

## TIMELINE

### **General Michael Flynn's Efforts to Lift Sanctions and Promote a Joint Project with Russia to Build Nuclear Reactors in the Middle East**

#### *Before the Election*

- From April 2015 to June 2016, Flynn served as an “advisor” for ACU Strategic Partners, which was promoting a plan to work with Russia to build nuclear reactors in the Middle East, according to his latest financial disclosure form.<sup>1</sup> ACU claimed that “Total Regional Security” for its project would be provided by Rosoboron, a Russian company currently under U.S. sanctions. It also listed Atomstroy—a Russian nuclear power facility construction company—as one of the companies that would construct the nuclear power plants.<sup>2</sup>
- On June 10, 2015, Flynn testified before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs’ Subcommittee on the Middle East and North Africa that he “just came from a trip—fairly extensive trip to the Middle East” where “one of the big issues that came up” was nuclear power in the Middle East.<sup>3</sup>
- Flynn signed a Truth in Testimony form claiming that he was testifying on behalf of the Flynn Intel Group, but he did not report that he was an advisor to ACU at the time.<sup>4</sup> He also failed to report this trip on his security clearance renewal application in January 2016 and concealed it from background check investigators who interviewed him as part of that process.<sup>5</sup>
- Later in June 2015—after his congressional testimony—Flynn took another, separate trip to Egypt and Israel to meet with high-level government officials regarding the nuclear

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<sup>1</sup> Executive Branch Personnel Public Financial Disclosure Report (OGE Form 278e) for Michael Flynn (Aug. 3, 2017) (online at [www.documentcloud.org/documents/3913715-Michael-Flynn-amended-public-financial-disclosure.html](http://www.documentcloud.org/documents/3913715-Michael-Flynn-amended-public-financial-disclosure.html)).

<sup>2</sup> *ACU/X-Co/IPG—The Iron Bridge* (undated) (online at [http://s.newsweek.com/sites/www.newsweek.com/files/acu\\_x-co\\_ironbridge\\_acu.pdf](http://s.newsweek.com/sites/www.newsweek.com/files/acu_x-co_ironbridge_acu.pdf)).

<sup>3</sup> House Committee on Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Middle East and North Africa, *Hearing on Iran’s Missile Defense Capabilities*, 114th Cong. (June 10, 2015) (online at <https://foreignaffairs.house.gov/hearing/subcommittee-hearing-irans-enduring-ballistic-missile-threat/>).

<sup>4</sup> House Committee on Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Middle East and North Africa, “*Truth in Testimony*” *Disclosure Form* (June 10, 2015) (online at <http://docs.house.gov/meetings/FA/FA13/20150610/103582/HHRG-114-FA13-TTF-FlynnM-20150610.pdf>).

<sup>5</sup> Letter from Ranking Member Elijah E. Cummings, House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, and Ranking Member Eliot Engel, House Committee on Foreign Affairs, to Flynn Intel Group et al. (Sept. 12, 2017) (online at [https://democrats-oversight.house.gov/sites/democrats.oversight.house.gov/files/documents/2017-09-12.%20EEC%20%20E.Engel%20to%20ACU%20Re.Flynn\\_Redacted.FINAL\\_.pdf](https://democrats-oversight.house.gov/sites/democrats.oversight.house.gov/files/documents/2017-09-12.%20EEC%20%20E.Engel%20to%20ACU%20Re.Flynn_Redacted.FINAL_.pdf)).

plan.<sup>6</sup> ACU paid for Flynn's travel expenses and wrote him a check for \$25,000 to compensate him for the "loss of income and business opportunities resulting from this trip," which they claim he never cashed.<sup>7</sup> Flynn also failed to report this trip on his security clearance renewal application in January 2016 and concealed it from background check investigators who interviewed him as part of that process.<sup>8</sup>

- Regarding this trip, ACU Counsel Donald Gross later wrote in an email: "Mike's ties to the Israeli security community were helpful in securing meetings and he played an important leadership role in the high-level meetings we had."<sup>9</sup>
- On August 19, 2015, Flynn appeared for a speaking engagement with Volga-Dnepr Airlines, a Russian charter cargo airline that has been blacklisted by the Pentagon.<sup>10</sup> He made no reference to this speaking engagement or the \$11,250 payment from the Russian airline on his security clearance renewal application in January 2016 or during his interview with background check investigators.<sup>11</sup>
- In October 2015, Flynn traveled to Saudi Arabia, according to information he included on his security clearance application in 2016. He claimed he went there with a friend for six days to speak at a conference and stayed at the King Khaled International Hotel. However, none of Flynn's three speakers bureaus had any information about this trip,

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<sup>6</sup> *Michael Flynn's Role in Middle Eastern Nuclear Project Could Compound Legal Issues*, Washington Post (Nov. 27, 2017) (online at [www.washingtonpost.com/politics/michael-flynn-s-role-in-middle-eastern-nuclear-project-could-compound-legal-issues/2017/11/26/51ce7ec8-ce18-11e7-81bc-c55a220c8cbe\\_story.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/michael-flynn-s-role-in-middle-eastern-nuclear-project-could-compound-legal-issues/2017/11/26/51ce7ec8-ce18-11e7-81bc-c55a220c8cbe_story.html)).

<sup>7</sup> Letter from Alex Copson, Managing Director, ACU Strategic Partners, to Ranking Member Elijah E. Cummings, House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, and Ranking Member Eliot L. Engel, House Committee on Foreign Affairs (June 27, 2017) (online at <https://democrats-oversight.house.gov/sites/democrats.oversight.house.gov/files/documents/Response%20from%20Copson%20%28ACU%29%2006-27-2017.pdf>) (confirming that General Flynn accepted the flights, lodging, and other expenses, but did not deposit the check for \$25,000).

<sup>8</sup> Letter from Ranking Member Elijah E. Cummings, House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, and Ranking Member Eliot Engel, House Committee on Foreign Affairs, to Flynn Intel Group et al. (Sept. 12, 2017) (online at [https://democrats-oversight.house.gov/sites/democrats.oversight.house.gov/files/documents/2017-09-12.%20EEC%20%20E.Engel%20to%20ACU%20Re.Flynn\\_Redacted.FINAL\\_.pdf](https://democrats-oversight.house.gov/sites/democrats.oversight.house.gov/files/documents/2017-09-12.%20EEC%20%20E.Engel%20to%20ACU%20Re.Flynn_Redacted.FINAL_.pdf)).

<sup>9</sup> Email from Donald Gross, Counsel, ACU Strategic Partners, to Alex Copson, Managing Partner, ACU Strategic Partners, et al. (Nov. 18, 2016) (online at <http://fingfx.thomsonreuters.com/gfx/rngs/TEST-TEST/0100520D4JR/pdf-redacted2.pdf>).

<sup>10</sup> Letter from Ranking Member Elijah E. Cummings, House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, to President Donald J. Trump et al. (Mar. 16, 2017) (online at <https://democrats-oversight.house.gov/sites/democrats.oversight.house.gov/files/documents/2016-03-16.EEC%20to%20POTUS%20DOD%20FBI%20re%20Flynn%20Payments.pdf>).

<sup>11</sup> Letter from Ranking Member Elijah E. Cummings, House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, and Ranking Member Eliot Engel, House Committee on Foreign Affairs, to Flynn Intel Group et al. (Sept. 12, 2017) (online at [https://democrats-oversight.house.gov/sites/democrats.oversight.house.gov/files/documents/2017-09-12.%20EEC%20%20E.Engel%20to%20ACU%20Re.Flynn\\_Redacted.FINAL\\_.pdf](https://democrats-oversight.house.gov/sites/democrats.oversight.house.gov/files/documents/2017-09-12.%20EEC%20%20E.Engel%20to%20ACU%20Re.Flynn_Redacted.FINAL_.pdf)).

there was no public record of this conference, and there is no record of a King Khaled International Hotel in Saudi Arabia.<sup>12</sup>

- On October 20, 2015, General Flynn appeared at a speaking engagement for Kaspersky Government Security Solutions, Inc., a Russia-based cybersecurity corporation whose software has now been banned from federal government systems.<sup>13</sup> He made no reference to this speaking engagement or the \$11,250 payment from the Russia-based cybersecurity corporation on his security clearance renewal application in January 2016 or during his interview with background check investigators.<sup>14</sup>
- In December 2015, General Flynn traveled to Moscow to attend a gala with Russian President Vladimir Putin. The Russian media propaganda arm, RT, paid for Flynn’s travel and expenses and paid more than \$45,000 for his participation.<sup>15</sup> Flynn reported that he had taken the trip, but concealed the Russian payments for it and any contact with Russian government officials during the trip, in his security clearance application and from background check investigators.<sup>16</sup>
- In January 2016, Flynn submitted his security clearance renewal application and sat for a “subject interview” with investigators on February 11, 2016. Flynn claimed that over the past seven years, he did not have “any connections with any foreign government or foreign government officials,” “any foreign business connections,” and “only insubstantial contact with foreign nationals.”<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Letter from Ranking Member Elijah E. Cummings, House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, and Ranking Member Eliot Engel, House Committee on Foreign Affairs, to Flynn Intel Group et al. (June 19, 2017) (online at <https://democrats-oversight.house.gov/sites/democrats.oversight.house.gov/files/documents/EEC%20Engel%20to%20Flynn%20Intel%20Group%20et%20al.pdf>).

<sup>13</sup> Letter from Ranking Member Elijah E. Cummings, House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, to President Donald J. Trump et al. (Mar. 16, 2017) (online at <https://democrats-oversight.house.gov/sites/democrats.oversight.house.gov/files/documents/2016-03-16.EEC%20to%20POTUS%20DOD%20FBI%20re%20Flynn%20Payments.pdf>).

<sup>14</sup> Letter from Ranking Member Elijah E. Cummings, House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, and Ranking Member Eliot Engel, House Committee on Foreign Affairs, to Flynn Intel Group et al. (Sept. 12, 2017) (online at [https://democrats-oversight.house.gov/sites/democrats.oversight.house.gov/files/documents/2017-09-12.%20EEC%20%20E.Engel%20to%20ACU%20Re.Flynn\\_Redacted.FINAL\\_.pdf](https://democrats-oversight.house.gov/sites/democrats.oversight.house.gov/files/documents/2017-09-12.%20EEC%20%20E.Engel%20to%20ACU%20Re.Flynn_Redacted.FINAL_.pdf)).

<sup>15</sup> Letter from Ranking Member Elijah E. Cummings, House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, to President Donald J. Trump et al. (Mar. 16, 2017) (online at <https://democrats-oversight.house.gov/sites/democrats.oversight.house.gov/files/documents/2016-03-16.EEC%20to%20POTUS%20DOD%20FBI%20re%20Flynn%20Payments.pdf>).

<sup>16</sup> Letter from Ranking Member Elijah E. Cummings to Chairman Jason Chaffetz, House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform (May 22, 2017) (online at <https://democrats-oversight.house.gov/sites/democrats.oversight.house.gov/files/documents/Cummings%20to%20Chaffetz%2005-22-17.pdf>).

<sup>17</sup> Letter from Ranking Member Elijah E. Cummings to Chairman Jason Chaffetz, House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform (May 22, 2017) (online at <https://democrats-oversight.house.gov/sites/democrats.oversight.house.gov/files/documents/Cummings%20to%20Chaffetz%2005-22-17.pdf>).

- From June 2016 to December 2016, Flynn served as an “advisor” to IronBridge Group Inc., which was promoting a similar plan to build nuclear reactors in the Middle East, according to Flynn’s latest financial disclosure form.<sup>18</sup>
- In August 2016, the company listed Flynn in a slide deck addressed to “His Majesty King Salman Bin Abdul Aziz” of Saudi Arabia as one of the individuals providing “Formidable US Leadership” as part of the nuclear deal.<sup>19</sup>
- On September 20, 2016, Flynn met with Rep. Dana Rohrabacher, along with Flynn’s business partners, Bijan Kian and Brian McCauley, and General Flynn’s son.<sup>20</sup> Rep. Rohrabacher confirmed that they discussed “a plan advanced by Mr. Flynn late last year to build a series of nuclear power plants across the Middle East.”<sup>21</sup>

### *Transition*

- On November 16, 2016, Alex Copson, the managing partner of ACU, and ACU Counsel Donald Gross circulated a briefing memo entitled “TRUMP/PUTIN ME Marshall plan CONCEPT.” It stated that “ACU team members [are] highly engaged with key Trump Admin members.” The document stated that ACU had secured the cooperation of a Ukrainian nuclear company and that this approach would “require Ukraine to support lifting US and EU sanctions on Russia in line with the highest foreign policy priority of the incoming Trump administration.” It stated, “The APU/IPG project facilitates and accelerates lifting these sanctions by providing Ukraine’s premier nuclear company, Turbatom” with a \$45 billion contract to build Middle East nuclear reactors. It also stated that “Key players in both Saudi and Qatar” had been “briefed” and were “in go status pending Trump/Putin co-operation.”<sup>22</sup>
- Other documents circulated by ACU reportedly included a reference to OMZ OAO, “a

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[oversight.house.gov/sites/democrats.oversight.house.gov/files/documents/Cummings%20to%20Chaffetz%2005-22-17.pdf](https://www.oversight.house.gov/sites/democrats.oversight.house.gov/files/documents/Cummings%20to%20Chaffetz%2005-22-17.pdf)).

<sup>18</sup> Executive Branch Personnel Public Financial Disclosure Report (OGE Form 278e) for Michael Flynn (Aug. 3, 2017) (online at [www.documentcloud.org/documents/3913715-Michael-Flynn-amended-public-financial-disclosure.html](http://www.documentcloud.org/documents/3913715-Michael-Flynn-amended-public-financial-disclosure.html)).

<sup>19</sup> IP3 Presentation to His Majesty King Salman Bin Abdul Aziz (Aug. 2016) (online at <https://democrats-oversight.house.gov/sites/democrats.oversight.house.gov/files/documents/IP3%20Presentation%20to%20His%20Majesty%20King%20Salman%20Bin%20Abdul%20Aziz%20Aug%202016.pdf>).

<sup>20</sup> *Mueller Probing Pre-Election Flynn Meeting with Pro-Russia Congressman*, NBC News (Nov. 10, 2017) (online at [www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/mueller-probing-pre-election-flynn-meeting-pro-russia-congressman-n819676](http://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/mueller-probing-pre-election-flynn-meeting-pro-russia-congressman-n819676)).

<sup>21</sup> *He’s a Member of Congress. The Kremlin Likes Him So Much They Gave Him a Code Name*, New York Times (Nov. 21, 2017) (online at [www.nytimes.com/2017/11/21/us/politics/dana-rohrabacher-putin-trump-kremlin-under-fire.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/21/us/politics/dana-rohrabacher-putin-trump-kremlin-under-fire.html)).

<sup>22</sup> Email from Donald Gross, Counsel, ACU Strategic Partners (Nov. 16, 2016) (online at <http://fingfx.thomsonreuters.com/gfx/rngs/TEST-TEST/010051ZP4H5/pdf-redacted.pdf>).

Russian company currently under U.S. sanctions.”<sup>23</sup>

- On November 18, 2016, Pentagon official Reuben Sorensen sent an email to Mr. Copson stating: “Alex—as I mentioned before, Flynn is getting closer to National Security Advisor. Expect an announcement soon. This is a big win for the ACU project. Spoke with him via backchannels earlier this week. He has always believed in the vision of the ACU effort.” Sorensen added, “We need to let him get settled into the new position, but update him shortly after. More to follow.”<sup>24</sup>
- That same day, November 18, 2016, Ranking Member Elijah E. Cummings wrote to Vice President-Elect Mike Pence, as the head of the Presidential Transition Team, raising questions about Flynn’s apparent conflicts of interest in representing foreign interests and requesting “any information provided by Lt. Gen. Flynn to the Transition Team in order to determine his business clients and to vet any potential financial conflicts.”<sup>25</sup>
- On November 28, 2016, the Presidential Transition Team’s Office of Legislative Affairs confirmed receipt of the letter and promised to “review your letter carefully.”<sup>26</sup> When Vice President Pence was asked on March 9, 2017, about press reports relating to Flynn’s representation of foreign interests, he responded, “Let me say, hearing that story today was the first I heard of it.”<sup>27</sup> On May 19, 2017, Pence’s office claimed that “Rep. Cummings’ letter did not reach the vice president.”<sup>28</sup>
- On November 30, 2016, Copson met with Rep. Ed Royce, the Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and Jim Hamel, a senior official from a company based in Rep. Royce’s district and affiliated with ACU’s project. In a follow-up email, Mr. Hamel wrote to one of Chairman Royce’s aides, “We hope that the Chairman will follow-up on

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<sup>23</sup> *Exclusive: Mideast Nuclear Plan Backers Bragged of the Support of Top Trump Aide Flynn*, Reuters (Dec. 1, 2017) (online at [www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-trump-flynn-nuclear-exclusive/exclusive-mideast-nuclear-plan-backers-bragged-of-support-of-top-trump-aide-flynn-idUSKBN1DV5Z6](http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-trump-flynn-nuclear-exclusive/exclusive-mideast-nuclear-plan-backers-bragged-of-support-of-top-trump-aide-flynn-idUSKBN1DV5Z6)).

<sup>24</sup> Email from Reuben Sorensen, Special Advisor to the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Department of Defense, to Alex Copson, Managing Partner, ACU Strategic Partners (Nov. 18, 2016) (online at <http://fingfx.thomsonreuters.com/gfx/rngs/TEST-TEST/0100520D4JR/pdf-redacted2.pdf>).

<sup>25</sup> Letter from Ranking Member Elijah E. Cummings, House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, to Vice President-Elect Mike Pence (Nov. 18, 2016) (online at <https://democrats-oversight.house.gov/sites/democrats.oversight.house.gov/files/documents/2016-11-18.EEC%20to%20Pence.pdf>).

<sup>26</sup> Email from Office of Legislative Affairs, President Elect Transition Team, to Ranking Member Elijah E. Cummings, House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform (Nov. 28, 2016) (online at <https://democrats-oversight.house.gov/sites/democrats.oversight.house.gov/files/documents/letter1.jpg>).

<sup>27</sup> *Special Report with Bret Baier*, Fox News (Mar. 9, 2017) (online at [www.youtube.com/watch?v=5gbapJrFmhk](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5gbapJrFmhk)).

<sup>28</sup> *Pence Stands By Comments He Was Unaware of Flynn Lobbying*, NBC News (May 19, 2017) (online at [www.nbcnews.com/politics/white-house/pence-stands-comments-he-was-unaware-flynn-lobbying-n762276](http://www.nbcnews.com/politics/white-house/pence-stands-comments-he-was-unaware-flynn-lobbying-n762276)).

Alex's suggestion to reach out to General Flynn."<sup>29</sup>

- “Shortly after the presidential election,” the Saudi Arabian Deputy Crown Prince, Mohammed bin Salman, “sent a delegation to meet with Kushner and other Trump officials at Trump Tower” to begin “extensive negotiations” on what would become a \$110 billion arms deal with Saudi Arabia.<sup>30</sup>
- On December 1, 2016, Flynn and Kushner met with the Russian Ambassador to the United States, Sergey Kislyak, at Trump Tower. Flynn reportedly served as “the main interlocutor with the Russian envoy,” and he and Kislyak “were in contact during the campaign and the transition.” When asked in January 2017 about this meeting, Trump Administration officials claimed “there had only been a text message and phone call between the men at the end of December, and that both came before the United States imposed sanctions.” That account was “quickly contradicted by news reports.”<sup>31</sup>
- In December 2016, Flynn, Kushner, and Steve Bannon met with the Crown Prince of the United Arab Emirates, Sheikh Mohammed bin Zayed al-Nahyan, at Trump Tower. They reportedly held a “three-hour discussion” that “focused on a range of issues, including Iran, Yemen and the Mideast peace process.”<sup>32</sup>
- On December 28, 2016, President Obama signed Executive Order 13757 imposing against Russia in response to its efforts to interfere with the 2016 presidential election.<sup>33</sup>
- On December 29, 2016, Flynn called K.T. McFarland to discuss how the Presidential Transition Team wanted to respond to Kislyak about the U.S. sanctions. Immediately after this call, Flynn called Kislyak and “requested that Russia not escalate the situation.” He then called McFarland back to “report on the substance of his call with the Russian Ambassador, including their discussion of the U.S. Sanctions.”<sup>34</sup>
- That same day, McFarland wrote an email to a colleague that Flynn would be speaking

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<sup>29</sup> *Exclusive: Mideast Nuclear Plan Backers Bragged of the Support of Top Trump Aide Flynn*, Reuters (Dec. 1, 2017) (online at [www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-trump-flynn-nuclear-exclusive/exclusive-mideast-nuclear-plan-backers-bragged-of-support-of-top-trump-aide-flynn-idUSKBN1DV5Z6](http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-trump-flynn-nuclear-exclusive/exclusive-mideast-nuclear-plan-backers-bragged-of-support-of-top-trump-aide-flynn-idUSKBN1DV5Z6)).

<sup>30</sup> *Trump to Unveil Plans for an ‘Arab NATO’ in Saudi Arabia*, Washington Post (May 17, 2017) (online at [www.washingtonpost.com/news/josh-rogin/wp/2017/05/17/trump-to-unveil-plans-for-an-arab-nato-in-saudi-arabia](http://www.washingtonpost.com/news/josh-rogin/wp/2017/05/17/trump-to-unveil-plans-for-an-arab-nato-in-saudi-arabia)).

<sup>31</sup> *Kushner and Flynn Met with Russian Envoy in December, White House Says*, New York Times (Mar. 2, 2017) (online at [www.nytimes.com/2017/03/02/us/politics/kushner-flynn-sessions-russia.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2017/03/02/us/politics/kushner-flynn-sessions-russia.html)).

<sup>32</sup> *Exclusive: Rice Told House Investigators Why She Unmasked Senior Trump Officials*, CNN (Sept. 18, 2017) (online at [www.cnn.com/2017/09/13/politics/susan-rice-house-investigators-unmasked-trump-officials/index.html](http://www.cnn.com/2017/09/13/politics/susan-rice-house-investigators-unmasked-trump-officials/index.html)).

<sup>33</sup> *Obama Strikes Back at Russia for Election Hacking*, New York Times (Dec. 29, 2016) (online at [www.nytimes.com/2016/12/29/us/politics/russia-election-hacking-sanctions.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2016/12/29/us/politics/russia-election-hacking-sanctions.html)).

<sup>34</sup> *United States v. Flynn*, Statement of the Offense (D.D.C. 1:17-cr-00232) (Dec. 1, 2017) (online at [www.justice.gov/file/1015126/download](http://www.justice.gov/file/1015126/download)); *Sources Link KT McFarland to Flynn Papers*, Associated Press (Dec. 1, 2017) (online at [www.wthr.com/article/the-latest-ap-sources-link-kt-mcfarland-to-flynn-papers](http://www.wthr.com/article/the-latest-ap-sources-link-kt-mcfarland-to-flynn-papers)).

with Kislyak about the sanctions and expressed her opinion that the Obama Administration's sanctions were intended to "box trump in diplomatically with Russia. If there is a tit for tat escalation trump will have difficulty improving relations with Russia which has just thrown USA election to him."<sup>35</sup>

- As part of McFarland's subsequent confirmation process before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to become Ambassador to Singapore, Senator Cory Booker asked, "Did you ever discuss any of General Flynn's contacts with Russian ambassador Sergey Kislyak directly with General Flynn?" McFarland stated in a written response, "I am not aware of any of the issues or events described above."<sup>36</sup>
- At some point in December 2016, General Flynn reportedly finally "sent a letter to IP3 'terminating the offer'" from June 2016 to join the company.<sup>37</sup>
- On December 31, 2016, Kislyak called Flynn "and informed him that Russia had chosen not to retaliate in response to FLYNN's request."<sup>38</sup>
- When news outlets reported on this call in January 2017, Trump spokesman Sean Spicer stated, "The call centered around the logistics of setting up a call with the president of Russia and the president-elect after he was sworn in, and they exchanged logistical information." He added, "That was it, plain and simple."<sup>39</sup>
- On January 5, 2017, Flynn, Kushner, and Bannon met with King Abdullah II of Jordan at the Four Seasons hotel in New York and reportedly discussed the nuclear proposal.<sup>40</sup>
- According to press reports, in early January, "Mr. Flynn talked favorably about the proposed deal with Mr. Trump's friend, real-estate magnate Thomas Barrack Jr., who was heading the inauguration, according to a person familiar with the conversation. Mr. Flynn suggested to Mr. Barrack that he talk with one of the project's backers. The suggestion kicked off a series of conversations between Mr. Barrack, who was interested

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<sup>35</sup> *Emails Dispute White House Claims That Flynn Acted Independently on Russia*, New York Times (Dec. 2, 2017) (online at [www.nytimes.com/2017/12/02/us/russia-mcfarland-flynn-trump-emails.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/02/us/russia-mcfarland-flynn-trump-emails.html)); @NYTMike, Twitter (Dec. 2, 2017) (online at <https://twitter.com/nytmike/status/937088938862436354>).

<sup>36</sup> *McFarland's Testimony About Russia Contacts Is Questioned*, New York Times (Dec. 4, 2017) (online at [www.nytimes.com/2017/12/04/us/politics/kt-mcfarland-flynn-russia-emails-congressional-testimony.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/04/us/politics/kt-mcfarland-flynn-russia-emails-congressional-testimony.html)).

<sup>37</sup> *Michael Flynn's Role in Mideast Nuclear Project Could Compound Legal Issues*, Washington Post (Nov. 27, 2017) (online at [www.washingtonpost.com/politics/michael-flynn-role-in-middle-eastern-nuclear-project-could-compound-legal-issues/2017/11/26/51ce7ec8-ce18-11e7-81bc-c55a220c8cbe\\_story.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/michael-flynn-role-in-middle-eastern-nuclear-project-could-compound-legal-issues/2017/11/26/51ce7ec8-ce18-11e7-81bc-c55a220c8cbe_story.html)).

<sup>38</sup> *United States v. Flynn*, Statement of the Offense (D.D.C. 1:17-cr-00232) (Dec. 1, 2017) (online at [www.justice.gov/file/1015126/download](http://www.justice.gov/file/1015126/download)).

<sup>39</sup> *Trump National Security Advisor Called Russia Envoy Day Before Sanctions Were Imposed*, New York Times (Jan. 13, 2017) (online at [www.nytimes.com/2017/01/13/us/politics/donald-trump-transition.html](http://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/13/us/politics/donald-trump-transition.html)).

<sup>40</sup> *Trump Advisers Secretly Met with Jordan's King While One Was Pushing a Huge Nuclear Deal*, BuzzFeed (Sept. 15, 2017) (online at [www.buzzfeed.com/jasonleopold/trump-advisors-secretly-met-with-jordans-king-while-one-was](http://www.buzzfeed.com/jasonleopold/trump-advisors-secretly-met-with-jordans-king-while-one-was)).

in broader change in the Middle East and has extensive business contacts in the region, and Mr. Flynn’s former colleagues, as well as Mr. Kushner.”<sup>41</sup>

### *Inauguration and Thereafter*

- On January 20, 2017, according to a whistleblower, Alex Copson of ACU claimed that Flynn sent him a text while President Trump was delivering his inaugural address indicating that the nuclear project was now “good to go” and directing his business colleagues to move forward. Copson reportedly stated that “Mike has been putting everything in place for us” and that “This is going to make a lot of very wealthy people.” He added that Flynn was making sure that sanctions would be “ripped up” as one of his first orders of business and that this would allow money to start flowing into the project.
- On January 24, 2017, during an interview with the FBI, Flynn “falsely stated that he did not ask” Kislyak “to refrain from escalating the situation in response to sanctions that the United States had imposed against Russia” and “also falsely stated that he did not remember a follow-up conversation in which the Russian Ambassador stated that Russia had chosen to moderate its response to those sanctions as a result of FLYNN’s request.”<sup>42</sup>
- That same week, former Army Col. Derek Harvey, who General Flynn brought to the NSC and who now works for Chairman Devin Nunes on the House Intelligence Committee, reportedly stated at a meeting that Flynn “told him to develop a regional economic and energy plan for the Middle East.” When NSC staffers explained there already was an office that handled those issues, “Mr. Harvey said Mr. Flynn had directed him to take the lead on the issue.”<sup>43</sup>
- During “the first week of the Trump administration,” Harvey reportedly “met with a private-sector backer of the nuclear plan.”<sup>44</sup>
- “Days later,” Robert “Bud” McFarlane, who was affiliated with IPG/ACU Strategic Partners and IP3, emailed documents to Flynn, including an outline of the Middle East nuclear plan and “a draft memo for the president to sign authorizing the project.” Flynn reportedly passed along these documents to NSC staff “with an instruction: Prepare a package for the president.”<sup>45</sup> Two U.S. officials confirmed that “the policy document Flynn prepared for Trump’s approval proposed working with Russia on a nuclear reactor

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<sup>41</sup> *Mike Flynn’s Promotion of Nuclear-Plant Project Went Deep Into the White House*, Wall Street Journal (Nov. 28, 2017) (online at [www.wsj.com/articles/flynns-promotion-of-nuclear-plant-project-went-deep-into-the-white-house-1511901009](http://www.wsj.com/articles/flynns-promotion-of-nuclear-plant-project-went-deep-into-the-white-house-1511901009)).

<sup>42</sup> *United States v. Flynn*, Statement of the Offense (D.D.C. 1:17-cr-00232) (Dec. 1, 2017) (online at [www.justice.gov/file/1015126/download](http://www.justice.gov/file/1015126/download)).

<sup>43</sup> *Mike Flynn’s Promotion of Nuclear-Plant Project Went Deep Into the White House*, Wall Street Journal (Nov. 28, 2017) (online at [www.wsj.com/articles/flynns-promotion-of-nuclear-plant-project-went-deep-into-the-white-house-1511901009](http://www.wsj.com/articles/flynns-promotion-of-nuclear-plant-project-went-deep-into-the-white-house-1511901009)).

<sup>44</sup> *Id.*

<sup>45</sup> *Id.*

project.”<sup>46</sup>

- During that same period, Flynn’s “advocacy for the project in the White House surprised some administration officials and raised concerns that Flynn had a conflict of interest.” John Eisenberg, a legal adviser to the NSC, “worried that Flynn had a conflict and urged him to recuse himself from the project discussions, according to an administration official familiar with the conversations.”<sup>47</sup> After these concerns were raised, “Derek Harvey, then the NSC’s senior director for the Middle East, continued discussing the IP3 proposal with Barrack and his representative, Rick Gates, according to two people.”<sup>48</sup>
- NSC lawyers reportedly “told Mr. Flynn not to attend a planned follow-up meeting with Mr. McFarlane, which Mr. Harvey attended instead.”<sup>49</sup>
- After President Trump fired General Flynn, his business colleagues “continued to lobby various federal agencies about the plan and recently met with Jared Kushner, the president’s son-in-law and a senior White House adviser.”<sup>50</sup>
- On March 14, 2017, the Saudi Arabian Deputy Crown Prince, Mohammed bin Salman, met with President Trump, Bannon, Kushner, Pence, and Chief of Staff Reince Priebus in the Oval Office. President Trump and bin Salman reportedly “discussed opportunities for U.S. companies to invest in Saudi Arabia.”<sup>51</sup>
- In May 2017, President Trump took his first overseas trip as President, traveling to Saudi

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<sup>46</sup> *Exclusive: Mideast Nuclear Plan Backers Bragged of the Support of Top Trump Aide Flynn*, Reuters (Dec. 1, 2017) (online at [www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-trump-flynn-nuclear-exclusive/exclusive-mideast-nuclear-plan-backers-bragged-of-support-of-top-trump-aide-flynn-idUSKBN1DV5Z6](http://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-trump-flynn-nuclear-exclusive/exclusive-mideast-nuclear-plan-backers-bragged-of-support-of-top-trump-aide-flynn-idUSKBN1DV5Z6)).

<sup>47</sup> *Inside the White House, Michael Flynn Pushed Proposal from Company He Said He Had Advised*, Washington Post (Nov. 28, 2017) (online at [www.washingtonpost.com/politics/inside-the-white-house-michael-flynn-pushed-proposal-from-company-he-had-advised/2017/11/28/445da6f0-d454-11e7-b62d-d9345ced896d\\_story.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/inside-the-white-house-michael-flynn-pushed-proposal-from-company-he-had-advised/2017/11/28/445da6f0-d454-11e7-b62d-d9345ced896d_story.html)).

<sup>48</sup> *White House May Share Nuclear Power Technology with Saudi Arabia*, ProPublica (Nov. 29, 2017) (online at [www.propublica.org/article/white-house-may-share-nuclear-power-technology-with-saudi-arabia](http://www.propublica.org/article/white-house-may-share-nuclear-power-technology-with-saudi-arabia)).

<sup>49</sup> *Mike Flynn’s Promotion of Nuclear-Plant Project Went Deep Into the White House*, Wall Street Journal (Nov. 28, 2017) (online at [www.wsj.com/articles/flynns-promotion-of-nuclear-plant-project-went-deep-into-the-white-house-1511901009](http://www.wsj.com/articles/flynns-promotion-of-nuclear-plant-project-went-deep-into-the-white-house-1511901009)); see also *White House May Share Nuclear Power Technology With Saudi Arabia*, ProPublica (Nov. 29, 2017) (online at [www.propublica.org/article/white-house-may-share-nuclear-power-technology-with-saudi-arabia](http://www.propublica.org/article/white-house-may-share-nuclear-power-technology-with-saudi-arabia)) (McFarlane was National Security Advisor during the Reagan Administration and “is most remembered for his role in the defining scandal of the Reagan years: secretly selling arms to Iran and using the money to support Nicaraguan rebels. He pleaded guilty to withholding information from Congress.”).

<sup>50</sup> *Mike Flynn’s Promotion of Nuclear-Plant Project Went Deep Into the White House*, Wall Street Journal (Nov. 28, 2017) (online at [www.wsj.com/articles/flynns-promotion-of-nuclear-plant-project-went-deep-into-the-white-house-1511901009](http://www.wsj.com/articles/flynns-promotion-of-nuclear-plant-project-went-deep-into-the-white-house-1511901009)).

<sup>51</sup> *Saudi Deputy Crown Prince, Trump Meeting A ‘Turning Point’: Saudi Adviser*, Reuters (Mar. 14, 2017) (online [www.reuters.com/article/us-saudi-usa/saudi-deputy-crown-prince-trump-meeting-a-turning-point-saudi-adviser-idUSKBN16L2CT](http://www.reuters.com/article/us-saudi-usa/saudi-deputy-crown-prince-trump-meeting-a-turning-point-saudi-adviser-idUSKBN16L2CT)).

Arabia, where he signed a \$110 billion arms deal negotiated primarily by Kushner.<sup>52</sup> Barrack reportedly “spent weeks trying to smooth the way for a May presidential meeting in Saudi Arabia with Arab leaders of the Persian Gulf” and attended meetings between Trump and high-level Middle Eastern officials during the visit.<sup>53</sup>

- In October 2017, Kushner, Trump Middle East envoy Jason Greenblatt, and Deputy National Security Advisor Dina Powell made a secret trip to Saudi Arabia. Referencing this trip, Barrack stated, “Jared has always been driven to try and solve the Israel-Palestinian dispute.” He added, “The key to solving that dispute is Egypt. And the key to Egypt is Abu Dhabi and Saudi Arabia.”<sup>54</sup>
- In “recent months,” the nuclear proposal has “stirred back to life as the Saudi government kicked off a formal process to solicit bids for their first reactors.” In the “days before Thanksgiving, senior U.S. officials from several agencies met at the White House to discuss the policy, according to current and former officials.”<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> *Trump Signs \$110 Billion Arms Deal with Saudi Arabia During Visit*, Chicago Tribune (May 20, 2017) (online at [www.chicagotribune.com/news/nationworld/ct-trump-in-saudi-arabia-20170520-story.html](http://www.chicagotribune.com/news/nationworld/ct-trump-in-saudi-arabia-20170520-story.html)).

<sup>53</sup> *‘He’s Better Than This,’ Says Thomas Barrack, Trump’s Loyal Whisperer*, Washington Post (Oct. 11, 2017) (online at [www.washingtonpost.com/politics/hes-better-than-this-says-thomas-barrack-trumps-loyal-whisperer/2017/10/10/067fc776-a215-11e7-8cfe-d5b912fab99\\_story.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/hes-better-than-this-says-thomas-barrack-trumps-loyal-whisperer/2017/10/10/067fc776-a215-11e7-8cfe-d5b912fab99_story.html)).

<sup>54</sup> *Kushner Took Unannounced Trip to Saudi Arabia*, Politico (Oct. 29, 2017) (online at [www.politico.com/story/2017/10/29/jared-kushner-saudi-arabia-244291](http://www.politico.com/story/2017/10/29/jared-kushner-saudi-arabia-244291)).

<sup>55</sup> *White House May Share Nuclear Power Technology with Saudi Arabia*, ProPublica (Nov. 29, 2017) (online at [www.propublica.org/article/white-house-may-share-nuclear-power-technology-with-saudi-arabia](http://www.propublica.org/article/white-house-may-share-nuclear-power-technology-with-saudi-arabia)).

## Companies Reportedly Associated with Middle East Nuclear Project

### *Russian Companies*

#### [ACU Powerpoint](#)

- Atomstroy (Russian Federation's nuclear power equipment and service export monopoly, overseen by state nuclear company Rosatom)
- TVEL Fuel Company (Russian nuclear fuel cycle company headquartered in Moscow)
- SeaLaunch (missile launch company owned by Russia's S7 group of companies)
- Rosoboron (Russian arms exporter under US sanctions)

#### [Reuters Article](#)

- OMZ OAO (Russian engineering and construction firm under US sanctions)
- Rosatom (Russian state nuclear company)

### *U.S. and Other Companies*

#### [ACU Powerpoint](#) and [ACU Memo](#):

- BWXT
- RadiantBlue Technologies
- CH2M Hill (engineering firm)
- Mammoet

#### [IP3 Powerpoint](#):

- Bechtel Engineering
- Westinghouse
- Accenture
- Siemens
- Areva (French nuclear power company)
- General Electric
- China Energy Company United (CEFC)
- (one illegible company)

#### [Reuters Article](#):

- Exelon
- Tennessee Valley Authority
- BWXT
- Curtiss-Wright Corp.