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START DATE: 01/05/2016 [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

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PARTICIPANTS: From: [REDACTED] FLYNN, Mike; KISLYAK, Sergey

RE:

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Lt. General Mike FLYNN phones Ambassador Sergey KISLYAK to express his condolences on the death of GRU Director Igor SERGUN, who died unexpectedly today from unknown causes.

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START DATE: 12/22/2016 [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

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START DATE: 12/23/2016

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PARTICIPANTS:

To: General Flynn [REDACTED]

RE:

A follow-up call between General Flynn and Kislyak [Sergey Ivanovich]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Pchelyakov calls General Flynn and asks if he can connect him with Ambassador Kislyak. Flynn replies, "Yeah, please put him on."

"This is General Flynn..." Kislyak, "Yeah, General... Thank you for picking up my call. I just wanted... as a follow up. To share with you several points. One. That your previous telephone call, I reported to Moscow and it was considered at the highest level, in Russia. Secondly, here we are planning taking in account and rally [PH] your arguments to raise ahem, a proposal of idea of continued consultations in NY. We will do it today. To give time for working out something ahem, that would be, maybe less controversial."

Flynn, "OK, that. That's good news." Kislyak interrupts to continue with his points. Kislyak, "Secondly [PH], if ah, the orders will put it in to the vote and I understand my colleagues tell me that Egyptians are not pressing for the vote. But may be others." \*

Flynn continues, "...you know that the strategic goal is stability in the Middle East. That's the strategic goal. And, and, you know, between you and I, and you know this, and we know this,

you know between Moscow and Washington. We will not achieve stability in the Middle East without working with each other against this radical Islamist crowd. Period. I am very adamant about that and I want to make sure that you know that and in the conversations that we'll have in the future... if there is a common e... common threat that we face..." Kislyak, "I agree with you." Flynn, "...and I am, I am still sickened, sickened by the... by the murder of your ambassador to Turkey... And if... if Russia..." Kislyak interrupts Flynn, "General! If you allow me to cont... ah, to complete my presentation of these points... So, we will try to help ah... to give additional time for the conversation on this issue. But if it is put on vote, for historical reasons, as I explained to you... we cannot ah... other than to support it." Flynn, "Ok." Kislyak, "That is something, ah... that is ah, part of the position that we have developed within ahem, countries in the region for long period of time... But, responding to your telephone call, and our conversations we will try to help to postpone the vote and to allow for consultations." Flynn, OK, ok, that's good. That's great ambassador. That's all we can ask for it at this point and time."

Both wish each other with happy Christmas and says that both can call each other anytime.

[TN: Possibly talking about the December 25, 2016 vote in UN against Israeli settlements. Russia represented in UN by Churkin voted for it.]

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START DATE: 12/29/2016

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From: [Chernyshev] Dmitriy [Andreyevich]

PARTICIPANTS:

To: General Flynn [REDACTED]

RE:

A message from Kislyak to Flynn, need to talk.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Before General Flynn's voice message turns on, there is an open line, barely audible chat. Someone asks Chernyshev, "Which agency are we talking about?" Chernyshev asks as to confirm if he understands the question and responds in the same time: "Which Agency hackers did the hacking? Believe me, Americans did hacked this all." After General Flynn's prerecorded message ends Chernyshev leaves his message, "Hello, General Flynn, my name is Dmitry, I am chief of the Russian Ambassador's staff. The Russian Ambassador Sergey Kislyak would like to have a word with you at your convenience. Can you kindly call us back? Our office number is [REDACTED] or ambassadors cell phone number... it is [REDACTED] Thank you. Good bye."

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START DATE: 12/29/2016 [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

From: [REDACTED] General Michael Flynn

PARTICIPANTS:

To: Kislyak, Sergey Ivanovich, Russian Ambassador to the U.S.

RE:

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Kislyak thanks Flynn for the call; he has been waiting for it.

First, Kislyak wants to discuss the Middle East policy. The Russians want to convey to the President-elect that the Russians will not be supporting the American colleagues at the Security Council. Flynn says it is good.

Second, the Russians are very interesting with working with the President-elect's team to help peace process in Syria. The Russians are thinking about an event in Astana, Kazakhstan in January 20-30 to help the political process to get started. The Russians are planning to invite the Trump Administration to this event.

Thirdly, the Kremlin would like to convey to the President-elect to organize a conversation via secure video line between the White House and the Kremlin that should be available starting January 20th and to have a first conversation on January 21st between the presidents. Putin's idea is to congratulate Trump and discuss issues. Flynn says he understands. Kislyak repeats that he is talking about secure video line.

Flynn wants to convey the following [to Moscow]: Do not allow this administration to box us in right now! Kislyak says they have conveyed it very clearly.

Flynn: So, depending on what actions they take over this current issue of cyber stuff, where they are looking like they are going to dismiss some number of Russians out of the country. I understand all that and I understand that the information that they have and all that. But I ask Russia to do is to not, if anything, I know you have to have some sort of action, to only make it reciprocal; don't go any further than you have to because I don't want us to get into something that have to escalate to tit-for-tat. Do you follow me?

Kislyak says he understands what Flynn is saying, but Flynn might appreciate the sentiments that are raging now in Moscow.

Flynn: I know! Believe me I do! I very much appreciate it! But I really do not want us to get into the situation where we everybody goes back and forth and everybody had to be a tough guy here. We don't need that right now. We need cool heads to prevail. And we need to be very steady about what we are going to do because we have absolutely a common threat in the Middle East.

Kislyak agrees. Now when FSB and GRU are sanctioned and Kislyak asks himself, does it mean that the U.S. is not willing to work on terrorist threats, Kislyak poses a question. Flynn says, yes.

Kislyak says he heard Flynn and he will try people in Moscow to understand.

Flynn repeats asking to reciprocate moderately because if Moscow sends out 60 people, "you will shut down the embassy. "

Flynn: Let's keep this at even-kill level; then when we come in, we will have a better conversation where we are going to go regarding our relationship. And also, basically, we have to take these enemies on that we have. We definitely have a common enemy. You have a problem with it. We have a problem with it in this country and we definitely have a problem with it in the Middle East.

Flynn promises to rely about the 21st. He cannot commit to it, but he will relay it. Kislyak says, wonderful.

Flynn appreciates the reservation of the current administration's position on the Middle East. That doesn't do anybody any good. Flynn says they will come up with the solution that is good for everyone else.

Flynn: Remember Ambassador, you are not talking to a diplomat; you are talking to a soldier. I am a very practical guy. It is all about solutions.

Kislyak is looking for an opportunity to have a longer conversation. Flynn says, maybe the end of next week.