



January 15, 2021

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

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

Dear Mr. Leopold:

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

**Section 552**

**Section 552a**

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|--|---|---------------------------------|
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (b)(1)           | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (b)(7)(A) | <input type="checkbox"/> (d)(5) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> (b)(2)                      | <input type="checkbox"/> (b)(7)(B)            | <input type="checkbox"/> (j)(2) |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (b)(3)           | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (b)(7)(C) | <input type="checkbox"/> (k)(1) |
| <u>50 U.S.C § 3024(i)(1)</u>                         | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (b)(7)(D) | <input type="checkbox"/> (k)(2) |
| <u>Federal Rules of Criminal<br/>Procedure 6 (e)</u> | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (b)(7)(E) | <input type="checkbox"/> (k)(3) |
| <u>10 U.S.C § 424</u>                                | <input type="checkbox"/> (b)(7)(F)            | <input type="checkbox"/> (k)(4) |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (b)(4)           | <input type="checkbox"/> (b)(8)               | <input type="checkbox"/> (k)(5) |
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| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> (b)(6)           |   | <input type="checkbox"/> (k)(7) |

122 pages were reviewed and 122 pages are being released.

- The appropriate redactions were made by the Department of Justice/Office of Information Policy (DOJ/OIP) and Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA).

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

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

For questions regarding our determinations, visit the [www.fbi.gov/foia](http://www.fbi.gov/foia) website under "Contact Us." The FOIPA Request Number listed above has been assigned to your request. Please use this number in all correspondence concerning your request.

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

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



See additional information which follows.

Sincerely,



Michael G. Seidel  
Section Chief  
Record/Information  
Dissemination Section  
Information Management Division

Enclosures

**Additional Information:**

Revisions were made to withholdings in documents previously released to you. Enclosed is an updated copy of Bates Stamped document FBI (19-cv-1278)- 1767-1777, 1803-1820, 1829-1838, 3914-3996.

## FBI FOIPA Addendum

As referenced in our letter responding to your Freedom of Information/Privacy Acts (FOIPA) request, the FBI FOIPA Addendum provides information applicable to your request. Part 1 of the Addendum includes standard responses that apply to all requests. Part 2 includes standard responses that apply to requests for records about individuals to the extent your request seeks the listed information. Part 3 includes general information about FBI records, searches, and programs.

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

- (i) **5 U.S.C. § 552(c).** Congress excluded three categories of law enforcement and national security records from the requirements of the FOIPA [5 U.S.C. § 552(c)]. FBI responses are limited to those records subject to the requirements of the FOIPA. Additional information about the FBI and the FOIPA can be found on the [www.fbi.gov/foia](http://www.fbi.gov/foia) website.
- (ii) **Intelligence Records.** To the extent your request seeks records of intelligence sources, methods, or activities, the FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of records pursuant to FOIA exemptions (b)(1), (b)(3), and as applicable to requests for records about individuals, PA exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(1), (b)(3), and (j)(2)]. The mere acknowledgment of the existence or nonexistence of such records is itself a classified fact protected by FOIA exemption (b)(1) and/or would reveal intelligence sources, methods, or activities protected by exemption (b)(3) [50 USC § 3024(i)(1)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that any such records do or do not exist.

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

- (i) **Requests for Records about any Individual—Watch Lists.** The FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of any individual's name on a watch list pursuant to FOIA exemption (b)(7)(E) and PA exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(7)(E), (j)(2)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that watch list records do or do not exist.
- (ii) **Requests for Records about any Individual—Witness Security Program Records.** The FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of records which could identify any participant in the Witness Security Program pursuant to FOIA exemption (b)(3) and PA exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(3), 18 U.S.C. 3521, and (j)(2)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that such records do or do not exist.
- (iii) **Requests for Records for Incarcerated Individuals.** The FBI can neither confirm nor deny the existence of records which could reasonably be expected to endanger the life or physical safety of any incarcerated individual pursuant to FOIA exemptions (b)(7)(E), (b)(7)(F), and PA exemption (j)(2) [5 U.S.C. §§ 552/552a (b)(7)(E), (b)(7)(F), and (j)(2)]. This is a standard response and should not be read to indicate that such records do or do not exist.

### Part 3: General Information:

- (i) **Record Searches.** The Record/Information Dissemination Section (RIDS) searches for reasonably described records by searching systems or locations where responsive records would reasonably be found. A standard search normally consists of a search for main files in the Central Records System (CRS), an extensive system of records consisting of applicant, investigative, intelligence, personnel, administrative, and general files compiled by the FBI per its law enforcement, intelligence, and administrative functions. The CRS spans the entire FBI organization, comprising records of FBI Headquarters, FBI Field Offices, and FBI Legal Attaché Offices (Legats) worldwide; Electronic Surveillance (ELSUR) records are included in the CRS. Unless specifically requested, a standard search does not include references, administrative records of previous FOIPA requests, or civil litigation files. For additional information about our record searches, visit [www.fbi.gov/services/information-management/foipa/requesting-fbi-records](http://www.fbi.gov/services/information-management/foipa/requesting-fbi-records).
- (ii) **FBI Records.** Founded in 1908, the FBI carries out a dual law enforcement and national security mission. As part of this dual mission, the FBI creates and maintains records on various subjects; however, the FBI does not maintain records on every person, subject, or entity.
- (iii) **Requests for Criminal History Records or Rap Sheets.** The Criminal Justice Information Services (CJIS) Division provides Identity History Summary Checks – often referred to as a criminal history record or rap sheet. These criminal history records are not the same as material in an investigative “FBI file.” An Identity History Summary Check is a listing of information taken from fingerprint cards and documents submitted to the FBI in connection with arrests, federal employment, naturalization, or military service. For a fee, individuals can request a copy of their Identity History Summary Check. Forms and directions can be accessed at [www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/identity-history-summary-checks](http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/identity-history-summary-checks). Additionally, requests can be submitted electronically at [www.edo.cjis.gov](http://www.edo.cjis.gov). For additional information, please contact CJIS directly at (304) 625-5590.
- (iv) **National Name Check Program (NNCP).** The mission of NNCP is to analyze and report information in response to name check requests received from federal agencies, for the purpose of protecting the United States from foreign and domestic threats to national security. Please be advised that this is a service provided to other federal agencies. Private Citizens cannot request a name check.

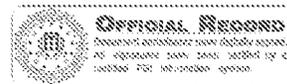
## EXPLANATION OF EXEMPTIONS

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

- (b)(1) (A) specifically authorized under criteria established by an Executive order to be kept secret in the interest of national defense or foreign policy and (B) are in fact properly classified to such Executive order;
- (b)(2) related solely to the internal personnel rules and practices of an agency;
- (b)(3) specifically exempted from disclosure by statute (other than section 552b of this title), provided that such statute (A) requires that the matters be withheld from the public in such a manner as to leave no discretion on issue, or (B) establishes particular criteria for withholding or refers to particular types of matters to be withheld;
- (b)(4) trade secrets and commercial or financial information obtained from a person and privileged or confidential;
- (b)(5) inter-agency or intra-agency memorandums or letters which would not be available by law to a party other than an agency in litigation with the agency;
- (b)(6) personnel and medical files and similar files the disclosure of which would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy;
- (b)(7) records or information compiled for law enforcement purposes, but only to the extent that the production of such law enforcement records or information ( A ) could reasonably be expected to interfere with enforcement proceedings, ( B ) would deprive a person of a right to a fair trial or an impartial adjudication, ( C ) could reasonably be expected to constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy, ( D ) could reasonably be expected to disclose the identity of confidential source, including a State, local, or foreign agency or authority or any private institution which furnished information on a confidential basis, and, in the case of record or information compiled by a criminal law enforcement authority in the course of a criminal investigation, or by an agency conducting a lawful national security intelligence investigation, information furnished by a confidential source, ( E ) would disclose techniques and procedures for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions, or would disclose guidelines for law enforcement investigations or prosecutions if such disclosure could reasonably be expected to risk circumvention of the law, or ( F ) could reasonably be expected to endanger the life or physical safety of any individual;
- (b)(8) contained in or related to examination, operating, or condition reports prepared by, on behalf of, or for the use of an agency responsible for the regulation or supervision of financial institutions; or
- (b)(9) geological and geophysical information and data, including maps, concerning wells.

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

- (d)(5) information compiled in reasonable anticipation of a civil action proceeding;
- (j)(2) material reporting investigative efforts pertaining to the enforcement of criminal law including efforts to prevent, control, or reduce crime or apprehend criminals;
- (k)(1) information which is currently and properly classified pursuant to an Executive order in the interest of the national defense or foreign policy, for example, information involving intelligence sources or methods;
- (k)(2) investigatory material compiled for law enforcement purposes, other than criminal, which did not result in loss of a right, benefit or privilege under Federal programs, or which would identify a source who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;
- (k)(3) material maintained in connection with providing protective services to the President of the United States or any other individual pursuant to the authority of Title 18, United States Code, Section 3056;
- (k)(4) required by statute to be maintained and used solely as statistical records;
- (k)(5) investigatory material compiled solely for the purpose of determining suitability, eligibility, or qualifications for Federal civilian employment or for access to classified information, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished information pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence;
- (k)(6) testing or examination material used to determine individual qualifications for appointment or promotion in Federal Government service the release of which would compromise the testing or examination process;
- (k)(7) material used to determine potential for promotion in the armed services, the disclosure of which would reveal the identity of the person who furnished the material pursuant to a promise that his/her identity would be held in confidence.



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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 01/05/2018

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(U//~~FOUO~~) MICHAEL T. FLYNN, previously interviewed, was interviewed by the writer and SA [redacted] at 395 E Street, SW, Washington, D. C. Also present was Senior Counselor to the Special Counsel James Quarles, Deputy Special Counsel Aaron Zebley, Senior Assistant Special Counsel (SASC) Brandon Van Grack, and Senior Assistant Special Counsel Zainab Ahmad. FLYNN was represented by his attorneys Stephen P. Anthony, Rob Kelner, and [redacted] of Covington & Burling LLP. The interview was conducted pursuant to a signed proffer agreement executed on 11/16/2017. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing Agents and the nature of the interview, FLYNN provided the following information:

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN had multiple calls with Russian Ambassador Sergey KISLYAK on 12/29/2016, as they tried to connect. Sanctions was definitely one of the topics they discussed in that conversation. FLYNN said he told KISLYAK they should not get into a "tit for tat ... we are a couple of weeks away from going into the White House." When they spoke again on 12/31/2016, KISLYAK said to FLYNN, "Message received," that he should have seen that [Vladimir] PUTIN said he would not respond in kind. FLYNN thanked KISLYAK and they may have discussed other issues.

(S) (U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN recalled a 1/12/2017 call with KISLYAK [redacted] [redacted] FLYNN may have spoken to (S) KISLYAK [redacted] They also discussed scheduling a call between PUTIN and Donald TRUMP.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) On 01/13/2017, FLYNN spoke to Reince PRIEBUS and Sean SPICER and characterized his call with KISLYAK from December 2016. FLYNN spoke with PENCE that Saturday night. FLYNN was embarrassed by the whole thing. There were a series of articles on the issue. FLYNN mischaracterized the call to PRIEBUS, SPICER and PENCE. KISLYAK may have tried to call FLYNN one more time.

(U//~~FOUO~~) The interview with the FBI on 01/24/2017 was conversational. FLYNN tried to answer their questions to the best of his ability, but FLYNN admitted he was being coy with the Agents in order to get the

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Investigation on 11/17/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)  
File # [redacted] Date drafted 11/17/2017  
by [redacted]

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[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Michael T. Flynn Interview 11/17/2017 , On 11/17/2017 , Page 2 of 11

interview over quickly. They gave him reminders such as, "Did you mention tit for tat." FLYNN recalled that he would have said something like that. The Agents reminded FLYNN of the calls on 12/22/2017 and 12/23/2017. Again, FLYNN answered their questions to the best of his ability. Looking back he was not fully forthcoming with the FBI.

(U//~~FOUO~~) When asked by his attorney whether he spoke to anyone after his calls with KISLYAK, FLYNN admitted he spoke with several people. After the call on 12/29 he knows he spoke with K.T. MCFARLAND but does not think he made as many calls as he did after the 12/31 call. Minutes after the 12/31 call, FLYNN called Ted GISTARO, the ODNI representative assigned to the transition team. FLYNN also called PRIEBUS, BANNON, MCFARLAND, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] FLYNN tasked [REDACTED] with taking the lead on the issue of the Astana Conference. FLYNN believes in all likelihood he spoke to somebody about the call with KISLYAK.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN's attorney asked him to recount what led up to the calls on the United Nations Security Council vote in December 2016. FLYNN received a call from KUSHNER about the United Nations vote and said they needed to find out about the matter. The vote was a surprise to the Transition Team. They needed to find out the position of the other countries voting. It was clear to FLYNN that KUSHNER spoke with Ron DERMER, the Israeli Ambassador. FLYNN later spoke with DERMER. TRUMP called Egypt's President Abdel Fattah EL-SISI to ask directly about the vote. The Egyptians seemed embarrassed by TRUMP's questions. TRUMP asked if it could be pulled. TRUMP wanted to keep the lines of communication open with the Egyptians. The vote was tabled until the next day at noon. FLYNN recalled the next day there was a flurry of activity and calls. FLYNN provided updates to BANNON and KUSHNER. The message on the calls was to tell the countries a new administration was coming into office and they wanted a chance. FLYNN again spoke with DERMER, and was aware KUSHNER was calling him as well. FLYNN was not sure if KUSHNER was calling other countries, but FLYNN continued to keep KUSHNER up to speed to figure out if they could "change this thing."

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN was shown a series of text messages from 12/29/2016, between him and [REDACTED] FLAHERTY (Item A1). The text message with the article was likely how he learned about the sanctions. [REDACTED] was at Mar-a-Lago with MCFARLAND. FLYNN had spoken with Susan RICE on 12/20/2016, the Monday of the previous week. FLYNN did not recall her mentioning anything regarding sanctions. FLYNN received a call from KISLYAK on 12/28/2016, so he knew he would contact him on 12/29/2016. FLYNN believed the announcement of the sanctions was a surprise to the Transition Team. PRIEBUS spoke most frequently with OBAMA's Chief of Staff, Denis

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[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Michael T. Flynn Interview 11/17/2017 , On 11/17/2017 , Page 3 of 11

MCDONOUGH, during the Transition and he may have heard something. TRUMP also spoke to OBAMA during the transition, but did not think he was aware of the action. FLYNN does not know if anyone else spoke directly with their counterparts in the current administration.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN was shown a [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] Michael LEEDEN helped during the transition on the initial development of foreign policy. FLYNN and LEEDEN were good friends and may have discussed another chapter in his book. The potential for them to have discussed sanctions with Russia was huge because of the timing. They would have discussed what it meant, the possible impact, ramifications, and likely responses. LEEDEN would have seen more on the news because FLYNN was out of the country.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN spoke with MCFARLAND before his call with KISLYAK. FLYNN was either in his hotel room or in a hotel common area when he made these calls. FLYNN talked about sanctions with MCFARLAND. FLYNN wanted to get MCFARLAND's thoughts on the news at the time. MCFARLAND shared his same sense of surprise at the announcement and frustration about not knowing beforehand. MCFARLAND was in Mar-a-Lago so she was in a position to tell FLYNN about conversations by the Transition Team related to the news. They did not want the sanctions news to get out of hand. They did not want to walk into the Presidency worried about what Russia could do in response to the sanctions announcement. FLYNN thought the following people may have been in Mar-a-Lago: PRIEBUS, Steve MILLER, BANNON, Tom BOSSERT, Keith SCHILLER, Hope HICKS, and TRUMP.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN believed that MCFARLAND would have given her thoughts to FLYNN, including the views of the individuals with whom she had conversations at Mar-a-Lago. FLYNN could not imagine her not telling him her thoughts and the thoughts of others. FLYNN remembered the frustration they felt. FLYNN believed she was sharing information with him from conversations she was having at Mar-a-Lago, but he does not know this for certain. MCFARLAND and [REDACTED] were connected at the hip. MCFARLAND provided FLYNN with a sense of what to say and how to address KISLYAK. FLYNN knows the conversation was with MCFARLAND and not [REDACTED] because KISLYAK was reaching out to FLYNN and MCFARLAND was his deputy. He could get a hold of her at Mar-a-Lago, and know what people there were thinking.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN relayed the message to KISLYAK based on what MCFARLAND said. FLYNN believed the people at Mar-a-Lago wanted him to convey a message to KISLYAK. FLYNN thought he was acting in sync with what the collective thinking was at Mar-a-Lago because of his conversations with MCFARLAND, but he did not recall any statement to the effect that President-elect TRUMP directed or wanted him to say something. FLYNN and

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UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Michael T. Flynn Interview 11/17/2017 , On 11/17/2017 , Page 4 of 11

MCFARLAND discussed their frustration and surprise at the sanctions announcement. FLYNN recalled wanting to "slow this train down." MCFARLAND interacted with TRUMP at Mar-a-Lago on a daily basis. MCFARLAND knew FLYNN was going to relay the message to KISLYAK.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) After the call with KISLYAK, FLYNN spoke with MCFARLAND for 26 minutes. FLYNN told her about his conversation with KISLYAK, including sanctions. She updated FLYNN as well. They also discussed the Astana conference because it was a timing issue on who would attend. FLYNN gave MCFARLAND a report of the outcome of his conversation with KISLYAK. FLYNN did not know if MCFARLAND relayed what he told her to anyone at Mar-a-Lago. FLYNN may have had other conversations with [REDACTED] or Keith KELLOGG, which included the sanctions discussion, but not necessarily on 12/29/2016. FLYNN remembered discussing sanctions with [REDACTED]

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(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN was shown an email dated 12/30/2017, from MCFARLAND (Item C1). FLYNN recalled sending MCFARLAND the three talking points. FLYNN thought that he did not include the sanctions portion of the discussion in the email because of a "mental block."

**Agent Note: A ten minute break was taken.**

(U//~~FOUO~~) When FLYNN spoke with KISLYAK on 12/29/2016, KISLYAK did not commit to any specific actions. He would take the information forward. At the time they thought the OBAMA Administration was trying to undermine the new administration's ability to have a relationship with Russia. This would start them off on the wrong foot. FLYNN did not include sanctions in his message to MCFARLAND because sanctions were a sensitive issue. TRUMP tweeted something about it on 12/30/2016, that PUTIN did the right thing. The issue was sensitive because it was the new administration's position to work with Russia. FLYNN felt comfortable sharing it in a call but not an email. It was sensitive that he asked Russia to slow down in responding to the sanctions. FLYNN asked them to give the new administration time. FLYNN was concerned the critics would say they were getting in the way of a foreign policy issue of the current administration who had three weeks left.

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[REDACTED] After speaking with KISLYAK, FLYNN was on the phone for [REDACTED]

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several hours. Ted GISTARO was a senior executive briefer from the current administration assigned to TRUMP during the campaign and stayed on during the transition for the Presidential Daily Briefs. [REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] FLYNN initially assumed he told GISTARO about his conversation with KISLYAK in regards to "message received." FLYNN had a close professional relationship with GISTARO. FLYNN coordinated with him to [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] FLYNN provided GISTARO with topics he felt were important to cover for the incoming administration. GISTARO traveled to Mar-a-Lago to deliver briefings. GISTARO participated in the Intelligence Community Assessment the following week which may have been why FLYNN called him on 12/31/2016. Ultimately FLYNN stated that he did not recall speaking to GISTARO about the substance of his phone calls with KISLYAK.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN was shown an email dated 12/31/2016, from KELLOGG (Item E1). In reading the email message it appeared that FLYNN and KELLOGG discussed FLYNN's conversation with KISLYAK. In conversations with GISTARO on this issue [REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] GISTARO briefed TRUMP usually with two or three other people in the room. No one else had clearances at the time to attend the briefings. FLYNN wanted TRUMP to have the best information the government had at the time.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN's call with KISLYAK was a big deal on 12/31/2016 because it was the day after PUTIN announced he would not respond. The information KISLYAK said to FLYNN was not as big of a splash because PUTIN had already publicly responded and TRUMP tweeted. After FLYNN spoke with KISLYAK, he was on the phone with MCFARLAND, PRIEBUS, and BANNON. He spoke with all of them on a daily basis so FLYNN could not recall if these conversations were connected to the call with KISLYAK. [REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN acknowledged PUTIN probably responded the way he did because of the calls FLYNN had with KISLYAK. GISTARO could tell FLYNN why the OBAMA Administration imposed the sanctions, but not why PUTIN responded the way he did.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN did not feel it was necessary for TRUMP to know his role in [Vladimir] PUTIN's response because it was not important that he

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promote himself to TRUMP. FLYNN saw it as a behind the scenes effort. FLYNN agreed it was important to convey the message to the President Elect and the team, but he did not feel that way at that time. FLYNN felt good about it. FLYNN stated that he may have conveyed it to TRUMP directly when he saw him in person on 01/03/2017 - when it was just TRUMP and FLYNN. However, when asked if he specifically recalled telling TRUMP about the substance of his phone calls with KISLYAK related to sanctions and "message received", he did not think he had such a conversation with TRUMP. FLYNN was not proud, but saw what he did as a function of what he was asked to do as the National Security Adviser.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN remembers having calls with several people where he discussed the essence of the call with KISLYAK. FLYNN spoke with [REDACTED] and would have tasked him to [REDACTED] FLYNN was not sure on which specific call he discussed this with [REDACTED] but he was going to be the lead.

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

**Agent Note: Zebley left for approximately five minutes.**

(U//~~FOUO~~) MCFARLAND knew about FLYNN's call with KISLYAK. Others who may have known were GISTARO, BANNON, PRIEBUS, and [REDACTED] FLYNN primarily had telephone calls with these individuals, but in terms of the specifics of the conversations with the other people, he could only speculate. FLYNN did talk about sanctions with others. FLYNN did not remember TRUMP acknowledging he knew about FLYNN's calls with KISLYAK. Conversations with TRUMP were fairly memorable.

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**Agent Note: A 20 minute break was taken at approximately 11:00 AM. Quarles did not return until 11:24 AM.**

(U//~~FOUO~~) The interviewing agents continued to discuss with FLYNN any individuals to whom he spoke about the substance of his conversations with KISLYAK. FLYNN advised that he did not remember discussing his sanction-related calls with KISLYAK with GISTARO because FLYNN was embarrassed about what he had done, and also GISTARO was someone in the current Administration. FLYNN knew he got involved in U.S. policy when he called KISLYAK. MCFARLAND teed FLYNN up about the sanctions so he believes he told her about the conversation with KISLYAK. FLYNN told her their whole discussion on 12/29/2016, including the portion that covered sanctions.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN spoke to [REDACTED] about his conversation with KISLYAK, not about expulsions and not the full extent of the conversation on sanctions. FLYNN did not remember discussing his KISLYAK conversation with PRIEBUS or BANNON. FLYNN did not think he said anything to PRIEBUS or BANNON. FLYNN felt embarrassed. On one hand the conversation with KISLYAK worked, but a

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UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Michael T. Flynn Interview 11/17/2017 , On 11/17/2017 , Page 7 of 11

couple of weeks later, while he was walking with MCFARLAND, PRIEBUS questioned him on the topic and he was embarrassed.

(S) (U//~~FOUO~~) The [redacted] article was published [redacted] (S) FLYNN thought Monica CROWLEY alerted him to the article. FLYNN was embarrassed. It was another negative news story on the Transition Team, and it was about him. The daily reports from the media were negative stories about him, which wore on him. FLYNN attended a large meeting at the transition team headquarters with key players and designated Secretaries, and the media focus was on him. The meeting was to give everyone a sense of what to expect during the Inauguration week. [redacted]

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[redacted]  
[redacted]  
FLYNN told PRIEBUS it was the same old stuff. It was a hugely embarrassing moment. PRIEBUS told FLYNN to talk to Sean SPICER so he would know what FLYNN knew. FLYNN saw SPICER right away in the hallway and said the same thing he said to PRIEBUS. FLYNN also reminded SPICER of the number of countries he met with during the transition. FLYNN did not mention to SPICER that he spoke about sanctions with KISLYAK because of his embarrassment. FLYNN was not sure if SPICER or Public Affairs responded to the article since they were still in transition.

(U//~~FOUO~~) Late Saturday evening, Vice President Elect Michael PENCE called FLYNN at home. PENCE was preparing for the Sunday talk shows the next day and asked FLYNN about the articles. Looking back on his actions related to this event, FLYNN said the first hole he dug for himself was with SPICER. If FLYNN had completed his thoughts, he could have told SPICER everything. The second hole he dug was with PENCE when FLYNN did not provide him with complete information. FLYNN partly felt that he did his job in his conversation with KISLYAK, and another part of him was embarrassed for doing a secret thing. FLYNN did not think about the fact he was putting PENCE in a bad spot. After the fact, FLYNN thought he could have recovered if he had just told them what he did.

(U//~~FOUO~~) When the FBI Agents interviewed FLYNN, they jogged his memory. FLYNN did not know why he did not walk out of that interview and tell b5 per DOJ/OIP PENCE or PRIEBUS about what was going on to develop a political response. He did not tell anyone because he was ashamed and embarrassed. [redacted]

[redacted]  
[redacted] FLYNN was directed to reach out to his counterparts which was why he felt he was working on behalf of what TRUMP wanted. Going into the call with KISLYAK, FLYNN was not sure the direction the call would take.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) At the time, FLYNN did not want to recall the conversation with KISLYAK. It involved an issue about which he felt good because it succeeded, but he also felt embarrassed because he inserted himself into something. FLYNN scheduled the ICA brief because there were so many negative news stories which were impacting the work they could do. FLYNN did not connect the ICA brief to his calls with KISLYAK. One was long term and the other was a limited issue which was resolved in 72 hours. FLYNN viewed it as a tool in his kit bag that could be used in the future with Russia because of what they did.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN was trying to protect himself when he did not tell SPICER or PENCE about his conversations with KISLYAK. FLYNN thought it was due to a human emotion, and just felt he could not tell them. It was easy to look back and see if he had just said he talked about sanctions, he would have been better off. However, he did not say anything because he was embarrassed by this matter, which was in the media on a daily basis.

(U//~~FOUO~~) TRUMP asked FLYNN if everything was okay. FLYNN internalized the information and kept it to himself. He did not want another negative news story. [REDACTED] was gone and Michael ANTON replaced her. [REDACTED] was professional and everyone wanted her. FLYNN had to deal with all of the media strategy after she left. ANTON was not as strategic a thinker as [REDACTED] When the *Washington Post* asked FLYNN about sanctions, he said, "No." ANTON said to FLYNN that if he talked about sanctions, this might be a good time to get it out there. This advice only started another fire and resurrected the issue and became a bigger problem.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN attended a meeting in PRIEBUS' office in which he referred to those in the room as the "knights of the round table." These individuals made up of the inner circle, including MCFARLAND. PRIEBUS asked him about the KISLYAK calls in front of everyone. It was extraordinarily embarrassing. FLYNN thought the administration had more important issues such as [REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

(U//~~FOUO~~) The most vivid interaction FLYNN had with TRUMP was on Air Force One traveling to Mar-a-Lago. [REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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(U//~~FOUO~~)

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] FLYNN felt he was a burden because of the relentless media attacks directed at him.

(U//~~FOUO~~) The visit of the Japanese Prime Minister was a big deal. FLYNN was dealing with the intensity of the new Administration's schedule to get things done. The visit was the weekend before FLYNN's resignation. Nothing regarding his calls with KISLYAK was discussed during the weekend. [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) They then went to TRUMP's office for the morning update. [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

FLYNN returned to his office, and ANTON said *The Daily Caller* wanted to have a telephonic interview. This was a chance to do what TRUMP wanted - to fight back. FLYNN was not good at this type of thing, and ANTON was also not a media strategist, but FLYNN did the interview with *The Daily Caller* anyway.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN had what he described as a "fascinating day" on 02/13 /2017. He met with the Acting Secretary of the Treasury to discuss Iranian sanctions related to Venezuela. He attended the joint statement address with Canada followed by the luncheon. FLYNN met with Gary COHN. Then the first question TRUMP received at the joint address was about FLYNN, which embarrassed FLYNN. [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

FLYNN went to his office and called [Redacted]

[Redacted]

was relieved. FLYNN wrote his resignation statement and emailed

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it to [redacted] to review. FLYNN wanted to be sure his statement came across as genuine. She made one comment. FLYNN printed the statement and took it to PRIEBUS. PRIEBUS made a couple of additions with which FLYNN did not argue. The last paragraph was added, and FLYNN agreed it was fine. FLYNN wanted it printed on White House letterhead to formalize his resignation. FLYNN also wanted to sign it on TRUMP's desk.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN went to the Oval Office. Present were PENCE, BANNON, PRIEBUS, KUSHNER, and TRUMP. TRUMP was seated behind his desk, the others stood in front of the desk and FLYNN was off to one side. TRUMP had the letter on his desk and made small talk. In all it took approximately 15 minutes. TRUMP was tired and visibly shaken or upset. FLYNN felt he and TRUMP had bonded. TRUMP trusted FLYNN. FLYNN stuck with TRUMP when a lot of people did not stick with him. [redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

TRUMP hugged FLYNN. FLYNN thanked TRUMP for his support. FLYNN shook hands with everyone in the room. He walked out the secretary's door and said goodbye and thank you to everyone he passed.

(U//~~FOUO~~)

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[redacted] picked KELLOGG. FLYNN felt as if they had already thought about who they would select. He and MCFARLAND discussed a few outstanding items. Then FLYNN spoke with [redacted]. He had known [redacted] for a long time, and she was a great friend. [redacted] was a retired Navy Chief and hated what was happening to FLYNN. FLYNN had become close with [redacted] and [redacted]. They did a lot for him. FLYNN asked them to call the Secret Service to give FLYNN a ride home. FLYNN took his personal photos with him when he left and asked [redacted] and [redacted] to pack up the rest of his office. It was apparent to FLYNN the Secret Service agents did not know he resigned because they stayed outside his home after FLYNN was dropped off. FLYNN called [redacted] and [redacted] to have the Secret Service called back. The following day [redacted] and [redacted] delivered his personal things. FLYNN gave them a bag of secure communication gear.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) The day after he resigned, FLYNN watched SPICER's press conference. It bugged FLYNN that SPICER said he (FLYNN) had been untruthful. It was not how FLYNN characterized it and it was not how he left it with TRUMP. FLYNN sent a text message to KUSHNER knowing he could get a hold of him. He spoke with KUSHNER and told him he did not appreciate what SPICER said during the press conference. KUSHNER then asked FLYNN if he (KUSHNER) could contact [redacted] on his behalf to get FLYNN a job. Over the next few days, FLYNN noticed the tenor of the White House changed in respect to FLYNN's resignation. TRUMP was asked

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about FLYNN during his visit to Israel and said something nice about FLYNN. FLYNN felt TRUMP was being decent about it.

(U//~~FOUO~~) MCFARLAND was media savvy. She was not one to trust anyone out of a sense of self-preservation. On multiple occasions she told FLYNN they needed a media person. They hemmed and hawed that ANTON was not the right person for FLYNN. [REDACTED] FLYNN felt MCFARLAND was slipping away. He felt MCFARLAND was trying to avoid something. She is an incredibly capable person who writes well and knows how to deal with the media. As an example, FLYNN said that there were a few articles published with negative information about her, and she fought tooth and nail to get her name out of the story. FLYNN also recalled another article that referred to MCFARLAND being too old. He noted, however, that the articles on MCFARLAND were nothing to the negative articles written about FLYNN.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) [REDACTED] FLYNN was not sure he spoke openly with her about what she knew to be true in the article. They spoke about the ugliness of the article. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

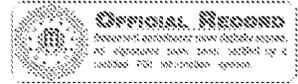
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[REDACTED] MCFARLAND and FLYNN discussed more on how to respond to the article, not whether it was true.

(U//~~FOUO~~) MCFARLAND did not need to ask FLYNN if the article was true. MCFARLAND never confronted FLYNN on whether he discussed sanctions on his call with KISLYAK. During the big meeting in PRIEBUS' office, MCFARLAND just sat there and listened. FLYNN recalled Don MCGAHN may also have been at that big meeting. [REDACTED] MCFARLAND [REDACTED] would not have been at that meeting.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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FBI INFO

CLASSIFIED BY: NSICG [Redacted]

REASON: 1.4 (C,D)

DECLASSIFY ON: 12-31-2043

DATE: 11-21-2019

Date of entry 06/21/2018

MICHAEL FLYNN was interviewed at the Special Counsel's Office, located at 395 E Street SW, Washington, DC, in the presence of his attorneys, Robert Kelner and Steven Anthony and [Redacted] Present for the interview were Special Agent (SA) [Redacted] SA [Redacted] Senior Assistant Special Counsel (SASC) Andrew Goldstein, SASC Brandon Van Grack, and Senior Counselor to the Special Counsel James L. Quarles, After being advised of the identity of the interviewing agents and the nature of the interview, Flynn provided the following information:

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Flynn advised that the circumstances and set up at Mar-a-Lago, plus Flynn's sense of the interactions from his own experience there, led Flynn to believe that K.T. McFarland was speaking on behalf of the group at Mar-a-Lago when she talked to him about sanctions. Flynn explained that Mar-a-Lago had a large lobby and open area and there were only a couple of places where people could really work or meet. Interactions among the President-elect's staff were fairly close because of the layout. Flynn had been to Mar-a-Lago the week prior to Christmas 2016 and during that time, people saw one another and spoke to one another with some frequency because of the set up.

President-Elect Trump came in and out to talk to people. There was frequent interaction because there was really nowhere to be alone. Flynn's impression from talking to McFarland was that people were talking about the sanctions issue. He had received an article about the sanctions from [Redacted] Flaherty, [Redacted] and his sense was that it was a topic of discussion.

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McFarland served a variety of functions in her role as the acting National Security Advisor at Mar-a-Lago. She was in charge of providing daily intelligence to Trump. At that time they (Flynn, Steve Bannon, [Redacted] [Redacted] Reince Priebus) tried to get Trump into a rhythm of the sort of intelligence he would receive every day.

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Flynn told McFarland to keep Trump informed and to try to meet with him once a day formally and any other times as needed. Flynn tried to call her every day to get an update. Flynn described to McFarland his observations of how things happened at Mar-a-Lago. He thought that matters were

Investigation on 01/19/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

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

by [Redacted]

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haphazard and informal, unless someone came in for a formal meeting. Even formal meetings were somewhat informal.

Regarding the sanctions and the response, Flynn understood they did not want to get into a "tit for tat" with Russia. Flynn's counsel was to see what could be done to slow things down. Flynn assumed McFarland spoke to Priebus and Bannon, who were at Mar-a-Lago at the time, but he did not know one way or the other.

Flynn did not recall if McFarland said who exactly she was going to talk to about the sanctions matter, but he assumed she told Flynn about the conversations she had with others. In response to the question of whether McFarland spoke to Trump about this subject, Flynn said he did not know one way or the other. She may have said she was talking to Trump and others, but he did not remember.

Flynn believed that others at Mar-a-Lago knew he was going to talk to Russian Ambassador Sergey Kislyak because he told McFarland and [REDACTED] that he and Kislyak planned to speak. Flynn could not imagine they would not share it because of the way the interactions went at Mar-a-Lago, but he did not know for a fact one way or the other. The sanctions were something the Obama White House imposed, and that action was going to impact the Trump administration. It was the second time they (the Obama administration) had the opportunity to tell the incoming administration in advance of an action they planned to take, but chose not to do so.

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Flynn had the impression the sanctions were a surprise. People were upset about it.

Flynn believed McFarland would share the information about Flynn's calls. He could not imagine McFarland would not share it; he did not intend for [REDACTED] to keep the information to herself.

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Flynn did not specifically know if McFarland told him she had a meeting with Trump scheduled the same day he (Flynn) talked to Kislyak. He knew she intended to meet with Trump every day and thought she did so. When Flynn was there, he met with Trump in the morning.

After his call with Kislyak, Flynn talked to McFarland and they talked about the call with Kislyak. Flynn did not remember who McFarland said she talked to about the issues. He did not recall whether she mentioned a meeting with Trump or others.

Flynn wanted to know how things were going with Trump and thought McFarland was still trying to develop a level of comfort with her role. Flynn asked if it was all working out well. He believed over the course of

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the day and into the evening, she would have talked about the sanctions with other people at Mar-a-Lago. It was a big deal. Trump even tweeted about it the next day. Generally, McFarland said she interacted with Trump a couple of times a day.

McFarland was pretty up to speed on Russian issues. Flynn sensed her frustration with the Obama administration. He thought she had a formal briefing the next morning (12/30/2016) at the PDB [Presidential Daily Brief] and a discussion the night of December 29, 2016. It may have been in an informal setting, like in the lobby of Mar-a-Lago. Flynn thought Bannon would have had an opinion about the sanctions, but Priebus was not very familiar with foreign policy or sanctions. The intelligence professionals would have a better sense of the matter. With regard to the 12/29/2016 phone call with Kislyak, Flynn did not recall if McFarland spoke about speaking with Trump, or anyone else, about it.

Flynn had no specific recollection but thought it was likely he talked to McFarland about Trump's tweet about the sanctions, probably after the fact in, in a "classic Trump" kind of way. Flynn thought the sanctions were an attempt by the Obama administration to undermine the Trump administration, or to put a stick in their eye. Flynn explained the phrase "classic Trump" meant Trump did not take any advice about that part of his world. He just did what he wanted. Flynn returned to the United States from his vacation on December 30, not December 31, which had been his original reservation. The tweet may have come in while he was in transit. Flynn did not think they discussed the tweet in relation to his call with Kislyak.

When Flynn and Kislyak talked on December 31, Flynn was at home. After the call, Flynn talked to McFarland. He relayed it was a positive call and he received a positive reaction, and the response was a good thing. At that point, the Trump team did not know the reason for the sanctions. They felt good about the response. It resulted in one less headache for them, something they could defer until they got into office. Flynn did not think they discussed the tweet in relation to his call with Kislyak.

Flynn did not remember if they talked about Trump's feelings. Flynn and McFarland really wished the Obama administration had just told them about the sanctions in advance and not undermined them. Even though Kislyak said the issue had been raised at the highest levels, Flynn did not think he felt Trump needed to know. Flynn thought it was his job to do it. He did not need credit for it. He did not think Trump needed to know Kislyak said it was a high level decision. He thought it was clear it got to Putin because of Putin's response. Flynn did not need credit, he was just happy things slowed down.

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Michael T. Flynn, On 01/19/2018, Page 4 of 11

Flynn believed it was known his relationships with Kislyak and others overseas were effective. He thought and assumed people knew he had the ability to communicate effectively and he did not feel the need to remind people of it. He did not think the message from Russia had gotten lost just because he did not relay the message back to Trump directly.

Russia was a high priority nation and it was Flynn's job to nurture relationships. Flynn did not view Trump's response to Putin to be the first clear example Flynn was effective in getting a message to Russia. He did not think of it in those terms.

It was clear the decision had been made at the highest levels. It was a good thing Flynn was able to sway things in a way that would not hurt the incoming administration. Flynn thought the call with Kislyak was important, but not something to jump on the phone and relay to Trump. Flynn stated that he was not "looking for style points," and he viewed his actions as doing his job successfully. It was also harder to relay information to Trump directly because they were not together. It was not urgent to relay the next call a few days later. He thought he would have talked to Trump the next time he saw him, but did not recall specifically. By then it was no longer an emergency.

It was clear Trump wanted a different relationship with Putin than under the Obama administration. He had been public about that desire.

Flynn had talked to Bannon in late December, around the second week of the Christmas holidays. They determined they would both be in Washington, DC, at the same time in the new year and Bannon suggested they meet. Flynn recalled he also talked to Priebus around that same time.

On or about January 1, 2017, Flynn went to the transition headquarters near the White House in the morning and then went to see Priebus at the RNC [Republican National Committee] headquarters, located on the House side of the Capitol. They met for thirty minutes or so and discussed "battle rhythm" matters. He did not discuss Russia with Priebus. Priebus was not interested in that subject, but was more interested in getting everything organized. Priebus left the national security matters to Flynn to handle.

After meeting with Priebus, Flynn met with Bannon at Bannon's apartment, located near the Supreme Court. They met for about thirty to forty-five minutes. They met in the dining area of Bannon's home. They went over draft executive orders, of which Bannon had a stack at his residence. They were closely held at the time and Flynn had not seen written versions of them, even though he had talked about them previously. Flynn recalled

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there were executive orders on [REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP  
 [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] While Flynn was there,  
 they had a conversation with [REDACTED] about the [REDACTED]  
 executive order for a few minutes.

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Bannon and Flynn discussed the week of activity at Mar-a-Lago and what Trump was thinking. Flynn said they talked about the "Russia stuff," specifically that "we" were able to slow the train down and put a stop to the action until they could get into office and make a decision. In that context, Flynn viewed the word "we" as the team. It was seen as a good thing. They may have talked about Trump's tweets and interaction with Putin. Flynn did not think they discussed why it was important to slow the train down.

Flynn said it all went back to the importance of having a different relationship between the US and Russia and Trump and Putin. Flynn could not specifically recall the discussion, but thought they talked about it. Flynn did not recall whether Bannon mentioned specifically that he discussed this issue with Trump, but his impression from Bannon was they had talked about it at Mar-a-Lago. Flynn was not sure that Bannon knew Flynn had reached out to Kislyak. Bannon may have known, but Flynn did not recall discussing the calls to Kislyak with him.

They did not talk about what Flynn had done to generate the Russian response. It seemed clear that Bannon knew they had successfully put the issue to bed for a while. It seemed the response was a little embarrassing for the Obama administration. The Russian response indicated they did not care what Obama did but were waiting for Trump. When asked if it was his impression that Bannon knew about this issue, or if it was clear that he knew Flynn had called Kislyak, Flynn said he did not know and did not recall discussing it with him, but Flynn had the impression they had discussed it at Mar-a-Lago. Flynn added Bannon moved quickly from issue to issue and once one was killed, they moved on to the next topic. Flynn described himself as different from Bannon, as he tended to think a few steps down the line.

It was clear to Flynn that the actions of the incoming administration led to the Russian response to the sanctions. Flynn did not think McFarland would have kept it to herself. It was not her style. Flynn had no reason to keep his communications with Kislyak away from Bannon or Priebus. He and Bannon may have talked to others (besides [REDACTED] that day as well.

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Flynn was not sure if he attended the January 3, 2017 Russia briefing at Trump Tower. By that point, Flynn was getting a routine PDB himself. He

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recalled [Redacted] in more than one meeting.

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Flynn thought he had a conversation with Trump about [Redacted] The conversation was not in great detail nor was it specific to Flynn's talk with Kislyak. Flynn thought Putin understood that the incoming administration was trying to improve the relationship. [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

Flynn did not mention his calls with Kislyak to Trump on January 3. It was not his style to take credit. Flynn did not have the impression Trump knew about the calls.

Flynn believed at some point they talked about what had happened the previous week and that things had worked out with the sanctions. Flynn would have told Trump it seemed Putin had respect for him. It was likely they talked about it early in the week.

(S) [Redacted]

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(S) [Redacted] Flynn thought he had a good strong relationship with Trump. He could walk directly in to see him if he needed something. They only got to know one another over the previous couple of years but their relationship was strong. Trump trusted Flynn to do the job he was asked to do. Trump had expressed some concerns to Flynn regarding Flynn's sons' tweets and had some issue with Flynn's son being part of the transition, and Flynn said he understood. [Redacted] things were okay. There had been some bad press for Flynn during the campaign so this type of article was not new. It was just another drumbeat of negative news on Flynn.

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Flynn learned via email [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted] Hope Hicks was the first one contacted about the article. [Redacted] was aware of it. Monica Crowley was also contacted. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Michael T. Flynn, On 01/19/2018, Page 7 of 11

That Friday morning, Priebus grabbed Flynn in the hallway of the transition headquarters en route to a briefing on the inauguration week activities. Priebus was very rushed, but asked him [redacted]

(S) [redacted] and said to get with Sean Spicer because Trump was "pretty upset about it." Priebus wanted to respond to the story. Flynn did not recall a phone call with Priebus about the article. Flynn did not tell Priebus that (S) [redacted] was not true. Flynn told Priebus about the calls but left out the fact that he spoke about the sanctions with Kislyak. Flynn thought that part of the conversation was sensitive and was irritated (S) [redacted]

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Flynn spoke to Spicer in the same hallway he talked to Priebus. Flynn told Spicer the same things he told Priebus, but in more detail. He did not think he denied talking about sanctions, but rather he omitted the subject. He probably deliberately left out the sanctions. Flynn thought after he talked to Spicer that would be the end of it. He left it with Spicer and thought Spicer would take care of it. He did not recall if Spicer mentioned that Trump was upset. Flynn also advised that the issue with Monica Crowley developed that day as well.

Flynn did not recall whether he heard anyone other than Priebus mention Trump's views on the story.

Flynn was upset [redacted] (S) [redacted] He had never heard of it and worried that he broke the law. In retrospect, Flynn believed that he overthought it.

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On January 14, 2017, Vice President Pence called Flynn at home at around 10:00 pm. Pence was preparing for the Sunday shows the next day. Flynn told him that he had calls with several foreign leaders and walked him through the calls with Kislyak.

#### JANUARY 24, 2017 FBI INTERVIEW

Flynn initially did not recall how the interview with the FBI was arranged, but eventually he recalled that he received a telephone call from [then FBI Deputy Director] Andy McCabe, who told him he was sending FBI Agents over to talk to him. He did not recall much else about the call. Flynn did not recall if he told anyone about the FBI Agents coming over to interview him, but if he did, it would have been the people outside his door, such as [redacted] or [redacted]

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b5 per DOJ/OIP

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~~SECRET~~

[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Michael T. Flynn, On 01/19/2018, Page 8 of 11

b5 per DOJ/OIP

FEBRUARY 8, 2017 WASHINGTON POST INTERVIEW

Flynn did an interview with Karen DeYoung from the *Washington Post* on February 8. She asked about the Russian sanctions and he gave a vague answer. After the interview, Michael Anton told Flynn if he did not remember whether he discussed sanctions, he should say as much, or if he may have discussed the subject, he should say that.

Flynn recalled Priebus called him into his office at one point and there were about a dozen people there. Priebus again asked Flynn about the calls to Kislyak. Flynn said he "may have" talked about sanctions. The meeting unnerved him. It was a packed room and a bit embarrassing to be questioned like that in front of that many people. Priebus did most of the talking, but one or two others may have asked a question.

INTERACTIONS WITH PRESIDENT TRUMP

Trump asked Flynn if he lied to Pence. They talked about it a couple of different times over the next few days. A discussion with Trump about the issue would have been triggered by a story in the press. Flynn thought he had one of these conversations with Trump in a vehicle. Flynn gave a quick summary of the calls with Kislyak, and at one point Trump corrected him and said something like, "well that happened the week prior" and the date was wrong. Flynn thought he (Flynn) said something like, "I called about the assassination of the Russian ambassador to Turkey" on a particular date, and Trump said the date was not correct.

Flynn had a clear memory that Trump knew the date of an event for which Flynn called Kislyak was wrong. Flynn went back and checked dates and realized he (Flynn) was wrong. Flynn thought he may have incorrectly cited the date of the assassination of the Russian ambassador to Turkey. Flynn did not know how Trump knew the date that Flynn cited for the assassination of the Russian ambassador was wrong.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] At that time, Anton was new to the office and Flynn did not have a spokesperson.

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Michael T. Flynn, On 01/19/2018, Page 9 of 11

On Sunday, February 12, while returning from Mar-a-Lago on Air Force One, Flynn went into Trump's office to set up a call and Trump asked, "did you lie to Pence?" Flynn responded, "No. I just didn't remember the full conversation." Trump said, "Okay. That's fine. I got it." Flynn did not think from that encounter Trump would fire him the next day.

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(S)

Flynn

thought Trump had talked to Priebus or Pence.'

Flynn recalled a conversation with Trump in the Oval Office on February 13. An article had come out that day.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

He walked back to his office, grabbed Anton and they did an interview with the *Daily Caller*. He did not think Trump specified what Flynn was supposed to say or how he was supposed to characterize his calls.

On the same day, the Canadian Prime Minister was at the White House and the first question in the press conference after the meeting was about Flynn. Flynn thought Trump was upset about that. Flynn did not talk to Trump alone again until after the decision to ask for Flynn's resignation.

The day after he resigned, Flynn watched the White House press conference and grew irritated with Spicer's characterization of how he left. Flynn did not agree with it. Flynn thought Trump seemed very upset Flynn had to resign, but Spicer's description was "a 180" from that sentiment. Flynn called Kushner and told him Spicer's characterization was not right. He wanted Kushner to know he did not appreciate Spicer's comments. Kushner said he would put Flynn in touch with [redacted] for a job, but Flynn said that he did not call for that purpose.

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That week, Hicks reached out and said she wanted to relay on behalf of Trump that Trump hoped Flynn was okay. Flynn said it was almost like a condolence call. Priebus called on Wednesday or Thursday of that week and said he was checking in on Flynn and they felt really bad about things. Flynn thought "whatever" and was not feeling in a very polite state of mind. Flynn told Priebus he did not like Spicer's characterization. Priebus may have asked Flynn what he planned to do.

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Michael T. Flynn, On 01/19/2018, Page 10 of 11

Flynn heard from a variety of contacts after he resigned. Flynn had dinner with [Redacted] and [Redacted]. He talked to [Redacted] and [Redacted]. He received an email from Keith Kellogg, maybe through [Redacted] at one point, who relayed that Trump had made some positive mention of Flynn. He thought [Redacted] relayed that message.

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Flynn initially did not think Trump passed him a message any other time, but then said Barbara or Michael Ledeen may have passed a message to him, or [Redacted] could have done so. Flynn reviewed an email dated 4/18/17 between him and Ledeen, but he did not recall the that the meeting mentioned in the email occurred. He did not recall a conversation with Ledeen. He speculated Ledeen wanted to tell him about an article by Rich Higgins on the "deep state."

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Trump's public statements regarding Flynn were generally neutral and somewhat positive.

Flynn had no conversations with current or former administration people regarding a pardon. He did not receive messages from Bannon or Kushner. He had not heard from McFarland or Kellogg.

COMMENTS BY NIKKI HALEY, USUN

In Nikki Haley's first public statement at the United Nations, she said the United States condemned the annexation of Crimea. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted] Flynn learned that she coordinated the statement with one [Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP staffer at the NSC. Flynn thought Haley was out in front of the administration on that issue. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

After her statement, Flynn recalled [Redacted] b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

~~SECRET~~

[Redacted]

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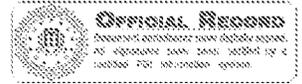
[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Interview of Michael T. Flynn, On 01/19/2018, Page 11 of 11

[Redacted]

Flynn was not aware if **b5 per DOJ/OIP** anyone reached out to Russia to convey that Haley's statement was not the position of the current administration.

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FBI INFO  
CLASSIFIED BY: NSICG [redacted]  
REASON: 1.4 (C)  
DECLASSIFY ON: 12-31-2043  
DATE: 11-05-2019

~~UNCLASSIFIED//FOUO~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 01/05/2018

(U//~~FOUO~~) MICHAEL THOMAS FLYNN, date of birth [redacted] was interviewed pursuant to a proffer agreement at the Office of the Special Counsel (OSC), 395 E Street SW, Washington, DC, by the writer and Supervisory Special Agent (SSA) [redacted]. The interview was conducted pursuant to a signed proffer agreement. Also present in the interview were Senior Assistant Special Counsel Brandon Van Grack, SASC Zainab Ahmad, Deputy SASC Aaron Zebley, and Senior Counselor James Quarles. Representing FLYNN during the interview were Steven Anthony, Robert Kelner, and [redacted] of Covington and Burlington LLC. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing agents, FLYNN provided the following information:

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(U//~~FOUO~~) At the outset of the interview, FLYNN reviewed a subject that he discussed on 11/17/2017 with the FBI and OSC personnel regarding a conversation he overheard between then Republican Presidential candidate DONALD TRUMP, JARED KUSHNER, BRAD PARSCALE, STEVE MNUCHIN, STEVE BANNON and [redacted]. FLYNN advised the conversation occurred later in the campaign, and it centered on an investment of \$10 million dollars into the social media efforts of the campaign. FLYNN advised that he previously characterized TRUMP's question to the group along the lines of "should we do this?" However, he now believes the question was more along the lines of "can we do this?" FLYNN guessed that TRUMP was more focused on the "thing" on which the money was to be used vice the money itself. MNUCHIN and KUSHNER responded in the affirmative to his question.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) As additional context, FLYNN explained that this briefing contained information from PARSCALE that reflected that the campaign was ahead of HILLARY CLINTON in its internal polling. This information seemed important to TRUMP, and he observed that KUSHNER used that information to sell TRUMP on the fact that the social media plan was working and the additional \$10 million was a good investment. FLYNN advised that in August 2016 he went to PARSCALE's office in Austin, Texas, where he gave a pep talk to the staff, and received a briefing on the micro-targeting strategy for the campaign. FLYNN later saw updated charts in a conference room at Trump Tower in which they used butcher block paper to depict the status of the social media campaign in the 5-7 targeted states.

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Investigation on 11/20/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)  
File # [redacted] Date drafted 11/22/2017  
by [redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Michael Thomas

Continuation of FD-302 of Flynn, On 11/20/2017, Page 2 of 7

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN estimated this conversation happened shortly before the announcement from then FBI Director JAMES COMEY that the FBI had reopened the investigation of HILLARY CLINTON because he recalled that the campaign was boosted by PARSCALE's polling data and the COMEY statement.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN recalled another conversation with TRUMP that occurred on /about the Friday after the 2017 Inauguration during an official visit by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN wanted to get some help from PRIEBUS during this encounter with TRUMP, but PRIEBUS did not speak up on the matter, and FLYNN felt he was getting all the blame and "taking it for the team." FLYNN quickly arranged for the call, and he recounted that during the conversation with PUTIN, TRUMP made statements to the effect that "my people have been screwing this up" as an explanation for why the call took so long to be scheduled. In terms of topics discussed between TRUMP and PUTIN, FLYNN did not remember sanctions or expulsions being brought up. He described the call between them as "collegial," as opposed to TRUMP's conversation with the Australian Prime Minister.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN advised that following this call he had his own call with his Russian counterpart and other permanent members of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) on the day in which the U.S. re-imposed sanctions on Iran.

(U//~~FOUO~~) Regarding the December 29, 2016 phone call with Russian Ambassador SERGEY KISLYAK, FLYNN was shown copies of text messages between him and [Redacted] FLAHERTY reflecting FLYNN's request to speak with K.T. MCFARLAND. When asked why he wanted to speak with MCFARLAND, FLYNN said that she was in Mar-a-Lago at the time. FLYNN recalled that she was frustrated by the timing of the sanctions announcement, and the two of them spoke back and forth about what the sanctions could mean for the incoming Administration.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN was shown an email dated 12/30/2016 from MCFARLAND in which she wrote that [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted] FLYNN surmised that she had spoken to others at Mar-a-

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(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Michael ThomasContinuation of FD-302 of Flynn, On 11/20/2017, Page 3 of 7

Lago about the subject. The term "tit-for-tat" was a phrase he and MCFARLAND used.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN was shown an email dated 12/29/2016 from MCFARLAND. After he reviewed the email, he was asked about his understanding of what he should do once he ended his call with MCFARLAND but prior to speaking with KISLYAK. FLYNN advised that he believed Mar-a-Lago wanted him to tell KISLYAK to "give us a chance" before they (Russia) take any action. When asked if MCFARLAND asked or told him to talk to KISLYAK on behalf of "Mar-a-Lago", FLYNN stated that he was more comfortable talking about sanctions after speaking to MCFARLAND. He did not think that he would have spoken to KISLYAK about sanctions without speaking to MCFARLAND and believing that Mar-a-Lago knew he was calling.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN was shown a calendar of events for President-elect TRUMP for that day (12/29/2016) and shown an entry for a 5:00 pm meeting with TRUMP, MCFARLAND, and FLYNN. When asked if he had any conversations with President-elect TRUMP on 12/29/2016, FLYNN stated that he did not have any conversations, nor did he recall being placed on speaker phone by MCFARLAND in order to speak to TRUMP about this matter.

(U//~~FOUO~~)

[REDACTED] FLYNN advised that this call was to update her on his conversations with KISLYAK. Regarding the text message FLYNN sent to MCFARLAND in which he outlined three subjects about which he spoke to the Russian Ambassador, FLYNN could not recall if they agreed that he would keep the sanctions-related part of the call out of writing.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) In terms of other people with whom he may have spoken about these calls, FLYNN does not recall speaking to JARED KUSHNER about these calls with KISLYAK, though he advised that KUSHNER was very interested in foreign policy - more so than FLYNN expected. He does not recall discussing any of these calls with PRIEBUS because he (PRIEBUS) had no interest in foreign policy.

(U//~~FOUO~~) He also did not specifically recall telling STEVE BANNON about it at the time. However, he recalled that he met BANNON at his (BANNON's) townhouse in Washington, DC, and saw a list of pending Executive Orders to be signed by TRUMP, and he said he may have discussed the sanctions issue then. He recalled discussing with BANNON his opinion of how the OBAMA Administration treated them and also discussed [REDACTED] b5 per DOJ/OIP When asked if he discussed with BANNON the substance of the 12/31/16 "message received" call with KISLYAK, FLYNN said maybe they discussed it in general. There were a number of conversations at BANNON's townhouse in this time frame.

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~~UNCLASSIFIED//FOUO~~(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Michael ThomasContinuation of FD-302 of Flynn, On 11/20/2017, Page 4 of 7

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN was shown an email dated 1/1/2017 from KUSHNER on a blueprint for Russia. When asked if he told KUSHNER about the phone calls, FLYNN said that his interactions with KUSHNER were limited because of their respective physical locations at that time.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN was asked about a scheduled briefing on/about 1/3/2017 from TED GISTARO, Office of the Director of National Intelligence (ODNI), for TRUMP. FLYNN said that he did not tell GISTARO about the conversations with KISLYAK. He could not remember everyone who was present for the briefing, but he recalled that the briefing [REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED] When asked if he told TRUMP about the substance of his phone calls with KISLYAK at this briefing, he said that he is not certain that he brought it up, and does not remember talking to him about this issue. While he recalled some one-on-one meetings with TRUMP, they were about things they would do once in office. When asked if he had conversations, even in general, about the KISLYAK calls and sanctions, FLYNN replied that he does not believe such a conversation happened with TRUMP. When asked if he had a conversation in which TRUMP referenced knowing about the substance of his calls with KISLYAK, even if it was from someone other than FLYNN, he replied that you remember certain things - such as getting chewed out for a mistake or getting an "atta-boy" for doing well. However, he has no recollection of such a conversation with TRUMP.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN believes that he spoke with [REDACTED] after the KISLYAK calls. [REDACTED] was on the National Security Council's Middle East desk. FLYNN may have given him a general summary of the calls because he [REDACTED] was on point for organizing the U.S. participation in the Astana conference.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN was shown an email dated 1/5/2016 from MCFARLAND. FLYNN does not remember any conversation about the Logan Act. He understood "one President at a time" but they were also preparing to take over the government on 1/20/2017, and they needed to be ready.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN attended the January 6, 2017 Intelligence Community Assessment (ICA) briefing in New York. He recalled that COMEY and TRUMP spoke after the briefing concluded. TRUMP discussed this post-briefing interaction with COMEY at a meeting in TRUMP's office in Trump Tower right afterwards. FLYNN noted that BANNON, MCFARLAND, and PRIEBUS also were there. COMEY had something specific to tell TRUMP, and COMEY wanted TRUMP to have confidence in him. FLYNN advised that TRUMP's main concern in the briefing was [REDACTED]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Michael Thomas

Continuation of FD-302 of Flynn, On 11/20/2017, Page 5 of 7

[Redacted]

FLYNN

noted that TRUMP only seemed concerned with this point. TRUMP brought this point up during this post-briefing meet. This subject also was raised by TRUMP in the post-briefing meeting at Trump Tower.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN was shown an email dated 1/10/2017 that referenced the report(s) by CHRISTOPHER STEELE. TRUMP was irritated with the information, and they had a sense the information was not true.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN was shown an email dated 1/12/2017 containing an article on Secretary of State nominee REX TILLERSON. FLYNN advised [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

FLYNN

introduced TILLERSON to the Transition Team through ROBERT GATES so he took a personal interest in the matter.

[Large redacted area with 'X' marks]

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(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN was shown text messages from him that described his calls with KISLYAK. These texts were sent to MCFARLAND and [Redacted] but his conversations about sanctions were excluded from the texts. When asked why this was the case, he described his reaction as one of "embarrassment" because it was a sensitive issue, and he wanted it to "go away" or "to minimize the issue." [Redacted]

Logan Act was the first time he heard of it, and he said that he had to research it on the internet to find out the meaning of it. FLYNN did not think he was changing foreign policy, but merely wanted time to get into office and address the issue.

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~~SECRET~~~~UNCLASSIFIED//FOUO~~~~(U//FOUO)~~ Interview of Michael ThomasContinuation of FD-302 of Flynn, On 11/20/2017, Page 6 of 7

~~(U//FOUO)~~ FLYNN was asked if PRIEBUS or SPICER spoke with President-elect TRUMP on the article. He believes PRIEBUS did speak to him. HOPE HICKS also contacted him about the article, and she was close to TRUMP so FLYNN usually responded to her. PRIEBUS told him it was a big deal; the "boss" was aware; and he needed to respond to it and say something. FLYNN reflected that this was another article for which he did not want to worry about TRUMP's reaction towards him.

~~(U//FOUO)~~ FLYNN did not remember meeting with MICHAEL COHEN in the White House or receiving a Ukrainian peace plan. He met COHEN on the campaign and the transition, but did not recall receiving a peace plan from him. FLYNN did not recognize the name FELIX SATER. FLYNN did not recognize the name KIRILL DMITRIEV.

~~(U//FOUO)~~ FLYNN was asked if he knew [REDACTED] FLYNN advised that he knows [REDACTED] and they have discussed issues related to national security such as the "bloated" nature of the CIA. [REDACTED] believed that all the Senior Executive Service (SES) personnel should be fired and the GS-15s promoted. They have also discussed geo-political issues such as Russia, and how to work with Russia in areas such as Libya. [REDACTED] heard the Russians had met with a certain Libyan militia leader on board an aircraft carrier. He also discussed the changing relationships in the Middle East and that Russia was moving into that space which had been vacated by the U. S. They also discussed the UAE who had been helpful with U.S. efforts in Afghanistan. When asked if there was a back-channel to Russia via the UAE, FLYNN stated that he did not remember any such conversation.

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~~(U//FOUO)~~ When asked if FLYNN knew any of the details regarding a meeting between PRINCE and Russian officials in the Seychelles Islands in January 2017, FLYNN stated that he was not aware of any such meeting. When asked about the 12/15/2016 meeting with the UAE officials in New York, and whether Russia was raised during this meeting, FLYNN did not think Russia was raised as a subject. Yemen, Iran, and Afghanistan were raised as subjects. FLYNN does not recall PRINCE in attendance at this meeting. FLYNN advised that PRINCE had "carte blanche" at Trump Tower, and he saw him meeting there with BANNON, KUSHNER, and [REDACTED]

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~~(U//FOUO)~~ FLYNN was asked about KUSHNER's relationship with UAE leader MOHAMMED BIN ZAYED (MBZ). FLYNN does not know when it began. He recalled a 4th person at their meeting with MBZ on 12/15/2016, but could not remember the name of that person - other than he was about the same age as KUSHNER. He set up a meeting with TONY BLAIR, and described MBZ's brother as the UAE National Security Adviser. FLYNN reviewed an email from KUSHNER introducing the UAE Ambassador. FLYNN likely would have passed it to his team to set up the meeting.

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[Redacted]

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~~UNCLASSIFIED//FOUO~~

[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Michael Thomas

Continuation of FD-302 of Flynn, On 11/20/2017, Page 7 of 7

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN recalled a package from Egypt that was delivered to him at the White House. He does not remember what was in it, but he likely gave it to [Redacted] FLYNN did not think that he reviewed the contents of the package.

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

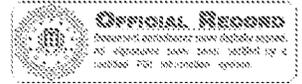
[Redacted]

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CLASSIFIED BY: NSICG [redacted]  
REASON: 1.4 (C)  
DECLASSIFY ON: 12-31-2043  
DATE: 11-25-2019

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

Date of entry 01/05/2018

(U//~~FOUO~~) MICHAEL T. FLYNN, previously interviewed, was interviewed by the writer and SA [redacted] at 395 E Street, SW, Washington, D. C. Also present was Senior Counselor to the Special Counsel James Quarles, Deputy Special Counsel Aaron Zebley, Senior Assistant Special Counsel Brandon Van Grack, and Senior Assistant Special Counsel Zainab Ahmad. FLYNN was represented by his attorneys Stephen P. Anthony, Rob Kelner, and [redacted] of Covington & Burling LLP. The interview was conducted pursuant to a signed proffer agreement executed on 11/16/2017. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing Agents and the nature of the interview, FLYNN provided the following information:

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~~(S//FOUO)~~ [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

It shook him up

not knowing about the Logan Act.

[redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

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[redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN expanded on his conversation with STEVE BANNON which occurred at BANNON's townhouse, or the "Breitbart embassy." It was just FLYNN and BANNON, however they made some calls while they were together. The conversation covered a wide variety of topics. At one point FLYNN and BANNON concurred they "stopped the train on Russia's response" to the sanctions imposed by the OBAMA Administration. Based on their conversation it seemed like BANNON knew details about FLYNN's conversation with SERGEY KISLYAK. FLYNN assumed BANNON was back briefed on the conversation by K.T. MCFARLAND because she was at Mar-a-Lago with BANNON when FLYNN placed the call on 12/29/2016. It was FLYNN's perception that BANNON already knew that FLYNN discussed sanctions with KISLYAK.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

(U//~~FOUO~~) [redacted]

[redacted]

~~UNCLASSIFIED//FOUO~~

Investigation on 11/21/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [redacted]

Date drafted 11/21/2017

by [redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Michael T. Flynn Interview 11/21/2017 , On 11/21/2017 , Page 2 of 10

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN never confronted MCFARLAND or BANNON over their silence. He walked out of that meeting with MCFARLAND. FLYNN was upset and frustrated. FLYNN thought MCFARLAND wanted his job as National Security Adviser, and he believed that he did not get the support he thought he deserved from her. He was angry about the meeting, but did not confront her on why she did not speak up during the meeting. FLYNN, however, did vent his frustration about what happened in the meeting to MCFARLAND.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN offered another example of an instance in which he took the blame for an action. [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) [Redacted]

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Michael T. Flynn Interview 11/21/2017 , On 11/21/2017 , Page 3 of 10

b5 per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN never brought up the subject with anyone of why he thought they (MCFARLAND and BANNON) threw him under the bus. FLYNN took responsibility for his actions and thought he would work through it.

(U) [Redacted]

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(U//~~FOUO~~) [Redacted]

[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) [Redacted]

[Redacted]

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(U//~~FOUO~~) [Redacted]

[Redacted]

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(U//~~FOUO~~) [Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Michael T. Flynn Interview 11/21/2017 , On 11/21/2017 , Page 4 of 10

[Redacted]

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(U) [Redacted]

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(U//FOUO) [Redacted]

[Redacted]

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(U//FOUO) [Redacted]

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(U//FOUO) [Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Michael T. Flynn Interview 11/21/2017 , On 11/21/2017 , Page 5 of 10

[Redacted]

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(U//~~FOUO~~)

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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(U) Agent Note: Special Counsel Mueller joined the interview.

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[Redacted]

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(U) Agent Note: Special Counsel Mueller left the interview.

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Michael T. Flynn Interview 11/21/2017 , On 11/21/2017 , Page 6 of 10

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[Redacted]

(U) Agent Note: A break was taken at approximately 10:15 AM. Deputy Special Counsel Zebley did not return to the interview.

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Michael T. Flynn Interview 11/21/2017 , On 11/21/2017 , Page 7 of 10

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[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Michael T. Flynn Interview 11/21/2017 , On 11/21/2017 , Page 8 of 10

[Redacted]

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(U) Agent Note: A brief break was taken at approximately 11:10 AM.

(U//~~FOUO~~)

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[Redacted]

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(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN recalled a conversation with KUSHNER about candidate TRUMP's trip to Mexico. FLYNN could not specifically recall why they were talking, but KUSHNER described to FLYNN how he set up the visit to Mexico. KUSHNER worked on it for months and was proud of that fact and how well the visit went. This discussion occurred on the plane.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN was shown an email chain regarding the meeting with Egyptian President EL-SISI and was asked if WALID PHARES played a role in setting up the meeting. FLYNN recalled speaking with [Redacted] and the real desire he had for TRUMP to meet with EL-SISI, but not the specifics of the call. The situation in Egypt was always described as dire, and they wanted to get the two leaders to know each other. FLYNN exchanged email messages with PHARES, and met with him for lunch once in Alexandria, VA. FLYNN paid attention to PHARES when he saw him on the news. FLYNN was not aware of anything specific which indicated PHARES set up the meeting with EL-SISI.

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[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Michael T. Flynn Interview 11/21/2017 , On 11/21/2017 , Page 9 of 10

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN was shown an email message from 09/16/2016 between PHARES and IVANKA TRUMP. It did not refresh FLYNN's memory of PHARES taking a trip to Egypt during the election. FLYNN recalled the consternation people felt about PHARES and recalled speaking with KUSHNER about PHARES. FLYNN was not sure if the discussion was in person or over the phone. KUSHNER described PHARES as [REDACTED] PHARES said something in the media that was not in line with the thinking of the campaign at the time. His comments did not resonate with the campaign. FLYNN agreed with KUSHNER when he said PHARES was not someone the campaign wanted to have speaking for them. It was a quick conversation and FLYNN did not really know PHARES. KUSHNER seemed to know PHARES better. FLYNN agreed with the comments on the email chain that PHARES was not a good spokesperson. FLYNN may have been parroting the previous responses, but it also was based on what he heard PHARES say in the media. FLYNN observed PHARES may have been too aggressive.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) The campaign focused on domestic media. FLYNN did not recall much focus on how international media portrayed the campaign. FLYNN did not recall any conversations driven by international media. FLYNN may not necessarily have been a part of those conversations unless they were bashing TRUMP in a negative way.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN was shown a photograph of RICK GERSON, and confirmed he was the fourth individual who attended the meeting with the United Arab Emirates (UAE) representatives in December 2016. FLYNN met GERSON when he was invited to attend a meeting with the United Kingdom's Prime Minister, TONY BLAIR. KUSHNER and BANNON also attended the meeting which occurred in New York at a location near Trump Tower. It may have been in GERSON's office. A few other people were there but FLYNN did not specifically recall who. GERSON seemed like a good friend of KUSHNER's. FLYNN did not recall the details on how GERSON set up the meeting with PM Blair. The meeting started in a suite and then adjourned to a conference room. They discussed new ideas on the Middle East peace process. PM BLAIR gave them a document to read. GERSON was more of a facilitator for the meeting and only made a few comments. FLYNN did not know if GERSON knew about these matters.

(U//~~FOUO~~) GERSON attended the meeting with the UAE officials as well. FLYNN thought GERSON set up that meeting. GERSON told FLYNN he had a good working relationship with the Emirates.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN was shown an email from KUSHNER asking to keep the meeting with the UAE small. FLYNN did not give it any thought that GERSON was at the meeting even though KUSHNER wanted to keep it small. GERSON

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Michael T. Flynn Interview 11/21/2017 , On 11/21/2017 , Page 10 of 10

did not have a formal role on the transition team. FLYNN did not see him a lot on the 14th floor of Trump Tower.

(~~U//FOUO~~) FLYNN did not know if GERSON knew ERIK PRINCE. FLYNN did not recall GERSON introducing FLYNN to any Russians during the campaign or transition. FLYNN met with some Saudis but did not think GERSON was at the meeting. FLYNN did not remember GERSON attending any other meetings than the ones previously mentioned. FLYNN recalled speaking with GERSON on the phone about the relationship with Sheikh MOHAMMED BIN ZAYED (MBZ). GERSON described MBZ's brother to FLYNN for background information and insight on how to work with him. FLYNN found the information helpful. FLYNN may also have talked about Yemen with GERSON.

(~~U//FOUO~~) FLYNN last spoke with GERSON in April 2017. FLYNN reached out to him through a business acquaintance. FLYNN asked his views on business development because the work had to do with the UAE.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 02/22/2018

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(U//~~FOUO~~) MICHAEL THOMAS FLYNN, date of birth (DOB) [Redacted] was interviewed at the Office of the Special Counsel, 395 E Street, SW, Washington, DC, by the writer and Supervisory Special Agent [Redacted]. [Redacted] Also present during the interview was Senior Counselor to the Special Counsel James Quarles and Senior Assistant Special Counsel Brandon Van Grack. Representing FLYNN were Rob Kelner, Stephen Anthony, and [Redacted] of Covington and Burling. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agents and the nature of the interview, FLYNN provided the following information:

(U//~~FOUO~~) At the outset of the interview SASC Van Grack advised FLYNN that as part of his cooperation agreement with the government he is required to tell the truth, and that the Office of the Special Counsel personnel only want the truth. FLYNN acknowledged the requirement to answer questions truthfully.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN advised that he did not believe that he sent any classified emails (meaning emails sent on a classified system) during the Transition period. He recalled that the Transition headquarters office in Washington, DC, had a Secure Compartment Information Facility (SCIF) in the basement that was staffed with GSA personnel and computer terminals. However, he did not recall that he was given a classified email address, and did not recall sending any emails on a classified system.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN stated that Trump Tower had a conference room on the 24th or 25th floor that was cleared for classified discussions - a secure telephone eventually was installed in the conference room as well. FLYNN also noted that he, REINCE PRIEBUS, Vice President-elect MICHAEL PENCE, and President-elect DONALD TRUMP received secure cellular phones. FLYNN did not think that he used the phone very much as there was no one to whom he needed to speak over a secure line - except SUSAN RICE.

(U//~~FOUO~~) In terms of the use of encrypted applications for communications during the campaign, FLYNN advised that he used the application Signal, but did not remember that he used it with other campaign officials. When asked if he used Signal, or other encrypted

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Investigation on 01/11/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 01/16/2018

by [Redacted]

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Michael T. Flynn, On 01/11/2018, Page 2 of 7

applications during the transition, he did not recall that anyone directed the use of those applications. FLYNN recalled that there was a lack of security awareness by members of the Transition Team. FLYNN did not recall anyone suggesting to him that they conduct a conversation over an encrypted communication platform.

(U//~~FOUO~~) During the post-Inauguration period, FLYNN advised that there were times when national security conversations may have been taken "offline", but when asked if JARED KUSHNER or STEVE BANNON ever asked him to communicate over an encrypted platform, he advised that he did not recall any such requests. KUSHNER sometimes asked FLYNN to drop in on meetings that he (KUSHNER) conducted in his office. While FLYNN did not always know who the meeting participants were, he recalled the subject matter [REDACTED]

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(U//~~FOUO~~) The first meeting FLYNN had with former Russian Ambassador SERGEY KISLYAK was on 12/1/2016. FLYNN advised that he did not know the purpose of this first meeting at the time it was arranged. He did not think that KUSHNER knew KISLYAK, and so he briefed KUSHNER on KISLYAK's background based on biographical information FLYNN received. FLYNN also stated that he heard or read about KUSHNER's testimony to the United States Senate regarding the KISLYAK meeting, and he (FLYNN) was not aware of any "back-channel" for communication with KISLYAK. For the 12/1/2016, meeting FLYNN recalled that KISLYAK had just returned from Moscow, and seemed to have a message to pass to the new Administration about military-to-military cooperation in Syria. This meeting lasted about 30 minutes.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN advised that at this time there were a lot of foreign leaders reaching out directly to KUSHNER for meetings. This particular meeting started out as a KUSHNER-KISLYAK meeting, but ultimately included FLYNN. When asked what subjects FLYNN and KUSHNER wanted to raise with KISLYAK, FLYNN advised that it was mostly about the Middle East and Russia's role in Syria. FLYNN left this meeting with the impression that Russia wanted to strengthen the relationship with the U.S. government. FLYNN did not recall any discussion of sanctions (meaning the sanctions imposed on Russia following its annexation of Ukrainian territory) FLYNN also did not recall any concerns expressed by KISLYAK about future communications between them - in terms of using a particular means of secure communications.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN did not recall any communications with KISLYAK on 12/6/2016.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN was shown an article from the *Wall Street Journal* that described the activity on the Transition Team related to the United

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UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~Continuation of FD-302 of (U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Michael T. Flynn, On 01/11/2018, Page 3 of 7

Nations Security Council (UNSC) vote on Israel's settlements in December 2016. In one section of the article there was a claim that Israel requested the TRUMP Transition Team to push this issue with UNSC members. FLYNN did not know if this was/was not accurate. The article also contained information that United Nations Ambassador-designate NIKKI HALEY also made calls to UNSC members to vote against the resolution. FLYNN believed that KUSHNER may have called HALEY, but he did not recall her being involved in the phone calls to the UNSC members. When asked who else made calls on that subject, he identified KUSHNER. He also said that he spoke to STEVE BANNON about the calls, but does not know if he (BANNON) made calls.

(U//~~FOUO~~) The same article referenced contact between the OBAMA Administration (DENIS MCDOUNUGH) and the TRUMP Administration during this period. FLYNN knew that REINCE PRIEBUS said that they (the Transition Team) had ruffled the feathers of the White House over the proposed meeting with Japan's Prime Minister SHINZO ABE. FLYNN did not know if KUSHNER contacted any officials from the United Kingdom, but he made statements about speaking to foreign officials. FLYNN did not remember if he contacted the Spanish government, but he recalled speaking to officials from Malaysia and Uruguay.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN was shown an email chain from PAUL MANAFORT to K.T. MCFARLAND and then MCFARLAND to FLYNN. The email was dated 1/15/2017 and enclosed with this communication. FLYNN advised that he did not meet with MANAFORT in response to his (MANAFORT's) request in the email, and he did not believe that MCFARLAND met with him either. FLYNN observed that MANAFORT was not really around the campaign after his dismissal. When asked what prompted FLYNN's response to MCFARLAND about MANAFORT and the people for whom he worked, FLYNN advised that MANAFORT seemed like an unsavory individual, and there may have been times when people told him to stay away from MANAFORT. FLYNN and MCFARLAND saw MANAFORT in January 2017 at the National Prayer Breakfast.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN knew that RICK GATES was an advisor to MANAFORT, and, therefore, to the campaign. He seemed like a nice guy. FLYNN did not know why he stayed on the campaign after MANAFORT left. GATES' role during the transition seemed to involve meetings on candidates for various Ambassadorships. GATES seemed to know [redacted] and [redacted] FLYNN did not interact with GATES after the Inauguration.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN did not have a lot of interaction with MANAFORT. After the Democratic National Convention (DNC) the talk of MANAFORT's Russia connections increased, but FLYNN was never asked about MANAFORT and Russia. FLYNN advised that TRUMP was never happy with MANAFORT's slow

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Continuation of FD-302 of ~~(U//FOUO)~~ Interview of Michael T. Flynn , On 01/11/2018 , Page 4 of 7

response time to TRUMP's calls/questions, and after he fired him, TRUMP's comment was that he (TRUMP) should have fired him three days earlier so that he could talk about the fact that BANNON and CONWAY were great managers for the campaign.

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[Redacted]

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~~(U//FOUO)~~ BANNON introduced FLYNN to an Egyptian man sometime prior to Christmas 2016 in New York City. They met for approximately 45 minutes and discussed the history of Egypt. FLYNN did not think he was a "government guy" but he seemed to be connected to the government. FLYNN did not know how BANNON knew this individual, but he told BANNON that he was impressed with him (the Egyptian). FLYNN reflected that if this individual was "messaging me" it was to say that the U.S. has not been a good partner. FLYNN connected this comment to his own observations that Russia now is very engaged in Syria and Libya and is trying to be a leader in the region. FLYNN viewed a photograph of [Redacted] but advised that he did not appear to be the individual to whom BANNON introduced him.

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~~(U//FOUO)~~ FLYNN recalled the 12/15/2016 meeting with MOHAMMED BIN ZAYED (MBZ) of the UAE and MBZ's brother. FLYNN stated that the UAE's primary interest is Yemen, and the 12/15/2016 meeting was about Yemen. The UAE believed that the OBAMA Administration had let them down. [Redacted]

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Continuation of FD-302 of ~~(U//FOUO)~~ Interview of Michael T. Flynn , On 01/11/2018 , Page 5 of 7

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

FLYNN

recalled that there was a meeting with KUSHNER and three Saudi nationals - not further identified (nfi) at Trump Tower for 45 minutes during the Transition.

~~(U//FOUO)~~ FLYNN thought he first met [Redacted]

[Redacted] They did not interact prior to the campaign, but started to interact after the political conventions in 2016. During the Transition he met with [Redacted] and discussed the role of Russia in the Middle East. [Redacted] advised that they (Russia) were coming back in a "big way" in Iran, Syria, and Libya. [Redacted] knew the Russians met with a Libyan national on an aircraft carrier. He also liked to criticize the leadership of the CIA - he thought they should fire the CIA Senior Executives and promote the GS-15s. [Redacted] solution to Russia's expanded role in the Middle East was for the U.S. to take on a bigger leadership role in the region. FLYNN did not recall that [Redacted] knew the UAE leaders. FLYNN described [Redacted] as a "worldly" guy, and cited as an example [Redacted] understanding of the Chinese strategy of "One belt. One road."

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~~(U//FOUO)~~ FLYNN advised that PRINCE was at Trump Tower in New York on almost a daily basis, along with [Redacted] and primarily met with STEVE BANNON. Following the Inauguration he saw PRINCE a couple of times at the White House with BANNON and KUSHNER. FLYNN did not know about PRINCE's meeting in the Seychelles Island as reported in the media.

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~~(U//FOUO)~~ FLYNN was asked if he was familiar with an article written by KEVIN HARRINGTON. FLYNN was not familiar with it, but he recalled HARRINGTON as a [Redacted] whom they placed on the National Security Council (NSC) for Strategic Assessments. FLYNN then offered his perspective on the Middle East based on his experience and conversations with foreign governments. He said that every Middle East country that spoke to him or TRUMP said the same thing: The Russians are trying to usurp the U.S.'s role in the region. FLYNN was confident that Russia was not going to surrender the Crimea, and trying to make them do so was a dead issue.

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~~(U//FOUO)~~ [Redacted]

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Michael T. Flynn, On 01/11/2018, Page 6 of 7

[Redacted]

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(U//~~FOUO~~) [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN advised that the OBAMA Administration's efforts to transfer prisoners from the facility at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, on 12/20 /2016 annoyed the TRUMP Transition Team. When asked if there were any conversations between the Transition Team and foreign governments, such as UAE or Saudi Arabia, about that subject, FLYNN said he did not recall any such conversations.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN said that he met with BRAD PARSCALE on the campaign's social media strategy in Trump Tower around September 2016. FLYNN was not involved in the campaign's strategic decision making.

(U//~~FOUO~~) [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN stated that since his guilty plea on 12/1/2017 he has heard from [Redacted] He has not

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[Redacted]

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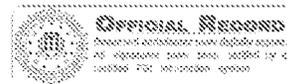
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Continuation of FD-302 of (U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Michael T. Flynn, On 01/11/2018, Page 7 of 7

heard from any senior administration officials such as PRIEBUS, MCFARLAND, or BANNON.

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[Redacted]



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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 02/22/2018

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(U//~~FOUO~~) MICHAEL THOMAS FLYNN, date of birth [Redacted] was interviewed at the Office of the Special Counsel (OSC), 395 E Street SW, Washington, DC, by the writer and Supervisory Special Agent (SSA) [Redacted] and SA [Redacted]. Also present in the interview were Senior Assistant Special Counsel (SASC) Brandon Van Grack and SASC Zainab Ahmad. Representing FLYNN during the interview were Steven Anthony, Robert Kelner, and [Redacted] of Covington and Burling LLC. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing agents, FLYNN provided the following information:

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN was shown a copy of a photograph of himself with George NADER. FLYNN recognized the photograph was taken at the Trump International Hotel in Washington, D.C. but did not recognize NADER. FLYNN had "no clue who the guy is." FLYNN recollected he took over 50 photos with different individuals that day. FLYNN was shown a second photograph of NADER which he also did not recognize. [Photos shown to FLYNN will be maintained in a 1A.]

(U//~~FOUO~~) When FLYNN attended the meeting with MBZ [Mohammed BIN ZAYED AL NAHYAN], there was another room adjacent to the meeting with people. FLYNN was in the "living room." FLYNN thought MBZ had the whole top floor of the hotel. FLYNN did not recognize NADER as someone who was at that meeting. There were at least a dozen other individuals in the room with FLYNN. FLYNN sketched how the setup of the floor. MBZ sat next to his brother. Security detail was in the room and were identified because they were wearing suits. There was a second room off the hallway which FLYNN did not go into. FLYNN sat near Jared KUSNER and Steve BANNON. FLYNN could not recall Rick GERSON sitting down at the meeting but he may have been in attendance.

(U//~~FOUO~~) As he left the meeting, FLYNN recalled everyone getting jammed up at the elevator bank. FLYNN shook several hands on his way out but he did not pay much attention to the people in the room. FLYNN did not specifically recall being introduced to anyone on his way out.

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Investigation on 01/24/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 01/25/2018

by [Redacted]

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Michael Flynn Interview 01/24/2018 , On 01/24/2018 , Page 2 of 6

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN arrived at the meeting on his own. [REDACTED] [REDACTED] may have driven him to the meeting. FLYNN recalled walking into the lobby which was heavily guarded. FLYNN met KUSHNER, BANNON, and Avi [BERKOWITZ] in the lobby. FLYNN did not know if KUSHNER and BANNON arrived together. FLYNN did not recall whether they all left the meeting together. FLYNN left in the same vehicle he arrived in, returning to Trump Tower. FLYNN did not recall seeing BERKOWITZ leave so KUSHNER may have stayed behind. FLYNN broke contact with the group in the lobby. FLYNN was not aware of any additional meetings BANNON or KUSHNER may have had after he left. FLYNN did not attend any other meetings with MBZ, nor was he asked to attend. FLYNN recalled the White House at the time was upset after they learned of the meeting because the crown prince flew in and they were not informed.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) The topics discussed during the meeting primarily focused on Yemen. They discussed counterterrorism operations and tactics taken in Yemen. FLYNN recalled them saying they asked the current administration for help and did not receive it. They were not upset, rather they seemed matter of fact about the lack of assistance. They wanted the new administration to provide more support. The conversation turned to everything in the Middle East. FLYNN did not recall specifically speaking about Syria, but based on the time frame it was a likely topic. They may have discussed the situation in Qatar and the Muslim Brotherhood in broad terms. FLYNN remembered conversations about Yemen and the Iranian influence in Yemen because FLYNN found the topic interesting. FLYNN did not learn anything new at this meeting.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN did not remember them discussing Russia at all during this meeting. Russian action in that area was not in the news at the time so there was no reason to de-conflict. No one at the meeting identified themselves as representing the sovereign wealth fund. FLYNN was personally interested in hearing more about MBZ's brother because he was going to be FLYNN's counterpart. FLYNN read his biography before the meeting and that was where he kept his attention focused. FLYNN thought he was odd and did not say much. He wore sunglasses all of the time due to issues with his eyes. FLYNN described him as nice but odd. They did not discuss the Middle East Marshall Plan at all.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN met or talked to GERSON the day prior to this meeting. FLYNN was shown copies of two pages from his notebook. [Copies of the pages shown will be maintained in a 1A.] FLYNN's notes were an assessment of what should be covered the following day at the meeting with MBZ. FLYNN previously had a substantial meeting with GERSON and Tony BLAIR. FLYNN did not know how GERSON connected with Tony Blair. FLYNN

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Michael Flynn Interview 01/24/2018 , On 01/24/2018 , Page 3 of 6

could not remember if BLAIR was at the meeting with MBZ. GERSON knew MBZ and had just returned from a trip to the region. FLYNN did not know whether GERSON provided the same background information to KUSHNER or BANNON prior to the meeting.

(U//~~FOUO~~) GERSON conveyed to FLYNN that the UAE thought that in regards to Iran they could approach the issues in a different manner. They did not get into detail on how this would happen, it was more of a general conversation. The UAE wanted the U.S. to use them as an intelligence agency going forward. The UAE did not have much of a relationship with the Obama Administration and they wanted to have one with the Trump Administration. The UAE wanted the U.S. to be aware of the capabilities they had which they were willing to share. The Emir could not stand Susan Rice. All of this was disappointing for FLYNN to hear from GERSON because he had previously worked with the UAE and was not aware of these issues. They discussed in general how Iran might be cheating in regards to JCPOA and how they could use the UAE to prevent this. GERSON reinforced to FLYNN that the UAE wanted to work with the incoming administration and develop a more robust relationship with an open dialogue.

(U//~~FOUO~~) During the meeting with MBZ, the policies raised which they had in common with the U.S. were Yemen and the Muslim Brotherhood. Yemen was a large part of the conversation because of all of the issues. The conversation regarding the Muslim Brotherhood was about designating them as a Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO). FLYNN and BANNON both spoke on the topic. BANNON was adamant that the Muslim Brotherhood should be designated as an FTO and spoke about it in strong terms. This brought up the topic of Qatar because they were a backer of the Muslim Brotherhood. FLYNN's recollection was that in this setting they generalized the conversation acknowledging it was bad and that something needed to be done.

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

(U//~~FOUO~~) [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted] They made the call to [Redacted] during this meeting and spoke to him primarily about the Muslim Brotherhood.

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[Redacted]

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(U//~~FOUO~~)

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[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN did not recall specific discussion regarding the media, but the media may be anti-Israel so they could be used for influence. It was clear to FLYNN the Middle East countries rarely raised Israel as a problem; the real issue was Iran. This struck FLYNN as it was contrary to what he knew about working with Arab countries in the past.

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN did not recall any specific conversations during the transition regarding the Muslim Brotherhood. It was known they posed a threat.

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) [Redacted] is "under every rock" saying there was a problem. FLYNN could not say he never discussed the Muslim Brotherhood and what they were doing in Egypt with [Redacted] They did discuss how to de-tangle Iran from the region which would have to be allowed by Russia. FLYNN opined that Russia filled the vacuum the U.S. created when they pulled out of the region over the past six years. FLYNN did not specifically recall discussing Russia in the meeting with MBZ.

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

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UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Michael Flynn Interview 01/24/2018, On 01/24/2018, Page 5 of 6

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN had several conversations with [REDACTED] which covered broad topics. One topic he specifically recalled regarded [REDACTED] feelings about the CIA. FLYNN and [REDACTED] discussed Iran and [REDACTED] anti-Iran feelings. They spoke about privatizing some of the operations in Afghanistan to save money. Libya was discussed in respect to finding out how to work with their leadership. [REDACTED] did not make suggestions to FLYNN on what actions to take. FLYNN saw [REDACTED] all of the time at Trump Tower, usually with BANNON.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) The topic of privatization did not come up in the meeting with MBZ. MBZ bragged about his countries capabilities. When PRINCE spoke with FLYNN, he was very matter of fact about what needed to be done. FLYNN was not looking for ideas. PRINCE routinely spoke with BANNON. FLYNN did not know if PRINCE was going to have a role in the White House. It appeared to FLYNN that PRINCE and BANNON knew each other well because he was frequently on the 14th floor of Trump Tower. FLYNN did not know what the two discussed and did not want to speculate. PRINCE may have helped BANNON drafting executive orders. FLYNN did not know if PRINCE represented himself as part of the Transition Team.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN recalled a conversation with [REDACTED] regarding [Khalifa] HAFTAR of Libya. They generally discussed how it was a big deal that HAFTAR was brought to a Russian ship. They were told HAFTAR was eager to work with the Americans. If FLYNN and [REDACTED] spoke about Russia, it would have been in relation to Libya. [REDACTED] was a protective individual and would not go around saying, "I met with so and so."

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(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN was aware of a meeting in the Seychelles from media reporting. FLYNN had not heard about any relationship PRINCE may have had with the UAE. FLYNN was familiar with PRINCE's background and all of the work conducted by PRINCE's companies. PRINCE's name did not come up at the December meeting with MBZ.

(U//~~FOUO~~) At the conclusion of the meeting with MBZ, when people were shaking hands, FLYNN did have someone say they would continue the dialogue. FLYNN was not sure if it was the Ambassador to the UN or U.S., but he responded saying, "You have our support, we want to work with you." During the meeting FLYNN focused on TBZ because he was trying to physically connect with him. He did not recall who sat next to him.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN did not recall having any tasks to follow up on after the meeting with MBZ. Nothing was asked of FLYNN or the administration during the meeting. They mentioned wanted aviation support as well as tactical information, but FLYNN could not do anything until TRUMP was in the White House.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) PRINCE began hanging around the campaign after the convention. FLYNN saw him about once a week. PRINCE may have traveled with the campaign once or twice. FLYNN saw PRINCE more frequently during the transition. PRINCE was always popping in and out of Trump Tower. FLYNN assumed PRINCE was advising the Transition Team in some capacity. PRINCE was one of Trump's big donors. Big donors were able to travel with the campaign on occasion. FLYNN saw PRINCE speak mostly with BANNON. KUSHNER was not on the 14th floor at Trump Towers so if PRINCE spoke with KUSHNER FLYNN may not have noticed. FLYNN did not know who PRINCE was advising but it could have included the candidate. BANNON would have been the conduit to TRUMP as TRUMP was not always available.

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(U//~~FOUO~~)

[Redacted]

[Large Redacted Area]

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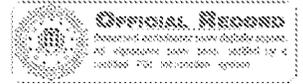
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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 01/05/2018

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(U//~~FOUO~~) MICHAEL T. FLYNN, date of birth (DOB) [Redacted] was interviewed by the writer and SA [Redacted] at 395 E Street, SW, Washington, D.C. Also present was Senior Counselor to the Special Counsel James Quarles, Deputy Special Counsel Aaron Zebley, Senior Assistant Special Counsel (SASC) Brandon Van Grack, and SASC Zainab Ahmad. FLYNN was represented by his attorneys Stephen P. Anthony and Rob Kelner, and [Redacted] of Covington & Burling LLP. The interview was conducted pursuant to a signed proffer agreement. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing Agents and the nature of the interview, FLYNN provided the following information:

(U//~~FOUO~~) **Agent Note: Special Counsel Robert Mueller greeted FLYNN and his attorneys and then left the interview room.**

(U//~~FOUO~~) In approximately August 2015, FLYNN was asked to meet with Donald TRUMP in New York City. FLYNN met with TRUMP at Trump Tower for over an hour where they had a lengthy discussion about foreign affairs including Iran. FLYNN was introduced to Eric Trump at the end of the meeting. Over the next nine months, FLYNN exchanged email messages and telephone calls with Corey LEWANDOSKI. FLYNN shared relevant articles with LEWANDOSKI for the campaign. At this same time, FLYNN also was involved in the campaigns of Governor Scott Walker, Carly Fiorina, Ted Cruz, and Ben Carson. FLYNN met with Carson's team and met once with Carson. In January 2016, FLYNN wrote an op-ed with Fiorina.

(U//~~FOUO~~) The candidates asked for FLYNN's judgment and expertise on National Security issues. FLYNN was asked to be directly involved in TRUMP's campaign but he was not yet there - meaning he was not certain he was willing to back TRUMP at that time. FLYNN kept in touch with LEWANDOWSKI, and at one point LEWANDOWSKI asked FLYNN for his personal information as he was being considered for the Vice Presidential position. By the summer of 2016, Paul [MANAFORT] replaced LEWANDOWSKI and FLYNN was asked to come to Trump Tower to meet with MANAFORT. They met in the Starbucks in Trump Tower for approximately 30 minutes. FLYNN recalled the meeting was hurried and MANAFORT took a couple of phone calls during the meeting. FLYNN shared with MANAFORT what he thought TRUMP needed to

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Investigation on 11/16/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

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File # [Redacted] Date drafted 11/16/2017

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UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Michael T. Flynn Interview 11/16/2017 , On 11/16/2017 , Page 2 of 15

do to win the election. FLYNN was one of four finalists considered for the Vice Presidential position. Just prior to the announcement of Michael PENCE as TRUMP's running mate, TRUMP called FLYNN to thank him and tell him that PENCE was his pick.

(U//~~FOUO~~) The next big event FLYNN participated in was the Republican National Convention (RNC). FLYNN did not begin traveling with the TRUMP campaign until after the Democratic National Convention (DNC). The first big trip FLYNN took with the campaign was around the time of TRUMP's comments about the [REDACTED] FLYNN referred to the [REDACTED] [REDACTED] TRUMP did not understand what he did that was wrong. FLYNN took TRUMP to meet with other [REDACTED] in an effort to try and help TRUMP recover. FLYNN described the next few months as chaotic and "Katie bar the door." In one trip they visited three or four states in which they went to several venues; attended several events; and then got on a plane to the next location. This pace continued until the election.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN was asked what he recalled about a conversation he heard while on the campaign's plane regarding a \$10 million campaign contribution. FLYNN estimated that this conversation took place toward the end of the campaign, just before the election but after some of the debates. FLYNN heard the discussion while on the plane seated across the aisle from TRUMP. Across from FLYNN was Jared KUSHNER, Steven MNUCHIN, [REDACTED] and Brad PARSCALE. Finance was not FLYNN's responsibility so he usually did not participate in financial discussions. MNUCHIN was telling TRUMP he needed to invest another \$10 million into the campaign. This would be the final tranche of money to fund something related to social media. FLYNN did not know specific information about the social media piece. PARSCALE and KUSHNER always discussed social media funding. MNUCHIN handled the finances and [REDACTED] set up fundraising events. KUSHNER and PARSCALE wanted the \$10 million to move the social media campaign.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) TRUMP asked a lot of questions about the \$10 million. TRUMP wanted to know whether they needed to do this investment. TRUMP basically said, "Okay." The interaction was primarily between TRUMP and MNUCHIN. FLYNN did not recall whether they mentioned from where the money would come. TRUMP's only hesitation was due to the fact it was his own money, and \$10 million was a large sum. FLYNN did not recall any further discussions on this transaction or other financial discussions.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN had many conversations with STEVE BANNON regarding HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON's deleted email messages. Many of the discussions were driven by the media and they discussed whether the messages would be found. It was always a topic because it was always in the news. TRUMP

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also spoke about it in his speeches. TRUMP used the topic as a "campaign tool." FLYNN had a number of conversations with several people on the subject, but he was not aware of anything nefarious. FLYNN did not recall discussions about a concerted effort to locate the missing emails. The second time FBI Director [James] COMEY spoke on the topic to say email messages had been found on HUMA ABEDIN's husband's laptop, FLYNN and others thought this could be where the 33,000 emails were. It was TRUMP's desire that someone would find them. In FLYNN's own words, he thought any number of nation-state actors could find them. The campaign wondered where they were and who had them.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN never had any conversations about how to get CLINTON's missing emails. FLYNN did not remember hearing anyone else on the campaign discuss this either. The consensus was that they hoped the emails would be found all of the sudden. FLYNN participated in lots of conversations about this while on the plane, with various groups of people on the campaign. It continued to be a topic because it was constantly in the news. TRUMP had it in his speeches or would ad lib about it if it was not included.

(U//~~FOUO~~) When the hacked DNC emails were publicized in July 2016, TRUMP saw this as proof that Bernie SANDERS was ripped off and the Democratic Primary process had been rigged. Because of the ugly details exposed in the hacked email messages, it became a topic of interest for the campaign. They discussed whether TRUMP should use some of the information. FLYNN recalled a distinction made by REINCE PRIEBUS on television about the RNC being attacked but not hacked. Implied in this choice of words was that the RNC had the right measures in place to prevent the hack, and TRUMP wanted that distinction to be made publicly. TRUMP wanted to contrast the RNC's approach with the DNC's approach to the intrusion in which nothing was turned over to the appropriate authorities.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN did not remember any discussions during the campaign on how to obtain more of the hacked DNC emails. The emails exposed internal turmoil within the DNC. FLYNN did not specifically recall conversations regarding Wikileaks, but it is likely it was discussed because of how much information Wikileaks exposed.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN never participated in any specific discussions regarding the Russian Government or GRU hacking of emails. They did not discuss who did this act as much as they discussed who had the missing emails. FLYNN surmised it could be a whole host of countries responsible, or an individual, or a group such as Anonymous. Others on the campaign thought various nations could be responsible. People on the campaign did not

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think there was any way for CLINTON's deleted email messages to be gone. Even if they were destroyed, they were confident something could be found or someone had them. FLYNN did not have any conversations regarding Guccifer. Wikileaks was discussed as it was a big deal because the information they possessed could be used like a weapon system. It could be used in a smart way to talk about your opponent. FLYNN did not recall hearing of any connection between CLINTON's missing emails and what was leaked of the DNC. If the email messages existed, FLYNN believed in the FBI's ability to discover them. He also heard some noise about Russia's involvement.

(U//~~FOUO~~) Russia was one of a few countries the campaign thought could have CLINTON's deleted emails. The discussions on this subject ebbed and flowed based on the attention it received in the media. TRUMP also gave a cyber speech which prompted discussion on this topic. Steve MILLER was TRUMP's main speech writer. TRUMP edited all of his speeches. Rudy GIULIANI was TRUMP's go to person on cyber issues. GIULIANI traveled on the plane every so often. FLYNN remembers reviewing a speech written by GIULIANI who was going to speak in Israel. GIULIANI seemed knowledgeable regarding cyber issues.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN did not recall any discussions regarding Donald TRUMP JR. having a Wikileaks contact. FLYNN did not interact with TRUMP JR. He only heard this information recently on the news.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN did not know anything about the 06/09/2016 meeting at Trump Tower until he saw it in the news. FLYNN's time at Trump Tower was minimal until after the convention. FLYNN was not aware of any other meetings or conversations with Russians. FLYNN met with thousands of people during the campaign.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN was asked to attend TRUMP's meeting with foreign officials, including Egypt's President Abdel Fattah EL-SISI. FLYNN and Jeff SESSIONS were late for the meeting, which was embarrassing. FLYNN does not know who set up the meeting, but it occurred while EL-SISI was in New York for the United Nations General Assembly. The purpose of the meeting was for TRUMP and EL-SISI to meet. EL-SISI did the majority of the talking and TRUMP listened. SESSIONS may have said a few words. The tone of the meeting was polite and gracious. The meeting may not have been appreciated by the OBAMA Administration. EL-SISI also met with CLINTON on the same trip. FLYNN thought it was an uneventful meeting.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN was shown an email dated 09/15/2016, which he sent to BANNON and others (Item A). FLYNN did not recall Minister ASHRAF. FLYNN recalled he was in contact with people from the Egyptian embassy. FLYNN knew the former Egyptian Defense Attache professionally and personally.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN knew Walid PHARES. He did not recall PHARES taking a trip to Egypt. FLYNN exchanged some back and forth with PHARES on the U. S.'s relationship with Egypt, but FLYNN was not aware PHARES helped set up the meeting with EL-SISI. The EL-SISI meeting was important because of everything going on in the Middle East. FLYNN opined Egypt was an important partner who needed to be treated well because they could assist in the fight against radical Islam as exemplified by EL-SISI's stand against the Muslim Brotherhood. During the presidential transition, FLYNN met with another individual connected to Egypt. BANNON made the introduction, but FLYNN did not recall the name. FLYNN did not have a lot of interaction with PHARES.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN remembered meeting with officials from Qatar, but not the time frame of the meeting. FLYNN did not recall the purpose of the meeting and thought it could be related to FLYNN's business.

(U//~~FOUO~~) TRUMP announced the hiring of BANNON and Kelley Anne CONWAY the same day MANAFORT was fired. TRUMP told FLYNN he wished he fired MANAFORT three days earlier because of the optics of the hiring and firing on the same day. BANNON and CONWAY gave a fresh start and new life to the campaign. MANAFORT had too much baggage. TRUMP was frustrated with MANAFORT and himself at the time. FLYNN did not know if MANAFORT played a role in the campaign after he was fired. MANAFORT showed up at events, but he was never on the plane. FLYNN had limited contact with MANAFORT. FLYNN's impression of MANAFORT was not good. From the first meeting at Trump Tower when MANAFORT took phone calls, FLYNN thought he was a waste of MANAFORT's time. MANAFORT came across as "all that". FLYNN thought Rick GATES was a nice guy. He interacted with GATES once in a while.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN was asked if he had any knowledge of the platform change at the Republican National Convention related to military assistance to the Ukrainian government. FLYNN was not even sure he read the platform. FLYNN did not participate in any discussions with the Republicans on the topic presumably because that issue was not one in which he engaged, and therefore no one asked his opinion. FLYNN noted that he was a Democrat and so his opinion may not have carried weight. FLYNN participated in general discussions about the situation in Eastern Europe and what was going on, but not Ukraine-related sanctions. TRUMP thought the sanctions were

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failing. FLYNN wanted to connect his work in the Middle East to Eastern Europe to find a way to balance the issue. From FLYNN's perspective they needed to figure out a way to work with people who were not our friends. FLYNN recalled drawing a picture on a piece of paper for TRUMP to explain how to deal with this issue. In regards to Russia, FLYNN thought about where they could work with Russia on a common issue. In FLYNN's opinion this was in the Middle East.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN's principal focus was on how to solve a problem, then view it from the 60,000 foot level. The campaign did not have a game plan for what they would do on 11/9/2016, just general discussions. FLYNN wanted to find a way to work with Russia to leverage the U.S.'s power. In FLYNN's opinion the U.S. was underestimating the strength of Russia's military and commerce. Radical Islam was a common problem for both countries on which FLYNN thought they could work together. When asked if anyone disagreed with FLYNN, he said TRUMP was an inherently skeptical person. FLYNN did not think TRUMP was unrealistic about Russia and did not have blinders on the subject. They did not have a layman's conversation on the threat Russia represented. TRUMP viewed Russia as a country with a nuclear capability which demanded respect. The campaign had healthy discussions about Russia.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN would not characterize his views and TRUMP's views on Russia as inconsistent. Due to his military experience, FLYNN considered other factors. TRUMP viewed Russia's military as reinvigorated and resurgent and thought it deserved the respect of the U.S. FLYNN had a more realistic picture of Russia than others on the campaign. TRUMP wanted to take the approach of being able to "work with this guy (PUTIN)" because TRUMP really believed he could make a deal with everyone. FLYNN and TRUMP were moving down the same path, but not with the same level of detail. No one disagreed that the U.S. needed to improve the relationship with Russia.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN wanted to have a better understanding of the social media component of the campaign. After a meeting at Trump Tower, FLYNN asked [BRAD] PARSCALE what he thought about the media campaign. There were several charts on the wall with 5-7 states on which the campaign was focused. PARSCALE briefed FLYNN on the campaign's inside information which he described as close-hold. After this briefing, FLYNN finally recognized the campaign had a strategy, and in terms of social media, KUSHNER had a significant role.

(U//~~FOUO~~) In terms of leadership in the campaign, KUSHNER and BANNON made a lot of the decisions in meetings. FLYNN could not speak to the decision makers in the campaign when LEWANDOWSKI and MANFORT were on board. It

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became apparent to FLYNN that KUSHNER had a big influence on decisions, as well as BANNON. The insiders of the campaign included Chris CHRISTIE, Rudy GIULIANI, Jeff SESSIONS, CONWAY, MNUCHIN, and KUSHNER. They made the decisions. Outsiders who had some influence were athletes, individuals with whom TRUMP had business relationships, and people TRUMP knew such as [REDACTED] of Fox. TRUMP spoke with [REDACTED] a couple of times a day.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN's lane as the National Security Adviser was to speak with military personnel, veterans, and the intelligence community. This was an area where FLYNN had a strength. FLYNN interacted with Steve MILLER, [REDACTED] Hope HICKS, and KUSHNER. Other contributors to foreign policy were GIULIANI and SESSIONS. FLYNN did not have a corner on the market on the foreign policy role, and more people came on during the transition.

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b7C(U) Transition

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN was in Washington, D.C., on election day and went up to New York the next day. He attended the initial transition meeting at Trump Tower after election day. TRUMP asked him if he would be the National Security Adviser, which was not announced until 11/18/2016. In retrospect, FLYNN wanted to kick himself for saying yes to the offer. The Transition Team was under CHRISTIE in Washington, D.C. FLYNN was invited to attend the meeting in Trump Tower when CHRISTIE's group presented the names they came up with for various cabinet positions. FLYNN described that the handouts with names and positions resembled place mats on the table. Others at the meeting were PRIEBUS, Ivanka [TRUMP], KUSHNER, Eric TRUMP, Donald TRUMP Jr., and Keith KELLOGG. CHRISTIE did not have a lot of answers for who would fill the various roles. FLYNN focused on the jobs he was familiar with, including DHS, CIA and NSC. [REDACTED]

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(U//~~FOUO~~) [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] A couple of days later BANNON approached FLYNN and asked him if he would take the National Security Adviser position.

(U//~~FOUO~~) Immediately after the election, the campaign received telephone calls from multiple foreign officials. It was chaotic, and they spent little time forming foreign policy. EL-SISI wanted to be the first to call TRUMP. FLYNN was the only person designated at the time to set up the calls. FLYNN brought on K.T. MCFARLAND, but not until the day before Thanksgiving. FLYNN knew her and was a big fan of her work. For the first

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two to three weeks, TRUMP's personal secretary, RHONA GRAFF, fielded calls for TRUMP at Trump Tower. Countries called her and she put them through to TRUMP. The big problem came when the President of Taiwan called Trump Tower. FLYNN asked himself how that happened - FLYNN referred to the sensitivity of Taiwan via-a-vis China and how China would react to the President-elect taking a phone call from the government of Taiwan. It was several weeks until things were under control. FLYNN worked out a plan with GRAFF. They determined whether TRUMP needed to take a specific call, if not they gave it to PENCE. They also gave TRUMP talking points which included pictures and details of the foreign leader to have available when he took calls.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN was with TRUMP in his office when TRUMP spoke with Russian President Vladamir PUTIN. The call was interpreted by PUTIN's people because TRUMP did not even have interpreters. If FLYNN was not available to sit in on a call, someone else would, either MCFARLAND or

[REDACTED] This was a challenge because FLYNN was on the 14th floor and TRUMP's office was on the 26th floor. There was a lot of movement up and down the floors of Trump Tower.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN set up the calls and decided which calls could go to PENCE. TRUMP did not need to speak with everyone right away. Direction on what to do came from TRUMP's calls. TRUMP ended many of them saying he could not wait for them to visit. FLYNN met with dozens of officials from countries during the transition period. Email and hallway conversations took place on who was coming to town; FLYNN heard it from all directions. A lot of foreign diplomats traveled to New York which compounded the already chaotic situation.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN met with Chinese officials in KUSHNER's office. He discussed how it went with TRUMP after the meeting. The meeting was over two days but FLYNN only attended the second day. PETER NAVARRO, BANNON, MCFARLAND and FLYNN participated as it was a serious senior level group of diplomats. The meeting was after the Taiwan debacle. FLYNN still did not know who set up the phone call with Taiwan. TRUMP did not know it was a problem and decades of diplomacy almost went out the window.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN did not know KIRILL DMIETRIEV. He did not recall meeting any Russians during the transition. Most of the transition activities were organized on the 14th floor. The offices were glass so anyone could see who was there. FLYNN saw people in and out of the space all of the time. There were so many people it was insane. FLYNN tried to slow it down by making people badge into and out of the area. Up to that point no one controlled who had badge access.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN spent his time between New York and GSA headquarters in Washington, D.C. The facility in D.C. was much more organized when it came to bringing people in for meetings. Marshall BILLINGSLEA ran the show in D.C. FLYNN recalled over 10 meetings in Washington, D.C., with foreign officials including the French, Indians, Italians, and the E. U. FLYNN mostly reconnected with people he knew or made initial connections with people with whom he would be working. FLYNN saw his role as establishing foreign contacts around the world. His meetings were set up by BILLINGSLEA, [REDACTED] and others. They fielded calls to meet with FLYNN. They coordinated the in-person meetings based on where FLYNN was physically located. This process continued until Inauguration Day on 01/20/2017.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN met with Russian Ambassador Sergey KISLYAK on 12/01/2016. There was some back and forth with KUSHNER on whether to meet with him. He and KUSHNER met with KISLYAK in Donald TRUMP Jr.'s office at Trump Tower. The meeting lasted less than 30 minutes. At the end of the meeting, Donald TRUMP Jr. came into the office dressed in workout clothes. He did something at his desk and interrupted the meeting to introduce himself. The general discussion with KISLYAK was about the Middle East. The centerpiece of the conversation was about Syria. FLYNN's big take away from the meeting was to have some means of communication with KISLYAK going forward. KISLYAK met Ivanka TRUMP while walking out of the meeting. The media reported that KUSHNER made a statement about a back channel for communication with Russia, but FLYNN did not remember that subject. FLYNN remembered they wanted to keep the dialogue going. KISLYAK was a difficult person to understand.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN did not recall a debrief with KUSHNER after the meeting. Ivanka came by and they talked about [REDACTED] FLYNN knew they would follow up with KISLYAK. FLYNN viewed all foreign contacts the same way: to open up as many lines of communication as possible. In general KUSHNER had established personal relationships with individuals with whom FLYNN had started to interact. KUSHNER let FLYNN deal with KISLYAK. FLYNN was to be the main point of contact for KISLYAK. FLYNN did not know if KUSHNER knew KISLYAK before this meeting. The meeting could have been a result of TRUMP's call with PUTIN. TRUMP was bombarded with calls requesting meetings. Countries viewed this as normal protocol.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) During the call with PUTIN, they discussed the topics TRUMP typically talked about with foreign officials. TRUMP bragged about his historic win in a manner that FLYNN found amusing. They talked about working together going forward. FLYNN did not recall that TRUMP and PUTIN discussed any formal topics. FLYNN thought it was a good call; a positive call. They would continue to work together. FLYNN monitored as many of

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these calls as he could. TRUMP made calls on 30 minute intervals on Saturday to get through them all.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN did not recall the details of his call with KISLYAK on 12/06/2016. He thought they probably discussed follow up topics from their in-person meeting.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN was shown an email dated 12/07/2016 with the subject line "Re: Russian Ambassador Sergey Kislyak" (items B and C). Dealing with people of equivalent rank did not matter to FLYNN. In reviewing the documents, FLYNN did not recall what was discussed. It was not a conversation he remembered. The name [REDACTED] did not sound familiar at all to FLYNN. FLYNN was not aware KUSHNER spoke to [REDACTED] after their meeting.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN was shown an article from *The New York Times* dated 03/27/2017 (item D). FLYNN did not recall KUSHNER meeting with KISLYAK but would not be surprised to learn the meeting occurred. FLYNN and KUSHNER spoke to some of the same people but did not always coordinate their schedules. Sometimes KUSHNER told FLYNN about meetings. FLYNN attended some of the same meetings, such as the meetings with the King of Jordan, the United Arab Emirates (UAE), and the Chinese. During the morning update meetings the Transition Team became more disciplined. PRIEBUS or [REDACTED] ran the meetings. Each person would say what they did in the last 24 hours and what they planned to do in the next 24 hours.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN attended the meeting with the UAE officials in New York City. He was not sure how the meeting was arranged. KUSHNER and BANNON asked him to attend. The meeting was in a hotel. Mohammed Bin ZAYED (MBZ) and his brother, the National Security Adviser of the UAE, were there in what FLYNN described as a fairly crowded room. They talked about Afghanistan. It was clear to FLYNN that KUSHNER and MBZ knew each other previously because of the familiarity of their interaction. They discussed the situation in Yemen and the state of the relationship between the UAE and the U.S. in general terms. The meeting lasted approximately 45 minutes. FLYNN did not know whether KUSHNER met with the UAE officials before this meeting. FLYNN was not aware of any due-outs from the meeting.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN did not know why this meeting was set up differently than other meetings with foreign officials. FLYNN did not know what drove that decision. In hindsight the meeting was a big deal. It seemed to FLYNN to be a different type of meeting than others that occurred during the transition. He compared the UAE meeting with another meeting he had with the King of Jordan and the Jordanian Ambassador. During that meeting, the King had maps of the Middle East that FLYNN described as geo-strategic

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maps. They wanted TRUMP to participate in an upcoming conference. The King gave them the documents to keep.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN was shown an email dated 12/12/2016 from KUSHNER (item E). The email referenced a meeting that needed to be kept to a small circle. FLYNN did not have any idea on why the meeting needed to be close hold.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN was asked whether in the context of their Middle East discussions, they included Russia's role. FLYNN did not think they did in these specific meetings. With the British and French, and other clear partners, they probably asked their opinions. FLYNN enjoyed his conversations with the King of Jordan because he was well informed. The UAE meeting was more about relationships, and the U.S. working with Russia in the Middle East from a tactical perspective. FLYNN tried to get a sense from the Pentagon of the different countries relationship with Russia because of his military experience. FLYNN wanted to gain a strategic sense of what direction the new administration needed to take.

(U//~~FOUO~~) The Transition Team was not having meetings with foreign officials to spite the OBAMA Administration. FLYNN thought that all of the meetings conducted by the Transition Team were appropriate for an incoming administration. They were trying to figure out big foreign policy issues. FLYNN admitted the transition team was very clumsy and it was somewhat "helter skelter."

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN believed KUSHNER had a previous relationship with the King of Jordan because they referred to a trip and a helicopter ride. FLYNN said that describing the transition team as "clumsy" would be very polite in contrast to what happened. They were beyond clumsy. They were dangerous. The problems that arose from the Taiwan phone call was a prime example. During the meeting with the Chinese they had to cover for the problem and say "okay we will work together." The Transition Team initially did not have any staff. It was not a well oiled machine.

**(U) Agent Note: A break was taken from 3:35 PM to 3:50 PM.**

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN clarified he was not aware the Transition Team was directed not to have any more heads of state visits before inauguration.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN was shown an email by Senior Assistant Special Counsel Zainab Ahmad. FLYNN met with the Egyptians on more than one occasion. FLYNN knew [REDACTED] from his time in Egypt. FLYNN met General

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Khaled FAWZI through BANNON who provided something of a history of Egypt to FLYNN. BANNON also introduced FLYNN to an Egyptian who FLYNN advised was not a government official - FLYNN could not remember his name.

(U) United Nations Security Council Vote

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN recalled that the vote in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) was a surprise to the Transition Team. It happened before Christmas and lasted for a couple of days. The UNSC resolution was tabled for a day before a vote eventually happened. In response to the UNSC vote, KUSHNER contacted FLYNN and BANNON. FLYNN advised that they (the Transition Team) were trying to get a sense of how the vote would come out (how would these individual member countries vote) because the vote could impact the incoming Administration.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN made calls to various foreign countries and updated KUSHNER on the results of the calls. He reflected that he could reach out to foreign leaders because he had prior relationships. In response to the question of whether they (the Transition Team) were trying to move the vote, FLYNN said he did not know, but maybe it was closer to trying to figure out what they were going to do. FLYNN called 9-10 countries to understand their position on the issue.

**(U) Agent Note: A break was taken from 4:00 PM to 4:10 PM.**

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN recalled that while he was at Mar-a-Lago there was a phone call between TRUMP and Egyptian President EL-SISI where they talked about the UNSC motion. FLYNN thought that EL-SISI was somewhat embarrassed by the situation.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN then stated that from the perspective of the Transition Team this vote was a big deal, and their motivation was to help Israel. It may have started with TRUMP's call with EL-SISI and went on for a couple of days. There were a number of back-and-forth calls with KUSHNER on the direction of the vote - KUSHNER was interested in this issue.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN was again asked about whether he made phone calls to other countries on this issue of the UNSC resolution, and if he did so, what was the goal of the calls. FLYNN stated that they wanted to find out the position of the various countries (Permanent members and Rotating members of the UNSC) and shape their position to a pro-Israel stance. He confirmed that the Transition Team was trying to influence the UNSC members by making clear that the incoming Administration was going to be pro-Israel and asking questions like "where do you stand today?" and "is this something you want to vote on?" FLYNN stated that they wanted to get

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the vote changed, and that they did not want the vote to go the way that it finally went. The intent was to kill the resolution.

(U//~~FOUO~~) In terms of individuals with whom he had contact, FLYNN identified Israeli Ambassador RON DERMER.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN was in Mar-a-Lago until 12/23/2016 when he returned to the Transition Team office in Washington, D.C., in order to work on filling out the various positions for the new Administration. He recalled that sometime that morning KUSHNER called him and advised that the resolution had been re-submitted. KUSHNER asked him if he could make some calls. FLYNN made additional calls to officials from other countries, but had to find the telephone numbers for some of these officials. When asked to whom he spoke during this period, he advised that he kept DERMER in the loop, but he also knew that Reince PRIEBUS, BANNON, Steven MILLER, and KUSHNER were involved in this effort. FLYNN noted that the Transition Team was frustrated that the OBAMA Administration did not warn them of this issue at the UNSC. They were upset the U.S. abstained from the UNSC vote which effectively allowed the vote to pass. This abstention marked a shift in U.S. policy towards Israel. FLYNN did not recall whether he called any countries to thank them after the fact.

(U//~~FOUO~~) The interviewing agents reviewed the timeline again with FLYNN to confirm how and when these events started. FLYNN said this event started on 12/22/2016 when KUSHNER called him in the morning to advise that the UNSC had a pending resolution against Israel and to find out what was going on with the vote. FLYNN acknowledged that he called Russian Ambassador Sergey KISLYAK and expressed the Transition Team's pro-Israel stance; asked KISLYAK about Russia's position; and told him what the Transition Team believed. FLYNN also called Egyptian official [REDACTED] and asked him why they (Egypt) were doing this - the resolution - and asked if they could pull it. FLYNN thought they were embarrassed by the situation.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) Regarding the phone call between EL-SISI and TRUMP, FLYNN said that the call gave him a chance to hear how TRUMP felt about the issue. FLYNN was present for the call, but could only hear TRUMP's side of things. He described it as a collegial phone call with comments such as, "Is this something that we can work through?"; "Can it be pushed?" FLYNN thinks that this call happened later in the afternoon after TRUMP played a round of golf. None of the Transition Team knew this measure was coming. Susan RICE did not tell them in advance, nor did Chief of Staff Denis MCDONOUGH.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) By 12/23/2016, when FLYNN was at Transition Team HQ, he had called countries such as the United Kingdom, France, possibly Italy, in order to find out if they could stop the vote from happening. He and KUSHNER spoke throughout the day to give and receive updates from one another. KUSHNER made his own phone calls, but FLYNN cannot remember how they divided the countries. He described his conversations with KISLYAK as the same as the other calls. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] He suspected that he could have used another phone to make those calls. Nikki HALEY made calls as well.

(U) Sanctions on the Government of Russia

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN advised that on 12/28/2016 he received a text from KISLYAK while he (FLYNN) was on vacation in the Dominican Republic. FLYNN did not respond to him until 12/29/2016. Regarding the phone calls he had with KISLYAK, FLYNN noted that he (KISLYAK) is very difficult to understand. FLYNN advised that he was not watching the news, the the cellular reception at the resort was terrible, and as a result, his calls with KISLYAK frequently dropped service. FLYNN advised that he recalled discussing with KISLYAK a conference in Astana and a post-Inaugural phone call between TRUMP and PUTIN. He cannot remember speaking to KISLYAK about the sanctions announced that day by the U.S. government. It was not until the day before his resignation that FLYNN learned from PRIEBUS that sanctions were discussed.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN advised that he recalled a telephone conversation with KISLYAK on 12/31/2016 in which he (KISLYAK) asked FLYNN if he had seen PUTIN's response, and also said something to the effect of "message received."

**(U) Agent Note: A brief break was taken at 5:30 PM.**

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN took this phrase, "message received", to mean that the Russian government was not going to respond/take action in response to the sanctions. PUTIN was not going to retaliate. FLYNN thanked him and said that they (the TRUMP Administration) would look at everything once they got into office. Based on this conversation FLYNN concluded that he must have discussed sanctions on the 12/29/2016 call, even if he could not specifically remember doing so. When asked who he told about the substance of these phone calls, FLYNN guessed that he may have discussed them with the National Security team, but he does not think that he told anybody about it.

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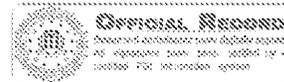
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(U) Agent Note: The interview concluded at approximately 5:35 PM.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 01/05/2018

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(U//~~FOUO~~) MICHAEL T. FLYNN, date of birth (DOB) [Redacted] was interviewed by writer and SA [Redacted] at the law offices of Covington and Burling LLP, located at 850 10th Street, NW, Washington, D. C. Also present was Senior Assistant Special Counsel Brandon Van Grack, and Senior Assistant Special Counsel Zainab Ahmad. FLYNN was represented by his attorneys Stephen P. Anthony and Rob Kelner of Covington & Burling LLP and [Redacted]. The interview was conducted pursuant to a signed proffer agreement executed on 11/16/2017. After being advised of the identities of the interviewing Agents and the nature of the interview, FLYNN provided the following information:

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(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN was shown a copy of a redacted email dated 10/06/2016, from Curtis ELLIS which was found on his laptop. FLYNN did not recall doing an op-ed on Libya. The LIFG [Libyan Islamic Fighting Group] was a known terrorist group, but FLYNN did not recall this particular piece. FLYNN did not recognize ELLIS' name. [Agent note: [Redacted] [Redacted] of Covington showed FLYNN an electronic photograph of ELLIS and FLYNN recognized him.] ELLIS was one of the people at the TRUMP campaign headquarters tasked with writing op-eds. They worked on the 14th floor at Trump Tower. Their sole job was to draft op-eds depending on what information was in the media. They scoured the media and crafted op-eds to counter certain stories. FLYNN did not recall accessing Wikileaks from the link in ELLIS' message. FLYNN did not look at Wikileaks to gain access to classified information.

(U//~~FOUO~~) During the campaign FLYNN participated in general discussions about Wikileaks and the campaign's hope that they (Wikileaks) would publish HILLARY CLINTON's 33,000 deleted emails. Steve BANNON always seemed to have insight into a breaking news story due to his time spent working in the media. FLYNN participated in so many discussions he did not recall whether someone predicted any particular story before it was published by the media. FLYNN seemed to recall that BANNON may have had insight into what was on former Congressman ANTHONY WEINER's computer in the New York Police Department's custody. He made comments which seemed to imply that there was classified information on the computer.

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Investigation on 11/29/2017 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 11/30/2017

by [Redacted]

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(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN did not recall anyone from the campaign having direct contact with Wikileaks. Many people working on the campaign were in touch with the media. The campaign did not talk about Wikileaks during the debate preparation. FLYNN's [redacted] alerted him in October or November 2016, that Wikileaks was following FLYNN on Twitter. FLYNN did not send any messages to Wikileaks. FLYNN regularly used the instant message feature on his Twitter account. FLYNN did not pay close attention to alerts for new followers on Twitter. FLYNN often re-tweeted messages posted by others on Twitter. FLYNN did not remember Wikileaks contacting him directly. FLYNN has over 160,000 followers. He received many messages from people praying for him and tried to respond to each message.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) During the interview FLYNN reviewed his instant message feed on his Twitter account and found a message dated 12/05/2016. Wikileaks contacted him to say [Julian] ASSANGE wanted to pass a message to him. FLYNN never responded to the message and did not recall seeing it. FLYNN did not know whether anyone else in his family was contacted by, or in contact with, Wikileaks. FLYNN has [redacted] but not all of them use social media. FLYNN did not communicate with Wikileaks through any family members.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN hired [redacted] for the National Security Council (NSC) to work [redacted] FLYNN knew [redacted] through his previous work. FLYNN has been in contact with [redacted] since he left the White House. FLYNN set up a meeting through [redacted] to meet with [redacted] to discuss a technology that FLYNN thought might be of interest to him, but [redacted] was not interested. [redacted] was the name of the business they pitched. FLYNN was affiliated with [redacted] [redacted] FLYNN became a consultant adviser for [redacted] FLYNN received [redacted] FLYNN thought it was a fit for [redacted] FLYNN did not think anything came of the introduction. FLYNN's [redacted] [redacted]

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(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN kept notebooks to remind himself of things he needed to know or tasks which needed to be completed. Writing things down helped FLYNN remember them, if he did not have immediate access to a computer. FLYNN used notebooks in his previous positions as well. FLYNN did not consistently carry the notebooks with him. He often carried 3 by 5 note cards which was why there were gaps in the timeline in his notebooks. FLYNN carried the notebooks in his briefcase which he took home. If he was unable to take a laptop with him into a meeting, such as

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the Presidential Daily Brief, FLYNN took a notebook in with him. When FLYNN took notes during a classified brief, it was not to document what was being briefed, but to note what needed to be done after the brief.

(U//~~FOUO~~) Most of the work in the White House was classified or privileged. FLYNN's office was a SCIF. FLYNN did not use a notebook at the White House. He used note cards which he could easily hand to someone to complete the task or throw them in a burn bag.

(U//~~FOUO~~) After the Presidential election, FLYNN did not have any recollection of a specific meeting with Turkish officials. FLYNN met with many foreign officials at Trump Tower or in hotel lobbies. FLYNN was a keynote speaker at a breakfast in January at Trump International Hotel in Washington, D.C. The audience was comprised of several ambassadors and foreign dignitaries. FLYNN was assigned to sit at a table in the front. Also assigned to that table was the Foreign Minister from Turkey with whom he met in September 2016. FLYNN was at the table from less than 10 minutes before his speech. FLYNN spoke for approximately 20 minutes then departed the event.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN had contact with

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

FLYNN found these contacts to be of

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interest when he had media engagements on topics with which they were familiar. In general they were aware of what was going on in the Middle East as it related to the Kurds, refugees, and Russia's effort to drive a wedge between the U.S. and Turkey. Another individual with whom he had contact was [Redacted] FLYNN recalled that [Redacted] contacted him to set up a meeting with [Redacted] but FLYNN did not think the meeting ever happened. FLYNN recalled receiving a cryptic message from [Redacted] stating the "Turk is here - time for lunch?" The purpose of the meeting was to gain an understanding of the U.S.'s relationship with Turkey. FLYNN was shown a photo of [Redacted] which he did not recognize. FLYNN did not have a perfect memory, but thought the Turkish Foreign Minister may have come to the White House after the inauguration.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) While FLYNN was the Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) he took a trip to London in 2014. The DIA had personnel enrolled at Cambridge and FLYNN was invited to attend a one day event there. FLYNN recalled sitting with the headmaster and two other individuals. There were approximately 20 students attending the event. FLYNN gave a speech in the auditorium, and then attended a dinner reception at the headmaster's home in the evening. The dinner was attended by several individuals including [Redacted] After the event, FLYNN traveled to other places in England [Redacted]

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[Redacted] FLYNN traveled [Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN recalled [Redacted] and asked FLYNN [Redacted] FLYNN did not recall [Redacted] emailed FLYNN [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

[Redacted] FLYNN did not have any other interaction with her during that trip, or on any other occasion. After the dinner, FLYNN walked back to the school's hotel.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN read the reports in the media about his interactions with [Redacted] and thought they were ridiculous. FLYNN did not [Redacted] [Redacted] set up FLYNN's [Redacted] visit, and was with him during the entire trip. FLYNN had a congratulatory email from [Redacted] after he was named National Security Adviser. In total he had six to ten exchanges with [Redacted] the last shortly after the election. FLYNN did not recall that [Redacted] offered to introduce him to any third parties.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) During FLYNN's transition from the military, [Redacted] asked him to be the [Redacted] FLYNN turned down the

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[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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offer. FLYNN met [Redacted] through [Redacted] then asked FLYNN to [Redacted] and he agreed. [Redacted] made a presentation at the DIA which FLYNN facilitated while he was the Director of the DIA. FLYNN met with [Redacted] FLYNN was hired to be [Redacted] after he left the DIA. He was also a consultant for [Redacted] FLYNN was only paid by [Redacted] FLYNN consulted for other [Redacted] including [Redacted] and [Redacted]

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(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN set up meetings for [Redacted] with the Special Operations Community, including ASD SOLIC (Agent note: believed to be Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operations and Low Intensity Conflict) and the technical support unit at the Department of Defense (DoD) while he was the Director at the DIA. FLYNN was not aware of any contracts [Redacted] had with the DIA. [Redacted] was the [Redacted] at the DIA who met with [Redacted] after FLYNN resigned. Over time FLYNN became aware of other meetings between [Redacted] and DIA but could not recall anything specific. The meetings FLYNN recalled were with DoD due to the capabilities [Redacted] offered.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) [Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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b5 Per DOJ/OIP

(U//~~FOUO~~) [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

(U) Agent Note: A 10 minute break was taken in the interview.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN was asked about his foreign travel which was not documented in his most recent SF-86. Since the early 1990's, FLYNN always had someone complete his SF-86 for him. The more senior he became, the more trips he took. As he was no longer in the military, he did not have anyone assigned to assist him with the process and the person who helped him the past was not available. FLYNN asked [Redacted] to complete it for him. FLYNN provided [Redacted] with a draft. In hindsight, FLYNN should have sat down with a calendar and completed the SF-86 himself. FLYNN gave [Redacted] a draft with his edits via email. FLYNN compared his calendar to the draft of the SF-86, and realized there was travel not on the SF-86. FLYNN rushed to complete the SF-86 in January 2016. FLYNN did not recall whether the investigator assigned reviewed his foreign travel when conducting his personal security interview (PSI). FLYNN did not recall going over his entries on the SF-86. The entire interview lasted 30 minutes. If they had reviewed the SF-86 during his PSI, FLYNN would have noticed the foreign travel was not complete. FLYNN was not aware of the issues with his SF-86 until he resigned from the White House. [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[REDACTED] In 05/2015, FLYNN traveled to Poland with the MCCHRYSTAL Group to speak at a Citibank anti money laundering conference. During the 2-3 day conference, FLYNN spoke on what lessons they had learned about money laundering from his time in Afghanistan.

[REDACTED] While on travel he coordinated meetings with several other individuals he knew in the area. FLYNN traveled to Senegal on his way to Zambia for a personal vacation.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN was asked about his most recent financial disclosure form.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN was asked about his relationship with Peter SMITH. FLYNN was not sure how they were originally introduced but it occurred in early 2015. FLYNN was looking into cyber business development and recalled that SMITH reached out to him. They met to discuss a potential business opportunity and stayed in touch after the meeting via email. SMITH was an investor, but FLYNN never had a business relationship with him.

(U//~~FOUO~~) SMITH emailed FLYNN during the 2016 Presidential campaign to share information SMITH came across which he thought might be of interest to FLYNN or the campaign. FLYNN lost interest in what SMITH sent him because he "did not see the any there, there." FLYNN eventually stopped responding to SMITH's email messages. FLYNN viewed his previous responses as being polite. SMITH inferred in his emails that he had information on [Hillary CLINTON's] emails. SMITH believed he would get access to the emails. In general, SMITH's tone was that he had a connection to someone who had some means of getting the emails. FLYNN may have responded with something like, "Great." FLYNN did not provide SMITH with any direction, nor did he say to SMITH, "I need them." FLYNN did not recall giving SMITH any encouragement to find the emails. FLYNN may have forwarded SMITH's emails, but does not think he told anyone about receiving them.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) Sam CLOVIS may have been a recipient on some of the emails from SMITH, and possibly Barbara LEDEEN. FLYNN did not remember talking to CLOVIS about SMITH. FLYNN was not sure what CLOVIS was doing for the campaign as he did not see him do much work. Steve BANNON may have been on the emails from SMITH, but FLYNN did not recall any conversations with BANNON about SMITH. CLINTON's emails were often a topic of conversation because of what was in the news and the fact TRUMP was using it in his speeches. FLYNN did not recall if KellyAnne CONWAY was copied on the SMITH emails. FLYNN recalled different people being copied on SMITH's messages, but CLOVIS was the only name he specifically remembered.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN did not know they name [REDACTED]

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(U//~~FOUO~~) After the election, FLYNN saw Rick GATES during the transition but was not sure of his role. FLYNN did not engage in any policy discussions with GATES. GATES seemed to float around the transition offices. FLYNN saw him interact with Steve MILLER and BANNON. FLYNN did not know how they felt about GATES, but GATES could walk around the 14th floor at Trump Tower without a problem.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN participated in the congratulatory telephone conversation TRUMP had with Vladamir PUTIN after the election. FLYNN was not sure who set up the call, but other participants included BANNON, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] K.T. MCFARLAND, Jared KUSHNER, Reince PRIEBUS, and a few other people who went in and out of the conversation. Russia provided the translators. FLYNN listened in on one phone and [REDACTED] on another. [REDACTED] did not stay for the whole conversation. FLYNN described the call as strong and positive. TRUMP assured PUTIN "our guys will be talking to you." TRUMP discussed the success of his campaign, describing each state falling in line over the course of the evening. The conversation lasted 20 minutes. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] FLYNN was not aware of any "signal" between TRUMP and PUTIN.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN was asked to review three pages from his notebook dated 12/14/2016 starting with Rick GERSON. FLYNN's notes were GERSON's thoughts, outlining conversations he had previously with his contacts in the United Arab Emirates (UAE). FLYNN was not certain but GERSON may have just returned from a trip to the UAE. GERSON was also providing an overview of the meeting FLYNN was scheduled to attend. FLYNN did not recall Tony BLAIR attending the meeting with the UAE but it may have been planned for him to attend. FLYNN attended the meeting with GERSON, KUSHNER, and BANNON. FLYNN thought KUSHNER acted as if he was familiar with the individuals in the room from prior meetings. The familiarity

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could also be KUSHNER showing respect. GERSON clearly had a relationship with the UAE individuals in the room. FLYNN was not sure BANNON knew anyone in the room.

(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN did not know whether any American's were part of the UAE delegation. There were a lot of bodyguard type of people with the Emir. FLYNN described them as a high end team of people trusted to be in that room and welcomed to speak up during the meeting. FLYNN was shown a picture of an individual and asked whether he attended the meeting. The individual did not look familiar to FLYNN, but he could have been in the other room. It was not a face FLYNN remembered.

(U//~~FOUO~~) Wikistrat was a data crowd-sourcing company. They put questions out to get crowd-sourced answers to make assessments. FLYNN spoke with them in the past, and they reached out to FLYNN once he was announced as the National Security Adviser. FLYNN was not certain if Wikistrat was engaged or hired by someone else working on the campaign. FLYNN was shown pages of his notebook in which mentioned Wikistrat. FLYNN spent time with Newt [GINGRICH] to get ideas. These notes were from a meeting with GINGRICH. GINGRICH provided FLYNN with a list of names of people who had a broader view of world events and FLYNN could speak with them to gather information on a wide range of issues.

(U//~~FOUO~~) The Psy Group did not sound familiar to FLYNN. FLYNN did not recognize the name Joel ZAMEL.

(U//~~FOUO~~) [Redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

[Redacted] FLYNN was familiar with Donbass as a city or region in the Ukraine, but did not have any conversations about it.

(U//~~FOUO~~) [Redacted] b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Michael T. Flynn Interview 11/29/2017 , On 11/29/2017 , Page 10 of 10

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

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(U//~~FOUO~~) The Transition Team members besides FLYNN with clearances were K.T. McFARLAND, Marshal BILLINGSLEA, Keith KELLOGG, PRIEBUS, [Redacted] [ph], and a few others. Not many people working on the Transition Team had a clearance. Once someone had a clearance, the White House has a separate process to clear individuals to walk freely within the White House compound. FLYNN thought the clearance process was harder than it needed to be.

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(U//~~FOUO~~) Susan RICE set up meetings for FLYNN to get necessary briefings and to read pertinent documents. FLYNN trusted [Redacted] to handle his team which included [Redacted] and the access they had to materials.

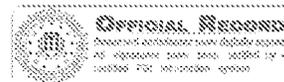
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(U//~~FOUO~~) FLYNN was asked about a report in the media which indicated TRUMP called FLYNN late one evening to ask if a strong dollar was good for the economy. FLYNN did not recall any such conversation and questioned why anyone would think TRUMP would contact him about this issue. FLYNN did not speak with TRUMP on the phone a lot. If he did, it was always for a reason and was usually memorable.

(U//~~FOUO~~) Senior Assistant Special Counsel Brandon Van Grack read aloud a section of the Statement of Offense. FLYNN confirmed he spoke with BANNON at BANNON's townhouse regarding FLYNN's conversations with Russian Ambassador Sergey KISLYAK. Based on the conversation, FLYNN believed BANNON knew he discussed sanctions with KISLYAK. It was an understanding FLYNN had during their conversation without BANNON directly saying he knew FLYNN interceded. FLYNN did not recall how specific he was with BANNON in this discussion.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 05/21/2018

MICHAEL THOMAS FLYNN, date of birth [Redacted] was interviewed at 395 E Street SW, Washington, DC. Present in the interview were Senior Assistant Special Counsel (SASC) Brandon Van Grack, SASC Zainab Ahmad, SASC Andrew Weissmann, ASC Aaron Zelinsky, ASAC [Redacted] SSA [Redacted] and SSA [Redacted] Representing FLYNN during the interview were Steven Anthony, Robert Kelner, and [Redacted] of Covington and Burling LLC. After being advised of the identities of the interview personnel, FLYNN provided the following information:

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Campaign

FLYNN's interactions with Corey LEWANDOWSKI during the campaign were mostly via email or phone call. When FLYNN observed something in the media or a newspaper article, he forwarded a link to Corey LEWANDOWSKI. LEWANDOWSKI asked FLYNN for his thoughts on national security issues in general. FLYNN made points about Russia and LEWANDOWSKI asked him about them. FLYNN believe there was a window of time to figure out ways for the U.S. to work with Russia in the Middle East. FLYNN provided his thoughts on what was going on in Eastern Europe. These interactions were between January and the summer of 2016. They primarily had telephone discussions and email exchanges, and FLYNN recalled one paper he provided to LEWANDOWSKI.

FLYNN recalled meeting with one former Senate candidate in April 2016. [Prompted by his attorney, FLYNN confirmed it was Sam CLOVIS.] FLYNN met CLOVIS in Arlington with [Redacted] At that time, FLYNN waivered about which candidate he was going to support in the 2016 U.S. Presidential election. FLYNN told CLOVIS he did not want to formally become part of the Donald J. TRUMP Campaign. Later, CLOVIS followed up with a non-disclosure agreement which FLYNN signed. FLYNN did not have any real discussions with CLOVIS regarding Russia.

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On 02/22/2016, FLYNN was announced as an advisor to the TRUMP Campaign. In April 2016, CLOVIS was seeking a formal endorsement for TRUMP from FLYNN as the primaries were not yet over. The conversation lasted 45 minutes. FLYNN referred to CLOVIS as a "cold warrior." FLYNN

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Investigation on 04/25/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 04/26/2018

by [Redacted]

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[REDACTED]

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did not know if CLOVIS had any expertise related to Russia. CLOVIS shared a little information with FLYNN about his background. FLYNN recalled that CLOVIS shared information about others advising TRUMP. FLYNN recalled the photograph with TRUMP and his national security team had just been published. FLYNN recalled CLOVIS mentioned Keith KELLOGG because FLYNN previously worked with KELLOGG. The others were mostly military or former military. FLYNN only knew some of the names. They spoke generally about foreign policy and national security with no real details. CLOVIS asked FLYNN to join the team. CLOVIS' role was a Senior Policy Advisor, yet he came across as someone who was bigger than that title. FLYNN thought it was "odd" attitude and one of "too cool for school". CLOVIS puffed up his role to FLYNN.

FLYNN was used to dealing with LEWANDOWSKI and felt CLOVIS was putting on airs. FLYNN was still speaking with Ted CRUZ's campaign. CLOVIS may have told FLYNN who else was on the team to make joining it more attractive to FLYNN. FLYNN did not remember if CLOVIS told him what roles the civilians had on the team. CLOVIS wanted FLYNN to fill a national security and intelligence type of role. FLYNN thought LEWANDOWSKI may have asked CLOVIS to reach out to FLYNN.

FLYNN was invited to Trump Tower and saw the campaign headquarters, located in an older part of the building. It was a small campaign and the space only had two offices. FLYNN spoke with campaign workers for a few minutes before he went up to meet TRUMP. FLYNN was not sure who was advising TRUMP on the campaign at that time.

In December 2015, FLYNN was in communication with several campaigns, including those of Scott WALKER, Ted CRUZ, Ben CARSON, and Carley FIORINA. [REDACTED] was FLYNN's contact in the CRUZ campaign. She contacted him a week before he got out of the military.

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FLYNN continued to send information to LEWANDOWSKI via email. When he did not receive a response, he reached out to make sure LEWANDOWSKI was still interested in receiving the information. FLYNN had email contact with other individuals but was unsure if they were part of TRUMP'S campaign. There were almost daily emails on the Hillary CLINTON investigation or primary debates. FLYNN recalled an email with Tom HAMBURGER, a reporter. FLYNN was clear with him on how the U.S. could avoid going to war with Russia. FLYNN was not sure why he interacted with HAMBURGER. FLYNN did not interact with [REDACTED] until after the Republican National Convention (RNC). The RNC was the turning point for FLYNN's involvement with the TRUMP Campaign.

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Michael T. Flynn 4/25/2018 , On 04/25/2018 , Page 3 of 11

FLYNN shared his views up to this point with LEWANDOWSKI, who seemed very protective. Because of this, FLYNN sometimes responded to emails suggesting they have a phone call which was often easier than email. FLYNN thought it was likely they discussed Russia and FLYNN's view, or asked for FLYNN's opinion on something TRUMP said on Russia. In June 2016, Paul MANAFORT's executive assistant reached out to FLYNN and he officially joined the campaign.

#### FLYNN'S Trip to Russia 2015

FLYNN had conversations and interactions with many people from Russia Today (RT) and discussed the U.S.'s relationship with Russia. Conversation at the actual dinner was difficult due to the various languages people spoke at the table. During panel sessions, FLYNN sat in the back of the audience to have conversations with people. He attended the reception and was introduced to a lot of people. FLYNN did not remember specific conversations or people wanting to discuss U.S. and Russia relations. FLYNN spoke with other media outlets and committed to improving relations.

FLYNN did not recall anyone specifically mentioning that sanctions which related to the Ukraine were an impediment. FLYNN may have mentioned it due to what was going on in the Middle East and the Ukraine. The RT celebrities were the most memorable part of his trip. FLYNN just exchanged a "hello" with Vladimir PUTIN. FLYNN interacted with a bunch of people in Russia. He sat in on one or two of the panels which included topics he personally was interested in. FLYNN participated in one panel and attended media events.

FLYNN mingled with people in the lobby of his hotel and on the way to the reception which was only a couple of blocks away. After the dinner, FLYNN decompressed in the lobby bar with [REDACTED] and then went to bed. He and [REDACTED] visited the square twice. FLYNN recalls a few of the faces he met in Russia but does not remember names.

FLYNN was shown an email messaged dated 06/29/2016. [REDACTED] is a retired officer who was very active in Europe matters. FLYNN interacted with [REDACTED] via email. [REDACTED] was very pro-Russia, and formed the organization, [REDACTED] had a lot of information about everything. He had strong views on finding ways for the U.S. to work with Russia. FLYNN had contact with [REDACTED] often, sometimes daily, mostly on Russian matters but also national security. [REDACTED] may have known someone who was retired Russian military, or other people in Russia. [REDACTED] told FLYNN about the trips he took. FLYNN may have

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FLYNN kept in contact with the campaign during the RNC via email. TRUMP called him personally the night before Mike PENCE was announced as the Vice Presidential pick, as FLYNN had been in contention for the position. FLYNN did not travel with the TRUMP campaign until after the DNC as there was no campaigning during the DNC. At this same time, FLYNN was doing a book tour which may have been why he was uncertain on the dates.

When asked about what conversations he recalled having with TRUMP, FLYNN stated they may have had some phone calls. A lot of emails were exchanged with the campaign. He was not yet traveling with the campaign because of the book tour. FLYNN can check his tour schedule but spent one week in Texas. When FLYNN was around MANAFORT, other people were also around. FLYNN could not imagine that they did not have a lot of back and forth on the issue, for the hack of the DNC was a big deal to the campaign and there was a shared excitement. FLYNN did not remember interacting with TRUMP on the topic.

FLYNN recalled he went up to New York City and then left from there for his first trip with the campaign. It was the day BANNON was hired. The team always had discussion on the plane rides. They did not have conversations when they traveled in vehicles because TRUMP was usually on the phone. They usually sat around a table on the plane. For the first trip, FLYNN recalled STEVE MILLER, HICKS, and possibly GATES. There was not always room at the table so some people stood, including BANNON who always stood behind where TRUMP sat. FLYNN knew others were on the plane but could not be specific.

BANNON always had a lot to say on the direction of the media as he was very keyed in on what was being reported. BANNON wanted to know what they knew about the DNC leaks and the missing 33,000 CLINTON emails. Both were bad for the CLINTON Campaign. TRUMP had a running discussion on the topics which was part of his communications strategy. TRUMP often worked on his speeches in transit and wanted the latest information to incorporate it into them. FLYNN recalled discussions on how they, the TRUMP Campaign, could take advantage of all of the news related to the DNC hack and missing emails. It was tough for FLYNN to remember exact discussions because it was always a topic.

TRUMP asked everyone including FLYNN, "What do you think?" TRUMP wanted to know if it was Russia. FLYNN encouraged them "not to pin it on one entity or another." FLYNN stated that it was better for the campaign if it was not Russia because all of the noise about MANAFORT affected TRUMP. FLYNN believed TRUMP did not think it was Russia. FLYNN would not have wanted to make any statements until they were certain who was behind

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the attacks. From the start, TRUMP wanted to get along with Russia. FLYNN would have said it could have been anybody. He opined that maybe they could find out who it was or that any number of countries could have done this.

FLYNN thought TRUMP could also ask the Intelligence Community (IC) because he had started receiving intelligence briefs at the time. FLYNN did not think the IC was always 100% correct. The first IC brief to the TRUMP Campaign was about ISIS. Russia was discussed as well. FLYNN may have shared information with the campaign about what he was hearing from contacts he had in the IC. Things FLYNN told TRUMP were taken at face value. FLYNN thought it was likely he had conversations or email messages with his contacts asking what they thought. Contacts such as [REDACTED] [REDACTED] and Barbara LEDEEN. [REDACTED] and LEDEEN were interesting to FLYNN as they seemed to have information on the missing emails. TRUMP agreed that it could be anybody, and that they did not know for sure yet it was Russia.

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**Agent Note:** SASC Weissmann and SSA [REDACTED] joined the interview.

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There were constant conversations about the 33,000 email messages. TRUMP included it in every speech. He wanted to know how to figure out what was coming out next and who did they think had the missing email messages. It appeared to FLYNN there had already been conversations about the missing emails prior to his joining the campaign in August 2016. FLYNN admitted they had been thinking about them. FLYNN did not recall many conversations about Guccifer, but did recall conversations about Wikileaks. FLYNN never met Roger STONE and never heard anyone speak about STONE. FLYNN recalled hearing conversations about reaching out to Wikileaks. Many media contacts were interacting directly with TRUMP and HICKS. The campaign constantly hoped the CLINTON emails would be released. Jared KUSHNER and Brad PARSCALEs may also have been involved in these conversations as they were always around. FLYNN did not remember hearing anyone say STONE could be contacted.

**Agent Note:** A break was taken in the interview.

FLYNN believed it was possible that when asked by TRUMP what the campaign could do about the missing email messages, he answered that they could "cast their net in their network" to see what would it turned up. FLYNN was asked about it on multiple plane rides due to the fact that TRUMP hammered the topic in all of his speeches. FLYNN knows how he [FLYNN] operates and would have said, "cast [a] net." FLYNN probably said yes and actually did cast his net.

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[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

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FLYNN knew [REDACTED] from his time at the DIA [Defense Intelligence Agency]. LEDEEN introduced FLYNN to [REDACTED] was trying to discover the server which had the missing emails. FLYNN exchanged email messages with both [REDACTED] and LEDEEN. FLYNN also met with [REDACTED] in person. FLYNN thought his efforts were very conspiratorial but had nothing concrete. FLYNN thought [REDACTED] needed to "shit or get off the pot" in finding the emails. [REDACTED] may have said he thought they were on servers in the Ukraine as though he had unique insight.

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**Agent Note:** ASAC [REDACTED] left the interview.

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FLYNN probably encouraged [REDACTED] to keep looking because FLYNN listened to what he was doing. [REDACTED] continued to send FLYNN updates. LEDEEN also interacted with [REDACTED] FLYNN also had conversations with [REDACTED] [REDACTED] who was a long time security adviser to TRUMP.

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GIULIANI had contacts at the FBI, though he was pretty "close hold" on who he spoke with there. If GIULIANI said something, you could take it to the bank as factual, FLYNN believed that GIULIANI acted in a manner which indicated had specific knowledge related to the emails. FLYNN reviewed GIULIANI's speech for Tel Aviv, made some comments, and gave it back to GIULIANI. GIULIANI did not name drop. GIULIANI popped in throughout the campaign to help with certain events. FLYNN did not know if GIULIANI knew Russia hacked the DNC. TRUMP told GIULIANI what PRIEBUS said happened to the RNC, that they were told by the FBI there was an attempt to hack the RNC. Jeff SESSIONS and Chris CHRISTIE were also in agreement the emails had to be out there. TRUMP wanted to continue to address this topic in his speeches. FLYNN did not have direct knowledge of SESSIONS or CHRISTIE having independent knowledge on this topic.

When asked if there were discussions on what the campaign could proactively do to find out information on the emails, BANNON came to FLYNN's mind. BANNON was always around on the phone, talking, texting, or emailing. BANNON had a "block and tackle" style and generally had good information. FLYNN did not recall if BANNON said he would find the emails but he was definitely interested in finding them.

FLYNN was asked whether SESSIONS or CHRISTIE made any efforts to find an answer based on their law enforcement backgrounds. SESSIONS did not make any effort at all. GIULIANI had deeper discussion on the issue with the campaign. CHRISTIE was somewhere between the two in regards to effort. CHRISTIE always seemed to "puff" about what he could do. FLYNN observed that GIULIANI and CHRISTIE had extensive connections and contact in New York. They constantly brought information back to the

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campaign. They did not do a lot of name dropping but there was a certainty to their information. FLYNN did not remember either of them saying they had contact with Wikileaks. FLYNN would not be surprised if BANNON had contact with Wikileaks.

**Agent Note:** ASAC [redacted] returned.

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During debate prep sessions they tried to focus on the types of questions which were likely to come up, including any leverage discussions regarding Julian ASSANGE. The prep sessions were "formally organized but loosely run." FLYNN did not know ASSANGE was under indictment at the time. It was possible FLYNN reached out to people at the Agency, such as [redacted] a cyber expert. [redacted] would have told FLYNN that the [redacted] would have the emails based on how the NSA collected information. [redacted] did not know if anyone on the campaign asked the NSA for information on the emails. If they did, they would have shared the information with the campaign. No one would have kept this information from the campaign. FLYNN did not have any specific memory of conversations regarding the NSA.

b3 per DIA  
b6 per DIA and FBI  
b7C

The candidate was told about Wikileaks having the emails and TRUMP agreed. The campaign conversations had a general sense that it was inevitable that the missing emails would eventually drop. They hoped they would as it would have been damaging to CLINTON. As time waned on, the TRUMP Campaign became less and less certain they would actually come out or even existed. Everyone was slightly frustrated.

The one guy who was always there and had insight was BANNON. The urgency of finding the emails ebbed and flowed based on the news of the day. FLYNN thought BANNON probably had a bunch of people actively looking for the missing emails. Just as FLYNN knew people, BANNON did as well based on the amount of conversations they had on the topic. They were also dealing with other problems. Conversations with BANNON were very transactional. BANNON provided direct feedback to TRUMP on what was known to him so FLYNN was not always aware of those conversations.

The conversations regarding NSA was not how to access their information but whether the NSA would turn them [the emails] over. FLYNN was asked if the campaign thought the FBI would tap into the NSA based on the knowledge of the FBI's investigation into the missing emails. FLYNN thought there was a belief by the campaign that you could not trust the FBI and that the investigation was dead. The campaign thought someone had to have the information based on the accumulation of events: 33,000 missing emails and the DNC hack.

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When FLYNN learned of the release of the [John] PODESTA emails, it was news to him. FLYNN saw it as an implosion of the opposition from the DNC hack to the email release. The expectation was that there was more to come from the campaign's inner circle team. BANNON seemed to have insight. When the Anthony WEINER story broke, BANNON seemed to know what would eventually come out. A lot of it would be classified before they really found out. FLYNN did not remember much related to PODESTA, but BANNON did a quick analysis of the messages. BANNON found good kernels of information for TRUMP to use. [REDACTED] also had connections but he primarily stayed at Trump Tower with the media team to turn information around quickly.

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**Agent Note:** ASAC [REDACTED] left the interview.

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FLYNN believed BANNON knew that there were more releases ahead for PODESTA emails. BANNON boasted about the release when the news first broke. BANNON said it was likely there were more of these and they all agreed he was probably right. FLYNN thought it was likely BANNON told TRUMP as there was no reason not to share the information. The idea of the 33,000 missing emails came up again because it always came back to that because CLINTON was the candidate.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

After the election, TRUMP told CLINTON that he was not going to press this issue any more. TRUMP wanted "to let bygones be bygones." [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] TRUMP was not going to worry about it anymore after the fact. TRUMP told CLINTON he was not going to investigate her.

b5 per DOJ/OIP

FLYNN was asked if he reached out to [REDACTED] to see whether Russia had the missing emails. FLYNN opined that if Russia had them, then China, Iran, and North Korea also had them. Those countries had the cyber capabilities to get them and CLINTON was the Secretary of State. FLYNN also thought hacktivist groups operating in the Ukraine could have them. It was also likely Israel had them. FLYNN did not recall specific discussions on reaching out to these countries to find out what they had. GIULIANI could have reached out to Israel but FLYNN did not know. FLYNN believe that if TRUMP found out who had the missing email messages, he would have said it in a speech - that a particular country knew where they were.

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FLYNN had Israeli contacts but did not have these types of conversations with them. FLYNN knew an analyst in the U.S. who could provide strategic assessments on the Middle East, but he did not reach out to him. His contact was a cyber company. FLYNN did not have any Russian contacts. To reach out to the other countries would have had to be done in a formal way. Contacts were not formal until after the election and by that time no one cared about the missing emails. FLYNN did not have any contacts in Iran or North Korea. France was another country that was not part of the five eyes. FLYNN had contacts with knowledge of terrorism in France, but nothing along the lines of information on the emails.

FLYNN did not have any detailed conversations with KUSHNER regarding the leaks. PARSCALES politely briefed FLYNN on the outcome of one of his assessments, but FLYNN was not in the inner circle at the time. KUSHNER had contacts including Rick GERSON, which FLYNN got to know later on. KUSHNER's office was on a different floor at Trump Tower so FLYNN did not always see whom he met with. At times FLYNN saw KUSHNER introduce people to BANNON. FLYNN thought they were part of the "New York City crowd." FLYNN did not know where they were from - it could have been overseas. KUSHNER or someone KUSHNER knew may have reached out to Wikileaks.

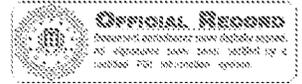
Other than IVANKA TRUMP, TRUMP trusted KUSHNER the most. A lot of the time FLYNN observed TRUMP and KUSHER together. When IVANKA TRUMP came around, TRUMP lit up. TRUMP knew BANNON and CONWAY, but the trust was not there right away. KUSHNER focused on social media for the campaign. FLYNN cannot say for sure that KUSHNER had a Wikileaks contact.

FLYNN did not have conversations about Wikileaks with PARSCALES. Ten days before the election, PARSCALES laid out how TRUMP was going to win. PARSCALES was often on the plane with the campaign team. TRUMP trusted PARSCALES a lot. TRUMP paid attention to what PARSCALES said. FLYNN may have exchanged email messages with PARSCALES regarding the missing 33,000 emails. PARSCALES' team had the structure to look for them. FLYNN did not recall specific work PARSCALES was doing to find the missing emails. PARSCALES focused more on social media.

**Agent Note:** Documents shown to FLYNN will be maintained in a 1A.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 05/21/2018

MICHAEL THOMAS FLYNN, date of birth [redacted] was interviewed at 395 E Street SW, Washington, DC. Present in the interview were Senior Assistant Special Counsel (SASC) Brandon Van Grack, ASC Aaron Zelinsky, ASAC [redacted] and SSA [redacted] Representing FLYNN during the interview were Steven Anthony, Robert Kelner, and [redacted] of Covington and Burling LLC. After being advised of the identities of the interview personnel, FLYNN provided the following information:

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**Agent Note:** Mr. Anthony produced monthly calendars, from June to August 2016, containing specific events for FLYNN to use as a reference during the interview. FLYNN was not involved in creating them, nor was he adopting them.

During FLYNN's interview on 4/25/2018, FLYNN realized he had the date confused. The trip to Jacksonville on 08/03/2016, was FLYNN's first time on the Donald J. TRUMP aircraft, and shortly after TRUMP made the comment in a rally speech on 7/27/2018, asking Russia to release the [Hillary CLINTON] emails if they had them. TRUMP asked the campaign members on this flight, "Why can't we find them? Why aren't they able to be discovered?" This was a continuing theme of discussion going forward. TRUMP began to "pound" the message more aggressively at each rally.

Other campaign members on the plane were Steven MILLER, Hope HICKS, possibly Rick GATES, and many more team members. FLYNN did not remember Paul MANAFORT on the plane. FLYNN stated that TRUMP raised the topic of CLINTON's email on this flight. Approximately a week prior to 8/3/2016, FLYNN was asked by MILLER for campaign help and they discussed the emails. FLYNN did not recall any conversations before 8/3/2016 with TRUMP where TRUMP discussed the CLINTON emails. FLYNN did not have many conversation with TRUMP, but generally they were brief. FLYNN was asked to join the campaign on this trip on short notice because FLYNN stated the campaign hoped he "could make it, we are in trouble."

GATES called FLYNN the day before the Jacksonville flight to discuss logistics and some of the topics the campaign was dealing with. FLYNN did

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Investigation on 05/01/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)  
File # [redacted] Date drafted 05/01/2018  
by [redacted]

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not know the status of MANAFORT's relationship with TRUMP at this time. TRUMP had taken a dive in the polls, and the Sunday talk show topics were Russia and the [REDACTED] FLYNN spoke to GATES about these two topics and told him they had to do something after seeing TRUMP's speech. TRUMP wanted people around him on the campaign to help with issues in the press to reduce the negative reporting on a daily basis.

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FLYNN did not recall GATES asking him about the emails. FLYNN had several conversations with GATES over the course of the campaign. GATES never asked FLYNN if Russia was responsible for the DNC hack. On the flight to Jacksonville, MILLER prepared TRUMP's remarks for the rally and FLYNN recalled having discussions with MILLER along those lines. FLYNN also recalled hearing discussions on the plane of whether the RNC was hacked. The DNC hack was a big deal so it was also part of the discussion. TRUMP mentioned Russia. TRUMP wanted to know the who, how, and what exactly happened. FLYNN recalled seven or eight people seated at the center of the plane participating in this discussion. Participants were the people FLYNN previously mentioned, MILLER, HICKS, GATES, and others possibly including Jared KUSHNER, Reince PRIEBUS, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] and the public affairs team. FLYNN did not remember Brad PARSCALES on this flight.

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TRUMP asked the group about which types of nation states had the capability or hacktivists groups to hack the DNC. Wikileaks was mentioned as a possibility. TRUMP's comment at the rally on 7/27/2016 [Russia if you're listening.] was uttered off the cuff. FLYNN did not think TRUMP realized the impact the statement would have. FLYNN felt that somebody knew something about the missing emails. TRUMP asked the group in general if they thought it was Russia. TRUMP needed to recover from his comment on 07/27/2016. FLYNN's response to the question would have been that it could be a lot of groups or countries until they had bullet proof information on who it was. FLYNN based this response on what he read and what people were telling him. At that time, FLYNN would have said that various sources were saying it could be any one of a cast of characters. Generally speaking, FLYNN thought TRUMP pushed back against the notion that it was Russia. FLYNN provided TRUMP talking points to help him recover and "give him ammunition."

FLYNN previously heard TRUMP say he knew about cyber-attacks because of his hotel chains. FLYNN thought TRUMP wanted to show people that he knew things. At this time, FLYNN did not recall if he said he would contact his sources to try and find out more information. FLYNN did contact sources later, when issues came up. Specifically he recalled during a town hall

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meeting in Virginia on 09/06/2016, FLYNN sat on the stage and asked TRUMP previously prepared questions. FLYNN recalled it was a fundraising event and the questions were prepared by MILLER.

FLYNN was asked whether the conversation on the plane on 08/03/2016 included TRUMP's comment on Russia made on 07/27/2016. TRUMP and his team did not care if Russia had the missing email messages. The campaign desired for them to be released, no matter who had them. FLYNN may have been asked if he had contacts who could tell them more about the missing emails. FLYNN felt that TRUMP wanted him to reach out to people to see who might have more information on the emails. FLYNN had a general sense from conversations about Wikileaks that the campaign wanted to see what Wikileaks had, but the conversations did not get as specific as who conducted the DNC hack. TRUMP wanted FLYNN to find the CLINTON emails.

To find out if Russia had the CLINTON emails, FLYNN reached out to his contacts. They were sources of information that he was in contact with at the time. He heard information on a Ukraine server possibly having the emails and Benghazi. He heard from Sidney BLUMENTHAL, [REDACTED] and others. FLYNN reached out to the usual people he was in contact with, and others came into his life through his connections and friends. Contacts outside the government were different. FLYNN contacted [REDACTED] [REDACTED] who may have worked for CNN. FLYNN talked to all of these people about Russia. FLYNN may have asked [REDACTED] [REDACTED] and others what they knew, including people connected to the dark web. FLYNN discussed the DNC hack and the missing emails with his contacts.

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FLYNN looked at Julian ASSANGE as a collector and releaser of information. Wikileaks was a releaser. What FLYNN heard back from his sources was that the likelihood of ASSANGE having the CLINTON emails was high, but with no real certainty. All FLYNN heard back from his contacts were assessments. James COMEY's press conference characterized the Intelligence Community (IC) as having high confidence it was Russia, but at that time the TRUMP campaign and others did not have high confidence in the IC. Other groups were saying moderate or low confidence that it was Russia. FLYNN recalled that the DIA and NSA said moderate. FLYNN's personal assessment would have been that it was high. FLYNN recalled other conversations in August 2016 at Trump Tower on this topic.

[REDACTED] a Russian born New York investment venture capitalist, was close to TRUMP. FLYNN saw him early in the campaign at Trump Tower. [REDACTED] had the ability to pick up the phone and call TRUMP at any time. FLYNN talked to [REDACTED] mainly about CLINTON's emails. They did not directly mention Russia during their conversations but [REDACTED] had a level

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of certainty when stating things as fact related to the emails that FLYNN was not comfortable with. Others that FLYNN has mentioned previously on the campaign had this same level of certainty. TRUMP was constantly on the phone with different people and TRUMP collected "tid bits" of information from these conversations. TRUMP spoke to "his intel collection" guy from Fox News a lot according to FLYNN. FLYNN did not recall TRUMP getting off a phone conversation saying that he knew it was Russia or when Wikileaks was going to release something new.

In regards to the certainty that FLYNN saw from other individuals working on the campaign, it was some of the people but not all and he could not dismiss it. [REDACTED] made statements that demonstrated that he had access to nonpublic information. FLYNN described [REDACTED] as "kind of a big shot." FLYNN did not recall [REDACTED] specifically having contacts in Russia but FLYNN knew he was [REDACTED] FLYNN had a number of conversations with [REDACTED] over the course of the campaign. [REDACTED] was fighting in the media for TRUMP. FLYNN had direct conversations about Russia with [REDACTED] and FLYNN shared his analysis with [REDACTED] FLYNN and [REDACTED] agreed it was Russia. FLYNN was not always sure people were agreeing with him to be respectful of his position or if they truly agreed.

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FLYNN's memory is a blending of conversations about Wikileaks and Russia. There was a lot of reporting coming out when ASSANGE would do a dump of information. FLYNN did not recall Wikileaks reaching out to him on 06/22/2016 through [REDACTED] FLYNN would have said, "no." FLYNN knew there was high interest in what Wikileaks believed. At that time FLYNN was doing a lot of appearances in the media. It was not in his place to reach out to Wikileaks for the campaign; it would have been inappropriate. FLYNN was not sure who the characters involved were and there was speculation that there were connections to SNOWDEN. FLYNN also thought it was not professionally appropriate. FLYNN recalled that [REDACTED] said he was going to Europe. He or someone like [REDACTED] could have made contact with Wikileaks.

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Early in the campaign, there was a small group advising TRUMP. These individuals were most likely to be in a position to reach out to Wikileaks on behalf of the campaign. FLYNN did not recall anyone mentioning that they reached out to Wikileaks. FLYNN felt there was a sense of certainty from the campaign personnel that Wikileaks would release them. MILLER and HICKS were two people FLYNN recalled as being certain as they seemed to have facts. FLYNN also thought TRUMP had this same certainty. FLYNN could not assess whether the certainty flowed from the candidate to the advisors or from the advisors to TRUMP. FLYNN learned over time that TRUMP listened to only a few people who might be in a position to cause this type of shift. TRUMP relied heavily on his substantial personal network for

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advice. FLYNN did not know who all of TRUMP's contacts were. TRUMP and HICKS spoke a lot and she was always on the phone with the media.

Agent Note: A ten minute break was taken in the interview.

FLYNN was shown an email messaged dated 07/24/2016 from [REDACTED] It was FLYNN'S view that the DNC hack was "Russia or Russian backed," and he maintained this view. FLYNN was blunt about it with TRUMP. When asked why his certainty was different later when he mentioned to TRUMP it may not be Russia, FLYNN said what may have made him walk back his certainty between 7/24/2016 and 08/03/2016, could have been based on who the audience was and who asked the question.

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FLYNN was shown an email message chain containing a response FLYNN wrote to [REDACTED] on 07/15/2016. FLYNN had conversations with [REDACTED] regarding an information war, influence operations, and the use of social media were being conducted to sow confusion and counter attack messages. FLYNN may have been boasting in his response. There was a likelihood of foreign influence in the election was high. FLYNN thought more hacks were possible and they needed to be prepared. FLYNN's statement to [REDACTED] [REDACTED] was to pass on conversations FLYNN had about cyber operations. [REDACTED] told FLYNN about the types of hacks, the use of the internet, and they types of influencers. He is a technical expert with insight that he could bring to the campaign. [REDACTED] had a team who helped him, and the assessments were based on what he was seeing. FLYNN talked to [REDACTED] about foreign influence to include the types of actors such as Anonymous and other hacking groups.

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FLYNN was shown a series of email messages starting on 06/21/2016 with [REDACTED] FLYNN has known [REDACTED] for over 20 years and [REDACTED] worked for FLYNN over the years. [REDACTED] was former military who then worked the DIA. [REDACTED] is a legitimate SME [subject matter expert] in sign intelligence [SIGINT]. CYBER is the new name for SIGINT. [REDACTED] was studios. If he provided information to FLYNN, FLYNN knew the information was reliable. One of [REDACTED] tendencies was to overthink things at times, a trait FLYNN shared with him. This series of exchanges was [REDACTED] helping FLYNN with a business development opportunity. The meeting FLYNN referenced on 06/23/2016 may have been his first coffee meeting with MANAFORT. FLYNN did not bring up this topic with MANAFORT when they met on 06/30/2016. FLYNN was in contact with the TRUMP campaign through MANAFORT's [REDACTED] FLYNN recalled one last contact with Corey LEWANDOWSKI before working with MANAFORT's team which included [REDACTED] and Rick GATES.

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FLYNN had a meeting with [redacted] and some other people in Alexandria, VA. FLYNN did not think he ever gave [redacted] proposal to the campaign. FLYNN doubted [redacted] information. The continuing email exchanges may have been FLYNN placating [redacted]. FLYNN recalled the exchanges with [redacted] and there was a follow-up. FLYNN recalled more interactions with [redacted] on foreign influence than on Russia. [redacted] was selling his ability to **b3 per DIA** monitor social media. When FLYNN saw the presentation he felt the **b6 per DIA and FBI** conversation was all over the map about what was actually going on. **b7C** FLYNN felt it was an "oversell" to promote themselves. FLYNN was not sure he knew anyone in the TRUMP campaign at the time who was in charge of social media to pass the information on to. FLYNN could not even say for certain that he even read [redacted] whitepaper. FLYNN considered it business development with interesting information. FLYNN did not think he shared [redacted] information with anyone in the TRUMP campaign. If he did, he would have talked to LEWANDOWSKI, Sam CLOVIS, or [redacted]

FLYNN heard about the use of bots throughout the course of the campaign, mostly related to Twitter. FLYNN did not recall discussion on foreign bot discussions. The campaign discussed how you could differentiate a bot based on the number of followers, the number of tweets, and the number of people they followed. FLYNN thought they probably discussed where bots were created. FLYNN knew bots occurred and some were foreign influenced. When discussing foreign influence they discussed who could do it with this level of sophistication. The campaign wondered what nation state with the infrastructure to back it up. FLYNN shared his thoughts with TRUMP and others in conversations. The TRUMP campaign needed to "protect, defend, attack." Bots were a component of all of this. Influence was decisive and an attempt to sow doubt. Influence was distinct from theft of information. FLYNN had the impression from Brad PARSCALES' tour of his facility that they were not worried about foreign influence; PARSCALES' social media was sophisticated enough. FLYNN walked away from the whole experience thinking PARSCALES thought, "We've got this." PARSCALES was professional polite to FLYNN but he was also brushing him off.

FLYNN was shown an email message dated 06/22/2016 regarding contact with Wikileaks. [redacted] was a publisher for Macmillan books. FLYNN's [redacted] may have told FLYNN about the request but FLYNN did not recall it. At this time FLYNN received a lot of requests.

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FLYNN was shown an email message dated 11/02/2016 from [redacted] FLYNN recalled receiving this email message but did not recognize the email address. FLYNN thinks [redacted] may be a woman. FLYNN may have clicked on the link.

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FLYNN was shown an email message dated 10/29/2016 to [REDACTED]. FLYNN did not recall the name [REDACTED]. FLYNN recalled at the time the Anthony WEINER news was being reported. Because of TRUMPS New York City connections and that it was NYPD, the campaign may have received the information. FLYNN did not recall [REDACTED] providing this information, but he seemed to have some knowledge that the WEINER story was about to break.

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Agent Note: A break for lunch was taken which lasted approximately 45 minutes.

TRUMP's off the cuff comment at the rally on 7/27/2016 was consistent with what TRUMP said in private. FLYNN knew it was said off topic, but no one said to FLYNN that it was meant to be taken as a joke. FLYNN thought TRUMP was serious when he made the comment. At the time, FLYNN did not know the name Roger STONE. TRUMP could have said, "Roger said this or that," but FLYNN would not have made the connection to STONE. In hindsight, nothing jumped out to FLYNN that it was STONE. STONE could have been one of the people calling TRUMP on the telephone but FLYNN did not know that as a fact. Outside the inner circle, FLYNN was not aware of others trying to find CLINTON's missing emails.

[REDACTED] was someone who worked at the Pentagon in the USDI's office. FLYNN was not sure what his job was, but thought he worked as a contractor. FLYNN exchanged a fair amount of email messages with [REDACTED]. FLYNN and [REDACTED] knew each other from their time in the military. FLYNN did not remember if they ever talked about the emails or just exchanged email messages.

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[REDACTED] was a retired general, an independent consultant, and a paid Fox contributor. FLYNN came to know [REDACTED] after his time in the military. His email messages were a bit conspiratorial, and FLYNN only met with him a couple of times. [REDACTED] was anti-CLINTON. [REDACTED] thought there was a likelihood that someone had emails related to Benghazi.

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[REDACTED] introduced FLYNN to another person at the Army Navy Club who FLYNN did not recall his name but the person always spoke in a manner as if the conversation was being listened to. FLYNN did not recall his name and described him as heavyset, white American, from Texas. FLYNN did not recall if either of them said they were in contact with foreign governments. The man he met at Army Navy seemed to have additional information but FLYNN always left conversations like this as thinking it was "a lot of B.S." As the campaign went on, FLYNN became more suspect of people approaching him with information to advance their own purpose. FLYNN has met with this person since the campaign.

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FLYNN reached out to other people he knew through the military such as [REDACTED]. Their discussions were about what was reported in the media. FLYNN also knew an analyst at CENTCOM, and likely there were others he had contact with but he did not ask them directly for information.

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[REDACTED] may have been a contractor when FLYNN reached out to him. They had a conversation on [REDACTED] analysis. FLYNN thought [REDACTED] was teaching in Florida, but [REDACTED] was in contact with a lot of people at CENTCOM, the DIA, and the Pentagon. In regards to the hacks, [REDACTED] thought there was a likelihood it was a nation state actor behind it but not sure how it was conducted. FLYNN was not sure of [REDACTED]'s source of information. [REDACTED] at CENTCOM was a friend of [REDACTED] who FLYNN may have spoken to as well. [REDACTED] are Middle East experts. FLYNN did not have any discussions on Wikileaks or the CLINTON emails with [REDACTED]. FLYNN did not recall any other military contacts. In a lot of ways, FLYNN tried avoiding contacting people still in the military because he did not want to put them in an awkward position. FLYNN thought there was a difference between information volunteered versus solicited. [REDACTED] volunteered information to FLYNN.

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FLYNN was shown an email message dated 06/29/2016, from [REDACTED]. FLYNN did not know much about the two individuals [REDACTED] wanted to meet. FLYNN was always respectful to [REDACTED].

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FLYNN was shown an email message dated 09/10/2016, from [REDACTED]. In reference to [REDACTED] statement that, "Gen FLYNN and I are the only senior people who have really reached out and have met with the Russians for solutions in Syria," FLYNN speculated [REDACTED] was "flowering" who he was to a degree. [REDACTED] was someone FLYNN would have reached out to because [REDACTED] was pro-Russia and U.S. relations. [REDACTED] was also anti the previous administration. FLYNN's contact with [REDACTED] was mainly through email messages.

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[REDACTED] was a Russian expert who would have thought Russia was behind the hack and that Russia had the capabilities to do the hack. FLYNN discussed Russian behaviors with [REDACTED] because he was writing about Russian relations at the time. FLYNN did not have any memory of talking to [REDACTED] about the DNC hack with Russia. FLYNN also did not recall [REDACTED] discussing the importance of Ukrainian sanctions.

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FLYNN was shown an email message dated 08/01/2016 from [REDACTED].

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[REDACTED] FLYNN was a [REDACTED]

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FLYNN was shown an email messaged dated 08/29/2016 regarding Chatham House. FLYNN did not have any direct contact with the individual. FLYNN was shown a photograph of Dmitri SIMES and an email message dated 09/08/2016. FLYNN did not recognize SIMES. FLYNN met [redacted] before receiving this message. FLYNN thought [redacted] knew more about the Middle East than Russia. FLYNN did not remember SIMES. At the time FLYNN provided a paper on national security issues but he did not know about the Center for National Interest's involvement at the Mayflower lunch.

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FLYNN did not remember anything about [redacted] from August 2015. FLYNN did not remember sending him an email message on 08/20/2016.

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#### Contacts in the FBI

FLYNN did not think he spoke with [redacted] about the missing emails during the campaign. They spoke more about what [redacted] would do after he retired from the FBI and the [redacted] FLYNN did not have the kind of relationship with [redacted] to ask him what the FBI may have known. FLYNN would not have wanted to put [redacted] in that type of position.

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[redacted] arranged training in [redacted] and provided a presentation on an interview tool. FLYNN did not have conversations with [redacted] about Russia. FLYNN did not recall the name [redacted] FLYNN discussed the hack and the missing emails with [redacted] but their conversations were not substantive. This was not [redacted] skill set. [redacted] was part of FLYNN's net but did not recall [redacted] coming back to FLYNN with any relevant information.

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#### Other Individuals

FLYNN did not recall Rudy GIULIANI saying specifically what activities he was doing to learn more about the missing email messages. GIULIANI seemed insightful to FLYNN on knowing when news on them would break. GIULIANI was working on cyber policy for TRUMP. FLYNN was not sure if GIULIANI got his information from the news or from actual contacts. FLYNN attended a couple of meetings at Trump Tower where GIULIANI was present. GIULIANI's conversations were always that Wikileaks would relase the missing email messages, not Russia. FLYNN thought Russia would wait to see who won the election. If CLINTON won, Russia could then use them for leverage over her. Wikileaks seemed to have the desire to put information out in the public to damage CLINTON.

FLYNN did not participate in any conversations with GIULIANI that indicated GIULIANI "cast his net" with his contacts. GIULIANI was one of a number of people around TRUMP's inner circle. GIULIANI agreed on who was

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behind the hack but was not really certain. GIULIANI was a close hold guy but might share what he was hearing. FLYNN recently saw a clip that during the campaign, GIULIANI said during an interview that there were more leaks to come. FLYNN recalled that was the kind of thing GIULIANI would say with certainty related to cyber. FLYNN listened to GIULIANI who came across as a judge and made remarks as though they were facts.

FLYNN was asked about [Redacted] related to the Digital Response Team. [Redacted] was part of a young group of guys from Texas who were donors of the TRUMP campaign. This group knew Donald J. TRUMP JR. and ERIC TRUMP. [Redacted] prepared a proposal and completed some work regarding micro targeting of particular demographic areas. They were not paid for their work. Their goal was to "influence and sway" through social media. [Redacted] was brought in to say something positive about the work they were doing. [Redacted] met with [Redacted] FLYNN did not meet [Redacted] until later in the campaign. FLYNN met [Redacted] when he spoke at the convention.

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FLYNN was shown an email message dated 09/22/2016 from [Redacted] [Redacted] was not a fan of PARSCALES'. PARSCALES was aware of what [Redacted] wanted to do and that they tried to go around PARSCALES, which is why their "OPSEC is likely blown."

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FLYNN was shown an email message from 10/09/2016, which contained a link to a Wikileaks link on the John PODESTA emails. FLYNN had conversations with [Redacted] about the speech CLINTON gave or possible about a debate. During which CLINTON affirmed a classified document that was illegally leaked. [Redacted] kept up with what information Wikileaks put out. FLYNN only saw them.

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Agent Note: A ten minute break was taken in the interview.

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[Redacted]

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Eric Prince

[Redacted]

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FLYNN saw PRINCE more often at Trump Tower after the election. PRINCE's access was as good as FLYNN's. PRINCE seemed to know where he was going when he walked around Trump Tower. FLYNN saw him speak to BANNON but was not sure what their conversations were about. FLYNN was not sure if PRINCE had badge access at Trump Tower. FLYNN had general conversations with him about TRUMP's cabinet picks. BANNON was busy at them time so FLYNN suspected that if PRINCE showed up to speak with BANNON that it was a planned visit. FLYNN never say PRINCE waiting around to meet with BANNON so suspected that BANNON knew when PRINCE was coming to his office.

FLYNN's office had glass walls so when he observed PRINCE with BANNON, FLYNN thought BANNON was focused on the conversation. Eventually BANNON covered his glass office walls with a blanket so people could no longer see in. FLYNN's office was moved and no longer had a line of sight into BANNON's office. FLYNN thought PRINCE may have visited BANNON to provide some insight. FLYNN was not sure if he saw PRINCE in Trump Tower after the New Year. FLYNN did not know if BANNON and PRINCE discussed Russia. It was BANNON's regular practice to have closed door meetings. FLYNN was not always sure PRINCE was visiting BANNON at Trump Tower; he may have been visiting others. PRINCE always seemed to have a purpose when he went to see BANNON.

FLYNN was familiar with the messaging application Wickr. Wickr was one among many that were decent. FLYNN was aware [Redacted]

b7E

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Michael T. Flynn 5/1/18, On 05/01/2018, Page 12 of 12

[REDACTED] FLYNN did not know if [REDACTED] was related to Wickr. If FLYNN was asked by the TRUMP administration to use secure communications, FLYNN would have recommended Signal. FLYNN did not discuss secure communications with [REDACTED]

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FLYNN recalled conversations with [REDACTED] when he was part of the Transition Team. [REDACTED] many have introduced FLYNN to [REDACTED]. When asked about [REDACTED] sending an email to [REDACTED] promoting Wickr, it did not ring a bell to FLYNN. FLYNN did not think they used encrypted messaging applications during the transition. FLYNN knew people had the applications on their personal phones but did not think they were used for transition activities. FLYNN was not aware of any government work conducted through encrypted messages. FLYNN did not talk with [REDACTED] about encrypted messages. [REDACTED] could have been "blowing smoke" in his message to [REDACTED]. FLYNN stated the Transition Team had a hard enough time trying to get people to use their [REDACTED] accounts.

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[REDACTED] no longer had a role in the U.S. government but maintained a clearance. [REDACTED]

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b7C

[REDACTED] FLYNN did not recall sharing classified information with [REDACTED]

FLYNN did not know [REDACTED]

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b7C

FLYNN was asked his visit to [REDACTED] on 04/03/2017. FLYNN was familiar with [REDACTED] and referred to it as the "toilet bowl building" due to its shape. FLYNN did not have an IC blue badge at the time. He kept the IC badge upon retiring from the DIA and was expected to retain a clearance for life. FLYNN had not used his IC badge after he was terminated from the White House. FLYNN will look for his IC badge.

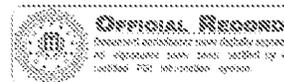
b3 per DIA

Agent Note: All documents shown to FLYNN during the interview will be maintained in a 1A.

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FBI(19cv1278)-3974

[Redacted]



~~UNCLASSIFIED//FOUO~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 06/01/2018

MICHAEL THOMAS FLYNN, date of birth [Redacted] was interviewed at 395 E Street SW, Washington, DC. Present in the interview were Senior Assistant Special Counsel (SASC) Brandon Van Grack, SASC Zainab Ahmed, ASAC [Redacted] and SSA [Redacted] Representing FLYNN during the interview were Steven Anthony, Robert Kelner, and [Redacted] of Covington and Burling LLC. After being advised of the identities of the interview personnel, FLYNN provided the following information:

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The Ledeens

BARBARA LEDEEN ("BARBARA") sent FLYNN news articles all the time. FLYNN did not respond to her text message on 05/01/2018, as he felt it was inappropriate for her to ask about the status of his case. When she asked, FLYNN referred her to speak with his attorneys. FLYNN thought she reached out to him on 05/01/2018 as it was a known date for which a status report was due in court. FLYNN has not shared with BARBARA or her husband, MICHAEL LEDEEN, when he was meeting with the Special Counsel's Office (SCO). FLYNN barely told [Redacted] when he was meeting with the SCO. FLYNN has vented his frustrations with the LEDEENS, but he also became irritated with BARBARA when she raised issues in the media. FLYNN did not tell them anything because he did not want it known as it was nobodies business.

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b7C

FLYNN never shared any information with BARBARA or anyone else regarding the types of questions asked by the SCO. Because of where BARBARA worked she always said things to FLYNN about what was going on in the media. His general response was, "Wonderful, I hope they do something about it." FLYNN used a cynical tone with her. BARBARA was a friend of FLYNN's because of his relationship with MICHAEL and [Redacted] [Redacted] BARBARA tends to have a "big mouth." FLYNN is good at compartmentalizing classified information and he considers his interactions with the SCO as classified. FLYNN never had any conversations with BARBARA or MICHAEL regarding the discovery material.

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FLYNN did not initially know that BARBARA's job in the HILL was working for Senator Chuck GRASSLEY. FLYNN was surprised to learn that GRASSLEY

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Investigation on 05/17/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 05/17/2018

by [Redacted]

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[REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Michael T. Flynn 5/17/18 , On 05/17/2018 , Page 2 of 8

went to the Department of Justice (DOJ) for information on his case. BARBARA has not provided any insight into the SCO's investigation on FLYNN, rather she provided him with updates on what Attorney General Jeff SESSIONS was working on. LEDEEN may have attended a meeting where SESSIONS was present but just shared general information with him. FLYNN had many conversations with BARBARA but tended to take what she said "with a grain of salt."

Agent Note: Robert KELNER, FLYNN's attorney, mentioned the New York Times article regarding the FBI Agent's changing their FD-302. KELNER thought the information came from BARBARA.

BARBARA sent FLYNN a lot of information via email which included links. The topics were relevant to what GRASSLEY was looking into. Many of the links contained news stories on Andrew MCCABE, Pete STRZOK, Lisa PAGE, and James COMEY. She forwarded FLYNN the topic of the day in the media. FLYNN did not receive any advance warning from BARBARA on when the STRZOK and PAGE text messages were going to be released. She may have alerted him to the Inspector General (IG) report or the Devin NUNES memo releases. BARBARA was very aggressive and persistent. FLYNN tries to be polite with her. BARBARA has asked FLYNN whether he will withdrawal his guilty plea. When she gets this way, FLYNN would not respond but admitted the topic bothers him. It is a sensitive matter that he does not want to talk about with people. He wished he could respond by saying, "Don't judge us (FLYNN and [REDACTED] for what you don't know." FLYNN usually stays silent and thanks people for their support.

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FLYNN did not recall if BARBARA shared with him who GRASSLEY's committee was planning to interview. If she did it was nothing specific. FLYNN thought BARBARA had some insight into things the committee was learning but she did not provide FLYNN any information on news which was about to break. FLYNN remained friendly with her because of MICHAEL, but was difficult because of the type of person she was. FLYNN may have told her about his interview with the FBI on 01/24 /2017. At the time FLYNN did not know STRZOK. He recognized Special Agent [REDACTED] from previous interactions. FLYNN learned of STRZOK's text messages after he entered his guilty plea, which caused FLYNN to feel differently about him. FLYNN spoke with BARBARA after he entered his plea. She expressed her opinion to FLYNN but never indicated that GRASSLEY or anyone else provided her with information specific to his case. BARBARA used very strong language telling FLYNN that he was unfairly treated. The conversations with BARBARA were always the same, so FLYNN became numb to them. BARBARA never gave FLYNN any indication that she knew what specifically was in the FD-302s written by the Agents.

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UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Michael T. Flynn 5/17/18, On 05/17/2018, Page 3 of 8

BARBARA seemed to have other sources of information, and FLYNN assumed that was how she got her information. BARBARA was a busybody. When the judge assigned to FLYNN's case was changed she thought it was a great thing for him. BARBARA was familiar with the judge's work on the Ted Stevens case. BARBARA asked FLYNN about exculpatory information he received, but FLYNN did not respond to her. BARBARA asked FLYNN whether he had seen the FD-302 yet, and continued to send articles. FLYNN did not read everything she sent to him. BARBARA made his life miserable constantly sending him bad news.

Agent Note: KELNER commented that BARBARA complained to him that GRASSLEY froze her out of the case prior to FLYNN's plea and would not share information with her. BARBARA received the information from her broad network of contacts.

FLYNN was shown an email message dated 03/30/2017, from MICHAEL LEDEEN. "Sarah" is Sarah CARTER. FLYNN was not sure he spoke with MICHAEL about this message regarding immunity in exchange for FLYNN's testimony. FLYNN would have told MICHAEL not to believe everything he reads. CARTER never wrote a story on this.

FLYNN was shown an email message from MICHAEL sent 18 days later. FLYNN did not remember this message from MICHAEL. He remembered [redacted] reaching out to him with a message from Keith KELLOGG, but not this one. FLYNN knew people in the White House were told not to communicate with FLYNN. [redacted] never was used as an intermediary to share messages with FLYNN, but FLYNN has spoken with [redacted] since he left the White House in August 2017. FLYNN thought [redacted] or KT MCFARLAND, all could have passed messages to him. If MICHAEL passed a message to FLYNN it would have been memorable to him because he heard from so few people. No messages were passed to FLYNN through any of his family members. Despite their long history, FLYNN has also not heard from [redacted]

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FLYNN was asked about a note from [redacted] from 05/06/2017. FLYNN never met [redacted] but was familiar with his radio show. FLYNN recalled the note but never found out who [redacted] source of information was. FLYNN was cautious with who he shared information.

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FLYNN has not heard from MCFARLAND since he left the White House. It means a lot to FLYNN when people reach out to him. [redacted] reached out to say, "I hope you're doing well." These messages carried a lot of weight with FLYNN. FLYNN has spoken with [redacted] since his plea. They do not discuss anything regarding FLYNN's case. FLYNN has not kept in contact with [redacted]

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Michael T. Flynn 5/17/18, On 05/17/2018, Page 4 of 8

[redacted] had insider information because of his position at the White House. [redacted] was aware when NUNES was briefed in the Eisenhower building because it was near [redacted] office. FLYNN stated [redacted] had a "God like knowledge of everything." Since his departure from the White House, [redacted] shared with FLYNN information about his interactions with General MCMASTER. Steven BANNON or Jared KUSHNER protected [redacted] from MCMASTER. FLYNN did not recall [redacted] sharing any insider knowledge with him. There was a period where FLYNN and [redacted] did not speak because of all of the negative media. They have since reconnected and FLYNN thought [redacted] worked for SESSIONS but they do not discuss [redacted] work. [redacted] and BARBARA knew each other, FLYNN speculated through [redacted] or their synagogue, but did not really know.

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FLYNN was shown a copy of an article written by Sarah CARTER dated 12/19/2017. FLYNN stated he was not the source referenced in the article. FLYNN did not know if the former FBI source was [redacted] When FLYNN saw "former intel" he thought it was someone who worked on the Hill. FLYNN had conversations with [redacted] about the text messages, and asked him about Pete STROZK. At the time FLYNN had no idea STROZK was part of a Russia squad. FLYNN would have spoken in general to [redacted] about his 01/24/2017 interview with the FBI because FLYNN would have asked [redacted] typical FBI procedures. FLYNN was not even sure he remembered MCCABE calling him to set up the interview. FLYNN discussed his frustrations with all of the news coming about about the FBI with [redacted] provided FLYNN with the atmospheric of the FBI. After FLYNN was fired, he would have told people about the interview but did not have a specific recollection which helped him identify CARTER's sources of this article. Others who could be sources were [redacted] or [redacted] FLYNN had frequent discussion about this so he cannot

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Michael T. Flynn 5/17/18 , On 05/17/2018 , Page 5 of 8

recall one which stands out. FLYNN has not spoken to CARTER, but has sent her messages thanking her for her support. CARTER's best source is Sean HANNITY. FLYNN has known CARTER for a long time to know she does not rely on one source alone.

Agent Note: KELNER had been contacted by CARTER on several occasions prior to the initiation of FLYNN's proffers. KELNER did an off the record interview with CARTER. He may have been the source for information regarding MCCABE scheduling an interview on short notice with FLYNN.

FLYNN did not recall whether MCCABE called to schedule the interview. FLYNN recalled MCCABE visiting the White House prior to the 01/24/2017 interview. MCCABE was there regarding the FBI's relationship with the White House.

FLYNN was shown an article written by CARTER dated 03/31/2018. FLYNN barely spoke with [Redacted] regarding discovery matters so he does not know where CARTER got her information. BARBARA reached out to FLYNN but he did not respond to her with anything specific. FLYNN may have told her they received the discovery and were reviewing the documents.

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FLYNN had many conversations around the time of this article but was never asked if the information could be shared with CARTER, nor did he direct anyone to share it with her. He spoke with [Redacted] BARBARA, [Redacted] and others; FLYNN spoke with over 20 people. FLYNN was not sure who communicated with CARTER. FLYNN told [Redacted] about receiving discovery and knows [Redacted] was constantly contacted by media.

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FLYNN was shown an email he sent to [Redacted] on 11/02/2016. FLYNN did not remember a message regarding the declassification of a document to investigate the servers.

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Agent Note: A 15 minute break was taken in the interview.

[Redacted]

FLYNN was shown a [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Michael T. Flynn 5/17/18 , On 05/17/2018 , Page 6 of 8

[Redacted]

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FLYNN met [Redacted] FLYNN asked [Redacted] his title because he was sending [Redacted] copies of his book. FLYNN was in [Redacted]

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[Redacted] was also on the trip.

Agent Note: A five minute break was taken in the interview. When the interview resumed, KELNER suggested the SCO look at whether [Redacted] played a role in connecting [Redacted]

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The head of security for the [Redacted] lead the meeting. FLYNN knew many of the people in the room FLYNN did not know all of the details on how the robust meeting was arranged.

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FLYNN recalled another instance when [Redacted] shared FBI information with him. Shortly after FLYNN's 01/24/2017 interview, [Redacted] told FLYNN there was an "intense" meeting in MCCABE's office. [Redacted] was at the meeting and it was reported to [Redacted] that [Redacted] said that FLYNN did not lie to them and that [Redacted] would testify to that statement. FLYNN heard this from [Redacted] in February 2017. FLYNN recalled James COMEY was either a part of the meeting or was given feedback on the meeting. FLYNN did not recall who gave [Redacted] this information.

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FLYNN was aware that [Redacted] had a network he communicated with who provided him with information or were used as resources. [Redacted] and [Redacted] were part of this network. [Redacted] was a resource for [Redacted]

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FLYNN was shown a [Redacted]

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FLYNN was shown a [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Michael T. Flynn 5/17/18 , On 05/17/2018 , Page 7 of 8

FLYNN was shown a

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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FLYNN was shown a

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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FLYNN has been in touch with [Redacted] He has not had any conversations with [Redacted] regarding this investigation. FLYNN has not had any detailed conversations with [Redacted] and [Redacted] did not ask FLYNN any specific questions. [Redacted] was the White House contact for ATSG, a company that did government work from training to records management to human resources. [Redacted] contacted ATSG to learn what they were doing for the government as part of his role at the White House. Generally speaking, ATSG was able to review a government organizational chart and determine the effectiveness of each block on the chart. [Redacted] was involved in the idea of reforming the structure of the government.

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[Redacted] was responsive to messages on Signal which was why FLYNN said to contact him via Signal. [Redacted] used Signal for as long as FLYNN knew him. While in the White House FLYNN called people on the telephone and hardly used his personal phone. FLYNN was not aware of other people in the White House using a secure text application. People tended to use their own devices. [Redacted] was the only other person in the White House that FLYNN communicated with using Signal messages.

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FLYNN was shown an email dated 1/12/2017 from [Redacted] to [Redacted] FLYNN did not recall having a conversation with [Redacted] regarding secure communications. FLYNN was not a fan of Wickr. The secure communications they had in the White House were "pretty damn good." FLYNN never had any discussion about not using the normal secure systems. FLYNN was concerned about communications being targeted for the TRUMP Administration during transition. [Redacted]

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[Redacted] FLYNN thought it was worse in New York City than when they were in Washington, D.C. FLYNN would have passed [Redacted] information to [Redacted] because that was [Redacted] skill set. The Transition Team was issued a limited number of secure cellular telephones which were never used.

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Michael T. Flynn 5/17/18, On 05/17/2018, Page 8 of 8

FLYNN spoke with

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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Agent Note: Copies of all documents shown to FLYNN will be maintained in a 1A.

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[Redacted]



UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 05/29/2018

MICHAEL THOMAS FLYNN, date of birth [Redacted] was interviewed at 395 E Street SW, Washington, DC. Present in the interview were Senior Assistant Special Counsel (SASC) Brandon Van Grack, SASC Zainab Ahmad, ASAC [Redacted] and SOS [Redacted] was accompanied by attorneys Steven Anthony, Robert Kelner, and [Redacted] After being advised of the identities of the interviewers, [Redacted] provided the following information:

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Dealings Pertaining to Qatar Pre-Election:

Flynn's dealings with Qatar started in 2015 and continued past the 2016 US presidential election. Flynn's involvement in Qatar prior to the 2016 election was two-fold: [Redacted]

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Flynn traveled on at least two occasions to Qatar. [Redacted]

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Flynn did not recall meeting [Redacted]

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[Redacted] without Flynn. Flynn noted that [Redacted] He is unclear whether [Redacted] who was [Redacted] had finalized any sort of contract with the Qataris.

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Investigation on 05/23/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)  
File # [Redacted] Date drafted 05/25/2018  
by [Redacted]

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[REDACTED]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Michael Thomas  
Flynn on 5/23/2018

Continuation of FD-302 of \_\_\_\_\_, On 05/23/2018, Page 2 of 5

[REDACTED] personally asked Flynn to return to Qatar in the fall of 2016 but he refused. Prior to the election, Flynn attended a lunch with [REDACTED] and the Qatari Defense Attache assigned to the U.S. in Washington, D.C. Five to six people attended the lunch, in which the prospect of cyber training was discussed. Flynn was unsure whether he charged NJK for this lunch given his consulting agreement with them.

b6  
b7C**Dealings Pertaining to Qatar Post-Election:**

Following the 2016 election, [REDACTED] in Flynn's estimation,

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[REDACTED] Flynn did not recall whether he was asked by [REDACTED] to reach back to contacts in Qatar to assist. He had drafted a letter dated 11/11/2016 to the government of Qatar stating he couldn't travel there. Flynn described this letter, [REDACTED] as an attempt to 'close' business ties given the fact he was likely being given a role in the incoming administration.

In the week following the election, in which Flynn started shutting down his business links, he continued to see [REDACTED] basis when in Washington. [REDACTED] occasionally contacted Flynn as well, seeking (in Flynn's opinion) a position in the Trump administration.

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Flynn was not aware of [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C**December 12, 2016 Meeting at Trump Tower:**

On 12/12/2016, Flynn was working in New York in the 25th floor conference room at Trump Tower. He didn't recognize the name of [REDACTED] [REDACTED] as individuals he may have met with. At one point that day he bumped into Rick Perry in the hallway.

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b7C

Flynn recalled an instance, sometime between Thanksgiving and his vacation to the Dominican Republic, in which he was pulled into Michael Cohen's office by Cohen as he walked past. Cohen introduced Flynn to an individual he described as "distinguished looking younger Middle Eastern guy" in a suit and tie. Their 15 to 20 minute conversation was small talk about the election, as well as a discussion regarding re-establishing relationships throughout the Middle East. When the meeting concluded, Flynn stood up and walked out.

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[REDACTED]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Michael Thomas  
Flynn on 5/23/2018

Continuation of FD-302 of \_\_\_\_\_, On 05/23/2018, Page 3 of 5

{NOTE: Flynn was shown a photograph of [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] Flynn didn't recognize the  
photograph shown to him, but speculated it could have been the individual  
he met with in Cohen's office.}

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Flynn added that this meeting stood out from others, as it was the only  
one in which he recalled being pulled into Cohen's office. Prior meetings  
between the two were held in his office or in the hallway. Cohen had  
expressed an interest in possibly being part of the incoming Trump  
administration, likely in a White House role.

{NOTE: Flynn was later shown a photograph of the head of Qatar  
Investment Authority (QIA) but didn't recognize the photograph and did not  
believe it was the individual he met with in Cohen's office.}

[REDACTED]  
Flynn's relationship with [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] Flynn works as a  
consultant for [REDACTED] is a  
[REDACTED] Flynn initially was  
introduced to [REDACTED] Flynn added that certain members  
of [REDACTED] board did not want Flynn at [REDACTED]

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b7C

Flynn recalled a conversation he had with [REDACTED] last fall prior to  
his guilty plea in which [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

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b7C

[REDACTED]  
Flynn believes his first meeting with [REDACTED] may have been in  
[REDACTED] at a  
meeting and Flynn believes the two may have met then.

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In [REDACTED] Flynn (in his role as consultant for the company  
[REDACTED] attended by a number  
of individuals, including the [REDACTED] the  
[REDACTED] (among others).  
At some point [REDACTED] indicated that he was involved in working on counter-  
IED and counter-WMD matters. Flynn offered to facilitate an introduction  
[REDACTED]

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The next day, Flynn and [REDACTED] went to breakfast with [REDACTED]  
and [REDACTED] explained that he knew [REDACTED] and had served  
together.

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[Redacted]

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Michael Thomas

Continuation of FD-302 of Flynn on 5/23/2018 , On 05/23/2018 , Page 4 of 5

[Redacted]

[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

b3

[Redacted]

b3  
b6  
b7C

Flynn doesn't believe he met [Redacted] and did not have a conversation with him regarding [Redacted]

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b7C

[Redacted]

b3  
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b7C

**FBI/USG Contacts:**

Flynn named individuals tied to the FBI with whom he was acquainted. Among these were the following:

- [Redacted]
- [Redacted]
- [Redacted] whom Flynn met for breakfast
- An individual named [Redacted] whom Flynn spoke to a few times.
- One individual with [Redacted]

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b7C

Flynn added that there is a network of retired FBI agents who have been tracking the status of the Special Counsel investigations. He has met some of them.

[Redacted] Flynn helped [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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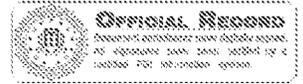
[Redacted]

(U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Michael Thomas  
Flynn on 5/23/2018

Continuation of FD-302 of \_\_\_\_\_, On 05/23/2018, Page 5 of 5

UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~

[Redacted]



~~UNCLASSIFIED//FOUO~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 05/21/2018

MICHAEL THOMAS FLYNN, date of birth [Redacted], was interviewed at 395 E Street SW, Washington, DC. Present in the interview were Senior Assistant Special Counsel (SASC) Brandon Van Grack, ASC Aaron Zelinsky, ASAC [Redacted] and SSA [Redacted] Representing FLYNN during the interview were Steven Anthony and [Redacted] of Covington and Burling LLC. After being advised of the identities of the interview personnel, FLYNN provided the following information:

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b7C

FLYNN was concerned when he was told about the use of his IC badge /03/2017. His security clearance was suspended on 02/14/2017. FLYNN called on that day by [Redacted] from the DIA who advised him it was suspended. FLYNN checked his calendar and confirmed he had no appointments that day. FLYNN also reviewed his email messages around that time and from his review it looked as if he was home on that day. The physical badge may be in a box in his mother's basement. FLYNN agreed to look for it.

b3 per DIA  
b6 per DIA and FBI  
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Barbara LEDEEN contacted FLYNN in the spring of 2016 regarding the missing Hillary CLINTON emails. LEDEEN told FLYNN about her communications with [Redacted] and what [Redacted] was doing to find them. LEDEEN thought [Redacted] was "on to something" related to Benghazi. [Redacted] travelled abroad, meeting with people in his pursuit. FLYNN recalled that [Redacted] seemed to have knowledge of some servers located in Eastern Europe. FLYNN was not sure where [Redacted] traveled. FLYNN was not sure how [Redacted] work related to searching the dark web but thought [Redacted] was involved in some efforts related to it. LEDEEN's role was as a conduit. FLYNN said she was conspiratorial. FLYNN thought they may have been working with another individual but he did not know the name. [Redacted] seemed to have other people he was working with and talking to about the missing emails. FLYNN thought [Redacted] found a lot of "non-sense". [Redacted] provided documents to FLYNN but FLYNN did not think he really found anything. FLYNN cannot remember details of the document.

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FLYNN gave time and attention to [Redacted] out of respect for his friendship with LEDEEN. [Redacted] sent files to FLYNN on one or two occasions. FLYNN only read some of what he sent. FLYNN described it as "interesting" but was not sure if the content related to the missing

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Investigation on 05/04/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted] Date drafted 05/04/2018

by [Redacted]

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Michael T. Flynn 5/4/18, On 05/04/2018, Page 2 of 6

emails or Benghazi. It also may have been about Sidney Blumenthal's role in Libya at the time. FLYNN could not make out exactly what they were doing. LEDEEN reached out to FLYNN because of their friendship and the fact FLYNN was being asked about these topics in the news. LEDEEN and [REDACTED] did not ask FLYNN for funding or advice on their efforts. They shared "here is what we have, here is what we are finding." FLYNN was not sure what their expectations were for sharing the information with FLYNN. FLYNN asked [REDACTED] if he shared the information with the FBI. If [REDACTED] found anything of interest, FLYNN would have shared it with the Donald J. TRUMP Campaign. If someone had a thumb drive with evidence, FLYNN would have told them to go to the FBI with it.

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FLYNN was shown an email message dated 05/24/2016 from LEDEEN to FLYNN. FLYNN stated he probably spoke with LEDEEN but was not sure of any details. FLYNN did not recall whether he saw a document.

FLYNN was shown an email message dated 06/16/2016 from LEDEEN to FLYNN. FLYNN recalled that despite it containing a lot of information, it was not a report. FLYNN thinks he reviewed it on-line in summary fashion. The report summarized the "noise" on the dark web regarding the missing emails. FLYNN did not think he shared the information with the TRUMP campaign at the time. At the time FLYNN had less communication with the TRUMP campaign pre-convention. FLYNN was getting ready to go on vacation and Corey LEWANDOWSKI had been removed as the campaign's manager. FLYNN did not think he mentioned this report to [REDACTED] [Paul MANAFORT's [REDACTED] or LEWANDOWSKI. FLYNN was in communication with Sam CLOVIS but does not think they discussed the emails. There were so many people out there looking for the missing emails; FLYNN was not ready to get involved in the search.

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FLYNN may have mentioned to people that he knew people who were actively looking for the missing CLINTON emails. FLYNN would not have mentioned [REDACTED] or Peter SMITH by name. FLYNN recalled he had a strong yet unfounded belief that Wikileaks would eventually release the missing email messages. FLYNN would not have shared that people he know were looking for them.

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FLYNN was shown an email message dated 09/10/2016 from LEDEEN to FLYNN. [REDACTED] was a campaign advisor early on and a [REDACTED] [REDACTED] FLYNN was not sure what this email from LEDEEN was about. FLYNN recalled briefly speaking with [REDACTED] FLYNN would have called him because he was former [REDACTED] FLYNN recalled they exchanged email messages prior to this date so [REDACTED] may have given him an update on those exchanges. FLYNN did not remember their exact discussion. There was not any other project LEDEEN might have

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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Michael T. Flynn 5/4/18, On 05/04/2018, Page 4 of 6

this was a way to hide the information in a foreign country. [redacted] thought they were stored there to hide them, but not so much that someone put them there. [redacted] thought they had discovered some real evidence. It was never really clear to FLYNN what they found; FLYNN thought it was "secret squirrel stuff."

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After a book event FLYNN attended with [redacted] LEDEEN set up a meeting with [redacted] to discuss micro targeting. [redacted] was not very organized. FLYNN just listened to his presentation. FLYNN recalled [redacted] mentioned BLUMENTHAL and the servers in Eastern Europe. When asked by FLYNN, [redacted] said he had contacted the FBI. FLYNN did not think he gave anything to the TRUMP campaign because he saw the information as conspiratorial or "nut job." FLYNN was also busy with his book events. The day he met with [redacted] was the same day he did an event with [redacted] FLYNN conveyed to people that people were looking for the missing emails and were confident they would eventually find them. FLYNN would have said this to anyone he was with on the TRUMP plane. FLYNN does not know if [redacted] specifically said he knew people but he could have. People on the plane include TRUMP. FLYNN did not believe he conveyed to the team information about the servers in the Ukraine or Eastern Europe. FLYNN was not ruling it out but does not recall exactly what he said. FLYNN recalled how he felt about [redacted]

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FLYNN forwarded the micro-targeting document to Brad PARSCALES, but did not remember doing so. FLYNN vaguely remembered the document. FLYNN would have passed it to PARSCALES to help [redacted]

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FLYNN was shown an email message dated 10/18/2016 from [redacted] to FLYNN regarding project Veritas. FLYNN recalled this project had to do with the person who was sneaking into various places and secretly recording his interactions such as the one at Planned Parenthood. FLYNN thought something may have been exposed at the time of this message. This message may just have been a reference.

b3 per DIA  
b6 per DIA and FBI  
b7C

FLYNN was advised he had a telephone conversation set up by [redacted] with MANAFORT on 06/23/2016 which lasted approximately one hour. [FLYNN looked at a calendar prepared by his attorney for reference.] FLYNN did not remember the call. One hour was a long time for FLYNN to be on the phone and he had "zero recollections" of that call. FLYNN provided a document to MANAFORT on broad national security issues which was sent shortly after this call. FLYNN only had one or two conversations with Rick GATES before he met MANAFORT in person for the first time on 06/30/2016. FLYNN worked through [redacted] to connect with MANAFORT. It was possible the call on 06/23/2016 was an interview. During FLYNN's last conversation with LEWANDOWSKI he was asked to provide personal information such as date of birth for vetting purposes. MANAFORT was not good on email. FLYNN recalled that

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[REDACTED]  
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Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Michael T. Flynn 5/4/18, On 05/04/2018, Page 5 of 6

MANAFORT was also not responsive to TRUMP. FLYNN talked to MANAFORT about the lengthy document.

Agent Note: A break was taken in the interview.

ICA Brief on 01/06/2017

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] TRUMP did not mention what had now been widely reported that the conversation was about the Steele dossier. FLYNN recalled that he left the meeting before the others. FLYNN did not recall hearing from TRUMP at a later date that COMEY told him about the Steele dossier.

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

FLYNN knew TRUMP was aware of the report when TRUMP sent a Tweet about it on 01/11/2017. TRUMP never slept and was always up. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

TRUMP thought the Steele dossier was all a "bullshit, made up story." FLYNN had conversations with TRUMP about the dossier or heard him venting about it to others. TRUMP always carried around a stack of newspapers so would have commented on it if it was reported in one of them. FLYNN may also have heard TRUMP talk about it during a meeting one on one or with others. FLYNN did not remember TRUMP telling them to find derogatory information on Steele. FLYNN did not remember that type of direction from anyone.

During the Transition, FLYNN met with [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U) Michael T. Flynn 5/4/18 , On 05/04/2018 , Page 6 of 6

[Redacted]

b7D

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP

[Redacted]

FLYNN did not remember. FLYNN thought they may have provided something. FLYNN did not think Captair [Redacted] was ever in New York City during the transition.

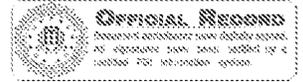
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Agent Note: A break was taken in the interview.

FLYNN did not want to say something that he did not remember. FLYNN knew MCFARLAND had a [Redacted] FLYNN did not like reading those types of things [Redacted] because it felt as if it was a "hostile takeover of our own government" to not get the information from the IC. If FLYNN read something and it was credible, he would have talked to the inner circle and TRUMP about the information.

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Agent Note: Copies of all documents shown to FLYNN will be maintained in a 1A.



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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 09/28/2018

MICHAEL T. FLYNN was interviewed at the offices of Covington & Burling LLP, 850 10th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20001, by the writer, accompanied by Senior Assistant Special Counsels Brandon Van Grack and Zainab Ahmad. Flynn was accompanied by attorneys Rob Kelner, Stephen Anthony, and [Redacted] of Covington and Burling. After being advised of the identity of the interviewing Agent and the nature of the interview, FLYNN provided the following information:

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History with [Redacted]

Flynn estimated that he first met [Redacted]. At the time, Flynn was a Senior Intelligence Official, [Redacted]

[Redacted] As Flynn moved to [Redacted]

b3 per DIA  
b6 per DIA and FBI  
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By 2012, Flynn had moved to the DIA, while [Redacted]

[Redacted] Though the two continued to work closely, by [Redacted] Flynn decided to [Redacted]

b3 per DIA and FBI  
b6 per DIA and FBI  
b7C

Eventually, [Redacted]

[Redacted]

b3 per DIA  
b6 per DIA and FBI  
b7C

2016 Campaign, Election, and Transition:

Flynn kept in contact with [Redacted] during the 2016 Presidential Campaign, [Redacted]

b3 per DIA  
b6 per DIA and FBI  
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Following the election, in December of 2016, [Redacted]

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP  
b3 per DIA  
b6 per DIA and FBI  
b7C

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Investigation on 09/17/2018 at Washington, District Of Columbia, United States (In Person)

File # [Redacted]

Date drafted 09/28/2018

by [Redacted]

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[Redacted]

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[Redacted]

Continuation of FD-302 of (U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Michael Flynn , On 09/17/2018 , Page 2 of 3

[Redacted]

b5 Per DOJ/OIP  
b3 per DIA  
b6 per DIA and FBI  
b7C

Flynn stated that following his contacts with Russian Ambassador Sergey Kislyak, he and [Redacted] discussed the proposed conference to be held in Astana, Kazakhstan. [Redacted] eventually told Flynn that it was decided an Embassy representative would attend the conference rather than a National Security Council (NSC) official due to the inauguration and start of the administration. Flynn didn't recall whether he conveyed to [Redacted] that his contacts with Kislyak also involved Russia sanctions.

b3 per DIA  
b6 per DIA and FBI  
b7C

Dismissal of Flynn:

Following Flynn's dismissal from the Trump administration on 2/13/2017,

[Redacted]

The two remained in touch through text messages, emails, a breakfast meeting (possibly), and telephone calls in the Spring of 2017. Eventually, [Redacted] left the administration, at which point Flynn sent him a message of thanks for his assistance.

[Redacted]

Flynn stated that at some point, [Redacted]

[Redacted]

in some capacity. The two had infrequent contact, at most once a month. Flynn described their contacts as largely by telephone, though they may have had a breakfast meeting.

b3 per DIA  
b6 per DIA and FBI  
b7C

Prior to Flynn pleading guilty in the late fall of 2017, he tried to avoid conversations with associates about his legal issues. Flynn stated that [Redacted] didn't ask him about the reported conversations Flynn had with Kislyak. Flynn couldn't recall whether [Redacted] in these contacts, provided him any information regarding HPSCI matters. Flynn believes [Redacted] have simply forwarded him news articles of interest during this time.

b3 per DIA  
b6 per DIA and FBI  
b7C

Following Flynn's plea in December 2017, he was asked by many contacts about the U.S. Government's discovery in his case. These individuals asked "are they (USG) giving you everything you have?" Among these individuals was Barbara Ledeen, who asked Flynn if he had a specific FD-302 from the two agents who had interviewed him in 2016. Flynn doesn't recall any of these contacts indicating that they had seen any documents pertaining to his case.

Eventually, news media began to carry a story about altered FD-302s. Contacts of Flynn such as Barbara Ledeen would call him to ask regarding this. Flynn was angered at these contacts and would refer the individuals

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UNCLASSIFIED//~~FOUO~~Continuation of FD-302 of (U//~~FOUO~~) Interview of Michael Flynn, On 09/17/2018, Page 3 of 3

to his attorneys. He couldn't recall whether Sara Carter had contacted him during this time. Brian McCauley continued to send articles to Flynn during this time.

**Conversation of July 2018:**

On Saturday 7/14/2018, Flynn was called by [redacted]. They arranged to meet for breakfast, which lasted between 45 minutes and an hour. To the end of their conversation, [redacted] told Flynn that he had personally met and spoken to FBI agent [redacted]. [redacted] said that [redacted] told him that he [redacted] didn't believe that Flynn had lied in their interview of early 2017. [redacted] also told [redacted] that there was some sort of follow-up meeting between [redacted] and Andrew McCabe at the FBI after the Flynn interview in which McCabe had made a disparaging remark about Flynn. Flynn, irritated, thought this was a "big deal." He also immediately contacted his attorneys with this information. Flynn stated that he has been leery of [redacted] since and has stayed away from him. Flynn added that this was never brought up by anyone else.

b3 per DIA  
b6 per DIA and FBI  
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b3 per DIA  
b6 per DIA and FBI  
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**Telephone call of 9/7/2018:**

Flynn had not heard from [redacted] until he (Flynn) was home preparing to attend a veteran's fundraiser at the University of Rhode Island. [redacted] called Flynn's mobile telephone. Following initial greetings, [redacted] asked Flynn "did you ever see a UK or British document turned over to the SSO or SCIF at transition headquarters?" Flynn stated that if this was true, there would be some sort of record of having obtained the document. He became curt and ended the conversation, which he estimated to be no longer than one minute in length.

Flynn has heard from [redacted] one time since the telephone call, a message passing his greetings Flynn received on 9/16/2018. Flynn has responded.

b3 per DIA  
b6 per DIA and FBI  
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Flynn stated that there have been no other instances of people providing him details regarding an investigation. His family and close friends do send him news articles from time to time.

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