# **TAB 15**



#### FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date of entry 07/12/2017

Admiral Michael Rogers, Director, National Security Agency; and Commander, United States Cyber Command, was interviewed at National Security Agency (NSA) Headquarters at Fort Meade, Maryland. Participating in the interview were FBI Special Agents (SAs)

NSA General Counsel Glenn S. Gerstell, and Deputy Special Counsel Aaron M. Zebley. After being advised of the identities of the interviewers and the purpose of the interview, Gerstell advised he was participating in the interview in his capacity as the General Counsel for the NSA, not as personal counsel for ADM Rogers, given the substance of the interview related to ADM Rogers' interactions in his capacity as NSA Director. SA

advised ADM Rogers that it is a violation of criminal law to lie to the FBI in the course of an investigation, and ADM Rogers said he understood. ADM Rogers provided the following information:

# Intelligence Community Assessment:

In January 2017, ADM Rogers participated in a meeting with President-Elect Donald Trump (P-E Trump) along with former Director of the FBI James Comey (Comey), former Director of National Intelligence James Clapper (Clapper), and former Director of Central Intelligence Agency John Brennan (Brennan). The purpose of the meeting was to brief P-E Trump about the Intelligence Community Assessment (ICA), and the assembled group agreed Comey should be the one to tell him about the contents of the "Steele dossier." ADM Rogers noted, by way of background, that in mid-December 2016, President Obama requested a single intelligence product on the topic of Russian interference in the 2016 election, with a deadline of the new year. The analytic work of the product was initiated as soon as the

Reason:
Derived From:
Declassify On:

Investigation on		06/12/2017	at	Fort Meade,	Maryland,	United	States	(In Perso	on)
File#	97F-WF	-2167885						Date drafted	06/15/2017
by									

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

Interview of Admiral Michael

Continuation of FD-302 of Rogers , On 06/12/2017 , Page 2 of 9

request was made, and an initial draft went to ADM Rogers sometime between Christmas and New Year's.

ADM Rogers decided that he would make the final analytic call on the NSA's input to the ICA, as he knew there would be a lot of pressure and attention on the final draft and he felt strongly his career analysts shouldn't have to be responsible for something under such political pressure. In one draft of the ICA, ADM Rogers noted the contents of the "Steele dossier" in the body of the product, which he did not recall seeing in previous drafts. In early January, the four Principals met and ADM Rogers told the group he was unclear why the ICA needed to focus on the dossier, as it was considered largely uncorroborated. Comey responded that the information was relevant, and ADM Rogers suggested the information be included in an annex or appendix, rather than prominently in the nearly one page summary he had seen.

## FBI Investigation:

ADM Rogers has not been specifically briefed on the FBI investigation into the Russian government's efforts to interfere in the 2016 presidential election and the nature of links between those efforts and the Trump campaign. However, ADM Rogers was aware the NSA has received Letterhead Memoranda (LHM) from the FBI requesting information, mostly on specific interactions with U.S. Persons (USPER). ADM Rogers was aware the FBI was "following specific individuals," but was not certain if it was because of the ongoing work on the ICA or for another reason.

ADM Rogers was surprised when Comey told the committee [the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence] in open session on March 20, 2017 the FBI was investigating potential links between individuals associate with the Trump campaign and the Russian interference. He did not recall a prep session by the entire panel prior to the testimony, but said there might have been one, as it is common practice to conduct a prep when multiple seniors are before the same committee. In any case, Comey did not tell him in advance about the ongoing set of investigations.

ADM Rogers has no real insight into the facts and predication of the FBI investigation. As a matter of course, he does not look at all reporting, so it is standard for him not to know the specifics of all

Interview of Admiral Michael

Continuation of FD-302 of Rogers

On 06/12/2017 ,Page 3 of 9

reporting. Given the volume of reports generated by the NSA, it would be impossible for ADM Rogers to read all of it.

ADM Rogers knew the FBI was under a lot of pressure on the issue of Russian interference in the election, and had conducted a lot of briefings on the issue. ADM Rogers is aware of briefings to the Gang of 8, HPSCI, SSCI, President Obama, and P-E Trump. ADM Rogers noted he felt Comey had been treated very disrespectfully by some people on the Hill.

## General Flynn:

ADM Rogers has never been briefed on the contents of a December 29, 2016 call between Mike Flynn and Sergey Kislyak and knows nothing more than what has been reported in the media. He is aware that NSA has shared certain information about Flynn with the FBI, but has never asked to review it. He has "intentionally stayed away from it" and is not aware of the details. ADM Rogers explained that when the NSA comes across USPER information, it is generally purged, unless it meets certain criteria. ADM Rogers described the criteria as 1) the collection pertains to criminal activity, at which time the FBI would be notified; 2) the collection involved harm to life; or 3) the collection was of foreign intelligence value. He noted that when an USPER ends up in NSA holdings it is generally because that person is on one end of a conversation the NSA is collecting on, or that person is mentioned in the course of another conversation. ADM Rogers is aware of at least one occasion the NSA collected data on Flynn, determined it didn't meet their criteria to maintain, and asked the FBI if the FBI had a FISA on Flynn. In accordance with their normal procedures, the NSA then purged that data.

ADM Rogers never talked to President Trump or anyone else from the White House about Comey, Flynn, or FBI investigations. ADM Rogers noted he is friends with Flynn, who he has known for 15 years, and spoke as the senior leader at Flynn's retirement ceremony.

#### March 26, 2017 telephone call with POTUS:

On Sunday, March 26, 2017, ADM Rogers and members of his staff were in the office working on the NSA response to requests from HPSCI and SSCI for information. ADM Rogers noted at least one of the requests pertained to Flynn and unmasking procedures. An early iteration of the response was

Interview of Admiral Michael

Continuation of FD-302 of Rogers

On 06/12/2017, Page 4 of 9

generated and found not to be to the standard required by ADM Rogers, so his staff continued to work while he left the building for a pre-scheduled brunch event with his family. Around 1:00 pm or 1:30 pm, he received a call from his staff in which he was told President Trump wanted to speak to him. ADM Rogers went to the office and placed the call to the White House. He made the decision to have his Deputy, Richard Ledgett, listen to the call, as it is his practice that "what I know, my Deputy knows."

Following the telephone call, Ledgett authored a memo on the content of the conversation. ADM Rogers thinks Ledgett probably started the memo right after a 4:00 pm meeting they had scheduled that afternoon to discuss the Hill requests they had been working on earlier in the day. The initial draft of the memo only had Ledgett's signature block, but after reading it, ADM Rogers asked Ledgett to add his signature block as well. ADM Rogers explained he felt the memo appropriate because getting a call from the President on a Sunday afternoon is a little unusual and he assumes that whatever he does will become public at some point, so he wanted to make sure it was captured accurately.

ADM Rogers provided the memo to the interview team, and Deputy Special Counsel Zebley read the memo out loud line-by-line, asking ADM Rogers at various points to confirm the content. According to ADM Rogers' recollection of the call and the memo, President Trump expressed frustration with the ongoing investigation into Russian interference, saying that it made relations with the Russians difficult. ADM Rogers noted that when President Trump speaks, he tends to talk in long strings and it is not immediately clear what he expects to be answered and what is rhetorical. The President often doesn't pause for an answer before continuing to talk. During the call, President Trump disagreed with definitive assertions that the Russians were responsible for the hacks and said it was impossible to tell who was actually responsible for the hacking. He also said it was making it hard for him to deal with the Russians, and asked ADM Rogers what he thought. ADM Rogers acknowledged it does make relations difficult, but then explained in detail, but at a high level, the intelligence supporting ADM Rogers' confidence, and the rest of the community's, that the Russians were behind the hacks. President Trump stated they would have to "agree to disagree" on the matter. OGA

Interview of Admiral Michael

Continuation of FD-302 of Rogers

<sub>,On</sub> 06/12/2017 <sub>,Page</sub> 5 of 9

President Trump then asked ADM Rogers if he would say "that" publicly. ADM Rogers interpreted "that" to mean OGA

ADM Rogers told President Trump he could not do that, as he did not and could not discuss USPERs in unclassified settings. President Trump did not ask him to "pushback" on the investigation itself, but he clearly did not agree with the assessment of the Russian involvement. During the call, ADM Rogers said to President Trump, "You want me to be truthful, right?" President Trump never suggested otherwise, but said he wanted to make sure there was no doubt about his involvement. ADM Rogers affirmed the memo was a true and accurate reflection of the call. The interviewing team read to ADM Rogers a quote from a media source that stated "President Trump 'urged' [Rogers] to publicly deny the existence of any evidence of collusion during the 2016 election" and ADM Rogers responded that the media characterization was wrong, and the President had asked about the existence of SIGINT evidence only.

After the memo was drafted, ADM Rogers maintained the original of the memo, Ledgett kept a copy, and General Counsel Gerstell was given a copy. ADM Rogers agreed to provide the interviewing agents one of the copies of the memo. ADM Rogers later had Ledgett's copy couriered to the Pentagon to be shared with the Secretary of Defense (SecDef), explaining that he has dual chains of command and the SecDef is one of his bosses. He believes that copy to be currently in the possession of the Secretary of Defense's Chief of Staff. ADM Rogers noted he was scheduled to speak with SSCI the evening of the interview, and planned to make another copy of the memo to leave with them as well.

The day after the call, ADM Rogers called DNI Coats and told him about the call and walked through the content of the discussion. DNI Coats responded that President Trump had called him and they had a similar conversation, but DNI Coats did not provide any quidance to ADM Rogers. ADM Rogers did not notify the Secretary of Defense immediately as the matter related to intelligence, not a military issue. He wouldn't raise the issue with his military leadership unless he was uncomfortable or there was a need to act.

ADM Rogers shared the content of the telephone call with the NSA Advisory Board, a group of individuals with whom ADM Rogers has regular

Continuation of FD-302 of Rogers

Interview of Admiral Michael

On 06/12/2017 Page 6 of 9

contact and uses as a "sounding vehicle" for issues. ADM Rogers didn't read the memo to the Board, but he did tell them about it. There are no minutes or notes from their meetings, but he doesn't recall anyone saying the call was "terrible." He believes someone mentioned that the NSA should be careful not to be used politically. He agreed to provide the names of the individuals on the NSA Advisory Board to the interviewing agents after the interview.

ADM Rogers stated it was possible he discussed his conversation with President Trump with Comey or CIA Director Mike Pompeo, but he does not think he did.

ADM Rogers has never met White House Counsel Don McGahn. He has not discussed with Reince Priebus the Russian investigation. He was not asked by anyone at the White House to participate in any outreach to reporters or anyone else to refute the investigation.

ADM Rogers did not write a memo every time he met with or spoke to President Trump. He recalled a specific discussion in the Oval Office not related to the Russia investigation, in which the President wanted to talk about leaks, and a memo was not written afterward. That meeting, however, was not a one-on-one encounter as it included others, to include Reince Priebus, Tom Bossert, Glenn Gerstell, and George Barnes.

# April 13, 2017 meeting with POTUS:

On April 13, 2017, ADM Rogers was at the White House to provide an overview of the NSA and its capabilities, at the request of DNI Coats. ADM Rogers noted DNI Coats had received a similar briefing and thought it would be helpful to provide that information to President Trump. Following the briefing, President Trump asked ADM Rogers to stay behind to have a private conversation. In that private conversation, the President repeated much of the same content discussed in the March 26, 2017 telephone call, but he didn't ask for anything or direct ADM Rogers to do anything. ADM Rogers described the conversation as President Trump "venting" and recalled President Trump saying something like the "Russia thing has got to go away." He also recalled President Trump saying something similar to "I have done nothing wrong." ADM Rogers responded that the quickest and best way to make the investigation end is to make sure the investigation

meeting.

processes.

Interview of Admiral Michael

Continuation of FD-302 of  $\frac{\text{Rogers}}{\text{Non}}$ , on  $\frac{06/12/2017}{\text{Non}}$ , Page  $\frac{7 \text{ of } 9}{\text{Non}}$  was done. ADM Rogers did not draft a memorandum for the record after the

ADM Rogers was asked if he felt any discomfort with the conversation. ADM Rogers' responded that his takeaway from the meeting was that he was dealing with a man who has been a businessman his entire life and doesn't know how government works and doesn't understand government

ADM Rogers feels that he has a different type of relationship with President Trump than the President had with Comey. As an intelligence professional, he viewed President Trump as a "customer" and added that in his experience, some customers are harder to convince than others. In those cases, analysts sometimes have to go back and do more work to get them there.

## June 7, 2017 Senate Select Committee on Intelligence hearing:

Going into his June 7, 2017 testimony before SSCI, ADM Rogers knew the committee would ask questions about the media reports of his call with the President, based on his discussions with the SSCI Chairman and Vice Chairman prior to the hearing. Knowing the questions would be asked, NSA asked the White House prior to ADM Rogers' testimony about whether the White House would assert executive privilege, but NSA did not get a clear response to the question. ADM Rogers decided before the hearing that he couldn't discuss a classified conversation in an open hearing, so he would not disclose the content of the call. His answer was his own, and he felt no pressure from anyone to answer that way. Asked about his statement to the committee, "I have never been directed to do anything I believe to be illegal, immoral, unethical, or inappropriate," ADM Rogers said he did not coordinate the statement with DNI Coats, but he did tell him what he intended to say immediately prior to the hearing. ADM Rogers acknowledged DNI Coats's testimony was similar to ADM Rogers' when DNI Coats was asked about his own conversations with the President, but repeated they had not coordinated language before the hearing.

ADM Rogers closed by stating he believes the President truly believes the government will never really know who is responsible for the hacking incidents during the 2016 Presidential election and that he

Continuation of FD-302 of Rogers

Interview of Admiral Michael

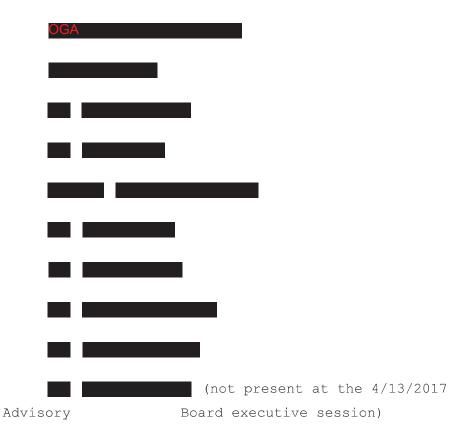
Ontinuation of FD-302 of Rogers

himself has done nothing wrong. ADM Rogers noted he does not believe President Trump to be particularly convinced of the electronic surveillance capabilities in use by our adversaries, despite having been given a demonstration.

#### Administrative:

The General Counsel's copy of the memo documenting ADM Rogers' March 26, 2017 telephone call with President Trump was provided to the interviewing agents and will be maintained in the 1A section of the case file.

On June 15, 2017, Glenn Gerstell provided to Aaron Zebley via email the date of the executive session at which ADM Rogers told the members about his call with POTUS (April 13, 2017) and a list of the NSA Advisory Board members. A printout of that email will be maintained in the 1A section of the case file. The Board members include:



Interview of Admiral Michael

Continuation of FD-302 of Rogers

On 06/12/2017, Page 9 of 9