



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 09/02/2014

PAUL J. MANAFORT (MANAFORT), date of birth (DOB) April 1, 1949, was interviewed at MILLER & CHEVALIER CHARTERED, 655 15th St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20005. Present for this interview were Department of Justice Attorneys Daniel Claman and Marie Dalton, FBI Supervisory Special Agents Bryan Earl and Debra LaPrevotte, FBI Special Agent Stacey Sullivan, FBI Forensic Accountant Renee Michael, and Defense Attorneys Andrew Wise and Richard Hibey. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agent and the nature of the interview, MANAFORT provided the following information:

MANAFORT recalled meeting RINAT AKHMETOV in June 2005. MANAFORT was asked to step in and help AKHMETOV on political matters. AKHMETOV hired Mark MacDougall with Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld LLP, a law firm in Washington D.C., to assist with an asset the Ukrainian government claimed AKHMETOV illegally privatized. AKHMETOV introduced MANAFORT to VIKTOR YANUKOVYCH in August 2005.

The company DAVIS, MANAFORT, and FREEDMAN was incorporated in 1995. The company was composed of RICK DAVIS, PAUL MANAFORT, and MATTHEW FREEDMAN. In 2005, FREEDMAN left and the company became DAVIS-MANAFORT. There was a transition in 2008, and by 2009 the company was named DMP INTERNATIONAL. Neither FREEDMAN nor DAVIS worked in the Ukraine.

When MANAFORT began working with AKHMETOV, he would only take advance payment for his services. AKHMETOV recognized the need to lobby the United States Government. MANAFORT advised AKHMETOV to get all of his assets in order.

In 2006, MANAFORT put a strategy together for the Parliamentary Elections. MANAFORT advised his client was the PARTY of REGIONS (POR).

For example, there could be 150 candidates but MANAFORT's only client was the POR. MANAFORT did not recall who specifically wired him money for his services to the POR.

MANAFORT did significant work for both OLEG DERIPASKA and RINAT AKHMETOV. MANAFORT acknowledged that he received \$17 million from an account in the name of VEGA HOLDINGS for services he did for either

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DERIPASKA or AKHMETOV. He then received an additional \$10 million dollars from VEGA HOLDINGS within a year of receiving the original \$17 million.

MANAFORT recalled that the work he did was for AKHMETOV and he would need to verify whether VEGA HOLDINGS is associated with AKHMETOV or DERIPASKA. MANAFORT worked with DERIPASKA on an initiative to democratize countries. Montenegro was the first success.

All of the money from Ukraine or Ukrainians that has been transferred into MANAFORT's accounts, personal and/or business were for his services.

AKHMETOV never directed MANAFORT to put money anywhere and MANAFORT did not do business deals with anyone.

ANTES MANAGEMENT CORP OST WEST sent money to MANAFORT's account in July, August, September and December 2006, totaling over \$2.5 million dollars. MANAFORT did not recall this company but stated this money could have come from POR as he was very active in the elections and polling. POR paid MANAFORT directly, but he was not in charge of the billing contracts or the invoices. There was one contract in the beginning with AKHMETOV, but after that MANAFORT did work for AKHMETOV without a specific written contract.

MANAFORT stated KONSTANTIN KLIMINIK worked for MANAFORT's firm, occupied an office in Kiev and generated paperwork for services. KLIMINIK and RICHARD GATES were in charge of collecting and tracking all monies coming in for MANAFORT's services.

MANAFORT was then questioned about certain individuals:

BORYS KOLESNIKOV, a.k.a. BVK, was MANAFORT's principal contact in the POR.

LEONID AVRASHOV was a Ukrainian/American who worked with MANAFORT through the first election. AVRASHOV is involved with the International Republican Institute (IRI).

OLEG PETROVICH KUDINOV is a Russian political consultant and friend of KLIMINIK. MANAFORT used KUDINOV as a political consultant in Russia. He was a field director who helped by bringing in more consultants. MANAFORT used him on every campaign. KUDINOV never worked for the Ukrainian government.

OLEKSANDR KURDINOVYCH used to work for the broadcasting network in Ukraine. He never worked for MANAFORT. MANAFORT described him as a junior guy in his early 40s. MANAFORT never sent him any money.

OLEKSANDR LEONOV was a translator in Ukraine.

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AMANDA VAN SICKLE was MANAFORT's employee who worked in the United States.

When asked, MANAFORT stated PERICLES INVESTMENTS LLC was set up to do business in the United States and may have been used as a vehicle to do the DMITRY FIRTASH deal.

MANAFORT provided a detailed history of his work with the elections in the Ukraine. MANAFORT conducted a poll and saw a way for YANUKOVYCH to succeed. MANAFORT set up a series of meetings with YANUKOVYCH. The first meeting MANAFORT listened to YANUKOVYCH and the next few meetings MANAFORT briefed him on the campaign strategy for the next 5 years where the goal was for YANUKOVYCH to take the lead on judicial and economic reforms. MANAFORT worked on behalf of AKHMETOV and campaigned for YANUKOVYCH.

In February, 2007 MANAFORT ran the election as YANUKOVYCH's campaign manager and to public surprise, won in Parliament. YANUKOVYCH became Prime Minister of Ukraine. MANAFORT had lawyers involved to insure there was no voter fraud and briefed U.S. Ambassadors in succession; John Herbst, William Taylor, John Teft, and Geoffrey Pyatt, on a regular basis.

The Ukrainian government then tried to create a SNAP election because they didn't like the fact the POR had won. The west pressured YANUKOVYCH to accept. As a result, there was another election within a year.

There were many factions in the POR. Towards the end of his presidency, YANUKOVYCH replaced cabinet members with members of "The Family", which included SERGEI ARBUZOV and YANUKOVYCH's sons. MANAFORT is not friendly with anyone in the Family. MANAFORT met SERGEI ARBUZOV once and they became fast enemies. ARBUZOV became the Central Bank President and then the Prime Minister of Ukraine.

MANAFORT explained the POR as being divided into two groups: the AZAROV group which included the international economic experts and the older generation of the POR, and the LEVOCHKIN group which were the reformists who handled negotiations. MANAFORT worked with the LEVOCHKIN group on the successful IMF deal during the first year of YANUKOVYCH's presidency.

ANDRIY KLYUYEV managed the crises within the cabinet and often YANUKOVYCH would look to him for advice and to help negotiate. MANAFORT interacted with KLYUYEV on a regular basis.

MIKHAILOVYCH AZAROV met with MANAFORT in 2005. AZAROV was part of the party leadership.

MANAFORT denied any direct knowledge of business dealings with the

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following individuals:

OLEKSANDR YANUKOVYCH - MANAFORT never did business with him.

YURIY BOIKO - the Minister of Energy. MANAFORT dealt with him on energy policy issues only, never did business with him.

EDWARD STAVITSKY - MANAFORT met him twice but no business dealings.

KLYUYEV brothers - MANAFORT did not know anything about their involvement with Activ Solar and never did business with them.

MANAFORT never met with YULIA TYMOSHENKO and does not know FELIX BLITSHTYEN.

Towards the end of his Presidential term, YANUKOVYCH began replacing cabinet members with members of the "Family", and his sons began consolidating power. ARBUZOV became the Central Bank President and then the Prime Minister of Ukraine.

In the summer of 2013, PUTIN realized YANUKOVYCH planned to sign the Ukraine/European Union Association Agreement deal and started to squeeze PETRO POROSHENKO on the chocolate industry. POROSHENKO's chocolate plants are in Russia and PUTIN told YANUKOVYCH if he didn't sign the deal, PUTIN would cause economic ruin on Ukraine.

MANAFORT currently feels the local level corruption is crushing the Ukraine economy.

MANAFORT once asked BOYKO about the oil rig. The registered Agent was the same who signed off on something for TYMOSHENKO. MANAFORT and BOYKO had a good relationship.

When asked, MANAFORT stated he talked to YANUKOVYCH about corruption as a liability but never spoke about specific names. MANAFORT demonstrated it using factual data like the polling numbers. MANAFORT feels local level corruption is responsible for damaging the economy in Ukraine.

According to MANAFORT, the only person outside of PUTIN who benefited from the European Association Agreement not being signed was IGOR KOLOMOYSKIY. The Oligarchs, such as AKHMETOV, VIKTOR PINCHUK, BOYKO and FIRTASH supported the signing. YANUKOVYCH would have signed the agreement if the Europeans had come up with the \$3 billion dollars of economic support for Ukraine, prior to the signing. In September 2013, MANAFORT organized a meeting between STEFAN FULE, the European Commissioner of Enlargement, JOSE BARROSA, the European Commission President, and

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YANUKOVYCH to work towards an economic safety bridge for Ukraine. In November 2013, the Germans and Dutch realized YANUKOVYCH would not sign the agreement, but by then it was too late. YANUKOVYCH is currently in Russia.

MANAFORT advised he only met with YANUKOVYCH once in Mezhyghyria, when it was just a small house. YANUKOVYCH said he had purchased it but he and MANAFORT never met there again.

In 2008, around the time of the elections, MANAFORT acknowledged he knew of several companies established in Cyprus. He advised that GATES and KLIMINIK worked with BOYKO to do what the Ukrainians wanted. Their direction came from KOLESNIKOV. MANAFORT maintained he didn't know who specifically set up the Cypriot accounts but verified he was never a signator on the accounts. MANAFORT said the reasoning behind the company nomenclatures was because he was high profile. The accounts were vehicles used to pay him. MANAFORT stated there was no concealment necessary when these companies were established because he was providing political services in the public eye.

When asked about CMZ VENTURES in New York, MANAFORT advised he was helping out a friend BRAD ZACKSON and ARTHUR COHEN. This was the one instance MANAFORT stepped out of the political world and attempted a business deal. ZACKSON's idea was to raise money overseas and buy real estate in the United States. The first property was located at 57th St. and Park Ave. in New York. He financed the operational needs of the company through his personal account. MANAFORT approached FIRTASH, a known real estate developer in Ukraine, for support; however, whenever it came time to sign agreements, FIRTASH was never around and did not provide the promised seed money for the venture. MANAFORT backed out of the project and never got involved in business dealing. MANAFORT never purchased real estate in Ukraine.

MANAFORT has never heard of NEOCOM or GLOBAL ENDEAVOR. GLOBAL HIGHWAY LTD and LEVIATHAN sounded familiar and any money flowing from those companies would have been money he earned from his services. MANAFORT has never been to the Seychelles and stated he had an accounting firm that would have records of all the companies. MANAFORT advised that LILRED LLC has nothing to do with Ukraine.

In response to switching banks, MANAFORT stated he switched from Wachovia (now Wells Fargo) to First Republic because the average American bank does not like money coming from the Ukraine or other foreign jurisdictions, such as Cyprus.

In closing, MANAFORT hasn't spoken with YANUKOVYCH since December 2013. He feels YANUKOVYCH lied to him and remains committed to helping the

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current leaders in power in the Ukraine. Currently MANAFORT is working with POROSHENKO, Ukraine's President, and the mayor of Kyiv, SERGEI KLICHKO.

In reference to the Oligarchs, MANAFORT advised DERIPASKA left Ukraine at the beginning of YANKUKOVYCH's presidency, AKHMETOV remained a part of the EU faction and FIRTASH did not choose a side and lives off his Russian business.

Notes taken during the interview, an outline, and a bank account chronology is maintained in a 1A envelope.

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