oral conversation would have involved less detail than what was discussed over email. BARRACK did not discuss specific [Redacted] [Redacted] with MANAFORT or GATES. Nor did he have any conversation with MANAFORT concerning MANAFORT [Redacted]

BARRACK contended [Redacted] [Redacted] BARRACK did not want to discuss money with MANAFORT. While meeting with BARRACK in California,

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Thomas Barrack, On 12/12/2017, Page 8 of 19

BARRACK believed MANAFORT may have mentioned [REDACTED]

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BARRACK stated MANAFORT continued to have an impact on the TRUMP campaign even after he left in August 2016. In particular, MANAFORT provided input on cabinet selections and other things he could be helpful with to the campaign. BARRACK believed TRUMP did not want to disenfranchise MANAFORT entirely from the campaign because of worry he and [REDACTED] may somehow negatively impact the campaign. Nonetheless, MANAFORT did not have an active role with the campaign after he left in August 2016. MANAFORT did not have any input with TRUMP directly after the election. Nor after the inauguration. BARRACK believed PRIEBUS may have spoken to MANAFORT after the inauguration.

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BARRACK stated most people associated with the TRUMP White House are not experienced political professionals. MANAFORT was. TRUMP did not want professional Republican politicals involved with the White House. The RNC wanted experienced professionals involved. BARRACK stated MANAFORT did not endear compassion or empathy from the other TRUMP campaign officials or the White House. BARRACK's impression was MANAFORT volunteered his time with the campaign in hopes it would lead to something greater. BARRACK described MANAFORT as a mercenary.

MANAFORT Dinner in Ukraine

BARRACK recalled meeting MANAFORT in Ukraine in June 2011. Specifically, [REDACTED] had approached BARRACK with the idea of acquiring three merged agricultural companies in Ukraine. BARRACK believed RINAT AKHMETOV (AKHMETOV) may have been involved in the deal and because AKHMETOV was a great COLONY client, he decided to pursue it. BARRACK knew MANAFORT was in Ukraine at the time so he contacted him. In his conversation with MANAFORT, MANAFORT claimed to represent the Ukraine President and he could set up a meeting with him. BARRACK then traveled to Ukraine and had dinner with MANAFORT. They discussed the current affairs in Ukraine and what MANAFORT did in Ukraine. In particular, they discussed MANAFORT's plan to set up a political party in Ukraine that was pro-West. BARRACK described it as a general conversation, including talking about western private equity. BARRACK

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Thomas Barrack, On 12/12/2017, Page 9 of 19

added it was still premature to think of Ukraine on the global scale to take any sort of position.

The next day, BARRACK met MANAFORT who took BARRACK to the Ukraine Presidential Palace where he met then Ukraine President YANUKOVYICH. BARRACK gave YANUKOVYICH his pitch for foreign investment. BARRACK stated the agricultural processes in Ukraine involved both the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Energy. After the meeting with YANUKOVYICH, BARRACK sent [redacted] back to Ukraine to have follow-up meetings with officials from the Ukraine Ministry of Agriculture. BARRACK stated COLONY was not able to finalize a deal with Ukraine. He added the economics were not good at the time.

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RICK GATES

RICK GATES (GATES) was brought onto the TRUMP campaign by MANAFORT to be the Deputy Convention Manager. GATES later rolled onto the transition team after the election. BILL HAGHERTY initially was in charge of the transition team. CHRIS CHRISTIE took over for HAGHERTY, and then MIKE PENCE (PENCE) took over for CHRISTIE.

BARRACK officially met GATES on election night in November 2016. He saw GATES at the Republican Convention in July 2016 but never spoke with him then. GATES eventually became his Deputy for the Presidential Inauguration Committee (PIC).

BARRACK was Chairman for PIC. [redacted]

[redacted] was from the RNC. BARRACK described how PIC worked. He stated PIC vendors were paid from privately raised funds. BARRACK described TRUMP as frugal so PIC was careful with spending. The Federal Election Committee (FEC) was the governing body overseeing PIC. BARRACK stated there were multiple signatory processes in place for contracting with PIC. [redacted] and GATES would have signatory authority to contract, [redacted]. [redacted] An audit firm reviewed everything afterwards.

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BARRACK stated no one from the campaign had even considered TRUMP winning the election, let alone having to deal with an inauguration. As a result, there were no resources devoted for the inauguration. Although the U.S. Senate handles the swearing in event at the U.S. Capitol, PIC was responsible for 21 separate events in seven days. Events are planned by the candidate and paid for by the candidate. In sum, PIC had 58 days to plan and execute all the events. U.S. Senator ROY BLUNT led a joint delegation for the events at the Capitol. Eventually the RNC started to lean in to help, including booking a number of hotels in the surrounding

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Thomas Barrack , On 12/12/2017 , Page 11 of 19

In conversations BARRACK had with GATES about joining the TRUMP Administration after the inauguration, GATES told him he needed to make more money than the government could offer. GATES, however, told BARRACK he would consider a job if BARRACK took a job with the Administration. BARRACK stated GATES did not have a contractor agreement with COLONY.

FABRIZO Ad Buy

BARRACK stated the only allegation of wrongdoing he heard against MANAFORT and GATES involved the TONY FABRIZO (FABRIZO) invoice, which he learned at the time from the publication of a New York Times article. The article specifically implicated MANAFORT but also associated GATES because of their work together. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[Redacted] BARRACK spoke to MANAFORT about the issue and MANAFORT told him the allegations were not true and this was an attempt by LEWANDOWSKI to discredit him.

MANAFORT further stated the campaign money was for a whole sale buy which happened often in political campaigns. BARRACK told MANAFORT the perception was there was an outstanding transaction for the buy and LEWANDOWSKI was presenting it in a bad light against MANAFORT. BARRACK forwarded the issue to DON MCGANN, who was an attorney for the campaign in Washington, D.C. BARRACK did not have any further dealings with the issue.

BARRACK described GATES as a former military kid who was straight as an arrow. In the Fall 2016, after the election, GATES put together a paper detailing the FABRIZO buy and presented it to MCGANN. BARRACK understood

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BARRACK heard allegations the buy was unreasonably high. BARRACK additionally learned allegations of MANAFORT's relationship to the vendor and whether there were kickbacks to MANAFORT for the ad buy. BARRACK did not know who made the allegations.

BARRACK only heard of the name [Redacted]

[Redacted]

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Thomas Barrack, On 12/12/2017, Page 12 of 19PIC Financing

BARRACK stated he was not aware of any sources of foreign money to the campaign or to PIC. STEVE MNUCHIN was the campaign finance manager and if there was any issues with foreign sources of money, he would know it. BARRACK reiterated there were no foreign sources of money on his watch, including as head of PIC.

BARRACK stated [REDACTED] was responsible for screening all major donors to PIC. [REDACTED] had a protocol in place for each donor.

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BARRACK stated before the election, the TRUMP campaign had a difficult time finding donors. After TRUMP won, there was a lot of interest from people and businesses wanting to donate to PIC. BARRACK recalled one instance of an issue with a CITGO subsidiary related to a Venezuelan oil company attempting to donate money. BARRACK also stated many Chinese businessmen, as another example, wanted to donate money to ensure seats to some of the inaugural events. While they were prohibited from donating money directly to PIC, they could nonetheless attend as the guest of legitimate donors. BARRACK stated PIC remained in FEC compliance throughout the process and reiterated [REDACTED] handled all donors. He added [REDACTED] had lots of help from other PIC staff members.

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b7CMANAFORT/GATES Indictment

BARRACK is aware, generally, of the allegations levied against MANAFORT /GATES in the Special Counsel's indictment against them, including the FARA registration allegations. Around the time of the inauguration, BARRACK recalls GATES discussing with him FARA as it related to GATES and MANAFORT's prior business dealings in the Ukraine. GATES told him they received several legal opinions which concluded what they were doing in Ukraine was legal and did not require FARA registration. BARRACK and GATES had this conversation while GATES was working for him on PIC because the FARA issue kept coming up in the news. BARRACK clearly asked GATES whether he was clear of the FARA registration issue and GATES responded he personally had no involvement with anything reported in the news and no FARA issues related to him. GATES stressed he was simply a worker bee under MANAFORT. BARRACK and GATES did not go into specifics about GATES and MANAFORT's business in Ukraine, including their attempt to convert their consulting efforts into a business model.

BARRACK asked GATES if he needed legal help and volunteered to [REDACTED] [REDACTED] BARRACK stated there was no reason he had to worry about what GATES had done because in BARRACK's opinion GATES was a normal, hard worker. BARRACK recalled a conversation

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Thomas Barrack , On 12/12/2017 , Page 14 of 19

BARRACK was shown an email dated November 14, 2016 from MANAFORT to BARRACK's private email account with the subject line "Finishing topic". BARRACK believed the email account was associated with either his private Gmail account or a private COLONY work account. BARRACK did not know who the "friend" related to in the email. He opined [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted] BARRACK stated COLONY had many business investments across the globe and was constantly seeking to expand their portfolio.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted] MANAFORT was hoping to combine his newly created company with COLONY to generate new business.

BARRACK was not aware of why MANAFORT used the term "friend" instead of referencing an actual name. BARRACK typically uses initials when referencing people in an email. Reflecting on his own memory, BARRACK believed the only person MANAFORT could be referring to as "friend" was [Redacted]

Concerning the second line in the email, BARRACK believed it referenced [Redacted]. In particular, MANAFORT's global view was based on his creating [Redacted]

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[Redacted]. BARRACK did not recall what was referenced in the third line of the email, "This will deal with any concerns raised to you today". Nor did he remember if there was any follow-up meetings. BARRACK reiterated MANAFORT was trying to build a business platform but BARRACK told him to bring him something real and tangible and COLONY would look at it.

BARRACK stated he could not recall any other people who could be referenced as "friend" in the email.

BARRACK was shown an email dated July 31, 2016 from BARRACK to MANAFORT. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

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BARRACK stated the email was not a campaign email. BARRACK believed MANAFORT planned to seek business opportunities outside of the campaign despite still being part of the campaign. Although it was deliberated

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Thomas Barrack, On 12/12/2017, Page 15 of 19

MANAFORT may travel with BARRACK to meet [Redacted] listed in the email, when the time came he was too busy with the campaign and did not make the trip.

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Concerning dates of the travel listed in the July 31, 2016 email,

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[Redacted]

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BARRACK was shown an email dated July 13, 2016 from MANAFORT to his private email account with the subject line "Removed from Platform". BARRACK did not remember the specific context of the email. BARRACK was not clear who MANAFORT was referring to when he told BARRACK to pass the information about the platform change to BARRACK's "friends". BARRACK stated he did not introduce MANAFORT to any of his [Redacted]

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Thomas Barrack, On 12/12/2017, Page 16 of 19

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Thomas Barrack, On 12/12/2017, Page 17 of 19b6
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b7COther Funding Ideas

MANAFORT also suggested BARRACK start a 527-organization. MANAFORT told BARRACK a 527 would give them more ability to use fundraising money to help the TRUMP campaign. To the best of BARRACK's knowledge, the 527 idea did not go anywhere.

MANAFORT also suggested a special project which had to do with polling. BARRACK did not know whether anything concerning the polling special project was accomplished. BARRACK stated the campaign was constantly trying to raise money because there were so few willing people to donate to the campaign. BARRACK added finances on the campaign were always tight.

BARRACK was shown a document titled, "Executive Summary Utilizing a 527 Entity". BARRACK remembered receiving the summary but reiterated the 527-concept did not go anywhere.

America First Priority PAC

BARRACK believed GATES worked on the America First Priority PAC. He also believed PENCE's team worked on it. GATES told BARRACK he resigned from the PAC. BARRACK did not know why GATES resigned.

National Security Advisory Council

BARRACK was shown an email dated October 6, 2016, from BARRACK's private email account to GATES. BARRACK stated he attended the meeting via a call-in number. BARRACK stated he only attended the meeting a short while and ultimately stepped out of the meeting. BARRACK stated [REDACTED] [REDACTED] took extensive notes from the meeting. BARRACK described the part he attended as a boring meeting and he was not actively listening to all the details being discussed. Based on the National Security Advisory Council, however, he got to know K.T. McFARLAND as a result.

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BARRACK was not cognizant of the TRUMP campaigns view on Russia. BARRACK was more focused on Mexico and Latin America. BARRACK viewed his position on the National Security Advisory Council as an opportunity for him to work with all countries. BARRACK did not recall specific elements of the National Security Advisory Council.

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Thomas Barrack, On 12/12/2017, Page 18 of 19

Energy Speech

BARRACK stated he contributed to portions of TRUMP's energy policy. BARRACK's idea was to create a broad energy policy. MANAFORT had sent BARRACK a draft of a speech TRUMP was to give on energy. BARRACK made notes on the speech and returned his comments to MANAFORT. BARRACK contended, however, his notes to the speech were ultimately thrown out. BARRACK added during this time the TRUMP campaign's view on Muslims was challenging. Moreover, the campaign seemed to have a negative view toward Saudi Arabia and other Gulf countries. BARRACK suggested the campaign needed to divide radical Islam from modern Islam. Before providing comments on the draft energy speech back to MANAFORT, BARRACK shared the draft with [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] BARRACK asked each about the tone and technical aspects of the draft speech. [REDACTED]

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Transition Team use of COLONY Office

BARRACK stated the TRUMP Transition Team sometimes used the COLONY offices in New York City. BARRACK stated there was not a lot of space in the New York Trump Tower so COLONY offered use of some of their offices. BARRACK stated KUSHNER used the COLONY office space, particularly when there was a business matter he was dealing with that was not related to the transition. KUSHNER sought COLONY's assistance to set up a conference meeting with SERGEY GORKOV. BARRACK was not aware of the context of the meeting. [REDACTED] KUSHNER may have also used the COLONY offices for other not related transition meetings but BARRACK could not recall any other instances.

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LEWANDOWSKI

BARRACK was shown an email dated April 3, 2016 from MANAFORT to BARRACK's private account with the subject heading "Meeting with DT". BARRACK stated he did not hear any negative allegations about MANAFORT coming from LEWANDOWSKI, as alleged by MANAFORT in the email. BARRACK stated LEWANDOWSKI did a great job for the TRUMP campaign with very limited resources. BARRACK believed LEWANDOWSKI was too politically experienced to say anything negative about MANAFORT. BARRACK again reiterated MANAFORT was an opportunist. LEWANDOWSKI always felt MANAFORT had an agenda to take over the campaign. It was LEWANDOWSKI's position MANAFORT wanted to use TRUMP to MANAFORT's own advantage.

OLEG DERIPASKA

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Thomas Barrack , On 12/12/2017 , Page 19 of 19

BARRACK stated he first met OLEG DERIPASKA (DERIPASKA) in December of 2005 or 2006. DERIPASKA initially approached him [Redacted]

[Redacted]

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BARRACK and DERIPASKA later met again in 2015 in the south of France. BARRACK stated MANAFORT never brought up his relationship with DERIPASKA.

KONSTANTINE KILIMNIK

BARRACK does not know KONSTANTINE KILIMNIK (KILIMNIK). Additionally, KILIMNIK was never mentioned to him by MANAFORT or GATES.

[Redacted]

BARRACK does not know [Redacted] BARRACK has heard about [Redacted] in the news media. Although BARRACK may have been part of the TRUMP campaign's Economic Advisement Committee, BARRACK never attended any meetings. BARRACK stated he has not had any business with the FEDERAL SAVINGS BANK.

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[Redacted]

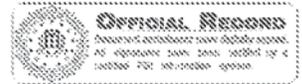
BARRACK stated he did not know [Redacted]

[Redacted]

MANAFORT asked BARRACK to interview [Redacted] for a job with COLONY. COLONY hired [Redacted]

[Redacted]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 05/07/2018

STEPHEN MILLER, date of birth [redacted] Social Security Account Number (SSAN) [redacted] was interviewed on December 14, 2017 at the Federal Bureau of Investigation - Special Counsel's office, 395 E Street SW, Washington, D.C. Present during the interview were MILLER's attorneys [redacted] and [redacted] FBI Special Agent (SA) [redacted] [redacted] FBI analyst [redacted] and Special Counsel Attorneys Aaron Zelinsky and Andrew Goldstein. At the beginning of the interview, MILLER was informed that making intentional false statements to the SA could result in federal charges. MILLER then provided the following information:

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Background

MILLER started working for JEFF SESSIONS in 2007. MILLER was associated with an individual from school that knew [redacted] for SESSIONS, and was able to arrange for MILLER to interview with SESSIONS. MILLER ended up working as a press secretary for [redacted] [redacted] and received a call in 2009 from [redacted] [redacted] indicating SESSIONS needed a press secretary. MILLER ended up working as the Budget Committee Communications Director while SESSIONS was the director and advisor for the committee. MILLER was based in Washington, D.C. for this job and interacted with SESSIONS every day. MILLER described SESSIONS as a gentleman with a deliberative leadership style.

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MILLER joined the DONALD J. TRUMP (TRUMP) Presidential Campaign (campaign) during the 2016 election cycle after SESSIONS met TRUMP a few times during the fall of 2015. MILLER joined the campaign in January 2016 and worked at the campaign headquarters in New York City. SESSIONS was the first sitting senator to endorse TRUMP. SESSIONS endorsed TRUMP at an event in Huntsville, Alabama.

MILLER moved to New York to work for the campaign and bounced around intermittently. MILLER met the Chief Policy Advisor, SAM CLOVIS, who had connections in Iowa and was named the campaign's National Policy Co-Chair.

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Investigation on 12/14/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 12/22/2017

by [redacted]

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Stephen Miller interview 12/14/2017 , On 12/14/2017 , Page 2 of 15

MILLER said the TRUMP campaign would have won the primaries in Iowa if it weren't for serious mistakes made by [REDACTED] Last Name Unknown (LNU).

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MILLER explained he routinely went to Mar-a-Lago for campaign meetings. MILLER had ongoing conversations with COREY LEWANDOWSKI since the summer of 2015 in the lead up to TRUMP's announcement of his presidential run.

MILLER took a pay cut of about \$25,000 a year by switching to the campaign. He explained that his conversion to working with the campaign was seamless. SESSIONS gave MILLER his blessing beforehand.

SESSIONS attended a Make America Great Again (MAGA) event in Alabama during August 2015 and wore a MAGA hat. MILLER encouraged SESSIONS to endorse TRUMP.

In Spring 2016, MILLER went back to D.C. to focus on surrogacy and television for the campaign. MILLER returned to policy work and speech writing. MILLER said he traveled with TRUMP on pretty much every presidential trip.

MICHAEL COHEN appeared to be TRUMP's lawyer. COHEN had an interest in the campaign but had little to do with MILLER. COHEN had been with TRUMP for a long time. MILLER hadn't heard of COHEN having contacts with Russia but it wouldn't surprise MILLER if COHEN had Russian contacts. COHEN had direct access to TRUMP but MILLER didn't have visibility into their relationship early in the campaign. RHONA GRAFF, from the Trump Organization, was also involved in the campaign early on. MILLER didn't know anything about COHEN organizing a speaking event for TRUMP.

MILLER didn't hear anything during the campaign about Trump Tower Moscow. This wasn't on MILLER's radar. MILLER explained he tends to tune out noise from partisan attacks.

MILLER didn't overlap with [REDACTED] time working for the campaign but MILLER heard [REDACTED] was involved in [REDACTED] [REDACTED] MILLER came across a story regarding [REDACTED] about a staffer. MILLER emailed [REDACTED] before starting because [REDACTED] was a point of contact for the campaign.

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MILLER doesn't recall ever meeting or talking to [REDACTED] and doesn't believe he communicated with [REDACTED] at all. MILLER heard [REDACTED] [REDACTED] because he was unhappy with the direction of the campaign and people didn't like him. MILLER described [REDACTED] as [REDACTED] met with TRUMP from time to time but TRUMP had his own concerns about [REDACTED]

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 calls to TRUMP were managed through GRAFF. TRUMP complained that took credit for things he shouldn't.

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Foreign Policy

In the beginning of the campaign, MILLER reported to SAM CLOVIS and didn't have contact with LEWANDOWSKI or TRUMP. This was from January to March or April of 2016. MILLER was asked if CLOVIS was in New York often. MILLER explained that MILLER only saw CLOVIS in New York some times but explained that the campaign traveled a lot. MILLER said there weren't really hard start or stop dates regarding CLOVIS' supervision. MILLER described CLOVIS as "eccentric" and he described CLOVIS' activities as "opaque" to MILLER.

The campaign had a meeting with the Australian ambassador, which encouraged MILLER to start engaging in forward thinking policy discussions. CLOVIS' role in April or May of 2016 was different than it had been previously. TRUMP never had great esteem for CLOVIS and largely hired CLOVIS for his Iowa connections. Iowa failed because of organizational issues and CLOVIS' stock started to fall. CLOVIS wasn't fired but he was no longer involved in general election debate speech preparation. MILLER thought CLOVIS had lots of theories that lacked coherent thought development. MILLER had to scratch CLOVIS' first draft of the foreign policy speech and start over.

Russia was a big issue for the campaign. TRUMP thought there was a possibility of shared relations with Russia regarding Syria and terrorism and that the countries needed to break out of the cold war dynamic, which was similar to HILLARY CLINTON's Russia reset and GEORGE BUSH's approach to Russia. MILLER was asked about CLOVIS' views on Russia. MILLER explained that CLOVIS expressed his views poorly and unclearly. CLOVIS said many unmemorable things about Russia. MILLER never heard CLOVIS express views on Russia contrary to TRUMP's views. TRUMP felt that this country needed a realistic relationship with Russia grounded on national security issues with honesty and not hostility. Russian-American relations have always been an important topic for presidential campaigns. Everyone thought relations with Russia were important for the foreign policy speech.

CLOVIS was sympathetic to TRUMP's point of view. In his nature, CLOVIS believed strongly in the president. CLOVIS was a nice, soft-hearted gentleman but his depth of foreign policy issues was minimal.

MILLER remembered hearing CLOVIS mention trips to Russia and meetings with Russians but it seemed ludicrous. CLOVIS tried to diminish the meetings by putting the kibosh on requests for upper level meetings. He tried to push the requests to low level staffers. MILLER explained that he thought there

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Stephen Miller interview 12/14/2017 , On 12/14/2017 , Page 4 of 15

was an outside agitator coming up with these trip and meeting ideas. MILLER suggested it may have been GEORGE PAPADOPOULOS.

PAUL MANAFORT tried to establish discipline and structure in the campaign. Because MILLER was the policy manager, the campaign pushed him to stay in New York. MILLER started as a senior policy advisor reporting to CLOVIS. Then MILLER switched to television surrogacy, which can be verified by YouTube records.

Around the time CLOVIS moved out, the campaign tried to switch to a more conventional staffed campaign structure. MILLER hired additional policy staff and they switched to formal speeches. At that time, MILLER was already doing debate prep and traveling with TRUMP every day. CLOVIS only supervised MILLER and never supervised anyone else on the campaign. CLOVIS' title was never changed but his role was diminished and he did not get a job at the White House.

In regards to traveling to Russia, MILLER was confused about what he heard in the news regarding emails that had been released to the press and his actual memories. MILLER can't remember if CLOVIS discussed these trips verbally or if he saw emails about them. Based on what he saw in the news, MILLER thought CLOVIS may have discussed the trips with MILLER verbally.

SESSIONS was named head of the foreign policy team. SESSIONS had previously been called a surrogate for the campaign from time to time. SESSIONS was routinely on the phone with TRUMP. MILLER didn't think they talked about foreign policy regularly though. SESSIONS was also in regular contact with LEWANDOWSKI, MILLER and other members of the campaign team. SESSIONS was not interested in traveling with the campaign team. LEWANDOWSKI felt the campaign needed a foreign policy team and asked SESSIONS about putting a team together. SESSIONS had trouble finding others who were supportive of TRUMP. SESSIONS had been on the Armed Services Committee and had always been engaged in foreign policy.

MILLER had no recollection of discussions regarding the Logan Act. MILLER explained CLOVIS says a lot of stuff that is not memorable but MILLER did not recall discussing the Logan Act with CLOVIS, SESSIONS or DEARBORN. MILLER thought it would make sense for DEARBORN to handle anything regarding the Logan Act.

When asked about campaign discussions regarding sanctions on Russia, MILLER explained 95% of his knowledge comes from public news sources. MILLER was not aware of any plans about sanctions made by the campaign.

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Stephen Miller interview 12/14/2017 , On 12/14/2017 , Page 5 of 15

In regards to the attached email, labeled 43, which discusses whether TRUMP would recognize Crimea as a Russian territory and list sanctions, MILLER said [REDACTED] was subsequently fired for leaking the email to the New York Times. MILLER said TRUMP's response was the typical "throw away" line about how they would be looking at that. MILLER said neither himself or [REDACTED] talked to TRUMP about these statements. MILLER talked to MANAFORT about sanctions and MANAFORT's only concern was coming across as too lenient.

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b7CForeign Policy Speech, CNI and Simes

SESSIONS helped MILLER with drafting the foreign policy speech. SESSIONS met with conservative venues to find support and endorsement for TRUMP. SESSIONS helped with debate prep. In regards to developing policy for the campaign, people had more respect for SESSIONS' opinions than those of CLOVIS. SESSIONS was careful by nature which played into policy development. MILLER indicated that SESSIONS had good analytical abilities but not necessarily good recall abilities. SESSIONS would often refer people to MILLER for assistance with recollection of details and events.

MILLER explained that even MITT ROMNEY described Russia as this country's greatest geo-political threat. The driving force behind TRUMP's foreign policy was the idea that we have been stuck in cold war thinking and need to modernize our thinking to focus on the greater threat of jihadist terrorism. MILLER's conversations with SESSIONS indicated that SESSIONS' views on Russia were in line with this vision and the foreign policy speech TRUMP delivered.

MILLER explained that agitating the war with Russia would cost us a heavy price in American blood. MILLER said the idea was to come up with a relationship based on shared interest as addressed in the foreign policy speech.

MILLER was asked about the attached email, labeled 6, which he sent to PAPADOPOULOS regarding the foreign policy speech. MILLER explained he would only have sent PAPADOPOULOS an outline. MILLER only sent drafts of the speech to people he trusted so that if it leaked it wouldn't be damaging. PAPADOPOULOS was one of many foreign policy advisors MILLER sent the outline to. MILLER explained this at least gave the "illusion of involvement." MILLER said SESSIONS was saddled with the foreign policy committee even though SESSIONS didn't pick the team.

MILLER was instructed to provide an outline of the speech to the foreign policy team in case they were asked to speak as surrogates. MILLER thought

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LEWANDOWSKI likely instructed MILLER to do this but explained it could have been KUSHNER or MICHAEL GLASSNER. MILLER said the reason for this was to make sure the advisors were on the same page as TRUMP and his speech. Otherwise, the advisors could undermine the legitimacy of the committee.

In regards to attached email, labeled 10, MILLER explained he didn't know who wrote the outline. MILLER thought it could be language from CLOVIS, SESSIONS or the host of the speech event. MILLER was asked about campaign interactions with the event host. MILLER explained the campaign was looking for seasoned foreign policy experts with whom they could bounce ideas off. MILLER talked to DIMITRI SIMES, a well known foreign policy expert, who was involved in hosting the event.

KUSHNER chose the venue for the event and MILLER explained it was difficult to find a venue because not many places were willing to welcome the campaign. MILLER said they discussed a few different venues. MILLER said it switched from being held at the National Press Club to being held at the Mayflower Hotel and there were discussions about having it at a TRUMP property. MILLER didn't remember why the venue changed and didn't know anything about cancellation of the venue or size of the venues. MILLER was asked who would have handled these details. MILLER said it would have been the advance people and campaign manager. KUSHNER was the one who said the campaign needed a foreign policy speech.

MILLER, SESSIONS and TRUMP were the largest contributors to the writing of the speech. SESSIONS and TRUMP had a hard stance on foreign policy speech topics. MILLER didn't think any of PAPADOPOULOS' suggestions made it in to the speech and thought that insinuations about his involvement in the speech were "outlandish." MILLER had the "pen" on the speech. KUSHNER had some thoughts on the speech but he was more into the big picture, vision stuff and not sure on details. SIMES had some good ideas on language regarding Russia. SIMES wanted to pursue a relationship with Russia but didn't want to be too optimistic so he attempted to draw firm lines. SIMES' info was included in the speech. No other think tanks contributed to the speech. MILLER explained it was SIMES' event and the campaign had difficulty finding a host. KUSHNER is probably the one who asked MILLER to reach out to SIMES regarding his input. MILLER did not have much interaction with SIMES.

The campaign also reached out to Right to Life, the Fraternal Order of Police and Gerald Ford to ask them about hosting speaking events. MILLER said it wasn't unusual to ask a host for their input to get an understanding of the audience.

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Stephen Miller interview 12/14/2017 , On 12/14/2017 , Page 7 of 15

SIMES was hesitant to host the foreign policy speech. TRUMP tried to change the venue to a TRUMP property in Virginia. MILLER indicated TRUMP didn't know who SIMES was and when TRUMP mentioned changing the venue in front of SIMES, SIMES got emotional. They were at the TRUMP property in the dining room for TRUMP to rehearse his speech. SIMES, KUSHNER and the advance team were there. LEWANDOWSKI may have been there as well. This was a few days before the speech.

The room was set up with TRUMP at the teleprompter reading the speech and TRUMP mentioned that it seemed like a good venue and suggested doing the speech there, at the TRUMP property in Virginia. SIMES was upset at the mention of moving the speech. MILLER described SIMES as an eccentric academic type who was already under a lot of pressure from his group for taking on a risk with TRUMP. MILLER thought it was possible KUSHNER was not at the TRUMP property when this happened but TRUMP didn't know who SIMES was and didn't understand the issue with SIMES being upset about moving the speech. TRUMP didn't understand why he couldn't have the event wherever TRUMP wanted to have it. This was the first time TRUMP and SIMES met.

MILLER explained that TRUMP wasn't impressed with SIMES. This was going to be the second speech TRUMP gave using a teleprompter. The first teleprompter speech TRUMP did was AIPAC. The foreign policy speech was the first speech MILLER wrote. KUSHNER planned the AIPAC speech with KUSHNER's friend from [REDACTED] CLOVIS initially did a draft of the foreign policy speech but KUSHNER decided CLOVIS' draft wasn't going to cut it.

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MILLER said that after Sabbath KUSHNER called TRUMP and they decided to have the speech at the Mayflower Hotel. Then KUSHNER contacted SIMES to let SIMES know it had been fixed and the event would be at the Mayflower. MILLER thought this occurred either the Saturday or Sunday after sundown.

As far as SESSIONS' relationship with CNI, MILLER thought SESSIONS read their magazine, The National Interest magazine, but didn't think SESSIONS knew SIMES. MILLER said he doesn't necessarily know SESSIONS' groups though. KUSHNER came up with the idea to do the event with CNI and went to SESSIONS about the event because CNI has similar viewpoints to TRUMP's. MILLER has had very few discussions with SESSIONS about SIMES. They talked about how SIMES wanted to ensure that the campaign was not naïve about relations with Russia. SIMES thought they should be clear-eyed, realists who acknowledged the differences between the two countries but also saw areas of cooperation.

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MILLER explained the theme of the speech was the rejection of globalism. When the campaign arrived, they went down to some room with no tables or chairs, where a bunch of people were milling around. MILLER said hi to SESSIONS and a couple other people but didn't remember the purpose of that room. It could have been a VIP area. MILLER doesn't recall SERGEY KISLYAK being there but MILLER didn't know KISLYAK then. SIMES was probably there too but MILLER wasn't sure.

MILLER doesn't know how KUSHNER got in touch with SIMES. MILLER thought he was desperate to find a venue to host the speech. MILLER didn't know GENERAL CHARLES BOYD or PAUL SAUNDERS. MILLER had continued contact with SIMES and CNI but probably just follow-up regarding the speech. MILLER doesn't know if the campaign continued to have contact with SIMES and CNI. MILLER described KUSHNER's relationship with SIMES as "opaque" to MILLER.

MILLER did not think he was present for the CNI awards dinner on May 23, 2016.

March 31, 2016 Meeting

MILLER acknowledged being physically present for the March 31, 2016 foreign policy meeting but did not believe he participated in the discussions. MILLER did not take notes during the meeting and was not aware of anyone taking notes.

SESSIONS tried to keep the meeting moving but the meeting was a "weird thing." They went around the room with everyone introducing themselves. They discussed nuclear non-proliferation and nuclear response. PAPADOPOULOS made comments regarding VLADIMIR PUTIN that were shot down in the meeting. MILLER would not have been able to pick PAPADOPOULOS out of a lineup. PAPADOPOULOS had contacts and could broker a meeting with PUTIN. TRUMP did not respond to PAPADOPOULOS' comments. MILLER did not recall TRUMP saying anything favorable about PAPADOPOULOS' comments. Everyone in the room had weird body language and SESSIONS said they were not going to pursue the idea and moved the conversation on.

MILLER said SESSIONS demonstrated that he found PAPADOPOULOS' comments to be off-putting and SESSIONS shut down the conversation. SESSIONS said something to the effect of, "I don't think that's a good idea" or "We're not talking about this. Let's move on." Based on SESSIONS' tone and body language MILLER thought SESSIONS was probably wondering why SESSIONS was in a room with these people CLOVIS picked. MILLER was asked if he talked to PAPADOPOULOS after the meeting. MILLER said that PAPADOPOULOS might have tried to throw a business card in MILLER's face after the meeting but MILLER does not recall talking to PAPADOPOULOS about Russia. MILLER said

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he does not recall SESSIONS interacting with PAPADOPOULOS about setting up a meeting.

MILLER explained that he had been asked several times about his memory of someone he did not know and did not respect. MILLER explained he was very cautious about things that could embarrass the campaign. On the day of the meeting, MILLER didn't recall talking with anyone about PAPADOPOULOS. MILLER thought it was possible CLOVIS could have mentioned PAPADOPOULOS to him but MILLER said he could be confusing that with current events in the news. MILLER was not 100% sure about whether he had conversations with CLOVIS regarding whether to have a meeting between TRUMP and PUTIN. MILLER said he had no desire to broker a ludicrous meeting with the Russian president. MILLER explained that he did meet with the Mexican president through "normal channels." MILLER explained the campaign would have met with Russia in the same way and would not have arranged it through an energy consultant.

MILLER said he did not talk to any reporters about the March 31, 2016 meeting and does not know of others who talked to reporters about it.

MILLER explained that he got the general sense from SESSIONS' reaction at the March 31, 2016 meeting that the campaign was not planning on sending TRUMP to Russia. MILLER explained SESSIONS' reaction at the March 31, 2016 meeting was a "rebuff." MILLER said it was preposterous to think of SESSIONS setting up a meeting with Russia through PAPADOPOULOS.

MILLER explained that the campaign avoided contact with PAPADOPOULOS until his contact "petered out" to nothing. MILLER explained that the foreign policy team was never an actionable group of people. MILLER explained that he had spoken to PAPADOPOULOS on the phone about Armenian genocide. MILLER would never have called PAPADOPOULOS, so MILLER thinks PAPADOPOULOS contacted him about this topic. PAPADOPOULOS would email MILLER. MILLER thought PAPADOPOULOS reached out to MILLER about other perfunctory stuff, maybe even about meeting TRUMP.

MILLER later recommended liquidation of the foreign policy team to stand up a new group. MILLER recently saw emails from PAPADOPOULOS which refreshed his memories. MILLER didn't think he responded to the emails from PAPADOPOULOS. MILLER didn't recall talking to PAPADOPOULOS about Russia.

MILLER was shown the attached email, labeled 13, which indicates MILLER and PAPADOPOULOS arranged to speak on the phone about PAPADOPOULOS' foreign policy trip. MILLER didn't recall contacting PAPADOPOULOS and explained that MILLER was the "clearinghouse" for just about everything

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Stephen Miller interview 12/14/2017 , On 12/14/2017 , Page 10 of 15

during the campaign. MILLER suggested that PAPADOPOULOS probably did call him but MILLER probably declined his call. MILLER didn't recall these emails or calls. MILLER only recalled talking to PAPADOPOULOS about Armenian genocide.

MILLER didn't remember hearing anything from PAPADOPOULOS or CLOVIS about Russia having emails or dirt on HILLARY CLINTON.

MILLER had even less contact with CARTER PAGE than he did with PAPADOPOULOS.

Foreign Outreach

MILLER was asked about meetings with other foreign governments. MILLER explained the Mexico meeting was arranged by JARED KUSHNER from start to finish. MILLER explained PAPADOPOULOS sent MILLER some random emails about other foreign meetings but MILLER ignored them. MILLER doesn't recall discussing those requests with anyone else. MILLER explained he was not aware of PAPADOPOULOS' activities, to include involvement with other governments.

MILLER did not recall any other Russian outreach to the campaign. MILLER explained that he received 10,000 to 100,000 emails during the campaign and he got lots of random emails.

MILLER didn't recognize BOB FORESMAN's name. MILLER explained that it was a campaign rule to always be nice to RHONA GRAFF. MILLER tried to slow walk the email request regarding FORESMAN until it died. MILLER couldn't make heads or tails of it. MILLER told LEWANDOWSKI it was not a good idea to pursue the request because MILLER thought it was kind of sketchy. MILLER thought it seemed like a "poser" email and he was pretty sure LEWANDOWSKI agreed with him. MILLER was not involved in setting up a meeting and doesn't know the final resolution.

When asked who MILLER thought was receptive to setting up a meeting between TRUMP and PUTIN, MILLER explained PAPADOPOULOS, PAGE and FORESMAN were the people that came to mind.

MILLER didn't recall any discussion about the campaign making any foreign trips. KUSHNER handled a lot of foreign policy stuff. MILLER handled speeches. MILLER was asked about a trip the campaign talked about making to Israel and Europe. MILLER said he had vague memories about that. MILLER had no recollection about a trip to Russia.

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Stephen Miller interview 12/14/2017 , On 12/14/2017 , Page 11 of 15

When asked about his knowledge of campaign visits to the Middle East, MILLER said TRUMP met with Egyptian president ABDEL FATTACH EL-SISI in New York. MILLER said this fell in KUSHNER's lane because KUSHNER handled lots of foreign policy stuff including the trip to Mexico. BANNON also had an interest in foreign policy and scheduled a meeting with the foreign minister of Britain during the transition.

MILLER said there were never any conversations amongst the inner circle of the campaign about potential meetings with PUTIN. When asked about MILLER's knowledge of any attempts by Russia to help the campaign, MILLER said he had seen emails between DONALD TRUMP JR setting up a meeting with a Russian regarding the Magnitsky Act.

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WikiLeaks and [REDACTED]

In regards to WikiLeaks release of information, MILLER explained he already knew from his congressional work to be careful with leaked information. MILLER didn't know what WikiLeaks was doing or who they were doing it with. MILLER only remembered [REDACTED] but didn't remember what [REDACTED] MILLER didn't remember anyone having forehand knowledge of any WikiLeaks.

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Not much credit was given to [REDACTED] MILLER didn't recall the campaign discussing [REDACTED] or [REDACTED] MILLER said everyone wanted CLINTON's deleted emails but the campaign never discussed looking for the emails. There were jokes about how it would be nice if Russia did the campaign a favor by finding the emails but they were just jokes. The campaign was surprised along with the rest of the nation when the hack of emails was discussed or released.

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When the email hack was released, TRUMP referred to CLINTON's 33,000 deleted emails which had never been recovered. The campaign never discussed obtaining emails from JULIAN ASSANGE or an intermediary to ASSANGE. MILLER referred to the fact that the DNC servers had not been examined after the hack. MILLER thought the stolen government property, referring to CLINTON's emails, should be returned to the government. TRUMP thought the government had the emails somewhere based on TRUMP's understanding of forensic data. TRUMP thought it was impossible to totally delete emails and they had to be somewhere. TRUMP never indicated why he thought the government didn't make a public statement about having the emails.

MILLER described [REDACTED] comments as [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Stephen Miller interview 12/14/2017 , On 12/14/2017 , Page 12 of 15

Later in the campaign, when they were spending 99.9% of their efforts dealing with the Access Hollywood reports, they joked amongst themselves regarding how unusual it would be for the campaign to collude with Russia.

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[REDACTED] MILLER said THEODORE MALLOCH was a "bit player" in the conservative movement and was not aware of MALLOCH having any contacts with the campaign. MILLER described MALLOCH as someone people thought was important.

MILLER explained that the email account [REDACTED] was an email MILLER used in his junior year of high school. MILLER wasn't sure how [REDACTED] got that email address because MILLER mostly used his campaign email for work. MILLER never had a gmail.com email account during the campaign or transition but MILLER has a gmail account now. MILLER said his hotmail.com account gets a lot of spam mail. MILLER doesn't use any other communications platforms.

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MILLER had no recollection of DONALD TRUMP JR's contact with WikiLeaks and was not aware of any attempts by the campaign to contact WikiLeaks.

GOP platform change

MILLER was not involved in the GOP platform change. MILLER received some emails regarding the changes related to arming the Ukraine but MILLER put them in his mental delete box. MILLER said it was so confusing that MILLER can't claim to explain it. MILLER went out of his way not to read the articles about it.

MILLER was asked what TRUMP's thoughts were on the Ukraine. MILLER said TRUMP would say, "Who's gonna send their kids to defend Ukraine?" TRUMP was more hawkish about the Ukraine. No one ever discussed the platform change with MILLER. War against Russia was not something TRUMP was interested in.

J.D. GORDON was hired by RICK DEARBORN. MILLER assigned GORDON work because MILLER assumed GORDON was getting paid and should stay busy. DEARBORN liked GORDON. SESSIONS was not surrounded by good people during the campaign. GORDON was there to help manage the "so called" foreign policy team.

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[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Stephen Miller interview 12/14/2017 , On 12/14/2017 , Page 13 of 15

MILLER was not there for the Case Western event. MILLER was focused on the convention address. MILLER said he was one of the few people that was always busy. MILLER doesn't remember seeing SESSIONS with KISLYAK.

MILLER was not present for any of the purported meetings between SESSIONS and KISLYAK. MILLER said SESSIONS didn't recall shaking hands with KISLYAK at the Mayflower foreign policy speech event. MILLER was not present for SESSIONS' meeting with KISLYAK involving PETE LANDRUM and others from the Senate office or the KISLYAK meeting or handshake during the Republican National Convention event. MILLER was not aware of any other meetings between SESSIONS and KISLYAK. MILLER explained that SESSIONS was very knowledgeable on foreign policy and met with foreign ambassadors all the time.

Paul Manafort and Rick Gates

Based on MILLER's discussions with MANAFORT, MILLER had the impression MANAFORT was concerned about the campaign coming across as overly enthusiastic about a "Russia reset 2.0."

MILLER never talked to MANAFORT about MANAFORT's foreign business ties. MILLER recalled KUSHNER and STEVE BANNON discussing the topic with MANAFORT after the press came out about MANAFORT's foreign business ties. MILLER couldn't recall when or where but remembered being present when BANNON had been instructed by TRUMP to "axe" MANAFORT. MILLER thought this occurred when TRUMP was talking about the article that came out about MANAFORT. MILLER explained he tries to focus on his work with blinders on. TRUMP ordered MANAFORT to be terminated and TRUMP ordered GATES to be terminated, possibly at a future point in time than when MANAFORT was terminated.

MILLER was not aware of MANAFORT continuing to interact with TRUMP or the campaign after he was fired. MILLER recalled MANAFORT stating he still had contact after but the campaign pushed back on MANAFORT's statements. MILLER said a lot of people on the campaign wanted MANAFORT and GATES gone, especially TRUMP. MILLER explained there was a running joke about how GATES kept popping back up after being fired. TRUMP found out GATES had an important job with the Inaugural Committee because GATES was friends with [REDACTED] TRUMP didn't like GATES and neither did BANNON. b6
MILLER said the campaign made a deal to move GATES to the Republican b7A
National Committee (RNC), which caused confusion about GATES' involvement b7C
with the campaign. TRUMP was friends with [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] hosted fundraisers for TRUMP.

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[REDACTED]
Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Stephen Miller interview 12/14/2017 , On 12/14/2017 , Page 14 of 15

When asked about GATES conducting any inappropriate activities while working with the campaign, MILLER said he vaguely remembered KUSHNER keeping an eye on how MANAFORT and GATES handled money. MILLER did not know what role GATES and MANAFORT played in campaign advertising because MILLER was focused on the policy shop and speech writing for the campaign. MILLER said KUSHNER and BRAD PARSCALE handled targeting advertisements and social media for the campaign. PARSCALE had a lot of responsibility. BANNON also had some involvement but MILLER didn't know how much of BANNON's involvement was actual versus pontification.

MILLER was not knowledgeable about communications between MANAFORT and [REDACTED] MILLER didn't think he (MILLER) had even met [REDACTED]

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Prince

MILLER was asked about ERIC PRINCE. MILLER responded by asking if PRINCE was the defense contractor guy. MILLER said PRINCE interacted with BANNON and wasn't sure of PRINCE's contact during the campaign but knew of PRINCE's involvement later on. MILLER wasn't interested in military defense contractors. MILLER mentioned this interview was the first time he heard of PRINCE's involvement in the campaign prior to the election. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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Cambridge Analytica

MILLER was not aware of how payments were made or who received funding for work Cambridge Analytica or PARSCALE did on behalf of the campaign. MILLER didn't understand the payments or know if there were any conflicts of [REDACTED]

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Stephen Miller interview 12/14/2017 , On 12/14/2017 , Page 15 of 15

interest regarding these payments. KUSHNER and PARSCALE handled the relationship with Cambridge Analytica and any paid advertisements for social media. KUSHNER and PARSCALE would argue with TRUMP about advertising via social media or television.

DAN SCAVINO's role with social media was to follow TRUMP and post videos in real time. SCAVINO would post graphics for the campaign and handle TRUMP's Twitter account.

MILLER didn't recognize the name [REDACTED]

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MILLER said BANNON, KELLYANNE CONWAY and PARSCALE were largely stationary figures in the campaign while HOPE HICKS, MILLER, SCAVINO and TRUMP were on the road a lot.

TRUMP traveled with a smart phone but MILLER didn't know who had access to it and if it was password protected. MILLER didn't recall other people using TRUMP's phone but thought most people reached out to TRUMP through HICKS who would hand TRUMP her phone.

MILLER would write a variety of possible Twitter messages for TRUMP. TRUMP would put a check by the ones he wanted and SCAVINO would send out the Tweets. It was clear to MILLER that when the team wasn't around TRUMP would write and send his own Tweets. HICKS, KUSHNER and SCAVINO likely also drafted TRUMP's Tweets for him but SCAVINO was the only one authorized to take more liberties with what was Tweeted.

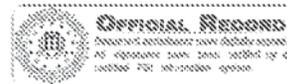
JASON MILLER was the communications director who came on board later in the campaign. JASON MILLER was initially worried MILLER was competition for him but later realized MILLER's value. MILLER saw JASON MILLER approximately 10 days ago and they talk about every 90 days. JASON MILLER brought on a team of people for a thing the campaign referred to as the "war room."

MILLER wasn't familiar with WhatsApp or Confide. One of the government transition team people setup a secure app for encrypted communications on MILLER's phone but MILLER never used it. MILLER didn't know who on the campaign utilized encrypted communications and no one ever tried to get MILLER to use encrypted communications.

MILLER didn't talk to anyone else about interviewing with the Special Counsel's Office.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 12/06/2018

James Rybicki, telephone number [Redacted] was telephonically interviewed by FBI Special Agent (SA) [Redacted] Senior Counselor to the Special Counsel James L. Quarles, and Senior Assistant Special Counsel (SASC) Andrew D. Goldstein. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agent, Rybicki provided the following information:

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Rybicki acknowledged his awareness that it is a crime to lie to the FBI in the course of an official investigation.

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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Investigation on 11/21/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (Phone)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 11/25/2018

by [Redacted]

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Jim Rybicki (telephonic /11.21.2018), On 11/21/2018, Page 2 of 9

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Jim Rybicki (telephonic /11.21.2018) , On 11/21/2018 , Page 3 of 9

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

January 27, 2017 dinner between Comey and Trump:

Rybicki and Comey spoke about Trump's dinner invitation in advance of the dinner on January 27, 2017, [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted] Comey told Rybicki that Trump had posed a question about loyalty [Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Jim Rybicki (telephonic /11.21.2018) , On 11/21/2018 , Page 4 of 9

[Redacted]

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February 14, 2017 meeting between Comey and Trump:

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] Comey told Rybicki that Trump brought up Mike Flynn and said to Comey that he hoped Comey would see his way to letting this go, which Comey took to mean the Flynn investigation.

[Redacted]

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[Redacted] As a result of Comey's interaction with Trump, Rybicki set up a meeting with Attorney General Sessions. Comey wanted to talk to Sessions about his growing concerns about meeting with Trump. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Jim Rybicki (telephonic /11.21.2018), On 11/21/2018, Page 5 of 9

[Redacted]

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Jim Rybicki (telephonic /11.21.2018) , On 11/21/2018 , Page 6 of 9

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Jim Rybicki (telephonic /11.21.2018) , On 11/21/2018 , Page 7 of 9

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(U) Interview of Jim Rybicki (telephonic /11.21.2018)

Continuation of FD-302 of _____, On 11/21/2018, Page 8 of 9

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Jim Rybicki (telephonic /11.21.2018) , On 11/21/2018 , Page 9 of 9

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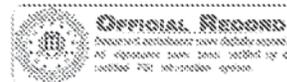
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 08/20/2018

Michael Caputo, was interviewed at 395 E Street SW, Washington, D.C. Present for the interview were SA [Redacted] Assistant Special Counsel (ASC) Aaron Zelinsky, and SA [Redacted] Caputo was accompanied by defense counsel [Redacted] After being advised of the official identities of the interviewing parties and the nature of the interview, Caputo provided the following information:

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Caputo advised that in addition to his interview with the Special Counsel's Office (SCO), he had testified in front of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (SSCI) the day prior to the captioned interview. In preparation for his Congressional testimony and his interview with the SCO, Caputo had prepared a binder of notes and documents.

2016 Presidential Campaign

Caputo was asked to describe his participation in the 2016 Presidential Campaign, both official and unofficial. Caputo said he was involved in the New York Republican primary from 11/20/2015 to 04/19/2016. After Donald J. Trump (Trump) won the primary, Caputo was invited to join the Trump Campaign by Paul Manafort. A meeting was held at Trump Tower on 04/25/2016 to discuss the opportunity. After the meeting, Caputo served as a senior advisor to the Trump Campaign in charge of communications for the candidate in New York until his resignation on 06/20/2016. Caputo indicated he reported to Rick Gates, who then reported to Manafort.

During his time with the Trump Campaign, Caputo primarily worked at the New York campaign headquarters, [Redacted]

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[Redacted] Caputo does not recall ever talking about hacks of DNC emails in his role. Normally, Caputo sent talking points to Gates and [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted] Caputo did not recall ever sending talking points related to hacks at the DNC. Caputo said there was a standing 6:00 AM meeting to watch the news program "Morning Joe" and read approximately five newspapers from which Trump usually procured his talking points for the day. This was an effort to predict and get ahead of what the candidate

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Investigation on 05/02/2018 at District of Columbia, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 05/25/2018
by [Redacted]

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(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Michael Caputo 05

Continuation of FD-302 of /02/2018, On 05/02/2018, Page 2 of 8

was going to say. Caputo did not remember discussing Assange, WikiLeaks, and/or hacks at these meetings.

After Caputo's resignation, he worked to raise money from American donors for the campaign. Caputo raised money for Tom Barrack's PAC. Caputo indicated approximately \$12,000,000 was raised.

Regarding the pursuit of Hillary Clinton's missing 33,000 emails, Caputo thought it implausible to think that wasn't happening.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Michael Caputo 05

Continuation of FD-302 of /02/2018, On 05/02/2018, Page 3 of 8

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[Redacted]

[Redacted] Caputo said there was no coordination on his part on those type of activities. Additionally, Caputo did not recall hacking and /or Assange being a topic of conversation at the 2016 Republican National Convention. Caputo initially said Stone never mentioned WikiLeaks or Julian Assange, however, Caputo later modified this statement as documented below.

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UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Michael Caputo 05

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Henry Greenberg

Caputo was asked if he knew of any involvement with or connection to Russians and/or Russian nationals during the campaign. ASC Zelinsky referred to communications between Stone and Caputo referencing a Russian wanting money in May 2016. Caputo initially stated this event occurred after his involvement with the campaign, but later conceded it happened in May 2016, prior to Caputo's departure. Caputo advised the individual in question was Henry Greenberg, someone Caputo assumed was a U.S. citizen of Russian descent. Caputo added Greenberg could have been Belarusian. Caputo said it was possible Greenberg said he was Russian. Greenberg's accent was a contributing factor influencing Caputo's assessment of Greenberg's ethnicity. Caputo also came to this conclusion because his close friend

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[REDACTED] had made this assertion. [REDACTED]

Greenberg was offering information pertaining to Hillary Clinton. Caputo subsequently directed Greenberg to Stone, and provided Stone's cell phone number.

Caputo didn't recall why he sent Greenberg to Stone, but thought it was probably because [REDACTED] and was involved in opposition research for years. Caputo typically didn't like relaying this type of opposition research material, and was not likely to give it to anyone at Trump Tower.

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Stone reported back to Caputo that Greenberg was trying to sell information, however, [REDACTED] Greenberg never told Caputo what information he was offering and never asked Caputo for money. Caputo was not aware Greenberg wanted money until after having a subsequent conversation with Stone. "Project Rasputin" was mutually exclusive from anything having to do with Greenberg.

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Caputo recalled later seeing Greenberg at a Podari Life event for children's cancer research on or about 01/05/2017. Caputo indicated he ran the event. Caputo said Greenberg approached him at the event and reminded Caputo that they had spoken on the phone a year prior. Caputo recalled Greenberg saying he was a U.S. citizen.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Michael Caputo 05

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Caputo advised he lived in Russia for approximately seven years, thereby having more experience with Russia than Stone.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Michael Caputo 05

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(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Michael Caputo 05

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D.C. Leaks

Caputo did not recall or know much about D.C. Leaks.

[Redacted]

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Sergei Millian

Caputo has never met Sergei Millian, [Redacted]

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[Redacted] Caputo received a blind LinkedIn message from Millian in January 2018 looking for an attorney. Caputo said Millian was, "radioactive," and put him in touch with [Redacted]

Later, Caputo had seen articles claiming Millian was killed in a plane crash. Caputo reached out to Millian on LinkedIn to verify the stories.

Caputo did not know Millian to have any contact with the Trump Campaign, he only knew Millian's name from the Steele dossier. Caputo provided Millian's name [Redacted] because he wanted to support his friend's business.

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Michael Caputo 05

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Caputo acknowledged his attendance at an event hosted by the Russian American Chamber of South Florida on or about 05/04/2017, but did not think it had any connection to Millian's Russian American Chamber in New York. Caputo said the Russian American Chamber in Chicago was equally dubious.

Caputo said his friends in the White House included Keith Schiller, Dan Scavino, and [Redacted]

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Caputo advised he was currently working a few projects with Russian themes, one of which was a Russian ballet project called "Sleeping Beauty Dreams" with his business partner [Redacted] Two additional projects were a Russian musical group touring the Washington D.C area in 2019 and a video platform for Russian filmmakers that would bridge the gap between YouTube and Netflix.

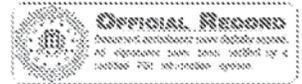
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Caputo was asked who knew about his presence at the Special Counsel's Office on the date of the captioned interview. Caputo indicated he told the following individuals:

[Redacted]

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 05/04/2018

RICK DEARBORN, date of birth [redacted] Social Security Account Number (SSAN) [redacted] was interviewed on November 28, 2017 at the Federal Bureau of Investigation - Special Counsel' Office, 395 E Street SW, Washington, D.C. Present during the interview were DEARBORN's Attorney [redacted] FBI Special Agent (SA) [redacted] SA [redacted] [redacted] Special Counsel Attorney JEANNIE RHEE, Special Counsel Attorney AARON ZELINSKY, and Special Counsel Attorney ANDREW GOLDSTEIN.

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Prior to the interview, DEARBORN and his attorney were provided with the attached show documents to review at the interview location. They were allowed to review the documents at the FBI office but did not receive a copy of the documents. DEARBORN was informed that making intentional false statements to the SAs could result in federal charges. DEARBORN then provided the following information:

Background

DEARBORN was Chief of Staff for JEFF SESSIONS from 2005 to January 2017. In the summer of 2015, SESSIONS attended a DONALD J. TRUMP rally in Mobile, Alabama. TRUMP's views on immigration and trade mirrored SESSIONS' beliefs. TRUMP was pushing the issues that SESSIONS cared about. After the rally in Mobile, TRUMP came to Washington, D.C. to ask SESSIONS to endorse TRUMP. In February 2016, SESSIONS endorsed TRUMP at a rally in Madison, Alabama. DEARBORN was at that rally and was asked to setup a small policy shop in D.C. to focus on domestic and foreign policy for the campaign.

DEARBORN didn't leave SESSIONS' Senate office because he was still needed as SESSIONS' Chief of Staff. DEARBORN checked with the ethics committee first to make sure this was not a violation. DEARBORN worked for the campaign on a voluntary basis on his own time and his campaign pay was in compliance with Senate ethics guidelines. DEARBORN was assigned to the transition team per a law allowing congressional detailees to work on the transition.

STEPHEN MILLER, who also worked for SESSIONS, left SESSIONS' staff to join the TRUMP campaign in the fall of 2015.

Investigation on 11/28/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted] Date drafted 12/07/2017

by [redacted]

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Foreign Policy

During the campaign, COREY LEWANDOWSKI asked SESSIONS to put together and head a National Security working group to focus on issues such as immigration, trade and foreign policy. The only criteria given to SESSIONS was that people in the group needed to support TRUMP. When asked about SESSIONS' views on Russia, DEARBORN explained SESSIONS was skeptical about Russia's goals but also thought we needed to find ways to work with Russia. DEARBORN described it as being in line with the standard Republican views on Russia. DEARBORN thinks SESSIONS was supportive of sanctions against Russia. DEARBORN mentioned that there probably were some gaps between SESSIONS' and TRUMP's views on foreign policy.

DEARBORN was asked about the attached email, marked Exhibit 1, and whether this represented SESSIONS' views on foreign policy. DEARBORN explained SESSIONS' thoughts were usually tied to upcoming events. DEARBORN thought this email could have been related to preparation for the meeting with the foreign policy team on March 31, 2016. DEARBORN thought this document was probably given to STEPHEN MILLER and it was probably written from SESSIONS' point of view for the candidate to adopt. DEARBORN thought the statements labeled number 5 on the last page of the document lined up with SESSIONS' point of view. DEARBORN explained SESSIONS would typically say what he thought. SESSIONS was not a "shrinking violet."

Without being able to provide specifics, DEARBORN explained that there was some "daylight between" SESSIONS' views and TRUMP's views. SESSIONS tended to be more practical and less emphatic than TRUMP.

DEARBORN was asked why this email went to SAM CLOVIS and JARED KUSHNER. DEARBORN explained that KUSHNER was involved in all aspects of the campaign, and CLOVIS was the top policy person for the campaign. DEARBORN could not recall CLOVIS' views on Russia. DEARBORN couldn't recall any in depth conversations on Russia with KUSHNER or CLOVIS. DEARBORN never talked to TRUMP regarding his views on VLADIMIR PUTIN or Russia. DEARBORN may have been present for conversations between TRUMP and SESSIONS about Russia but DEARBORN couldn't recall any specific conversations.

STEPHEN MILLER was involved in policy and speech writing. STEPHEN MILLER started to write speeches in late 2015 or early 2016. CLOVIS had been doing policy early on but his role changed over time. CLOVIS started to be sent to more places to speak as a surrogate. CLOVIS would also occasionally review white papers. CLOVIS maintained a policy role but was not based out of D.C. CLOVIS was usually in Iowa. CLOVIS was considered a known figure because of his work as a radio show host. He was important in the key battleground states. CLOVIS reported to the campaign manager, which had gone through three iterations during the course of the campaign.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Dearborn interview 11/28/2017 , On 11/28/2017 , Page 3 of 10

DEARBORN was the director of the campaign's Washington, D.C. office. The D. C. office was comprised of volunteers. There were approximately 15 people working at the D.C. office, which was pretty disconnected from the New York office. The first meeting for the D.C. office included four guys in a room at the top of the Capitol Hill Club. The office would develop white papers and support speeches with facts and figures. They would send this information to New York. There wasn't really any overlap with the foreign policy team, which just had one meeting as far as DEARBORN knows.

There may have been a second meeting, which involved a dinner with J.D. GORDON. DEARBORN recalls a meeting at the Capitol Hill Club where SESSIONS, CARTER PAGE, and GEORGE PAPADOPOULOS were in attendance. DEARBORN couldn't recall the details but thought GORDON may have set up the dinner.

GORDON answered to JOHN MASHBURN, the policy director, and MASHBURN answered to DEARBORN. Sometimes STEPHEN MILLER would go straight to MASHBURN or GORDON for assistance. STEPHEN MILLER probably outranked DEARBORN on the campaign.

DEARBORN had no recollection of CLOVIS or PAPADOPOULOS setting up a meeting with Russia or PUTIN. DEARBORN knew PAPADOPOULOS was traveling and speaking but didn't know about outreach to Russia. DEARBORN said PAPADOPOULOS had been told he didn't represent the campaign and the campaign wouldn't pay for his travel. DEARBORN was never a foreign policy guy.

DEARBORN was shown the attached email labeled Exhibit 19, which included a request from CLOVIS to travel to [REDACTED] DEARBORN was not sure if CLOVIS ever went on this trip but thought RICK GATES would have been the one to approve the travel. DEARBORN remembers discussing with CLOVIS that it was better for him to stay in the U.S. PAUL MANAFORT was the campaign manager and GATES was the Chief Operating Officer (COO). DEARBORN and CLOVIS had a great relationship. DEARBORN explained that overseas travel was frowned upon during the campaign because they needed votes in this country, not overseas. So the campaign wasn't fond of paying for overseas travel. DEARBORN thought the general attitude was that the campaign team could travel for personal reasons but they couldn't affiliate themselves with the campaign overseas. DEARBORN didn't approve travel.

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DEARBORN didn't recall any discussions about the Logan Act with CLOVIS or STEPHEN MILLER. DEARBORN didn't even know what the Logan Act is. DEARBORN was asked about any discussions regarding TRUMP traveling overseas. DEARBORN recalled a potential trip to Israel but said the campaign

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Dearborn interview 11/28/2017 , On 11/28/2017 , Page 4 of 10

hierarchy would have discussed the trip. Europe may have been a possible target of travel but DEARBORN didn't recall any discussions about it. DEARBORN thought that TRUMP and the campaign manager would have made the call on traveling. DEARBORN didn't recall any discussions about travel to Russia.

DEARBORN attended the foreign policy meeting on March 31, 2016 but was in and out during the meeting. They also had another meeting going on that day involving a group of trade representatives (truckers, small businesses, etc). DEARBORN had put the meetings together. DEARBORN couldn't recall any of the topics discussed in the foreign policy meeting. GORDON was responsible for the National Security working group. DEARBORN recalled PAPADOPOULOS being at the meeting but doesn't recall PAPADOPOULOS speaking at the meeting. DEARBORN didn't know if there was a transcript of the meeting. DEARBORN doesn't recall any discussion of Russia at the foreign policy meeting. DEARBORN explained that he wasn't a source for any media reports on the meeting. DEARBORN didn't recall any conversations with others about the meeting.

When asked how the foreign policy team was selected, DEARBORN stated SESSIONS was the chairman of the working group and would identify new members. CLOVIS chose the original four to five members. GORDON would interact with the team. DEARBORN didn't know if [REDACTED] was chosen by SESSIONS or CLOVIS. DEARBORN couldn't recall who selected KEITH KELLOGG either. PAPADOPOULOS and PAGE were CLOVIS' selections. WALID PHARES was brought on by CLOVIS or JARED KUSHNER.

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DEARBORN said the original four or five foreign policy team members didn't really work with the campaign. Other than the March 31, 2016 meeting, they only had light interactions with GORDON. PAPADOPOULOS only had minimal email contact with the team.

PHARES was involved in reaching out to Egypt and setting up meetings with various embassies. PHARES had an existing relationship with the Egyptians and worked with GORDON until PHARES left the campaign. PHARES handled outreach with [REDACTED] Requests were coming in from the embassies and PHARES would arrange for courtesy meetings. The campaign standard was to take meetings with them but not make any representations. They met with Germany, Italy, Japan and others. China and Russia may have been on the list. There should be emails with PHARES and [REDACTED] discussing these meetings. They would send a list of the meeting requests that came in from the embassies. There were a lot of embassy meeting requests coming in during the campaign.

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Mayflower Foreign Policy Speech

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Dearborn interview 11/28/2017 , On 11/28/2017 , Page 5 of 10

DEARBORN was not involved in crafting the first foreign policy speech, which took place at the Mayflower Hotel on April 27, 2016. DEARBORN explained that the campaign's stance toward Russia was to achieve peaceful relations with Russia. DEARBORN was shown attached Exhibit 3, an email from STEPHEN MILLER with a draft outline for the speech. DEARBORN thought the speech was crafted by TRUMP, STEPHEN MILLER and likely included some of SESSIONS' thoughts.

In regards to DIMITRI SIMES and the Center for National Interest (CNI), DEARBORN explained that they hosted the speech and put the audience together. Initially, the speech was going to be held at the National Press Club. DEARBORN thought the venue may have changed to accommodate a larger audience. DEARBORN does not recall if CNI was hosting at the time the speech was scheduled to be at the National Press Club. DEARBORN does not recall who moved the location. DEARBORN explained that the campaign manager and hosting group would have been the ones to decide the location of the speech. DEARBORN thought that since CNI was a foreign policy think tank, it would have attracted foreign policy folks to attend the speech. DEARBORN does not recall if there was a cancellation fee for moving the event.

KUSHNER talked to SIMES about the event. KUSHNER or CNI could have been involved in moving the event location. DEARBORN attended the speech but doesn't recall SERGEY KISLYAK attending. DEARBORN recalls a small reception in a back corridor where about 50 to 100 people attended. DEARBORN escorted any attendees who were members of Congress. [REDACTED] would have escorted SESSIONS during the event. DEARBORN was not sure if the reception required an invitation to attend. CNI handled the guest list and the campaign's D.C. office added some members of Congress to the invite list.

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TRUMP may have given some brief remarks at the reception. The reception lasted approximately 30 minutes. SESSIONS was at the reception for a good chunk of time. DEARBORN thought the campaign likely received a list of who was invited from CNI. It may have gone to GORDON. DEARBORN didn't recall if KUSHNER was at the reception. DEARBORN said GORDON may have introduced DEARBORN to SIMES at the reception. DEARBORN didn't have a lot of interaction with SIMES. GORDON probably interacted with SIMES and likely would have continued interaction with SIMES after the speech.

During the speech, DEARBORN was focused on the members of Congress, including TOM MARINO, LOU BARLETTA, and MIKE KELLY. DEARBORN spoke to MARINO a lot at the reception. DEARBORN doesn't recall any conditions put on the event by CNI as part of their agreement to host the event but he thought maybe they controlled the guest list as one of the conditions.

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[REDACTED]

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DEARBORN doesn't recall them placing any conditions regarding the substance of the speech or altering the speech.

After the speech, DEARBORN talked to SIMES and headed back to the office. DEARBORN does not recall SESSIONS discussing any interactions with KISLYAK. DEARBORN received emails from SIMES after the speech. SIMES sent thought pieces to members of the campaign. SIMES communicated with KUSHNER, DEARBORN and GORDON. DEARBORN and SESSIONS probably talked about news reports regarding SESSIONS and KISLYAK meeting at the speech but neither SESSIONS nor DEARBORN recalled a meeting happening.

As far as scheduled meetings with SESSIONS, [REDACTED] was SESSIONS' [REDACTED] and would have his itinerary cards on her computer. DEARBORN doesn't know if this information would be archived by the Senate office. DEARBORN wasn't aware of SESSIONS having any meetings with KISLYAK but knew SESSIONS met with various ambassadors in SESSIONS' Senate office. Occasionally SESSIONS would meet with ambassadors outside his office but he mostly met with them in his office. [REDACTED] would sit in on meetings with SESSIONS that involved foreign policy topics. DEARBORN avoided any meetings with ambassadors.

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DEARBORN was asked if SESSIONS belonged to any clubs. DEARBORN explained that SESSIONS, DEARBORN, and members of the campaign had memberships at the 116 Club. DEARBORN also belonged to a supper club in Mobile. DEARBORN was asked if SESSIONS belonged to the Capitol Hill Club. DEARBORN explained SESSIONS only attended events there and didn't belong to the Capitol Hill Club. SESSIONS has probably been to the Metropolitan Club but DEARBORN doesn't know the details.

Transition Team and Administration

DEARBORN's role in the White House is Deputy Chief of Staff to the President. DEARBORN served as Executive Director of the Transition Team. REINCE PRIEBUS, STEVE BANNON and KUSHNER wanted DEARBORN to serve in the White House. DEARBORN wanted to be involved in legislative affairs and wanted Cabinet involvement. During the campaign and transition, DEARBORN didn't work on foreign or domestic policy but served as a manager. In his role now, DEARBORN weighs in on policy. DEARBORN's current office is located on the second floor of the West Wing. Most of the Transition Team moved to Washington, D.C. one to two weeks before the inauguration.

During the transition, MICHAEL FLYNN was in his own conference room with KT McFARLAND. DEARBORN saw FLYNN daily but didn't interact with him regularly. DEARBORN did not recall FLYNN meeting with KISLYAK. DEARBORN saw reports of FLYNN's resignation but was not involved in any discussions about FLYNN and FLYNN's direction with the administration.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Dearborn interview 11/28/2017 , On 11/28/2017 , Page 7 of 10

DEARBORN met ERIK PRINCE once or twice. They exchanged greetings. DEARBORN was not aware of PRINCE having any role with the Transition Team.

DEARBORN didn't recall being involved in any conversations about sanctions.

DEARBORN has a personal and professional relationship with SESSIONS. They don't see each other every day but they try to meet from time to time. DEARBORN was asked if SESSIONS talked to DEARBORN about SESSIONS recusing himself from the Russia investigation and TRUMP's reaction to SESSIONS' recusal. DEARBORN explained SESSIONS told DEARBORN about recusing himself. DEARBORN thought he may have talked to SESSIONS about this before the press conference about SESSIONS' recusal. DEARBORN got the feeling from others in the White House that TRUMP had an unfavorable response to the recusal. DEARBORN never heard TRUMP talk about it.

SESSIONS did not tell DEARBORN about TRUMP's response to the appointment of a Special Counsel. DEARBORN has no knowledge of a meeting between TRUMP and SESSIONS in which SESSIONS talked about quitting. PRIEBUS or BANNON probably asked DEARBORN to check on SESSIONS after meeting with TRUMP about the announcement of a Special Counsel to see how SESSIONS was doing. SESSIONS told DEARBORN that he had a tense meeting with TRUMP. DEARBORN doesn't recall SESSIONS mentioning any intention or thoughts about resigning.

Republican National Convention

DEARBORN doesn't recall SESSIONS doing any foreign travel or meeting with any representatives from Russia or the Ukraine. DEARBORN was asked about the attached email labeled Exhibit 17, which is a summary of details behind changes to the GOP platform related to arming the Ukraine. DEARBORN explained the exhibit lines up with his recollection of the events. DEARBORN said GORDON put this timeline together. During the committee meetings regarding the GOP platform, DEARBORN and MASHBURN rotated between subcommittee meetings.

DEARBORN remembers GORDON mentioning an issue to DEARBORN earlier and DEARBORN suggested working through it in the committee meeting. DEARBORN said when they came back later, the issue was resolved. DEARBORN explained that there had not been any discussions about the Ukrainian amendment prior to the committee meetings. GORDON warned DEARBORN and MASHBURN about an amendment coming up for a vote that was not consistent with TRUMP's views. That's when DEARBORN told GORDON to work it out. DEARBORN is not aware of any subsequent meetings about lethal assistance to the Ukraine and does not recall any discussions about the Ukraine during the March 31, 2016 foreign policy meeting. DEARBORN was asked whether there were any

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Dearborn interview 11/28/2017 , On 11/28/2017 , Page 8 of 10

other discussions which would have provided insight on TRUMP's stance regarding the Ukraine. DEARBORN thought there could have been some foreign policy white papers drafted between the March 31 meeting and the Republican National Convention (RNC) but GORDON and others in the D.C. office didn't have a point of contact in the New York office to work with.

After the RNC, reports came out about the campaign shutting down the amendment. MANAFORT asked DEARBORN to create a tick tock of what happened at the RNC. DEARBORN spoke with GORDON and MASHBURN to create a document detailing the events. GORDON was the one who initiated changes to the Ukraine amendment to be consistent with TRUMP's stance. DEARBORN left it to GORDON's discretion because GORDON was more familiar with the foreign policy stance. MASHBURN may also have received a text about the amendment or a delegate came to him regarding the issue. DEARBORN explained that the policy shop only found out from GATES right before the RNC that they would be working on the GOP platform. DEARBORN didn't have any insight into MANAFORT or GATES' stance on Russia or the Ukraine.

DEARBORN noted that there were five to six different subcommittees determining the GOP platform. The team worked on the platform for about two to three nights. DEARBORN thought the biggest change was moving the Israeli embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. DEARBORN doesn't recall being present when the delegates voted on the amendments. DEARBORN recalls being more focused on the embassy move than the amendment regarding arming the Ukraine.

DEARBORN never met DIANA DENMAN and couldn't pick her out of a crowd.

DEARBORN recalls a Case Western University event for visiting ambassadors that was handled by [REDACTED] DEARBORN is not aware of any campaign involvement in the event. SESSIONS addressed the group at an event there but DEARBORN does not recall talking about a meeting between SESSIONS and KISLYAK at the event.

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Manafort

DEARBORN was not aware of the meeting between DONALD TRUMP JR. and the Russian lawyer on June 9, 2016. DEARBORN was not aware of any Russian contacts that MANAFORT or GATES worked with. DEARBORN's interactions with MANAFORT were mostly in the form of daily calls between the D.C. and New York offices, which typically lasted about 15 minutes.

DEARBORN never met or interacted with [REDACTED] and didn't know if MANAFORT or GATES was in contact with [REDACTED]

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Wikileaks

[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Dearborn interview 11/28/2017 , On 11/28/2017 , Page 9 of 10

DEARBORN was not aware of any derogatory information on the opposition prior to the public release of documents through WikiLeaks. DEARBORN was not aware of anyone on the campaign reaching out to JULIAN ASSANGE or WikiLeaks to get derogatory information.

In regards to conversations about Russian hacking, DEARBORN only remembers the campaign talking about securing their data. The campaign largely just watched news reports about the release of the derogatory information.

DEARBORN was shown the attached email, marked Exhibit 14, regarding follow-up on an op-ed regarding Russia and DNC information. DEARBORN explained that [REDACTED] was the communications director and DEARBORN was added because of his knowledge of possible surrogates who could write op-eds. DEARBORN doesn't recall any communications with [REDACTED] about the October release of JOHN PODESTA emails or talk about a communication strategy related to these releases.

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DEARBORN was not aware of any contact between the campaign and WikiLeaks. DEARBORN was not aware of any DONALD TRUMP JR. involvement with WikiLeaks.

DEARBORN thought DAN SCAVINO controlled TRUMP's Twitter feed.

Russian Outreach

In regards to the attached email, labeled Exhibit 5, DEARBORN explained that [REDACTED] Senator SHELLEY MOORE CAPITO's [REDACTED] contacted DEARBORN regarding a request to meet with the campaign. Because MANAFORT had an upcoming meeting with CAPITO, DEARBORN wanted to "check the box" by reaching out to the team about the request. DEARBORN thought this seemed like the standard "nutty" request to meet. DEARBORN explained that he included KUSHNER in the email because he thought KUSHNER may have been involved in the NRA event. Also, KUSHNER was interested in foreign affairs. KUSHNER and SESSIONS would split visits with ambassadors. DEARBORN clarified that there was no indication that KUSHNER was in charge of foreign policy. When asked who made decisions about these meeting requests, DEARBORN explained that MANAFORT, GATES and TRUMP would likely discuss these types of events and outreach. DEARBORN may have followed up with [REDACTED] on this request but doesn't know of any campaign official meeting with [REDACTED]. This email was the first DEARBORN ever heard of [REDACTED].

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DONALD TRUMP JR went to the NRA event and reports indicate that [REDACTED] was there as well. DEARBORN does not know if he was aware DONALD TRUMP JR was attending the event at the time [REDACTED] reached out. DONALD TRUMP JR is a sportsman and very active regarding gun rights.

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[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Rick Dearborn interview 11/28/2017, On 11/28/2017, Page 10 of 10

Outside of Exhibit 5, DEARBORN was asked if he heard from [REDACTED] again. DEARBORN indicated that [REDACTED] contacted him several times with random emails, including one email about [REDACTED] truck. DEARBORN is not aware of the campaign having any inclination to meet with Russians. DEARBORN isn't aware of any conversations among the campaign about meeting with Russia or China.

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DEARBORN was asked about [REDACTED] DEARBORN explained that [REDACTED] was a "character" and wanted to be part of the Presidential Transition Team (PTT). DEARBORN doesn't recall having any discussions with [REDACTED] about Russia. [REDACTED] showed up at SESSIONS' Senate office one day and name dropped. [REDACTED] was not involved in the PTT. DEARBORN does not recall a dinner hosted by DANA ROHRBACHER but wouldn't be shocked that ROHRBACHER would talk about cooperation with Russia. DEARBORN explained based on his experience on the Hill, ROHRBACHER's beliefs about Russia were widely known. The names [REDACTED] BOB FORESMAN and RABBI LAZAR didn't ring a bell to DEARBORN. DEARBORN didn't think he knew PETER SMITH either but was familiar with public reporting about SMITH. DEARBORN thought [REDACTED]

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DEARBORN does not recall any conversations about an unofficial visit to Russia. The campaign would allow PAPADOPOULOS to go to Russia without going as a campaign representative.

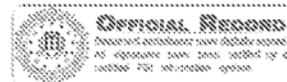
Other

DEARBORN was only remotely familiar with Cambridge Analytica. He knew they did data for the campaign. They looked at populations of voters in various counties to encourage them to vote.

DEARBORN was asked if anyone on the campaign used telephone apps that disappeared. DEARBORN explained there was no access to these apps on the White House devices.

DEARBORN was asked if anyone knew he was meeting with the Special Counsel's Office. He said TY COBB and [REDACTED] knew about the interview.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 12/01/2017

JARED COREY KUSHNER, date of birth (DOB) [Redacted] was interviewed at his attorney's office, Norton Rose Fulbright US LLP, 1200 New Hampshire Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20036. Also present during the interview were KUSHNER's attorneys [Redacted]

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[Redacted] Senior Assistant Special Counsel Zainab Ahmad, and Senior Assistant Special Counsel Andrew Goldstein. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agents, KUSHNER voluntarily provided the following information:

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Investigation on 11/01/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person, Phone)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 11/01/2017

by [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Jared Corey Kushner , On 11/01/2017 , Page 2 of 5

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

A few weeks after the election

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

KUSHNER, FLYNN, and KISLYAK met together at Trump Tower.

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Jared Corey Kushner , On 11/01/2017 , Page 3 of 5

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] KUSHNER [Redacted] vaguely remembers FLYNN handling Russia on the issue. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Jared Corey Kushner , On 11/01/2017 , Page 4 of 5

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP
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[Redacted]

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

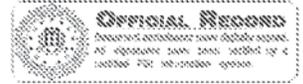
Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Jared Corey Kushner , On 11/01/2017 , Page 5 of 5

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP



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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 10/23/2018

Jason Fishbein, date of birth (DOB) [Redacted] phone number [Redacted] email addresses

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[Redacted] was interviewed at the Special Counsel's Office, located at 395 E Street, SW, Washington, D.C. Present for the interview were Assistant Special Counsel (ASC) Aaron Zelinsky, Supervisory Special Agent [Redacted] Special Agent [Redacted] Intelligence Analyst [Redacted] Fishbein was accompanied by his attorney [Redacted]

[Redacted] After being advised of the identities of the interviewing parties and the purpose of the interview, Fishbein provided the following information:

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

Investigation on 09/05/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 09/06/2018

by [Redacted]

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UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of Jason Fishbein 09/05

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018 , On 09/05/2018 , Page 2 of 5

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of Jason Fishbein 09/05

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018, On 09/05/2018, Page 3 of 5 b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of Jason Fishbein 09/05

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018, On 09/05/2018, Page 4 of 5

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

[Redacted] posted a link to putinrump.org with the password for the website [Redacted]

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] Fishbein then shared the information with Wikileaks. [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b6
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b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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b7E

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

(U) Interview of Jason Fishbein 09/05

Continuation of FD-302 of /2018

, On 09/05/2018 , Page 5 of 5

[Redacted]

b6
b7C

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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