

(7/23/19, 1:16:05 PM) Andrey Yermak: We have breakfast and lunch with Gordon Friday?  
(7/23/19, 1:16:54 PM) Andrey Yermak: And phone call between Presidents Thursday?  
(7/23/19, 1:18:52 PM) Kurt Volker: I am pretty sure the phone call is going forward for Thursday — will keep monitoring.  
(7/23/19, 1:19:38 PM) Kurt Volker: For Friday — I could do 7:30am at the Hyatt. Alternatively, are you free Saturday morning?  
(7/23/19, 1:20:01 PM) Kurt Volker: I think yes on Friday lunch — will check schedule on that  
(7/23/19, 2:27:33 PM) Andrey Yermak: Up to you, I'm with pleasure and Friday and Saturday. Phone call still not confirm  
(7/23/19, 2:31:49 PM) Andrey Yermak: When you can, let me know, I need 2 min by phone  
(7/23/19, 2:33:05 PM) Kurt Volker: Ok — in about an hour?  
(7/23/19, 2:33:14 PM) Kurt Volker: And call now being set for Friday I think  
(7/23/19, 2:33:22 PM) Andrey Yermak: Super  
(7/23/19, 2:33:36 PM) Kurt Volker: And I'm told president Z now available Thursday to meet w me, so I will rearrange schedule  
(7/23/19, 2:33:54 PM) Andrey Yermak: Yes  
(7/23/19, 2:34:51 PM) Andrey Yermak: Let's discuss in hour  
(7/23/19, 2:35:10 PM) Kurt Volker: Ok  
(7/25/19, 8:36:45 AM) Kurt Volker: Good lunch - thanks. Heard from White House — assuming President Z convinces trump he will investigate / "get to the bottom of what happened" in 2016, we will nail down date for visit to Washington. Good luck! See you tomorrow - kurt  
(7/25/19, 10:15:06 AM) Andrey Yermak: Phone call went well. President Trump proposed to choose any convenient dates. President Zelenskiy chose 20,21,22 September for the White House visit. Thank you again for your help! Please remind Mr. Mayor to share the Madrid's dates  
(7/25/19, 10:16:42 AM) Kurt Volker: Great — thanks and will do!  
(7/26/19, 6:22:26 AM) Kurt Volker: 180730 Deployment Timeline - 2 pages <attached: 00000075-180730 Deployment Timeline.pdf>  
(7/26/19, 6:25:23 AM) Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — good meeting! Here is the paper we did last year — intended to be an annex to a UN Security Council Resolution about a peacekeeping force.  
(7/26/19, 6:26:00 AM) Kurt Volker: Also — Rudy Giuliani says he arrives in Madrid on August 1 and departs August 5.  
(7/27/19, 3:01:16 AM) Andrey Yermak: Good morning  
(7/27/19, 3:01:42 AM) Andrey Yermak: I will be in Hyatt in 7 min  
(8/1/19, 2:23:52 PM) Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — just checking in — how is everything? On track for Madrid? Visit to DC? Kurt  
(8/1/19, 3:36:03 PM) Andrey Yermak: Hi Kurt. Now in plane from Zurich to Madrid. Will call you after landing  
(8/2/19, 1:27:31 PM) Andrey Yermak: Missed voice call  
(8/2/19, 1:27:42 PM) Andrey Yermak: Hi Kurt  
(8/2/19, 1:28:19 PM) Andrey Yermak: My meeting with Mr. Mayor was very good  
(8/2/19, 1:30:36 PM) Andrey Yermak: We asked for White House meeting during week start 16 Sept. Waiting for confirmation. May be you know the date?  
(8/2/19, 1:30:46 PM) Andrey Yermak: When we can talk?  
(8/2/19, 1:31:04 PM) Andrey Yermak: Will be 1.5 hours in plane  
(8/2/19, 1:38:44 PM) Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — sorry I missed you. Will be free when you land  
(8/4/19, 12:39:54 PM) Andrey Yermak: Hi Kurt, how are you? Do you have any news?  
(8/4/19, 1:16:37 PM) Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — speaking w Rudy in about 2 hours — call you after?  
(8/4/19, 1:17:17 PM) Andrey Yermak: Yes, of course  
(8/4/19, 4:20:55 PM) Kurt Volker: Have still not heard back — other than a text saying "great meeting"  
(8/4/19, 4:21:11 PM) Kurt Volker: I think it is late in Spain now so will try again first thing in the morning  
(8/5/19, 1:19:18 PM) Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — had a good long talk w Rudy — call anytime - Kurt  
(8/7/19, 1:32:10 PM) Andrey Yermak: Hi Kurt. How are you? Do you have some news about White House meeting date?  
(8/7/19, 1:34:35 PM) Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey! Not yet — I texted Rudy earlier to make sure he weighs in following your meeting. Gordon should be speaking with the president on Friday. We are pressing this..  
(8/7/19, 1:35:09 PM) Andrey Yermak: Thank you!  
(8/7/19, 1:36:07 PM) Kurt Volker: Also — I expect to see pompeo next week as well, but not yet confirmed. Will ask him to help also.  
(8/8/19, 3:46:10 PM) Andrey Yermak: Hi Kurt. Can you talk? I have some news  
(8/8/19, 4:51:58 PM) Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — yes — Now is good — or tomorrow if too late for you now  
(8/10/19, 4:46:29 PM) Andrey Yermak: Missed voice call  
(8/10/19, 4:53:15 PM) Andrey Yermak: This message was deleted.  
(8/10/19, 4:56:15 PM) Andrey Yermak: Hi Kurt. Please let me know when you can talk. I think it's possible to make this declaration and mention all these things. Which we discussed yesterday. But it will be logic to do after we receive a confirmation of date. We inform about date of visit and about our expectations and our guarantees for future visit. Let discuss it  
(8/10/19, 5:01:32 PM) Kurt Volker: Ok! It's late for you — why don't we talk in my morning, your afternoon tomorrow? Say 10am/5pm?  
(8/10/19, 5:02:18 PM) Kurt Volker: I agree with your approach. Let's iron out statement and use that to get date and then Prez can go forward with it?  
(8/10/19, 5:26:17 PM) Andrey Yermak: Ok  
(8/10/19, 5:38:43 PM) Kurt Volker: Great. Gordon is available to join as well  
(8/10/19, 5:41:45 PM) Andrey Yermak: Excellent  
(8/10/19, 5:42:10 PM) Andrey Yermak: Once we have a date, will call for a press briefing, announcing upcoming visit and outlining vision for the reboot of US-UKRAINE relationship, including among other things Burisma and election meddling in investigations  
(8/10/19, 5:42:30 PM) Kurt Volker: Sounds great!  
(8/11/19, 9:49:09 AM) Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey - ready in 10 minutes?  
(8/11/19, 9:50:01 AM) Andrey Yermak: Hi Kurt. In 25 min ok?  
(8/11/19, 9:51:01 AM) Kurt Volker: Yes — no problem  
(8/11/19, 10:19:01 AM) Andrey Yermak: Missed voice call  
(8/11/19, 10:27:26 AM) Andrey Yermak: Missed voice call  
(8/11/19, 10:27:33 AM) Andrey Yermak: Missed voice call  
(8/11/19, 10:27:39 AM) Andrey Yermak: Missed voice call  
(8/11/19, 10:27:44 AM) Andrey Yermak: Missed voice call  
(8/11/19, 10:27:51 AM) Andrey Yermak: Missed voice call



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Declassified by order of the President

September 24, 2019

~~EYES ONLY~~

~~DO NOT COPY~~

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: ~~(S)~~ Telephone Conversation with President  
Zelenskyy of Ukraine

PARTICIPANTS: President Zelenskyy of Ukraine

Notetakers: The White House Situation Room

DATE, TIME July 25, 2019, 9:03 - 9:33 a.m. EDT  
AND PLACE: Residence

~~(S/NF)~~ The President: Congratulations on a great victory. We all watched from the United States and you did a terrific job. The way you came from behind, somebody who wasn't given much of a chance, and you ended up winning easily. It's a fantastic achievement. Congratulations.

~~(S/NF)~~ President Zelenskyy: You are absolutely right Mr. President. We did win big and we worked hard for this. We worked a lot but I would like to confess to you that I had an opportunity to learn from you. We used quite a few of your skills and knowledge and were able to use it as an example for our elections and yes it is true that these were unique elections. We were in a unique situation that we were able to

CAUTION: A Memorandum of a Telephone Conversation (TELCON) is not a verbatim transcript of a discussion. The text in this document records the notes and recollections of Situation Room Duty Officers and NSC policy staff assigned to listen and memorialize the conversation in written form as the conversation takes place. A number of factors can affect the accuracy of the record, including poor telecommunications connections and variations in accent and/or interpretation. The word "inaudible" is used to indicate portions of a conversation that the notetaker was unable to hear.

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achieve a unique success. I'm able to tell you the following; the first time, you called me to congratulate me when I won my presidential election, and the second time you are now calling me when my party won the parliamentary election. I think I should run more often so you can call me more often and we can talk over the phone more often.

~~(S/NF)~~ The President: [laughter] That's a very good idea. I think your country is very happy about that.

~~(S/NF)~~ President Zelenskyy: Well yes, to tell you the truth, we are trying to work hard because we wanted to drain the swamp here in our country. We brought in many many new people. Not the old politicians, not the typical politicians, because we want to have a new format and a new type of government. You are a great teacher for us and in that.

~~(S/NF)~~ The President: Well it's very nice of you to say that. I will say that we do a lot for Ukraine. We spend a lot of effort and a lot of time. Much more than the European countries are doing and they should be helping you more than they are. Germany does almost nothing for you. All they do is talk and I think it's something that you should really ask them about. When I was speaking to Angela Merkel she talks Ukraine, but she doesn't do anything. A lot of the European countries are the same way so I think it's something you want to look at but the United States has been very very good to Ukraine. I wouldn't say that it's reciprocal necessarily because things are happening that are not good but the United States has been very very good to Ukraine.

~~(S/NF)~~ President Zelenskyy: Yes you are absolutely right. Not only 100%, but actually 1000% and I can tell you the following; I did talk to Angela Merkel and I did meet with her. I also met and talked with Macron and I told them that they are not doing quite as much as they need to be doing on the issues with the sanctions. They are not enforcing the sanctions. They are not working as much as they should work for Ukraine. It turns out that even though logically, the European Union should be our biggest partner but technically the United States is a much bigger partner than the European Union and I'm very grateful to you for that because the United States is doing quite a lot for Ukraine. Much more than the European Union especially when we are talking about sanctions against the Russian Federation. I would also like to thank you for your great support in the area of defense. We are ready to continue to cooperate for the next steps specifically we are almost ready to buy more Javelins from the United States for defense purposes.

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~~(S//NF)~~ The President: I would like you to do us a favor though because our country has been through a lot and Ukraine knows a lot about it. I would like you to find out what happened with this whole situation with Ukraine, they say CrowdStrike... I guess you have one of your wealthy people... The server, they say Ukraine has it. There are a lot of things that went on, the whole situation. I think you're surrounding yourself with some of the same people. I would like to have the Attorney General call you or your people and I would like you to get to the bottom of it. As you saw yesterday, that whole nonsense ended with a very poor performance by a man named Robert Mueller, an incompetent performance, but they say a lot of it started with Ukraine. Whatever you can do, it's very important that you do it if that's possible.

~~(S//NF)~~ President Zelenskyy: Yes it is very important for me and everything that you just mentioned earlier. For me as a President, it is very important and we are open for any future cooperation. We are ready to open a new page on cooperation in relations between the United States and Ukraine. For that purpose, I just recalled our ambassador from United States and he will be replaced by a very competent and very experienced ambassador who will work hard on making sure that our two nations are getting closer. I would also like and hope to see him having your trust and your confidence and have personal relations with you so we can cooperate even more so. I will personally tell you that one of my assistants spoke with Mr. Giuliani just recently and we are hoping very much that Mr. Giuliani will be able to travel to Ukraine and we will meet once he comes to Ukraine. I just wanted to assure you once again that you have nobody but friends around us. I will make sure that I surround myself with the best and most experienced people. I also wanted to tell you that we are friends. We are great friends and you Mr. President have friends in our country so we can continue our strategic partnership. I also plan to surround myself with great people and in addition to that investigation, I guarantee as the President of Ukraine that all the investigations will be done openly and candidly. That I can assure you.

~~(S//NF)~~ The President: Good because I heard you had a prosecutor who was very good and he was shut down and that's really unfair. A lot of people are talking about that, the way they shut your very good prosecutor down and you had some very bad people involved. Mr. Giuliani is a highly respected man. He was the mayor of New York City, a great mayor, and I would like him to

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call you. I will ask him to call you along with the Attorney General. Rudy very much knows what's happening and he is a very capable guy. If you could speak to him that would be great. The former ambassador from the United States, the woman, was bad news and the people she was dealing with in the Ukraine were bad news so I just want to let you know that. The other thing, There's a lot of talk about Biden's son, that Biden stopped the prosecution and a lot of people want to find out about that so whatever you can do with the Attorney General would be great. Biden went around bragging that he stopped the prosecution so if you can look into it... It sounds horrible to me.

~~(S//NF)~~ President Zelenskyy: I wanted to tell you about the prosecutor. First of all I understand and I'm knowledgeable about the situation. Since we have won the absolute majority in our Parliament, the next prosecutor general will be 100% my person, my candidate, who will be approved by the parliament and will start as a new prosecutor in September. He or she will look into the situation, specifically to the company that you mentioned in this issue. The issue of the investigation of the case is actually the issue of making sure to restore the honesty so we will take care of that and will work on the investigation of the case. On top of that, I would kindly ask you if you have any additional information that you can provide to us, it would be very helpful for the investigation to make sure that we administer justice in our country with regard to the Ambassador to the United States from Ukraine as far as I recall her name was Ivanovich. It was great that you were the first one who told me that she was a bad ambassador because I agree with you 100%. Her attitude towards me was far from the best as she admired the previous President and she was on his side. She would not accept me as a new President well enough.

~~(S//NF)~~ The President: Well, she's going to go through some things. I will have Mr. Giuliani give you a call and I am also going to have Attorney General Barr call and we will get to the bottom of it. I'm sure you will figure it out. I heard the prosecutor was treated very badly and he was a very fair prosecutor so good luck with everything. Your economy is going to get better and better I predict. You have a lot of assets. It's a great country. I have many Ukrainian friends, their incredible people.

~~(S//NF)~~ President Zelenskyy: I would like to tell you that I also have quite a few Ukrainian friends that live in the United States. Actually last time I traveled to the United States, I stayed in New York near Central Park and I stayed at the Trump

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Tower. I will talk to them and I hope to see them again in the future. I also wanted to thank you for your invitation to visit the United States, specifically Washington DC. On the other hand, I also want to ensure you that we will be very serious about the case and will work on the investigation. As to the economy, there is much potential for our two countries and one of the issues that is very important for Ukraine is energy independence. I believe we can be very successful and cooperating on energy independence with United States. We are already working on cooperation. We are buying American oil but I am very hopeful for a future meeting. We will have more time and more opportunities to discuss these opportunities and get to know each other better. I would like to thank you very much for your support

~~(S//NF)~~ The President: Good. Well, thank you very much and I appreciate that. I will tell Rudy and Attorney General Barr to call. Thank you. Whenever you would like to come to the White House, feel free to call. Give us a date and we'll work that out. I look forward to seeing you.

~~(S//NF)~~ President Zelenskyy: Thank you very much. I would be very happy to come and would be happy to meet with you personally and get to know you better. I am looking forward to our meeting and I also would like to invite you to visit Ukraine and come to the city of Kyiv which is a beautiful city. We have a beautiful country which would welcome you. On the other hand, I believe that on September 1 we will be in Poland and we can meet in Poland hopefully. After that, it might be a very good idea for you to travel to Ukraine. We can either take my plane and go to Ukraine or we can take your plane, which is probably much better than mine.

~~(S//NF)~~ The President: Okay, we can work that out. I look forward to seeing you in Washington and maybe in Poland because I think we are going to be there at that time.

~~(S//NF)~~ President Zelenskyy: Thank you very much Mr. President.

~~(S//NF)~~ The President: Congratulations on a fantastic job you've done. The whole world was watching. I'm not sure it was so much of an upset but congratulations.

~~(S//NF)~~ President Zelenskyy: Thank you Mr. President bye-bye.

-- End of Conversation --

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# August 27, 2018 - August 31, 2018

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**EXHIBIT**

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	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	
	5	6	7	8	9	
7 AM						
8						
9						
10						Ukraine PCC SMS Large Hill, Fiona EOP/NSC
11						
12 PM						
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						

# November 12, 2018 - November 16, 2018

November 2018

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
				1	2	3
4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17
18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30	

December 2018

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
						1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30	31					

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY					
	12	13	14	15	16					
7 AM										
8										
9										
10										
11										
12 PM										
1										
2										
3										
4										
5										
6										

# November 19, 2018 - November 23, 2018

November 2018

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
				1	2	3
4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17
18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30	

December 2018

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
						1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30	31					

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	
	19	20	21	22	23	
7 AM	[REDACTED]					
8						
9						
10						AMB Yova
11						
12 PM						
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						

# November 26, 2018 - November 30, 2018

November 2018

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
				1	2	3
4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17
18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30	

December 2018

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
						1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30	31					

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
	26	27	28	29	30
7 AM					
8					
9					
10					
11					
12 PM					
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					

# December 3, 2018 - December 7, 2018

December 2018

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
						1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30	31					

January 2019

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
		1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30	31		

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
	3	4	5	6	7
7 AM					
8					
9					
10					
11					
12 PM					
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					

# December 10, 2018 - December 14, 2018

December 2018

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
						1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30	31					

January 2019

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
		1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30	31		

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY					
	10	11	12	13	14					
7 AM										
8										
9										
10										
11										
12 PM										
1						Ukraine Intel; 393				
2							Ambassador Kurt Volke			
3										
4										
5										
6										

# December 17, 2018 - December 21, 2018

December 2018

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
						1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30	31					

January 2019

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
		1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30	31		

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
	17	18	19	20	21
7 <sup>AM</sup>					
8					
9					
10					
11					
12 <sup>PM</sup>					
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					

# December 24, 2018 - December 28, 2018

December 2018

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
						1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30	31					

January 2019

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
		1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30	31		

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
	24	25	26	27	28
7 AM					
8					
9					
10					
11					
12 PM					
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					

# December 31, 2018 - January 4, 2019

December 2018

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
						1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30	31					

January 2019

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
		1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30	31		

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
	31	1	2	3	4
7 AM					
8					
9					
10					
11					
12 PM					
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					

# January 7, 2019 - January 11, 2019

January 2019

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
		1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30	31		

February 2019

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28		

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
	7	8	9	10	11
7 AM					
8					
9					
10					
11					
12 PM					
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					

# January 14, 2019 - January 18, 2019

January 2019

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
		1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30	31		

February 2019

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28		

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
	14	15	16	17	18
7 AM					
8					
9					
10					
11					
12 PM					
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					Kurt Volker; 393; Hill, Fic
6					

# January 21, 2019 - January 25, 2019

January 2019

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
		1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30	31		

February 2019

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28		

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY		
	21	22	23	24	25		
7 AM							
8							
9							
10						Ukraine PCC SMS Large	
11							
12 PM							Sondland Call; 393; Hill,
1							
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							

# January 28, 2019 - February 1, 2019

January 2019

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
		1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30	31		

February 2019

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28		

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
	28	29	30	31	1
7 <sup>AM</sup>					
8					
9					
10					
11					
12 <sup>PM</sup>					
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					

# February 4, 2019 - February 8, 2019

February 2019

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28		

March 2019

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30
31						

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	
	4	5	6	7	8	
7 AM						
8						
9						
10						
11						
12 PM						
1						
2						
3						<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; width: fit-content;">                     Ukraine Huddle /w (D 393 Vindman, Alexander S.                 </div>
4						
5						
6						

# February 11, 2019 - February 15, 2019

February 2019

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28		

March 2019

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30
31						

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
	11	12	13	14	15
7 AM					
8					
9					
10					
11					
12 PM					
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					

# February 18, 2019 - February 22, 2019

February 2019

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28		

March 2019

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30
31						

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
	18	19	20	21	22
7 AM					
8					
9					
10					
11					
12 PM					
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					

# February 25, 2019 - March 1, 2019

February 2019

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28		

March 2019

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30
31						

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
	25	26	27	28	1
7 AM					
8					
9					
10					
11					
12 PM					
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					

# March 4, 2019 - March 8, 2019

March 2019

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30
31						

April 2019

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30				

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
	4	5	6	7 <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">Czech PM Babis visit</div>	8
7 AM					
8					
9					
10					
11					
12 PM					
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					

# March 11, 2019 - March 15, 2019

March 2019

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30
31						

April 2019

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30				

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY					
	11	12	13	14	15					
7 <sup>AM</sup>										
8										
9										
10										
11										
12 <sup>PM</sup>										
1										
2						Ukraine Election Brief				
3										
4										
5										
6										

**Kurt Volker**  
Main State - 6517  
Hill, Fiona EOP/NSC

# March 18, 2019 - March 22, 2019

March 2019						April 2019							
Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
					1	2		1	2	3	4	5	6
3	4	5	6	7	8	9	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
17	18	19	20	21	22	23	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
24	25	26	27	28	29	30	28	29	30				
31													

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
	18	19	20	21	22
7 <sup>AM</sup>					
8					
9					
10					
11					
12 <sup>PM</sup>					
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					

# March 25, 2019 - March 29, 2019

March 2019

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30
31						

April 2019

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30				

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
	25	26	27	28	29
7 AM					
8					
9					
10					
11					
12 PM					
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					

# April 1, 2019 - April 5, 2019

April 2019

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30				

May 2019

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30	31	

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
	1	2	3	4	5
7 <sup>AM</sup>					
8					
9					
10					
11					
12 <sup>PM</sup>					
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					

# April 8, 2019 - April 12, 2019

April 2019

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30				

May 2019

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30	31	

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
	8	9	10	11	12
7 AM					
8					
9					
10					
11					
12 PM					
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					

# April 15, 2019 - April 19, 2019

April 2019

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30				

May 2019

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30	31	

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
	15	16	17	18	19
	← From Apr 14		Hold for trip to Moscow		
7 AM					
8					
9					
10					
11					
12 PM					
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					

# April 22, 2019 - April 26, 2019

April 2019						May 2019							
Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
	1	2	3	4	5	6			1	2	3	4	
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
28	29	30					26	27	28	29	30	31	

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
	22	23	24	25	26
7 AM	<div data-bbox="441 926 695 1068" style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; width: fit-content;">                     Ukraine PCC                      SMS EXEC                      Vindman, Alexander S.                      EOP/NSC                 </div>				
8					
9					
10					
11					
12 PM					
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					

# April 29, 2019 - May 3, 2019

April 2019

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30				

May 2019

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30	31	

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
	29	30	1	2	3
7 AM	[Redacted]				
8					
9					
10					
11					
12 PM					
1				JRB Lets E	Rob Blair
2	Naftogaz I EEOB 476 Derentz, La			LTG Kellog	
3					
4			Phil Reeker/AMB Yo Greenberry's/E Street- Hill, Fiona EOP/NSC		
5					
6					

# May 6, 2019 - May 10, 2019

May 2019

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30	31	

June 2019

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
						1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30						

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	
	6	7	8	9	10	
7 AM						
8						
9						
10						
11						Phil Reeker Secure Call; Hill, Fiona EC
12 PM						
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						Ukraine: Dep. NSDC /Dr SMS Large Vindman, Alexander S. EC
6						

# May 13, 2019 - May 17, 2019

May 2019

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30	31	

June 2019

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
						1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30						

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
	13	14	15	16	17
7 AM	[REDACTED]				
8					
9					
10					
11					
12 PM					
1			Ukraine Discussion 393 Vindman, Alexander S. EOP/NSC		
2	Orban HoS visit				
3					
4	Ambassador Taylor 393 Vindman, Alexander S. EC			Hale/Reeker/Hill Discussion Main State Hill, Fiona EOP/NSC	
5					
6					

# May 20, 2019 - May 24, 2019

May 2019

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
			1	2	3	4
5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18
19	20	21	22	23	24	25
26	27	28	29	30	31	

June 2019

Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
						1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30						

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**May 27, 2019 -  
May 31, 2019**

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Ambassador Kurt Volke  
Office: Bolton, John R. EC

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1	<b>LTG Kellogg - Ukraine</b>			<b>Ivan Bakanov</b> SMS Exec; Hill, Fiona EOP		
2				<b>AA/S Reeker et al.</b> State Department Hill, Fiona EOP/NSC		
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4			<b>Dan Fried</b> <i>U.S. Secy</i> 393 <i>3 Secy</i> Hill, Fiona EOP/NSC			
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July 2019

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# July 15, 2019 - July 19, 2019

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# July 29, 2019 - August 2, 2019

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POLITICO



POLITICO



PRESIDENTIAL TRANSITION

# Ukrainian efforts to sabotage Trump backfire

Kiev officials are scrambling to make amends with the president-elect after quietly working to boost Clinton.

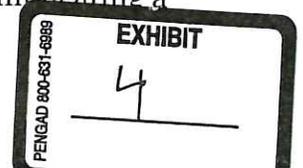
By KENNETH P. VOGEL and DAVID STERN | 01/11/2017 05:05 AM EST



President Petro Poroshenko's administration, along with the Ukrainian Embassy in Washington, insists that Ukraine stayed neutral in the American presidential race. | Getty

Donald Trump wasn't the only presidential candidate whose campaign was boosted by officials of a former Soviet bloc country.

Ukrainian government officials tried to help Hillary Clinton and undermine Trump by publicly questioning his fitness for office. They also disseminated documents implicating a



top Trump aide in corruption and suggested they were investigating the matter, only to back away after the election. And they helped Clinton's allies research damaging information on Trump and his advisers, a Politico investigation found.

A Ukrainian-American operative who was consulting for the Democratic National Committee met with top officials in the Ukrainian Embassy in Washington in an effort to expose ties between Trump, top campaign aide Paul Manafort and Russia, according to people with direct knowledge of the situation.

The Ukrainian efforts had an impact in the race, helping to force Manafort's resignation and advancing the narrative that Trump's campaign was deeply connected to Ukraine's foe to the east, Russia. But they were far less concerted or centrally directed than Russia's alleged hacking and dissemination of Democratic emails.

Russia's effort was personally directed by Russian President Vladimir Putin, involved the country's military and foreign intelligence services, according to U.S. intelligence officials. They reportedly briefed Trump last week on the possibility that Russian operatives might have compromising information on the president-elect. And at a Senate hearing last week on the hacking, Director of National Intelligence James Clapper said "I don't think we've ever encountered a more aggressive or direct campaign to interfere in our election process than we've seen in this case."

There's little evidence of such a top-down effort by Ukraine. Longtime observers suggest that the rampant corruption, factionalism and economic struggles plaguing the country — not to mention its ongoing strife with Russia — would render it unable to pull off an ambitious covert interference campaign in another country's election. And President Petro Poroshenko's administration, along with the Ukrainian Embassy in Washington, insists that Ukraine stayed neutral in the race.

CONGRESS

## Lawmakers broach possible Trump campaign coordination with Russia

By AUSTIN WRIGHT and MARTIN MATISHAK

Yet Politico's investigation found evidence of Ukrainian government involvement in the race that appears to strain diplomatic protocol dictating that governments refrain from engaging in one another's elections.

Russia's meddling has sparked outrage from the American body politic. The U.S. intelligence community undertook the rare move of publicizing its findings on the matter, and President Barack Obama took several steps to officially retaliate, while members of Congress continue pushing for more investigations into the hacking and a harder line against Russia, which was already viewed in Washington as America's leading foreign adversary.

Ukraine, on the other hand, has traditionally enjoyed strong relations with U.S. administrations. Its officials worry that could change under Trump, whose team has privately expressed sentiments ranging from ambivalence to deep skepticism about Poroshenko's regime, while sounding unusually friendly notes about Putin's regime.

Poroshenko is scrambling to alter that dynamic, recently signing a \$50,000-a-month contract with a well-connected GOP-linked Washington lobbying firm to set up meetings with U.S. government officials "to strengthen U.S.-Ukrainian relations."

Revelations about Ukraine's anti-Trump efforts could further set back those efforts.

"Things seem to be going from bad to worse for Ukraine," said David A. Merkel, a senior fellow at the Atlantic Council who helped oversee U.S. relations with Russia and Ukraine while working in George W. Bush's State Department and National Security Council.

Merkel, who has served as an election observer in Ukrainian presidential elections dating back to 1993, noted there's some irony in Ukraine and Russia taking opposite sides in the 2016 presidential race, given that past Ukrainian elections were widely viewed in Washington's foreign policy community as proxy wars between the U.S. and Russia.

"Now, it seems that a U.S. election may have been seen as a surrogate battle by those in Kiev and Moscow," Merkel said.

...

The Ukrainian antipathy for Trump's team — and alignment with Clinton's — can be traced back to late 2013. That's when the country's president, Viktor Yanukovich, whom Manafort had been advising, abruptly backed out of a European Union pact linked to anti-corruption reforms. Instead, Yanukovich entered into a multibillion-dollar bailout agreement with Russia, sparking protests across Ukraine and prompting Yanukovich to flee the country to Russia under Putin's protection.

In the ensuing crisis, Russian troops moved into the Ukrainian territory of Crimea, and Manafort dropped off the radar.

Manafort's work for Yanukovych caught the attention of a veteran Democratic operative named Alexandra Chalupa, who had worked in the White House Office of Public Liaison during the Clinton administration. Chalupa went on to work as a staffer, then as a consultant, for Democratic National Committee. The DNC paid her \$412,000 from 2004 to June 2016, according to Federal Election Commission records, though she also was paid by other clients during that time, including Democratic campaigns and the DNC's arm for engaging expatriate Democrats around the world.

A daughter of Ukrainian immigrants who maintains strong ties to the Ukrainian-American diaspora and the U.S. Embassy in Ukraine, Chalupa, a lawyer by training, in 2014 was doing pro bono work for another client interested in the Ukrainian crisis and began researching Manafort's role in Yanukovych's rise, as well as his ties to the pro-Russian oligarchs who funded Yanukovych's political party.

In an interview this month, Chalupa told Politico she had developed a network of sources in Kiev and Washington, including investigative journalists, government officials and private intelligence operatives. While her consulting work at the DNC this past election cycle centered on mobilizing ethnic communities — including Ukrainian-Americans — she said that, when Trump's unlikely presidential campaign began surging in late 2015, she began focusing more on the research, and expanded it to include Trump's ties to Russia, as well.

She occasionally shared her findings with officials from the DNC and Clinton's campaign, Chalupa said. In January 2016 — months before Manafort had taken any role in Trump's campaign — Chalupa told a senior DNC official that, when it came to Trump's campaign, "I felt there was a Russia connection," Chalupa recalled. "And that, if there was, that we can expect Paul Manafort to be involved in this election," said Chalupa, who at the time also was warning leaders in the Ukrainian-American community that Manafort was "Putin's political brain for manipulating U.S. foreign policy and elections."

PRESIDENTIAL TRANSITION

## **Trump confronts firestorm over Russia allegations**

By ELI STOKOLS, SHANE GOLDMACHER, JOSH DAWSEY and MICHAEL CROWLEY

She said she shared her concern with Ukraine's ambassador to the U.S., Valeriy Chaly, and one of his top aides, Oksana Shulyar, during a March 2016 meeting at the Ukrainian Embassy. According to someone briefed on the meeting, Chaly said that Manafort was very

much on his radar, but that he wasn't particularly concerned about the operative's ties to Trump since he didn't believe Trump stood much of a chance of winning the GOP nomination, let alone the presidency.

That was not an uncommon view at the time, and, perhaps as a result, Trump's ties to Russia — let alone Manafort's — were not the subject of much attention.

That all started to change just four days after Chalupa's meeting at the embassy, when it was reported that Trump had in fact hired Manafort, suggesting that Chalupa may have been on to something. She quickly found herself in high demand. The day after Manafort's hiring was revealed, she briefed the DNC's communications staff on Manafort, Trump and their ties to Russia, according to an operative familiar with the situation.

A former DNC staffer described the exchange as an "informal conversation," saying "briefing' makes it sound way too formal," and adding, "We were not directing or driving her work on this." Yet, the former DNC staffer and the operative familiar with the situation agreed that with the DNC's encouragement, Chalupa asked embassy staff to try to arrange an interview in which Poroshenko might discuss Manafort's ties to Yanukovich.

While the embassy declined that request, officials there became "helpful" in Chalupa's efforts, she said, explaining that she traded information and leads with them. "If I asked a question, they would provide guidance, or if there was someone I needed to follow up with." But she stressed, "There were no documents given, nothing like that."

Chalupa said the embassy also worked directly with reporters researching Trump, Manafort and Russia to point them in the right directions. She added, though, "they were being very protective and not speaking to the press as much as they should have. I think they were being careful because their situation was that they had to be very, very careful because they could not pick sides. It's a political issue, and they didn't want to get involved politically because they couldn't."

Shulyar vehemently denied working with reporters or with Chalupa on anything related to Trump or Manafort, explaining "we were stormed by many reporters to comment on this subject, but our clear and adamant position was not to give any comment [and] not to interfere into the campaign affairs."

Both Shulyar and Chalupa said the purpose of their initial meeting was to organize a June reception at the embassy to promote Ukraine. According to the embassy's website, the event highlighted female Ukrainian leaders, featuring speeches by Ukrainian parliamentarian Hanna Hopko, who discussed "Ukraine's fight against the Russian

aggression in Donbas,” and longtime Hillary Clinton confidante Melanne Vermeer, who worked for Clinton in the State Department and was a vocal surrogate during the presidential campaign.

Shulyar said her work with Chalupa “didn’t involve the campaign,” and she specifically stressed that “We have never worked to research and disseminate damaging information about Donald Trump and Paul Manafort.”

But Andrii Telizhenko, who worked as a political officer in the Ukrainian Embassy under Shulyar, said she instructed him to help Chalupa research connections between Trump, Manafort and Russia. “Oksana said that if I had any information, or knew other people who did, then I should contact Chalupa,” recalled Telizhenko, who is now a political consultant in Kiev. “They were coordinating an investigation with the Hillary team on Paul Manafort with Alexandra Chalupa,” he said, adding “Oksana was keeping it all quiet,” but “the embassy worked very closely with” Chalupa.

In fact, sources familiar with the effort say that Shulyar specifically called Telizhenko into a meeting with Chalupa to provide an update on an American media outlet’s ongoing investigation into Manafort.

Telizhenko recalled that Chalupa told him and Shulyar that, “If we can get enough information on Paul [Manafort] or Trump’s involvement with Russia, she can get a hearing in Congress by September.”

Chalupa confirmed that, a week after Manafort’s hiring was announced, she discussed the possibility of a congressional investigation with a foreign policy legislative assistant in the office of Rep. Marcy Kaptur (D-Ohio), who co-chairs the Congressional Ukrainian Caucus. But, Chalupa said, “It didn’t go anywhere.”

Asked about the effort, the Kaptur legislative assistant called it a “touchy subject” in an internal email to colleagues that was accidentally forwarded to Politico.

Kaptur’s office later emailed an official statement explaining that the lawmaker is backing a bill to create an independent commission to investigate “possible outside interference in our elections.” The office added “at this time, the evidence related to this matter points to Russia, but Congresswoman Kaptur is concerned with any evidence of foreign entities interfering in our elections.”

...

Almost as quickly as Chalupa's efforts attracted the attention of the Ukrainian Embassy and Democrats, she also found herself the subject of some unwanted attention from overseas.

Within a few weeks of her initial meeting at the embassy with Shulyar and Chaly, Chalupa on April 20 received the first of what became a series of messages from the administrators of her private Yahoo email account, warning her that "state-sponsored actors" were trying to hack into her emails.

She kept up her crusade, appearing on a panel a week after the initial hacking message to discuss her research on Manafort with a group of Ukrainian investigative journalists gathered at the Library of Congress for a program sponsored by a U.S. congressional agency called the Open World Leadership Center.

Center spokeswoman Maura Sheldon stressed that her group is nonpartisan and ensures "that our delegations hear from both sides of the aisle, receiving bipartisan information." She said the Ukrainian journalists in subsequent days met with Republican officials in North Carolina and elsewhere. And she said that, before the Library of Congress event, "Open World's program manager for Ukraine did contact Chalupa to advise her that Open World is a nonpartisan agency of the Congress."

Chalupa, though, indicated in an email that was later hacked and released by WikiLeaks that the Open World Leadership Center "put me on the program to speak specifically about Paul Manafort."

## **Republicans pile on Russia for hacking, get details on GOP targets**

By **MARTIN MATISHAK** and **AUSTIN WRIGHT**

In the email, which was sent in early May to then-DNC communications director Luis Miranda, Chalupa noted that she had extended an invitation to the Library of Congress forum to veteran Washington investigative reporter Michael Isikoff. Two days before the event, he had published a story for Yahoo News revealing the unraveling of a \$26 million deal between Manafort and a Russian oligarch related to a telecommunications venture in Ukraine. And Chalupa wrote in the email she'd been "working with for the past few weeks" with Isikoff "and connected him to the Ukrainians" at the event.

Isikoff, who accompanied Chalupa to a reception at the Ukrainian Embassy immediately after the Library of Congress event, declined to comment.

Chalupa further indicated in her hacked May email to the DNC that she had additional sensitive information about Manafort that she intended to share “offline” with Miranda and DNC research director Lauren Dillon, including “a big Trump component you and Lauren need to be aware of that will hit in next few weeks and something I’m working on you should be aware of.” Explaining that she didn’t feel comfortable sharing the intel over email, Chalupa attached a screenshot of a warning from Yahoo administrators about “state-sponsored” hacking on her account, explaining, “Since I started digging into Manafort these messages have been a daily occurrence on my yahoo account despite changing my password often.”

Dillon and Miranda declined to comment.

A DNC official stressed that Chalupa was a consultant paid to do outreach for the party’s political department, not a researcher. She undertook her investigations into Trump, Manafort and Russia on her own, and the party did not incorporate her findings in its dossiers on the subjects, the official said, stressing that the DNC had been building robust research books on Trump and his ties to Russia long before Chalupa began sounding alarms.

Nonetheless, Chalupa’s hacked email reportedly escalated concerns among top party officials, hardening their conclusion that Russia likely was behind the cyber intrusions with which the party was only then beginning to grapple.

Chalupa left the DNC after the Democratic convention in late July to focus fulltime on her research into Manafort, Trump and Russia. She said she provided off-the-record information and guidance to “a lot of journalists” working on stories related to Manafort and Trump’s Russia connections, despite what she described as escalating harassment.

About a month-and-a-half after Chalupa first started receiving hacking alerts, someone broke into her car outside the Northwest Washington home where she lives with her husband and three young daughters, she said. They “rampaged it, basically, but didn’t take anything valuable — left money, sunglasses, \$1,200 worth of golf clubs,” she said, explaining she didn’t file a police report after that incident because she didn’t connect it to her research and the hacking.

But by the time a similar vehicle break-in occurred involving two family cars, she was convinced that it was a Russia-linked intimidation campaign. The police report on the latter break-in noted that “both vehicles were unlocked by an unknown person and the

interior was ransacked, with papers and the garage openers scattered throughout the cars. Nothing was taken from the vehicles.”

Then, early in the morning on another day, a woman “wearing white flowers in her hair” tried to break into her family’s home at 1:30 a.m., Chalupa said. Shulyar told Chalupa that the mysterious incident bore some of the hallmarks of intimidation campaigns used against foreigners in Russia, according to Chalupa.

“This is something that they do to U.S. diplomats, they do it to Ukrainians. Like, this is how they operate. They break into people’s homes. They harass people. They’re theatrical about it,” Chalupa said. “They must have seen when I was writing to the DNC staff, outlining who Manafort was, pulling articles, saying why it was significant, and painting the bigger picture.”

In a Yahoo News story naming Chalupa as one of 16 “ordinary people” who “shaped the 2016 election,” Isikoff wrote that after Chalupa left the DNC, FBI agents investigating the hacking questioned her and examined her laptop and smartphone.

Chalupa this month told Politico that, as her research and role in the election started becoming more public, she began receiving death threats, along with continued alerts of state-sponsored hacking. But she said, “None of this has scared me off.”

•••

While it’s not uncommon for outside operatives to serve as intermediaries between governments and reporters, one of the more damaging Russia-related stories for the Trump campaign — and certainly for Manafort — can be traced more directly to the Ukrainian government.

Documents released by an independent Ukrainian government agency — and publicized by a parliamentarian — appeared to show \$12.7 million in cash payments that were earmarked for Manafort by the Russia-aligned party of the deposed former president, Yanukovich.

The New York Times, in the August story revealing the ledgers’ existence, reported that the payments earmarked for Manafort were “a focus” of an investigation by Ukrainian anti-corruption officials, while CNN reported days later that the FBI was pursuing an overlapping inquiry.

One of the most damaging Russia-related stories during Donald Trump's campaign can be traced to the Ukrainian government. | AP Photo

Clinton's campaign seized on the story to advance Democrats' argument that Trump's campaign was closely linked to Russia. The ledger represented "more troubling connections between Donald Trump's team and pro-Kremlin elements in Ukraine," Robby Mook, Clinton's campaign manager, said in a statement. He demanded that Trump "disclose campaign chair Paul Manafort's and all other campaign employees' and advisers' ties to Russian or pro-Kremlin entities, including whether any of Trump's employees or advisers are currently representing and or being paid by them."

A former Ukrainian investigative journalist and current parliamentarian named Serhiy Leshchenko, who was elected in 2014 as part of Poroshenko's party, held a news conference to highlight the ledgers, and to urge Ukrainian and American law enforcement to aggressively investigate Manafort.

"I believe and understand the basis of these payments are totally against the law — we have the proof from these books," Leshchenko said during the news conference, which attracted international media coverage. "If Mr. Manafort denies any allegations, I think he has to be interrogated into this case and prove his position that he was not involved in any misconduct on the territory of Ukraine," Leshchenko added.

Manafort denied receiving any off-books cash from Yanukovich's Party of Regions, and said that he had never been contacted about the ledger by Ukrainian or American investigators, later telling POLITICO "I was just caught in the crossfire."

According to a series of memos reportedly compiled for Trump's opponents by a former British intelligence agent, Yanukovich, in a secret meeting with Putin on the day after the *Times* published its report, admitted that he had authorized "substantial kickback payments to Manafort." But according to the report, which was published Tuesday by BuzzFeed but remains unverified. Yanukovich assured Putin "that there was no documentary trail left behind which could provide clear evidence of this" — an alleged statement that seemed to implicitly question the authenticity of the ledger.

2016

## **Inside the fall of Paul Manafort**

By KENNETH P. VOGEL and MARC CAPUTO

The scrutiny around the ledgers — combined with that from other stories about his Ukraine work — proved too much, and he stepped down from the Trump campaign less than a week after the *Times* story.

At the time, Leshchenko suggested that his motivation was partly to undermine Trump. "For me, it was important to show not only the corruption aspect, but that he is [a] pro-Russian candidate who can break the geopolitical balance in the world," Leshchenko told the *Financial Times* about two weeks after his news conference. The newspaper noted that Trump's candidacy had spurred "Kiev's wider political leadership to do something they would never have attempted before: intervene, however indirectly, in a U.S. election," and the story quoted Leshchenko asserting that the majority of Ukraine's politicians are "on Hillary Clinton's side."

But by this month, Leshchenko was seeking to recast his motivation, telling Politico, “I didn’t care who won the U.S. elections. This was a decision for the American voters to decide.” His goal in highlighting the ledgers, he said was “to raise these issues on a political level and emphasize the importance of the investigation.”

In a series of answers provided to Politico, a spokesman for Poroshenko distanced his administration from both Leshchenko’s efforts and those of the agency that reLeshchenko Leshchenko leased the ledgers, The National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine. It was created in 2014 as a condition for Ukraine to receive aid from the U.S. and the European Union, and it signed an evidence-sharing agreement with the FBI in late June — less than a month and a half before it released the ledgers.

The bureau is “fully independent,” the Poroshenko spokesman said, adding that when it came to the presidential administration there was “no targeted action against Manafort.” He added “as to Serhiy Leshchenko, he positions himself as a representative of internal opposition in the Bloc of Petro Poroshenko’s faction, despite [the fact that] he belongs to the faction,” the spokesman said, adding, “it was about him personally who pushed [the anti-corruption bureau] to proceed with investigation on Manafort.”

But an operative who has worked extensively in Ukraine, including as an adviser to Poroshenko, said it was highly unlikely that either Leshchenko or the anti-corruption bureau would have pushed the issue without at least tacit approval from Poroshenko or his closest allies.

“It was something that Poroshenko was probably aware of and could have stopped if he wanted to,” said the operative.

And, almost immediately after Trump’s stunning victory over Clinton, questions began mounting about the investigations into the ledgers — and the ledgers themselves.

An official with the anti-corruption bureau told a Ukrainian newspaper, “Mr. Manafort does not have a role in this case.”

And, while the anti-corruption bureau told Politico late last month that a “general investigation [is] still ongoing” of the ledger, it said Manafort is not a target of the investigation. “As he is not the Ukrainian citizen, [the anti-corruption bureau] by the law couldn’t investigate him personally,” the bureau said in a statement.

Some Poroshenko critics have gone further, suggesting that the bureau is backing away from investigating because the ledgers might have been doctored or even forged.

Valentyn Nalyvaichenko, a Ukrainian former diplomat who served as the country's head of security under Poroshenko but is now affiliated with a leading opponent of Poroshenko, said it was fishy that "only one part of the black ledger appeared." He asked, "Where is the handwriting analysis?" and said it was "crazy" to announce an investigation based on the ledgers. He met last month in Washington with Trump allies, and said, "of course they all recognize that our [anti-corruption bureau] intervened in the presidential campaign."

And in an interview this week, Manafort, who re-emerged as an informal advisor to Trump after Election Day, suggested that the ledgers were inauthentic and called their publication "a politically motivated false attack on me. My role as a paid consultant was public. There was nothing off the books, but the way that this was presented tried to make it look shady."

He added that he felt particularly wronged by efforts to cast his work in Ukraine as pro-Russian, arguing "all my efforts were focused on helping Ukraine move into Europe and the West." He specifically cited his work on denuclearizing the country and on the European Union trade and political pact that Yanukovich spurned before fleeing to Russia. "In no case was I ever involved in anything that would be contrary to U.S. interests," Manafort said.

Yet Russia seemed to come to the defense of Manafort and Trump last month, when a spokeswoman for Russia's Foreign Ministry charged that the Ukrainian government used the ledgers as a political weapon.

"Ukraine seriously complicated the work of Trump's election campaign headquarters by planting information according to which Paul Manafort, Trump's campaign chairman, allegedly accepted money from Ukrainian oligarchs," Maria Zakharova said at a news briefing, according to a transcript of her remarks posted on the Foreign Ministry's website. "All of you have heard this remarkable story," she told assembled reporters.

...

Beyond any efforts to sabotage Trump, Ukrainian officials didn't exactly extend a hand of friendship to the GOP nominee during the campaign.

The ambassador, Chaly, penned an op-ed for The Hill, in which he chastised Trump for a confusing series of statements in which the GOP candidate at one point expressed a willingness to consider recognizing Russia's annexation of the Ukrainian territory of Crimea as legitimate. The op-ed made some in the embassy uneasy, sources said.

“That was like too close for comfort, even for them,” said Chalupa. “That was something that was as risky as they were going to be.”

Former Ukrainian Prime Minister Arseny Yatseniuk warned on Facebook that Trump had “challenged the very values of the free world.”

Ukraine’s minister of internal affairs, Arsen Avakov, piled on, trashing Trump on Twitter in July as a “clown” and asserting that Trump is “an even bigger danger to the US than terrorism.”

Avakov, in a Facebook post, lashed out at Trump for his confusing Crimea comments, calling the assessment the “diagnosis of a dangerous misfit,” according to a translated screenshot featured in one media report, though he later deleted the post. He called Trump “dangerous for Ukraine and the US” and noted that Manafort worked with Yanukovich when the former Ukrainian leader “fled to Russia through Crimea. Where would Manafort lead Trump?”

#### INVESTIGATIONS

### **Manafort’s man in Kiev**

By KENNETH P. VOGEL

The Trump-Ukraine relationship grew even more fraught in September with reports that the GOP nominee had snubbed Poroshenko on the sidelines of the United Nations General Assembly in New York, where the Ukrainian president tried to meet both major party candidates, but scored only a meeting with Clinton.

Telizhenko, the former embassy staffer, said that, during the primaries, Chaly, the country’s ambassador in Washington, had actually instructed the embassy not to reach out to Trump’s campaign, even as it was engaging with those of Clinton and Trump’s leading GOP rival, Ted Cruz.

“We had an order not to talk to the Trump team, because he was critical of Ukraine and the government and his critical position on Crimea and the conflict,” said Telizhenko. “I was yelled at when I proposed to talk to Trump,” he said, adding, “The ambassador said not to get involved — Hillary is going to win.”

This account was confirmed by Nalyvaichenko, the former diplomat and security chief now affiliated with a Poroshenko opponent, who said, “The Ukrainian authorities closed all doors and windows — this is from the Ukrainian side.” He called the strategy “bad and short-sighted.”

Andriy Artemenko, a Ukrainian parliamentarian associated with a conservative opposition party, did meet with Trump's team during the campaign and said he personally offered to set up similar meetings for Chaly but was rebuffed.

"It was clear that they were supporting Hillary Clinton's candidacy," Artemenko said. "They did everything from organizing meetings with the Clinton team, to publicly supporting her, to criticizing Trump. ... I think that they simply didn't meet because they thought that Hillary would win."

Shulyar rejected the characterizations that the embassy had a ban on interacting with Trump, instead explaining that it "had different diplomats assigned for dealing with different teams tailoring the content and messaging. So it was not an instruction to abstain from the engagement but rather an internal discipline for diplomats not to get involved into a field she or he was not assigned to, but where another colleague was involved."

And she pointed out that Chaly traveled to the GOP convention in Cleveland in late July and met with members of Trump's foreign policy team "to highlight the importance of Ukraine and the support of it by the U.S."

Despite the outreach, Trump's campaign in Cleveland gutted a proposed amendment to the Republican Party platform that called for the U.S. to provide "lethal defensive weapons" for Ukraine to defend itself against Russian incursion, backers of the measure charged.

The outreach ramped up after Trump's victory. Shulyar pointed out that Poroshenko was among the first foreign leaders to call to congratulate Trump. And she said that, since Election Day, Chaly has met with close Trump allies, including Sens. Jeff Sessions, Trump's nominee for attorney general, and Bob Corker, the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, while the ambassador accompanied Ivanna Klympush-Tsintsadze, Ukraine's vice prime minister for European and Euro-Atlantic integration, to a round of Washington meetings with Rep. Tom Marino (R-Pa.), an early Trump backer, and Jim DeMint, president of The Heritage Foundation, which played a prominent role in Trump's transition.

...

Many Ukrainian officials and operatives and their American allies see Trump's inauguration this month as an existential threat to the country, made worse, they admit, by the dissemination of the secret ledger, the antagonistic social media posts and the perception that the embassy meddled against — or at least shut out — Trump.

“It’s really bad. The [Poroshenko] administration right now is trying to re-coordinate communications,” said Telizhenko, adding, “The Trump organization doesn’t want to talk to our administration at all.”

During Nalyvaichenko’s trip to Washington last month, he detected lingering ill will toward Ukraine from some, and lack of interest from others, he recalled. “Ukraine is not on the top of the list, not even the middle,” he said.

Poroshenko’s allies are scrambling to figure out how to build a relationship with Trump, who is known for harboring and prosecuting grudges for years.

A delegation of Ukrainian parliamentarians allied with Poroshenko last month traveled to Washington partly to try to make inroads with the Trump transition team, but they were unable to secure a meeting, according to a Washington foreign policy operative familiar with the trip. And operatives in Washington and Kiev say that after the election, Poroshenko met in Kiev with top executives from the Washington lobbying firm BGR — including Ed Rogers and Lester Munson — about how to navigate the Trump regime.

## Ukrainians fall out of love with Europe

By DAVID STERN

Weeks later, BGR reported to the Department of Justice that the government of Ukraine would pay the firm \$50,000 a month to “provide strategic public relations and government affairs counsel,” including “outreach to U.S. government officials, non-government organizations, members of the media and other individuals.”

Firm spokesman Jeffrey Birnbaum suggested that “pro-Putin oligarchs” were already trying to sow doubts about BGR’s work with Poroshenko. While the firm maintains close relationships with GOP congressional leaders, several of its principals were dismissive or sharply critical of Trump during the GOP primary, which could limit their effectiveness lobbying the new administration.

The Poroshenko regime’s standing with Trump is considered so dire that the president’s allies after the election actually reached out to make amends with — and even seek assistance from — Manafort, according to two operatives familiar with Ukraine’s efforts to make inroads with Trump.

Meanwhile, Poroshenko’s rivals are seeking to capitalize on his dicey relationship with Trump’s team. Some are pressuring him to replace Chaly, a close ally of Poroshenko’s who

is being blamed by critics in Kiev and Washington for implementing — if not engineering — the country’s anti-Trump efforts, according to Ukrainian and U.S. politicians and operatives interviewed for this story. They say that several potential Poroshenko opponents have been through Washington since the election seeking audiences of their own with Trump allies, though most have failed to do so.

“None of the Ukrainians have any access to Trump — they are all desperate to get it, and are willing to pay big for it,” said one American consultant whose company recently met in Washington with Yuriy Boyko, a former vice prime minister under Yanukovich. Boyko, who like Yanukovich has a pro-Russian worldview, is considering a presidential campaign of his own, and his representatives offered “to pay a shit-ton of money” to get access to Trump and his inaugural events, according to the consultant.

The consultant turned down the work, explaining, “It sounded shady, and we don’t want to get in the middle of that kind of stuff.”

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# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

May 4, 2018

Mr. Yuriy Lutsenko  
General Prosecutor  
Office of the Prosecutor General of Ukraine  
13/15 Riznytska St.  
Kyiv, 01011  
Ukraine

Dear Mr. Prosecutor General:

We are writing to express great concern about reports that your office has taken steps to impede cooperation with the investigation of United States Special Counsel Robert Mueller. As strong advocates for a robust and close relationship with Ukraine, we believe that our cooperation should extend to such legal matters, regardless of politics. Ours is a relationship built on a foundation of respect for the rule of law and accountable democratic institutions. In four short years, Ukraine has made significant progress in building these institutions despite ongoing military, economic and political pressure from Moscow. We have supported that capacity-building process and are disappointed that some in Kyiv appear to have cast aside these principles in order to avoid the ire of President Trump. If these reports are true, we strongly encourage you to reverse course and halt any efforts to impede cooperation with this important investigation.

On May 2, the New York Times reported that your office effectively froze investigations into four open cases in Ukraine in April, thereby eliminating scope for cooperation with the Mueller probe into related issues. The article notes that your office considered these cases as too politically sensitive and potentially jeopardizing U.S. financial and military aid to Ukraine. The article indicates specifically that your office prohibited special prosecutor Serhiy Horbatiuk from issuing subpoenas for evidence or interviewing witnesses in four open cases in Ukraine related to consulting work performed by Paul Manafort for former Ukrainian president Viktor Yanukovich and his political party.

This investigation not only has implications for the Mueller probe, but also speaks to critically important investigations into the corrupt practices of the Yanukovich administration, which stole millions of dollars from the people of Ukraine. Blocking cooperation with the Mueller probe potentially cuts off a significant opportunity for Ukrainian law enforcement to conduct a more thorough inquiry into possible crimes committed during the Yanukovich era. This reported refusal to cooperate with the Mueller probe also sends a worrying signal—to the Ukrainian people as well as the international community—about your government's commitment more broadly to support justice and the rule of law.

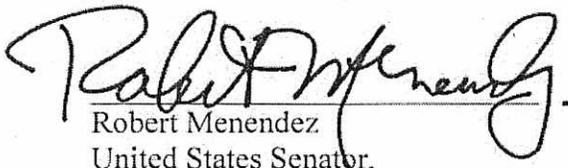
We respectfully request that you reply to this letter answering the following questions:

1. Has your office taken any steps to restrict cooperation with the investigation by Special Counsel Robert Mueller? If so, why?

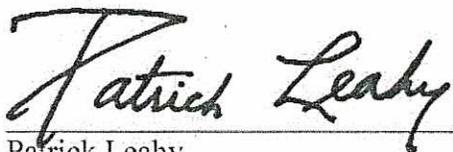
MIN. 5

2. Did any individual from the Trump Administration, or anyone acting on its behalf, encourage Ukrainian government or law enforcement officials not to cooperate with the investigation by Special Counsel Robert Mueller?
3. Was the Mueller probe raised in any way during discussions between your government and U.S. officials, including around the meeting of Presidents Trump and Poroshenko in New York in 2017?

Sincerely,

  
Robert Menendez  
United States Senator

  
Richard J. Durbin  
United States Senator

  
Patrick Leahy  
United States Senator

VIA EMAIL

October 13, 2019

Michael M. Purpura, Esq.  
Patrick F. Philbin, Esq.  
Deputy Assistants to the President and Deputy Counsel  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW  
Washington, D.C.

Insert  
IG287001-1

Dear Messrs. Purpura and Philbin:

I write to follow-up on our telephone conversation on Friday, October 11, 2019. In that conversation, I confirmed that our client, Dr. Fiona Hill, will attend a transcribed deposition on October 14 to be taken by the House of Representatives' Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, Committee on Foreign Affairs, and Committee on Oversight and Reform (the "Committees").

As I told you by phone, Dr. Hill is mindful of her legal obligations with regard to any classified information she possesses or has knowledge of, and she intends to strictly abide by those obligations.

You also raised the issue of executive privilege. While you represented on the phone call that the White House does not believe that the entirety of Dr. Hill's testimony is subject to executive privilege, you noted your position that certain areas of her potential testimony may be subject to that privilege. The first area consisted of "direct communications with the President". The second area consisted of "diplomatic communications," such as "meetings with other heads of state" or "staffing the President on calls with foreign heads of state". After the call, you sent us four documents supporting your view.

We have reviewed those documents and are mindful of the discussion therein. We understand that executive privilege is a qualified privilege that may be overcome by an adequate showing of need. *See, e.g., In re Sealed Case*, 121 F.3d 729, 737, 745 (D.C. Cir. 1997). We also understand that executive privilege likely does not apply to information which is no longer confidential and has come within the sphere of public knowledge through broad disclosures. *See Nixon v. Sirica*, 487 F.2d 700, 761 n.128 (D.C. Cir. 1973) ("Naturally, if a document or a tape is no longer confidential because it has been made public, it would be nonsense to claim that it is privileged . . . ." (quoting Prof. Alexander Bickel, *Wretched Tapes (Cont.)*, N.Y. Times, Aug. 15, 1973, at 37, <https://www.nytimes.com/1973/08/15/archives/wretched-tapes-cont-wretched-tapes.html>)).

The White House has publicly released the Memorandum of Telephone Conversation of President Trump's July 25, 2019 phone call with President Zelensky of Ukraine. And President

Trump has extensively and publicly discussed that call. *See, e.g.*, Remarks by President Trump and President Niinistö of the Republic of Finland Before Bilateral Meeting, The White House (Oct. 2, 2019), <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-president-niinisto-republic-finland-bilateral-meeting/>. The August 12, 2019 whistleblower complaint and information discussed therein are also now a matter of public record, having been affirmatively declassified and thrust into the public domain by the White House itself. Michael D. Shear, *Complaint Asserts a White House Cover-Up*, N.Y. Times, Sept. 27, 2019, at A1, <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/26/us/politics/whistleblower-complaint-released.html>. President Trump has extensively and publicly discussed that report. *See, e.g.*, Remarks by President Trump Before Marine One Departure, The White House (Oct. 3, 2019), <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/remarks-president-trump-marine-one-departure-67/>. It is our view that these and other matters which have been made public through affirmative actions of White House and/or media reports are likely not protected as confidential by executive privilege because they are, by their very nature, no longer confidential.

Finally, we understand that deliberative process privilege “disappears altogether when there is any reason to believe government misconduct occurred.” *Sealed Case*, 121 F.3d at 746. And as lawyers with the Justice Department’s Office of Legal Counsel have previously written, prior presidents have largely agreed that executive privilege operates differently in the context of an impeachment inquiry. *See* Office of Legal Counsel, U.S. Dep’t of Justice, *Legal Aspects of Impeachment: An Overview*, app. 3, 22-32 (1974). This appears to be a foundational principle of our nation’s constitutional system of governance. For example, President James K. Polk stated in 1846 that “[i]f the House of Representatives is the grand inquest of the Nation and should at any time have reason to believe that there has been malversation in office and should think proper to institute an investigation into the matter, all the archives, public or private, would be subject to the inspection and control of a committee of their body and every facility in the power of the Executive afforded them to prosecute the investigation.” *Id.* at 12-13, 23-24.

We understand and are mindful that there may be disagreement on these legal issues. To that end, we would welcome your views, including any potential areas of disagreement you may have with our analysis.

Finally, during our call, I noted that any discussion regarding the possible attendance of agency counsel at Dr. Hill’s interview is a matter for resolution between the White House and the Committees. Please keep us advised of any developments in that regard.

Thank you,

/s/ Lee S. Wolosky

Lee S. Wolosky

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 14, 2019

**BY EMAIL**

Lee S. Wolosky, Esq.  
Boies Schiller Flexner LLP  
55 Hudson Yards, 20th Floor  
New York, New York 10001

Dear Mr. Wolosky:

Thank you for speaking with us this past Friday and for your follow-up letter this afternoon. We understand that your client, Dr. Fiona Hill, former Senior Director for European and Russian Affairs for the National Security Council (“NSC”), plans to appear on Monday, October 14, 2019, for a non-public deposition conducted by the U.S. House of Representatives Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, Committee on Oversight and Reform, and Committee on Foreign Affairs (the “House Committees”).

We appreciate that Dr. Hill is aware of her continuing obligation not to reveal classified information or information subject to executive privilege. As we discussed, that information includes but is not limited to the content of communications between the President and foreign heads of state and other diplomatic communications.

It has been the longstanding position of Administrations of both political parties—indeed, dating back to the very first presidential administration<sup>1</sup>—that such diplomatic communications are protected by executive privilege. As Attorney General Reno explained during the Clinton Administration:

History is replete with examples of the Executive’s refusal to produce to Congress diplomatic communications and related documents because of the prejudicial impact such disclosure could have on the President’s ability to conduct foreign relations. It is equally well established that executive privilege applies to communications to and from the President and Vice President and to White House and NSC deliberative communications.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See *History of Refusals by Executive Branch Officials to Provide Information Demanded by Congress*, 6 Op. O.L.C. 751, 753 (1982) (noting that in response to a request for documents relating to negotiation of the Jay Treaty with Great Britain, President Washington sent a letter to Congress stating, “[t]o admit, then, a right in the House of Representatives to demand, and to have, as a matter of course, all the papers respecting a negotiation with a foreign Power, would be to establish a dangerous precedent.”) (citation omitted).

<sup>2</sup> *Assertion of Executive Privilege for Documents Concerning Conduct of Foreign Affairs with Respect to Haiti*, 20 Op. O.L.C. 5, 6 (1996) (citation and paragraph break omitted).

Two points in your letter suggesting that there may be exceptions to executive privilege with respect to Dr. Hill's testimony merit some response.

*First*, you note that executive privilege does not apply to otherwise privileged matters that the White House itself has made public, thereby waiving the privilege. It is true that the President has authorized the public disclosure of the contents of the July 25, 2019 telephone call with President Zelenskyy and thus that call is not privileged. The privilege has not been waived, however, with respect to any other diplomatic communications or to deliberative processes related to the call. The subject-matter waiver doctrine does not apply to executive privilege; thus, matters not expressly disclosed remain privileged.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, other than the July 25 call, the President has not authorized the public disclosure of any other of his conversations with foreign leaders, and therefore executive privilege continues to apply to all of those communications. In addition to the protection of executive privilege, calls and discussions with foreign heads of states are almost always classified, as Dr. Hill is aware, and she should treat them as such.

*Second*, with respect to the component of executive privilege protecting deliberative processes, Dr. Hill may not discuss privileged communications based on the assertions of certain members of the House of Representatives that her deposition will occur as part of an "impeachment inquiry." As the White House Counsel has explained, there is no valid impeachment inquiry underway.<sup>4</sup> The House of Representatives as a whole delegates authority to each standing committee in the House.<sup>5</sup> Yet the House has not authorized any committee to conduct an impeachment inquiry. The three committees that seek Dr. Hill's testimony have jurisdiction solely under House Rule X, which does not provide the power to initiate or investigate impeachment to any of them.<sup>6</sup> Absent a delegation by House Rule or a resolution of the House, none of these committees has been delegated jurisdiction to conduct an investigation pursuant to the impeachment power under Article I, Section 2 of the Constitution. Thus, even if it were the case that executive privilege operates differently in connection with an impeachment inquiry, there is no ground for Dr. Hill to believe that she may disclose privileged information on

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<sup>3</sup> As the D.C. Circuit explained in *In re Sealed Case*:

It is true that voluntary disclosure of privileged material subject to the attorney-client privilege to unnecessary third parties in the attorney-client privilege context waives the privilege, not only as to the specific communication disclosed but often as to all other communications relating to the same subject matter. But this all-or-nothing approach has not been adopted with regard to executive privileges generally, or to the deliberative process privilege in particular. Instead, courts have said that release of a document only waives these privileges for the document or information specifically released, and not for related materials. This limited approach to waiver in the executive privilege context is designed to ensure that agencies do not forego voluntarily disclosing some privileged material out of the fear that by doing so they are exposing other, more sensitive documents.

121 F.3d 729, 741 (D.C. Cir. 1997) (internal citations and quotations omitted).

<sup>4</sup> See Letter from Pat A. Cipollone, Counsel to the President, to Nancy Pelosi, Speaker, House of Representatives, *et al.* (Oct. 8, 2019).

<sup>5</sup> See H. Res. 6, 116th Cong. (2019).

<sup>6</sup> See H. Rule X, cl. 1(i), (n); cl. 11.

that basis to the House Committees.

It is likewise incorrect to suggest that the deliberative process prong of executive privilege may “disappear[] altogether” based on a belief that government misconduct has occurred. As the D.C. Circuit noted in *In re Sealed Case*: “In regard to both [the deliberative process and presidential communications privileges], courts must balance the public interests at stake in determining whether the privilege should yield in a particular case, and must specifically consider the need of the party seeking privileged evidence.”<sup>7</sup> Any showing of the House’s need for access to privileged information must be addressed through the constitutionally required accommodations process between authorized representatives of the Executive Branch (the holder of the privilege) and the House Committees. It is not up to an individual employee or former employee to undertake that analysis herself and to disclose privileged information based on her own individual assessments. Indeed, that is what makes it especially unfortunate that Chairman Schiff has demanded that Dr. Hill appear and testify on matters that will undoubtedly touch on privileged information without allowing her the benefit of having Administration counsel present, who may raise objections to ensure that she does not breach her obligations with respect to privileged and classified material.<sup>8</sup>

Because the House Committees are refusing to allow counsel from the Executive Office of the President to attend Dr. Hill’s deposition to protect core Executive Branch confidentiality interests, it is incumbent on Dr. Hill and you, as her counsel, to guard against unauthorized disclosure. To be clear, Dr. Hill is not authorized to reveal or release any classified information or any information subject to executive privilege.

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<sup>7</sup> 121 F.3d at 746. The Obama Administration has similarly explained that “the D.C. Circuit already has decided that ... a claim of ‘misconduct’ does not invalidate an assertion of Executive Privilege.” Mem. in Supp. of Def.’s Mot. for Summ. J. at 36 (Jan. 21, 2014), *Comm. on Oversight & Gov’t Reform v. Holder*, No. 12-1332, 2014 WL 298660 (quoting *Senate Select Comm. on Presidential Campaign Activities v. Nixon*, 498 F.2d 725, 731 (D.C. Cir. 1974) (en banc)). The privilege asserted by the Obama Administration, despite a claim of misconduct, was one of deliberative process.

<sup>8</sup> The House Committees have made clear, in writings and in meetings and discussions with Administration counsel, that they will not permit counsel from the agencies or offices at which witnesses were employed to be present during their depositions, despite the determination by the Department of Justice that it is unconstitutional to exclude them. See, e.g., 116th Congress Regulations for Use of Deposition Authority, Congressional Record, H1216 (Jan. 25, 2019); Letter from Eliot L. Engel, Chairman, House Committee on Foreign Affairs, et al., to John J. Sullivan, Deputy Secretary of State at 2 (Oct. 1, 2019) (citing 116th Congress Regulations for Use of Deposition Authority); *Attempted Exclusion of Agency Counsel from Congressional Depositions of Agency Employees*, 43 Op. O.L.C. \_\_\_, \* 1-2 (May 23, 2019).

Lee S. Wolosky, Esq.  
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Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any further questions or would like to discuss this matter further. We would be happy to speak with you at your convenience.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Michael M. Purpura". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Michael M. Purpura

*Deputy Counsel to the President*

## Assertion of Executive Privilege Concerning the Dismissal and Replacement of U.S. Attorneys

Executive privilege may properly be asserted over the documents and testimony concerning the dismissal and replacement of U.S. Attorneys that have been subpoenaed by congressional committees.

June 27, 2007

THE PRESIDENT  
THE WHITE HOUSE

Dear Mr. President:

The Senate Committee on the Judiciary and the House Committee on the Judiciary recently issued five subpoenas in connection with their inquiries into the resignation of several U.S. Attorneys in 2006. Broadly speaking, four of the five subpoenas seek documents in the custody of current or former White House officials ("White House documents") concerning the dismissal and replacement of the U.S. Attorneys. In addition, two of the five subpoenas demand testimony about these matters from two former White House officials, Harriet Miers, former Counsel to the President, and Sara Taylor, former Deputy Assistant to the President and Director of Political Affairs.

You have requested my legal advice as to whether you may assert executive privilege with respect to the subpoenaed documents and testimony concerning the categories of information described in this letter. It is my considered legal judgment that you may assert executive privilege over the subpoenaed documents and testimony.

### I.

The documents that the Office of the Counsel to the President has identified as responsive to the subpoenas fall into three broad categories related to the possible dismissal and replacement of U.S. Attorneys, including congressional and media inquiries about the dismissals: (1) internal White House communications; (2) communications by White House officials with individuals outside the Executive Branch, including with individuals in the Legislative Branch; and (3) communications between White House officials and Department of Justice officials. The Committees' subpoenas also seek testimony from Ms. Miers and Ms. Taylor concerning the same subject matters, and the assertion of privilege with respect to such testimony requires the same legal analysis.

The Office of Legal Counsel of the Department of Justice has reviewed the documents identified by the Counsel to the President as responsive to the subpoenas and is satisfied that the documents fall within the scope of executive

privilege. The Office further believes that Congress's interests in the documents and related testimony would not be sufficient to override an executive privilege claim. For the reasons discussed below, I concur with both assessments.

A.

The initial category of subpoenaed documents and testimony consists of internal White House communications about the possible dismissal and replacement of U.S. Attorneys. Among other things, these communications discuss the wisdom of such a proposal, specific U.S. Attorneys who could be removed, potential replacement candidates, and possible responses to congressional and media inquiries about the dismissals. These types of internal deliberations among White House officials fall squarely within the scope of executive privilege. One of the underlying purposes of the privilege is to promote sound decisionmaking by ensuring that senior government officials and their advisers speak frankly and candidly during the decisionmaking process. As the Supreme Court has explained, “[a] President and those who assist him must be free to explore alternatives in the process of shaping policies and to do so in a way many would be unwilling to express except privately.” *United States v. Nixon*, 418 U.S. 683, 708 (1974); see also *Assertion of Executive Privilege with Respect to Prosecutorial Documents*, 25 Op. O.L.C. 1, 2 (2001) (“The Constitution clearly gives the President the power to protect the confidentiality of executive branch deliberations.”); *Assertion of Executive Privilege With Respect to Clemency Decision*, 23 Op. O.L.C. 1, 2 (1999) (opinion of Attorney General Janet Reno) (“*Clemency Decision*”) (“[N]ot only does executive privilege apply to confidential communications to the President, but also to ‘communications between high Government officials and those who advise and assist them in the performance of their manifold duties.’”) (quoting *Nixon*, 418 U.S. at 705). These confidentiality interests are particularly strong where, as here, the communications may implicate a “quintessential and nondelegable Presidential power,” such as the authority to nominate or to remove U.S. Attorneys. *In re Sealed Case*, 121 F.3d 729, 752 (D.C. Cir. 1997); *Clemency Decision*, 23 Op. O.L.C. at 2–3 (finding that executive privilege protected Department and White House deliberations related to decision to grant clemency).

Under D.C. Circuit precedent, a congressional committee may not overcome an assertion of executive privilege unless it establishes that the documents and information are “demonstrably critical to the responsible fulfillment of the Committee’s functions.” *Senate Select Comm. on Presidential Campaign Activities v. Nixon*, 498 F.2d 725, 731 (D.C. Cir. 1974) (en banc). And those functions must be in furtherance of Congress’s legitimate legislative responsibilities. See *McGrain v. Daugherty*, 273 U.S. 135, 160 (1927) (Congress has oversight authority “to enable it efficiently to exercise a legislative function belonging to it under the Constitution”).

As a threshold matter, it is not at all clear that internal White House communications about the possible dismissal and replacement of U.S. Attorneys fall within the scope of *McGrain* and its progeny. The Supreme Court has held that Congress's oversight powers do not reach "matters which are within the exclusive province of one of the other branches of the Government." *Barenblatt v. United States*, 360 U.S. 109, 112 (1959). The Senate has the authority to approve or reject the appointment of officers whose appointment by law requires the advice and consent of the Senate (which has been the case for U.S. Attorneys since the founding of the Republic), but it is for the President to decide whom to nominate to such positions and whether to remove such officers once appointed. Though the President traditionally consults with members of Congress about the selection of potential U.S. Attorney nominees as a matter of courtesy or in an effort to secure their confirmation, that does not confer upon Congress authority to inquire into the deliberations of the President with respect to the exercise of his power to remove or nominate a U.S. Attorney.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, there is reason to question whether Congress has oversight authority to investigate deliberations by White House officials concerning proposals to dismiss and replace U.S. Attorneys, because such deliberations necessarily relate to the potential exercise by the President of an authority assigned to him alone. See *Clemency Decision*, 23 Op. O.L.C. at 3-4 ("[I]t appears that Congress' oversight authority does not extend to the process employed in connection with a particular clemency decision, to the materials generated or the discussions that took place as part of that process, or to the advice or views the President received in connection with a clemency decision [because the decision to grant clemency is an exclusive Executive Branch function]."); *Scope of Congressional Oversight and Investigative Power With Respect to the Executive Branch*, 9 Op. O.L.C. 60, 62 (1985) (congressional oversight authority does not extend to "functions fall[ing] within the Executive's exclusive domain").

In any event, even if the Committees have oversight authority, there is no doubt that the materials sought qualify for the privilege and the Committees have not demonstrated that their interests justify overriding a claim of executive privilege as to the matters at issue. The House Committee, for instance, asserts in its letter accompanying the subpoenas that "[c]ommunications among the White House staff involved in the U.S. Attorney replacement plan are obviously of paramount importance to any understanding of how and why these U.S. Attorneys were

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<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., *Pub. Citizen v. Dep't of Justice*, 491 U.S. 440, 483 (1989) (Kennedy, J., concurring) ("[T]he Clause divides the appointment power into two separate spheres: the President's power to 'nominate,' and the Senate's power to give or withhold its 'Advice and Consent.' No role whatsoever is given either to the Senate or to Congress as a whole in the process of choosing the person who will be nominated for [the] appointment."); *Myers v. United States*, 272 U.S. 52, 122 (1926) ("The power of removal is incident to the power of appointment, not to the power of advising and consenting to appointment, and when the grant of the executive power is enforced by the express mandate to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, it emphasizes the necessity for including within the executive power as conferred the exclusive power of removal.")

selected to be fired.” Letter for Fred F. Fielding, Counsel to the President, from John Conyers, Jr., Chairman, House Judiciary Committee at 2 (June 13, 2007). But the Committees never explain how or why this information is “demonstrably critical” to any “legislative judgments” Congress might be able to exercise in the U.S. Attorney matter. *Senate Select Comm.*, 498 F.2d at 732. Broad, generalized assertions that the requested materials are of public import are simply insufficient under the “demonstrably critical” standard. Under *Senate Select Committee*, to override a privilege claim the Committees must “point[] to . . . specific legislative decisions that cannot responsibly be made without access to [the privileged] materials.” *Id.* at 733.

Moreover, any legitimate oversight interest the Committees might have in internal White House communications about the proposal is sharply reduced by the thousands of documents and dozens of hours of interviews and testimony already provided to the Committees by the Department of Justice as part of its extraordinary effort at accommodation.<sup>2</sup> This information has given the Committees extraordinary—and indeed, unprecedented—insight into the Department’s decision to request the U.S. Attorney resignations, including the role of White House officials in the process. *See, e.g., History of Refusals by Executive Branch Officials to Provide Information Demanded by Congress*, 6 Op. O.L.C. 751, 758–59, 767 (1982) (documenting refusals by Presidents Jackson, Tyler, and Cleveland

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<sup>2</sup>During the past three months, the Department has released or made available for review to the Committees approximately 8,500 pages of documents concerning the U.S. Attorney resignations. The Department has included in its productions many sensitive, deliberative documents related to the resignation requests, including e-mails and other communications with White House officials. The Committees’ staffs have also interviewed, at length and on the record, a number of senior Department officials, including, among others, the Deputy Attorney General, the Acting Associate Attorney General, the Attorney General’s former chief of staff, the Deputy Attorney General’s chief of staff, and two former Directors of the Executive Office for U.S. Attorneys. During these interviews, the Committees’ staffs explored in great depth all aspects of the decision to request the U.S. Attorney resignations, including the role of White House officials in the decisionmaking process. In addition, the Attorney General, the Deputy Attorney General, the Principal Associate Deputy Attorney General, the Attorney General’s former chief of staff, and the Department’s former White House Liaison have testified before one or both of the Committees about the terminations and explained, under oath, their understanding of such involvement.

The President has also made significant efforts to accommodate the Committees’ needs. More than three months ago, the Counsel to the President proposed to make senior White House officials, including Ms. Miers, available for informal interviews about “(a) communications between the White House and persons outside the White House concerning the request for resignations of the U.S. Attorneys in question; and (b) communications between the White House and Members of Congress concerning those requests,” and he offered to give the Committees access to White House documents on the same subjects. Letter for Patrick Leahy, U.S. Senate, et al., from Fred F. Fielding, Counsel to the President at 1–2 (Mar. 20, 2007). The Committees declined this offer. The Counsel to the President has since reiterated this offer of accommodation but to no avail. *See* Letter for Patrick Leahy, U.S. Senate, and John Conyers, Jr., U.S. House of Representatives, from Fred F. Fielding, Counsel to the President at 1 (Apr. 12, 2007); Letter for Patrick Leahy, U.S. Senate, John Conyers, Jr., U.S. House of Representatives, and Linda T. Sanchez, U.S. House of Representatives, from Fred F. Fielding, Counsel to the President at 1–2 (June 7, 2007).

to provide information related to the decision to remove Executive Branch officials, including a U.S. Attorney).

In a letter accompanying the subpoenas, the House Committee references the alleged “written misstatements” and “false statements” provided by the Department to the Committees about the U.S. Attorney dismissals. *See* Letter for Fred F. Fielding, Counsel to the President, from John Conyers, Jr., Chairman, House Judiciary Committee at 2 (June 13, 2007). The Department has recognized the Committees’ interest in investigating the extent to which Department officials may have provided inaccurate or incomplete information to Congress. This interest does not, however, justify the Committees’ demand for White House documents and information about the U.S. Attorney resignations. Officials in the Department, not officials in the White House, presented the challenged statements, and as noted, the Department has provided unprecedented information to Congress concerning, *inter alia*, the process that led to the Department’s statements. The Committees’ legitimate oversight interests therefore have already been addressed by the Department, which has sought to provide the Committees with all documents related to the preparation of any inaccurate information given to Congress.

Given the amount of information the Committees already possess about the Department’s decision to remove the U.S. Attorneys (including the involvement of White House officials), there would be little additional legislative purpose served by revealing internal White House communications about the U.S. Attorney matter, and, in any event, none that would outweigh the President’s interest in maintaining the confidentiality of such internal deliberations. *See Senate Select Comm.*, 498 F.2d at 732–33 (explaining that a congressional committee may not obtain information protected by executive privilege if that information is available through non-privileged sources). Consequently, I do not believe that the Committees have shown a “demonstrably critical” need for internal White House communications on this matter.

## B.

For many of the same reasons, I believe that communications between White House officials and individuals outside the Executive Branch, including with individuals in the Legislative Branch, concerning the possible dismissal and replacement of U.S. Attorneys, and possible responses to congressional and media inquiries about the dismissals, fall within the scope of executive privilege. Courts have long recognized the importance of information gathering in presidential decisionmaking. *See, e.g., In re Sealed Case*, 121 F.3d at 751–52 (describing role of investigation and information collection in presidential decisionmaking). Naturally, in order for the President and his advisers to make an informed decision, presidential aides must sometimes solicit information from individuals outside the White House and the Executive Branch. This need is particularly strong when the decision involved is whether to remove political appointees, such

as U.S. Attorneys, who serve in local districts spread throughout the United States. In those situations, the President and his advisers will be fully informed only if they solicit and receive advice from a range of individuals. Yet the President's ability to obtain such information often depends on the provider's understanding that his frank and candid views will remain confidential. *See Nixon*, 418 U.S. at 705 ("Human experience teaches that those who expect public dissemination of their remarks may well temper candor with a concern for appearances and for their own interests to the detriment of the decisionmaking process."); *In re Sealed Case*, 121 F.3d at 751 ("In many instances, potential exposure of the information in the possession of an adviser can be as inhibiting as exposure of the actual advice she gave to the President. Without protection of her sources of information, an adviser may be tempted to forego obtaining comprehensive briefings or initiating deep and intense probing for fear of losing deniability.").

That the communications involve individuals outside the Executive Branch does not undermine the President's confidentiality interests. The communications at issue occurred with the understanding that they would be held in confidence, and they related to decisionmaking regarding U.S. Attorney removals or replacements or responding to congressional or media inquiries about the U.S. Attorney matter. Under these circumstances, the communications retain their confidential and Executive Branch character and remain protected. *See In re Sealed Case*, 121 F.3d at 752 ("Given the need to provide sufficient elbow room for advisers to obtain information from all knowledgeable sources, the [presidential communications component of executive] privilege must apply both to communications which these advisers solicited and received from others as well as those they authored themselves." ).<sup>3</sup>

Again, the Committees offer no compelling explanation or analysis as to why access to confidential communications between White House officials and individuals outside the Executive Branch is "demonstrably critical to the responsible fulfillment of the [Committees'] functions." *Senate Select Comm.*, 498 F.2d at 731. Absent such a showing, the Committees may not override an executive privilege claim.

### C.

The final category of documents and testimony concerns communications between the Department of Justice and the White House concerning proposals to dismiss and replace U.S. Attorneys and possible responses to congressional and media inquiries about the U.S. Attorney resignations. These communications are

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<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the Department has previously conveyed to the Committees its concern that there would be a substantial inhibiting effect on future informal confidential communications between Executive Branch and Legislative Branch representatives if such communications were to be produced in the normal course of congressional oversight.

deliberative and clearly fall within the scope of executive privilege.<sup>4</sup> *See supra* p. 2. In this case, however, the Department has already disclosed to Congress a substantial amount of documents and information related to White House communications about the U.S. Attorney matter. Consequently, in assessing whether it would be legally permissible to assert executive privilege, it is useful to divide this category into three subcategories, each with slightly different considerations: (1) documents and testimony related to communications between the Department and White House officials that have not already been disclosed by the Department; (2) documents concerning White House-Department communications previously disclosed to the Committees by the Department; and (3) testimony from current or former White House officials (such as the testimony sought from Ms. Miers or Ms. Taylor) about previously disclosed White House-Department communications. After carefully considering the matter, I believe there is a strong legal basis for asserting executive privilege over each of these subcategories.

The President's interest in protecting the confidentiality of documents and information about undisclosed White House-Department communications is powerful. Most, if not all, of these communications concern either potential replacements for the dismissed U.S. Attorneys or possible responses to inquiries from Congress and the media about the U.S. Attorney resignations. As discussed above, the President's need to protect deliberations about the selection of U.S. Attorneys is compelling, particularly given Congress's lack of legislative authority over the nomination or replacement of U.S. Attorneys. *See In re Sealed Case*, 121 F.3d at 751-52. The President also has undeniable confidentiality interests in discussions between White House and Department officials over how to respond to congressional and media inquiries about the U.S. Attorney matter. As Attorney General Janet Reno advised the President in 1996, the ability of the Office of the Counsel to the President to assist the President in responding to investigations "would be significantly impaired" if a congressional committee could review "confidential documents . . . prepared in order to assist the President and his staff in responding to an investigation by the [committee] seeking the documents." *Assertion of Executive Privilege Regarding White House Counsel's Office Documents*, 20 Op. O.L.C. 2, 3 (1996). Despite extensive communications with officials at the Department and the White House, the Committees have yet to articulate any "demonstrably critical" oversight interest that would justify overriding these compelling confidentiality concerns.

There are also legitimate reasons to assert executive privilege over White House documents reflecting White House-Department communications that have been previously disclosed to the Committees by the Department. As discussed,

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<sup>4</sup> To the extent they exist, White House communications approving the Department's actions by or on behalf of the President would receive particularly strong protection under executive privilege. *See, e.g., In re Sealed Case*, 121 F.3d at 752-53 (describing heightened protection provided to presidential communications).

these documents are deliberative in nature and clearly fall within the scope of executive privilege. The Department's accommodation with respect to some White House-Department communications does not constitute a waiver and does not preclude the President from asserting executive privilege with respect to White House materials or testimony concerning such communications. The D.C. Circuit has recognized that each branch has a "constitutional mandate to seek optimal accommodation" of each other's legitimate interests. *United States v. AT&T Co.*, 567 F.2d 121, 127 (D.C. Cir. 1977). If the Department's provision of documents and information to Congress, as part of the accommodation process, eliminated the President's ability to assert privilege over White House documents and information concerning those same communications, then the Executive Branch would be hampered, if not prevented, from engaging in future accommodations. Thus, in order to preserve the constitutional process of interbranch accommodation, the President may claim privilege over documents and information concerning the communications that the Department of Justice has previously disclosed to the Committees. Indeed, the relevant legal principles should and do encourage, rather than punish, such accommodation by recognizing that Congress's need for such documents is reduced to the extent similar materials have been provided voluntarily as part of the accommodation process.

Here, the Committees' need for White House documents concerning these communications is weak. The Committees already possess the relevant communications, and it is well established that Congress may not override executive privilege to obtain materials that are cumulative or that could be obtained from an alternative source. See *Senate Select Comm.*, 498 F.2d at 732-33 (holding public release of redacted audio tape transcripts "substantially undermined" any legislative need for tapes themselves); *Clemency Decision*, 23 Op. O.L.C. at 3-4 (finding that documents were not demonstrably critical where Congress could obtain relevant information "through non-privileged documents and testimony"). Accordingly, the Committees do not have a "demonstrably critical" need to collect White House documents reflecting previously disclosed White House-Department communications.

Finally, the Committees have also failed to establish the requisite need for testimony from current or former White House officials about previously disclosed White House-Department communications. Congressional interest in investigating the replacement of U.S. Attorneys clearly falls outside its core constitutional responsibilities, and any legitimate interest Congress may have in the disclosed communications has been satisfied by the Department's extraordinary accommodation involving the extensive production of documents to the Committees, interviews, and hearing testimony concerning these communications. As the D.C. Circuit has explained, because "legislative judgments normally depend more on the predicted consequences of proposed legislative actions and their political acceptability," Congress will rarely need or be entitled to a "precise reconstruction of past events" to carry out its legislative responsibilities. *Senate Select Comm.*,

*Assertion of Executive Privilege Concerning Dismissal of U.S. Attorneys*

498 F.2d at 732.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, the White House has very legitimate interests in protecting the confidentiality of this information because it would be very difficult, if not impossible, for current or former White House officials testifying about the disclosed communications to separate in their minds knowledge that is derived from the Department's disclosures from knowledge that is derived from other privileged sources, such as internal White House communications. Consequently, given the President's strong confidentiality interests and the Committees' limited legislative needs, I believe that White House information about previously disclosed White House-Department communications may properly be subject to an executive privilege claim.

II.

In sum, I believe that executive privilege may properly be asserted with respect to the subpoenaed documents and testimony as described above.

PAUL D. CLEMENT  
*Solicitor General & Acting Attorney General*

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<sup>5</sup> See also *Senate Select Comm.*, 498 F.2d at 732 (explaining that Congress "frequently legislates on the basis of conflicting information provided in its hearings"); *Congressional Requests for Confidential Executive Branch Information*, 13 Op. O.L.C. 153, 159 (1989) ("Congress will seldom have any legitimate legislative interest in knowing the precise predecisional positions and statements of particular executive branch officials.").





DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1010 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1010

Daniel Levin  
White & Case LLP  
701 Thirteenth Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20005-3807



OCT 22 2019

Dear Mr. Levin:

I understand that you have been retained by Ms. Laura Cooper, the Department's Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Russia, Ukraine, and Eurasia, as her private counsel for a deposition to be conducted jointly by the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and the Committee on Oversight and Reform, "[p]ursuant to the House of Representatives' impeachment inquiry." The Department's October 15, 2019 letter to the Chairs of the three House Committees [Tab A] expressed its belief that the customary process of oversight and accommodation has historically served the interests of congressional oversight committees and the Department well. The Committees' purported "impeachment inquiry," however, presents at least two issues of great importance.

The first issue is the Committees' continued, blanket refusal to allow Department Counsel to be present at depositions of Department employees. Department Counsel's participation protects against the improper release of privileged or classified information, particularly material covered by the executive privilege which is the President's alone to assert and to waive. Excluding Department Counsel places the witness in the untenable position of having to decide whether to answer the Committees' questions or to assert Executive Branch confidentiality interests without an attorney from the Executive Branch present to advise on those interests. It violates settled practice and may jeopardize future accommodation. Furthermore, the Department of Justice has concluded that "congressional subpoenas that purport to require agency employees to appear without agency counsel are legally invalid and are not subject to civil or criminal enforcement." See *Attempted Exclusion of Agency Counsel from Congressional Depositions of Agency Employees*, 43 Op. O.L.C. (May 23, 2019) [Tab B].

The second issue is the absence of authority for the Committees to conduct an impeachment inquiry. In its October 15, 2019 letter, the Department conveyed concerns about the Committees' lack of authority to initiate an impeachment inquiry given the absence of a delegation of such authority by House Rule or Resolution. This correspondence echoed an October 8, 2019 letter from the White House Counsel [Tab C] expressing the President's view that the inquiry was "contrary to the Constitution of the United States and all past bipartisan precedent" and "violates fundamental fairness and constitutionally mandated due process."

This letter informs you and Ms. Cooper of the Administration-wide direction that Executive Branch personnel "cannot participate in [the impeachment] inquiry under these circumstances" [Tab C]. In the event that the Committees issue a subpoena to compel Ms. Cooper's appearance, you should be aware that the Supreme Court has held, in *United States v.*



*Rumely*, 345 U.S. 41 (1953), that a person cannot be sanctioned for refusing to comply with a congressional subpoena unauthorized by House Rule or Resolution.

To reiterate, the Department respects the oversight role of Congress and stands ready to work with the Committees should there be an appropriate resolution of outstanding legal issues. Any such resolution would have to consider the constitutional prerogatives and confidentiality interests of the co-equal Executive Branch, *see* Tab D, and ensure fundamental fairness to any Executive Branch employees involved in this process, including Ms. Cooper.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Paul L. Marshall". The signature is written in dark ink and is centered below the word "Sincerely,".

Attachments:  
As stated



LEGISLATIVE  
AFFAIRS

OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1300

The Honorable Adam B. Schiff  
Chairman  
House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence  
Washington, D.C. 20515

OCT 15 2019

The Honorable Eliot L. Engel  
Chairman  
House Committee on Foreign Affairs  
Washington, D.C. 20515

The Honorable Elijah E. Cummings  
Chairman  
House Committee on Oversight and Reform  
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Messrs. Chairmen:

I write on behalf of the Department to confirm that we received your letter and subpoena of October 7, 2019, seeking the production of all documents and communications in the custody, possession, or control of the Department of Defense for fourteen categories of information no later than 5:00 pm on October 15, 2019. As your cover letter states, the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, in consultation with the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Committee on Oversight and Reform, issued the subpoena "[p]ursuant to the House of Representatives' impeachment inquiry."

The Department understands the significance of your request for information and has taken steps to identify, preserve, and collect potentially responsive documents. The customary process of oversight and accommodation has historically served the interests of congressional oversight committees and the Department well. The Department is prepared to engage in that process consistent with longstanding practice and provide the responsive information should there be resolution of this matter.

The current subpoena, however, raises a number of legal and practical concerns that must first be addressed. For example, although your letter asserts that the subpoena has issued "[p]ursuant to the House of Representatives' impeachment inquiry," the House has not authorized your committees to conduct any such inquiry. The Supreme Court has long held that the first step in assessing the validity of a subpoena from a congressional committee is determining "whether the committee was authorized" to issue the subpoena, which requires "constru[ing] the scope of the authority which the House of Representatives gave to" the committee. *United States v. Rumely*, 345 U.S. 41, 42-43 (1953). Here, none of your committees has identified any House rule or House resolution that authorized the committees to begin an

inquiry pursuant to the impeachment power. In marked contrast with historical precedents, the House has not expressly adopted any resolution authorizing an impeachment investigation.

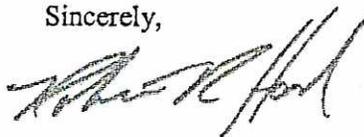
The House also has not delegated such authority to any of your three committees by rule. *See* H. Res. 6, 116th Cong. (2019). To the contrary, House Rule X is currently the only source of your three committees' jurisdiction, and that rule does not provide any of the committees the power to initiate an impeachment inquiry. Indeed, the rule does not mention impeachment at all. *See* H. Rule X, cl. 1(i), (n); cl. 11. Absent a delegation by House Rule or a resolution of the House, none of your committees has been delegated jurisdiction to conduct an investigation pursuant to the impeachment power under Article I, Section 2 of the Constitution.

Even if the inquiry were validly authorized, much of the information sought in the subpoena appears to consist of confidential Executive Branch communications that are potentially protected by executive privilege and would require careful review to ensure that no such information is improperly disclosed. Furthermore, as a practical matter, given the broad scope of your request, the time required to collect the documents, review them for responsiveness and relevant privileges, and produce responsive, non-privileged documents to the committee is not feasible within the mere eight days afforded to the Department to comply with the subpoena.

On a separate note, the Department also objects to your letter's assertion that the Secretary of Defense's "failure or refusal to comply with the subpoena, including at the direction or behest of the President or the White House, shall constitute evidence of obstruction of the House's impeachment inquiry and may be used as an adverse inference against [the Secretary] and the President." Invoking reasonable legal defenses to a subpoena, including invoking legal privileges that are held by the President, in no way manifests evidence of obstruction or otherwise warrants an adverse inference. Indeed, the very idea that reasonably asserting legal rights is itself evidence of wrongdoing turns fundamental notions of fairness on their head and is inconsistent with the rule of law. In fact, the department is diligently preserving and collecting potentially responsive documents.

In light of these concerns, and in view of the President's position as expressed in the White House Counsel's October 8 letter, and without waiving any other objections to the subpoena that the Department may have, the Department is unable to comply with your request for documents at this time. Nevertheless, the Department respects the oversight role of the appropriate committees of Congress, and stands ready to work with your committees should there be an appropriate resolution of this matter. Any such resolution would have to protect the constitutional prerogatives and confidentiality interests of the co-equal Executive Branch and ensure fundamental fairness to any Executive Branch employees involved in this process.

Sincerely,



Robert R. Hood  
Assistant Secretary of Defense  
for Legislative Affairs

Cc: The Honorable Devin Nunes, Ranking Member  
House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence

The Honorable Michael McCaul, Ranking Member  
House Committee on Foreign Affairs

The Honorable Jim Jordan, Ranking Member  
House Committee on Oversight and Reform

(Slip Opinion)

## Attempted Exclusion of Agency Counsel from Congressional Depositions of Agency Employees

Congress may not constitutionally prohibit agency counsel from accompanying agency employees called to testify about matters that potentially involve information protected by executive privilege. Such a prohibition would impair the President's constitutional authority to control the disclosure of privileged information and to supervise the Executive Branch's communications with Congress.

Congressional subpoenas that purport to require agency employees to appear without agency counsel are legally invalid and are not subject to civil or criminal enforcement.

May 23, 2019

### MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL AND THE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

On April 2, 2019, the House Committee on Oversight and Reform (the "Committee") issued subpoenas seeking to compel testimony in two separate investigations from two witnesses: John Gore, Principal Deputy Assistant Attorney General for the Department's Civil Rights Division, and Carl Kline, the former head of the White House Personnel Security Office. The Committee sought to question both witnesses about matters that potentially involved communications that were protected by executive privilege. Although the Committee's Rule 15(e) permitted the witnesses to be accompanied at the depositions by private counsel, who would owe duties to the witnesses themselves, the rule purported to bar the presence of agency counsel, who would represent the interests of the Executive Branch.<sup>1</sup> Despite some efforts at accommodation on both sides, the Committee continued to insist that agency counsel could not attend the witnesses' depositions. In response to your requests, we advised that a congressional committee may not constitutionally compel an executive branch witness to testify about potentially privileged matters while depriving the witness of the assistance of agency counsel. Based upon our advice, Mr. Gore and Mr. Kline were directed not to appear at their depo-

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<sup>1</sup> Tracking the text of the Committee's rule, which excludes "counsel . . . for agencies," we speak in this opinion of "agency counsel," but our analysis applies equally to all counsel representing the interests of the Executive Branch, no matter whether the witness works for an "agency," as defined by statute. *See, e.g., Kissinger v. Reporters Comm. for Freedom of the Press*, 445 U.S. 136, 156 (1980) (holding that the Office of the President is not an "agency" for purposes of the Freedom of Information Act).

sitions without agency counsel. This memorandum explains the basis for our conclusions.

When this issue last arose, during the Obama Administration, this Office recognized “constitutional concerns” with the exclusion of agency counsel, because such a rule “could potentially undermine the Executive Branch’s ability to protect its confidentiality interests in the course of the constitutionally mandated accommodation process, as well as the President’s constitutional authority to consider and assert executive privilege where appropriate.” *Authority of the Department of Health and Human Services to Pay for Private Counsel to Represent an Employee Before Congressional Committees*, 41 Op. O.L.C. \_\_\_, \*5 n.6 (Jan. 18, 2017) (“*Authority to Pay for Private Counsel*”). This Office, however, was asked to address only the retention of private counsel for a deposition and thus did not evaluate these constitutional concerns.

Faced squarely with the constitutional question here, we concluded that Congress may not compel an executive branch witness to appear without agency counsel and thereby compromise the President’s constitutional authority to control the disclosure of privileged information and to supervise the Executive Branch’s communications with congressional entities. The “Executive Branch’s longstanding general practice has been for agency attorneys to accompany” agency employees who are questioned by congressional committees conducting oversight inquiries. *Id.* at \*3. When an agency employee is asked to testify about matters within the scope of his official duties, he is necessarily asked to provide agency information. The agency must have the ability to protect relevant privileges and to ensure that any information provided on its behalf is accurate, complete, and properly limited in scope. Although private counsel may indirectly assist the employee in protecting privileged information, counsel’s obligation is to protect the personal interests of the employee, not the interests of the Executive Branch. The Committee, therefore, could not constitutionally bar agency counsel from accompanying agency employees called to testify on matters within the scope of their official duties. In light of this constitutional infirmity, we advised that the Committee subpoenas purporting to require the witnesses to appear without agency counsel were legally invalid and not subject to civil or criminal enforcement.

## I.

Congress generally obtains the information necessary to perform its legislative functions by making requests and issuing subpoenas for docu-

ments and testimony through its organized committees. *See, e.g., Barenblatt v. United States*, 360 U.S. 109, 116 (1959); *Watkins v. United States*, 354 U.S. 178, 187–88 (1957). Committees typically seek the information they need from the Executive Branch first by requesting documents and sometimes voluntary interviews. Following such requests, a committee may proceed with a hearing at which Members of Congress ask questions of the witness, and such a hearing is usually open to the public. When executive branch employees appear—either at a voluntary interview or a hearing—agency counsel or another agency representative traditionally accompany them. *See, e.g., Representation of White House Employees*, 4B Op. O.L.C. 749, 754 (1980).

Congressional committees have only rarely attempted to collect information by compelling depositions conducted by committee staff. *See* Jay R. Champansky, Cong. Research Serv., 95-949 A, *Staff Depositions in Congressional Investigations* 1–2 & n.3 (updated Dec. 3, 1999) (“*Staff Depositions*”). Historically, these efforts were confined to specific investigations that were limited in scope. *See, e.g., Inquiry into the Matter of Billy Carter and Libya: Hearings Before the Subcomm. to Investigate the Activities of Individuals Representing the Interests of Foreign Governments of the S. Comm. on the Judiciary*, 96th Cong. 1708–10, 1718–27, 1742 (1980) (discussing issues related to Senate resolution authorizing depositions by staff members). Recently, however, committees have made increasing use of depositions, and the House of Representatives has adopted an order in the current Congress that permits depositions to go forward without the presence of any Member of Congress. *See* H. Res. 6, 116th Cong. § 103(a)(1) (2019).

Although executive branch witnesses have sometimes appeared and testified at staff depositions, the Executive Branch has frequently objected to the taking of compelled testimony by congressional staff members. These objections have questioned whether committees may properly authorize staff to depose senior executive officials, whether Members of Congress must be present during a committee deposition, and whether the procedures for such depositions adequately protect the President’s ability to protect privileged executive branch information. *See, e.g., H. Comm. on International Relations*, 104th Cong., Final Report of the Select Subcommittee to Investigate the United States Role in Iranian Arms Transfers to Croatia and Bosnia 54–56 (Comm. Print 1997) (summarizing the White House’s position that its officials would not “be allowed to sit for staff depositions, because to do so would intrude upon the President’s ‘deliberative process’”); *see also* Letter for Henry Waxman, Chairman, Commit-

tee on Oversight and Government Reform, U.S. House of Representatives, from Dinah Bear, General Counsel, Council on Environmental Quality at 1 (Mar. 12, 2007) (“Allowing Committee staff to depose Executive Branch representatives on the record would be an extraordinary formalization of the congressional oversight process and would give unelected staff powers and authorities historically exercised only by Members of Congress participating in a public hearing.”); Letter for Henry A. Waxman, Chairman, Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, U.S. House of Representatives, from Stephanie Daigle, Associate Administrator, U.S. Environmental Protection Agency at 2 (Apr. 12, 2007) (“[T]he use of formal interviews by Committee counsel, transcribed by a court reporter, rather than the customary informal briefings, have the potential to be overly adversarial and to intimidate Agency staff.”). No court has addressed whether Congress may use its oversight authority to compel witnesses to appear at staff depositions conducted outside the presence of any Member of Congress. Courts have recognized, however, that Congress’s ability to “delegate the exercise of the subpoena power is not lightly to be inferred” because it is “capable of oppressive use.” *Shelton v. United States*, 327 F.2d 601, 606 n.14 (D.C. Cir. 1963); cf. *United States v. Bryan*, 339 U.S. 323, 332 (1950) (concluding, in the context of a criminal contempt-of-Congress citation, that “respondent could rightfully have demanded attendance of a quorum of the Committee and declined to testify or to produce documents so long as a quorum was not present”).

The question we address here arose out of the Committee’s effort to compel two executive branch witnesses, Mr. Gore and Mr. Kline, to appear at depositions subject to the restrictions of Committee Rule 15(e). In relevant part, Rule 15(e) provides as follows:

No one may be present at depositions except members, committee staff designated by the Chair of the Committee or the Ranking Minority Member of the Committee, an official reporter, the witness, and the witness’s counsel. Observers or counsel for other persons, or for agencies under investigation, may not attend.

H. Comm. on Oversight & Reform, 116th Cong., Rule 15(e). In both instances, the Committee sought executive branch information, including matters that implicated executive privilege, but it asserted the authority to compel the witness to answer questions without the assistance of agency counsel. We summarize here the efforts at accommodation made by the Executive Branch and the Committee in connection with the disputes.

A.

The Committee subpoenaed Mr. Gore to testify about privileged matters concerning the Secretary of Commerce's decision to include a citizenship question on the 2020 United States Census. On March 7, 2019, Mr. Gore voluntarily appeared before the Committee, with the assistance of Department counsel, for a transcribed interview on the same topic. Mr. Gore answered all of the Committee's questions, except for those that were determined by Department counsel to concern confidential deliberations within the Executive Branch. The Department's interest in protecting this subject matter was particularly acute because the Secretary of Commerce's decision was subject to active litigation, and those challenges were pending in the Supreme Court. *See Dep't of Commerce v. New York*, No. 18-966 (U.S.) (argued Apr. 23, 2019). Some of the information sought by the Committee had previously been held by a federal district court to be protected by the deliberative process privilege, as well as other privileges, in civil discovery.

On April 2, the Committee served Mr. Gore with a deposition subpoena in an effort to compel responses to the questions that he did not answer during his March 7 interview. Committee staff advised that Committee Rule 15(e) required the exclusion of the agency counsel who had previously represented Mr. Gore. On April 9, the Department explained that the Committee's effort to bar Department counsel would unconstitutionally infringe upon the prerogatives of the Executive Branch. *See* Letter for Elijah E. Cummings, Chairman, Committee on Oversight and Reform, U.S. House of Representatives, from Stephen E. Boyd, Assistant Attorney General, Office of Legislative Affairs at 2-3 (Apr. 9, 2019). Because the Committee sought information from Mr. Gore relating to his official duties, the Department explained that agency counsel must be present to ensure appropriate limits to Mr. Gore's questioning, to ensure the accuracy and completeness of information provided on behalf of the Department, and to ensure that a Department official was not pressed into revealing privileged information. *Id.* The Attorney General determined that Mr. Gore would not appear at the deposition without the assistance of Department counsel. *Id.* at 3.

On April 10, 2019, the Committee responded by disputing the Department's constitutional view, contending that Committee Rule 15(e) had been in place for more than a decade and reflected an appropriate exercise of Congress's authority to determine the rules of its own proceedings. *See* Letter for William P. Barr, Attorney General, from Elijah E. Cummings,

Chairman, Committee on Oversight and Reform, U.S. House of Representatives at 2–3 (Apr. 10, 2019) (“April 10 Cummings Letter”) (citing U.S. Const. art. I, § 5, cl. 2). The Committee advised that Mr. Gore could be accompanied by his private counsel, *id.* at 2, and offered to allow Department counsel to wait in a separate room during the deposition, *id.* at 3. The Committee stated that, if necessary, Mr. Gore could request a break during the deposition to consult with Department counsel. *Id.*

On April 24, 2019, the Department reiterated its constitutional objection and explained that the Committee’s proposed accommodation would not satisfy the Department’s need to have agency counsel assist Mr. Gore at the deposition. *See* Letter for Elijah E. Cummings, Chairman, Committee on Oversight and Reform, U.S. House of Representatives, from Stephen E. Boyd, Assistant Attorney General, Office of Legislative Affairs at 1 (Apr. 24, 2019). Mr. Gore therefore did not appear on the noticed deposition date.

## B.

The Committee subpoenaed Mr. Kline to testify concerning the activities of the White House Personnel Security Office in adjudicating security clearances during his time as head of the Office. On March 20, 2019, the current White House Chief Security Officer, with representation by the Office of Counsel to the President (“Counsel’s Office”), briefed the Committee’s staff on the White House security clearance process for nearly 90 minutes and answered questions from a Member of Congress and staff. On April 1, 2019, the White House offered to have Mr. Kline appear voluntarily before the Committee for a transcribed interview.

Instead, the Committee subpoenaed Mr. Kline on April 2, 2019. The Committee indicated that Committee Rule 15(e) would bar any representative from the Counsel’s Office from attending Mr. Kline’s deposition. On April 18, 2019, the Counsel’s Office advised the Committee that a representative from that office must attend to represent the White House’s interests in any deposition of Mr. Kline. *See* Letter for Elijah E. Cummings, Chairman, Committee on Oversight and Reform, U.S. House of Representatives, from Michael M. Purpura, Deputy Counsel to the President at 2 (Apr. 18, 2019). The Counsel’s Office relied on the views concerning the exclusion of agency counsel that were articulated by the Department in its April 9, 2019 letter to the Committee. *Id.* The Counsel’s Office explained that the President has the authority to raise privilege

concerns at any point during a deposition, and that this could occur only if an attorney from the Counsel's Office accompanied Mr. Kline. *Id.*

On April 22, 2019, the Committee responded, stating, as it had in correspondence concerning Mr. Gore, that its rules were justified based upon Congress's constitutional authority to determine the rules of its proceedings. *See* U.S. Const. art. I, § 5, cl. 2. The Committee asserted that Committee Rule 15(e) had been enforced under multiple chairmen. *See* Letter for Pat Cipollone, Counsel to the President, from Elijah E. Cummings, Chairman, Committee on Oversight and Reform, U.S. House of Representatives at 3 (Apr. 22, 2019) ("April 22 Cummings Letter"). The Committee advised that Mr. Kline could be accompanied by his private counsel, and, as with Mr. Gore, offered to permit attorneys from the Counsel's Office to wait outside the deposition room in case Mr. Kline requested to consult with them during the deposition. *Id.*

In an April 22, 2019 reply, the Counsel's Office explained that, in light of the Committee's decision to apply Rule 15(e), the Acting Chief of Staff to the President had directed Mr. Kline not to attend the deposition for the reasons stated in the April 18, 2019 letter. *See* Letter for Elijah Cummings, Chairman, Committee on Oversight and Reform, U.S. House of Representatives, from Michael M. Purpura, Deputy Counsel to the President at 1 (Apr. 22, 2019). The Committee and the Counsel's Office subsequently agreed to a voluntary transcribed interview of Mr. Kline with the participation of the Counsel's Office. Mr. Kline was interviewed on May 1, 2019. He answered some of the Committee's questions, but at the direction of the representative from the Counsel's Office, he did not address particular matters implicating privileged information.

## II.

Under our constitutional separation of powers, both Congress and the Executive Branch must respect the legitimate prerogatives of the other branch. *See, e.g., INS v. Chadha*, 462 U.S. 919, 951 (1983) ("The hydraulic pressure inherent within each of the separate Branches to exceed the outer limits of its power, even to accomplish desirable objectives, must be resisted."); *United States v. Am. Tel. & Tel. Co.*, 567 F.2d 121, 127, 130-31 (D.C. Cir. 1977) ("[E]ach branch should take cognizance of an implicit constitutional mandate to seek optimal accommodation through a realistic evaluation of the needs of the conflicting branches in the particular fact situation."). Here, the Committee sought to apply Committee Rule 15(e) to compel executive branch officials to testify about poten-

tially privileged matters while barring agency counsel from the room. We concluded that the Committee could not constitutionally compel such an appearance for two reasons. First, the exclusion of agency counsel impairs the President's ability to exercise his constitutional authority to control privileged information of the Executive Branch. Second, the exclusion undermines the President's ability to exercise his constitutional authority to supervise the Executive Branch's interactions with Congress.

A.

Committee Rule 15(e) unconstitutionally interferes with the President's right to control the disclosure of privileged information. Both the Supreme Court and this Office have long recognized the President's "constitutional authority to protect national security and other privileged information" in the exercise of the President's Article II powers. *Authority of Agency Officials to Prohibit Employees from Providing Information to Congress*, 28 Op. O.L.C. 79, 80 (2004) ("*Authority of Agency Officials*"); see *Dep't of the Navy v. Egan*, 484 U.S. 518, 527 (1988) (the President's "authority to classify and control access to information bearing on national security . . . flows primarily from this constitutional investment of power in the President [as Commander in Chief] and exists quite apart from any explicit congressional grant"); *United States v. Nixon*, 418 U.S. 683, 705-06 (1974) ("Certain powers and privileges flow from the nature of enumerated powers; the protection of the confidentiality of Presidential communications has similar constitutional underpinnings."). That authority is "not limited to classified information, but extend[s] to *all* . . . information protected by [executive] privilege," including presidential and attorney-client communications, attorney work product, deliberative process information, law enforcement files, and national security and foreign affairs information. *Authority of Agency Officials*, 28 Op. O.L.C. at 81 (emphasis added).<sup>2</sup> Protection of such information is "fundamental to the operation of Government and inextric-

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<sup>2</sup> Although some of these components, such as deliberative process information, parallel aspects of common law privileges, each falls within the doctrine of executive privilege. See, e.g., *Whistleblower Protections for Classified Disclosures*, 22 Op. O.L.C. 92, 101-102 n.34 (1998); *Assertion of Executive Privilege Regarding White House Counsel's Office Documents*, 20 Op. O.L.C. 2, 3 (1996) (opinion of Attorney General Janet Reno) (observing that "[e]xecutive privilege applies" to certain White House documents "because of their deliberative nature, and because they fall within the scope of the attorney-client privilege and the work-product doctrine").

cably rooted in the separation of powers under the Constitution.” *Nixon*, 418 U.S. at 708. It ensures that “high Government officials and those who advise and assist them in the performance of their manifold duties” can engage in full and candid decisionmaking, *id.* at 705, 708, and it is necessary to protect sensitive security and other information that could be used to the public’s detriment.

The President may protect such privileged information from disclosure in the Executive’s responses to congressional oversight proceedings. See *Senate Select Comm. on Presidential Campaign Activities v. Nixon*, 498 F.2d 725, 731 (D.C. Cir. 1974). As we have explained, “[i]n the congressional oversight context, as in all others, the decision whether and under what circumstances to disclose classified information” or other forms of privileged information “must be made by someone who is acting on the official authority of the President and who is ultimately responsible to the President.” *Whistleblower Protections for Classified Disclosures*, 22 Op. O.L.C. 92, 100 (1998) (“*Whistleblower Protections*”). Thus, “Congress may not vest lower-ranking personnel in the Executive branch with a “right” to furnish national security or other privileged information to a member of Congress without receiving official authorization to do so.” *Authority of Agency Officials*, 28 Op. O.L.C. at 80 (quoting March 9, 1998 Statement of Administration Policy on S. 1668, 105th Cong.); see *Constitutionality of the Direct Reporting Requirement in Section 802(e)(1) of the Implementing Recommendations of the 9/11 Commission Act of 2007*, 32 Op. O.L.C. 27, 43 (2008) (“*Direct Reporting Requirement*”) (“We have long concluded that statutory provisions that purport to authorize Executive Branch officers to communicate directly with Congress without appropriate supervision . . . infringe upon the President’s constitutional authority to protect against the unauthorized disclosure of constitutionally privileged information.”). Because “statutes may not override the constitutional doctrine of executive privilege,” they may not “prohibit the supervision of the disclosure of any privileged information, be it classified, deliberative process or other privileged material.” *Authority of Agency Officials*, 28 Op. O.L.C. at 81. It necessarily follows that congressional committees’ rules of procedure may not be used to override privilege or the Executive’s ability to supervise the disclosure of privileged information.

The foregoing principles governed our analysis here. In order to control the disclosure of privileged information, the President must have the discretion to designate a representative of the government to protect this interest at congressional depositions of agency employees. When employ-

ees testify about information created or received during their employment, they are disclosing the Executive Branch's information. The same thing is true for former employees.<sup>3</sup> Yet, in many cases, agency employees will have only limited experience with executive privilege and may not have the necessary legal expertise to determine whether a question implicates a protected privilege. Moreover, the employees' personal interests in avoiding a conflict with the committee may not track the longer-term interests of the Executive Branch. Without an agency representative at the deposition to evaluate which questions implicate executive privilege, an employee may be pressed—wittingly or unwittingly—into revealing protected information such as internal deliberations, attorney-client communications, or national security information. *See Nixon*, 418 U.S. at 705–06; *Senate Select Comm.*, 498 F.2d at 731. Or the agency employee may be pressed into responding to inquiries that are beyond the scope of Congress's oversight authority. *See Barenblatt*, 360 U.S. at 111–12 (“Congress may only investigate into those areas in which it may potentially legislate or appropriate [and] cannot inquire into matters which are within the exclusive province of one of the other branches of the Government.”).

Even if the President has not yet asserted a particular privilege, excluding agency counsel would diminish the President's ability to decide whether a privilege should be asserted. The Executive Branch cannot foresee every question or topic that may arise during a deposition, but if questions seeking privileged information are asked, agency counsel, if present, can ensure that the employee does not impermissibly disclose privileged information. *See Memorandum for Rudolph W. Giuliani, Associate Attorney General, from Theodore B. Olson, Assistant Attorney General, Office of Legal Counsel, Re: Congressional Demand for Deposition of Counsel to the President Fred F. Fielding at 2 (July 23, 1982)* (“A witness before a Congressional committee may be asked—under threat of contempt—a wide range of unanticipated questions about highly sensitive deliberations and thought processes. He therefore may be unable to confine his remarks only to those which do not impair the deliberative process.”). The President, through his subordinates, must be able to intervene *before* that information is disclosed, lest the effectiveness of the

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<sup>3</sup> *See, e.g., Assertion of Executive Privilege Concerning the Dismissal and Replacement of U.S. Attorneys*, 31 Op. O.L.C. 1 (2007) (opinion of Acting Attorney General Paul D. Clement) (concluding that the President may assert executive privilege with respect to testimony by two former White House officials).

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privilege be diminished. *See* Memorandum for Peter J. Wallison, Counsel to the President, from Charles J. Cooper, Assistant Attorney General, Office of Legal Counsel at 2 (Sept. 8, 1986) (agency counsel attending congressional interviews can advise “about the sensitivity of particular information and, if need be, to terminate the interview to avoid disclosure of privileged information”). Accordingly, Committee Rule 15(e) unduly interferes with the President’s supervision of the disclosure of privileged information by barring agency counsel from the deposition of an agency employee concerning official activities.

These concerns were readily apparent in connection with the subpoenas of Mr. Gore and Mr. Kline. In both instances, the Committee sought information about communications among senior executive branch officials regarding official decisions. There was no doubt that the depositions would implicate matters in which the Executive Branch had constitutionally based confidentiality interests. Indeed, in Mr. Gore’s March 7 interview, the Committee repeatedly asked him questions concerning potentially privileged matters—some of which a federal court had already held were protected by privilege in civil discovery. *See New York v. U.S. Dep’t of Commerce*, 351 F. Supp. 3d 502, 548 n.19 (S.D.N.Y. 2019) (summarizing discovery orders). And the Committee then noticed the deposition precisely to compel answers to such questions. *See* April 10 Cummings Letter at 3 (“The Department is well aware of the scope of the deposition, based on the issues raised at Mr. Gore’s March 7 interview and the list of 18 [previously unanswered] questions provided by Committee staff.”). In Mr. Kline’s May 1 interview, the witness was similarly instructed not to answer a number of questions implicating the Executive Branch’s confidentiality interests. Prohibiting agency counsel from attending the depositions would have substantially impaired the Executive Branch’s ability to continue to protect such privileged information and to make similar confidentiality determinations in response to new questions. The Committee’s demands that the witnesses address questions already deemed unanswerable by agency counsel indicated that the exclusion of agency counsel would have been intended, in no small part, to circumvent executive branch mechanisms for preserving confidentiality.

**B.**

Committee Rule 15(e) also interferes with the President’s authority to supervise the Executive Branch’s interactions with Congress. The Constitution vests “[t]he executive Power” in the President, U.S. Const.

art. II, § 1, cl. 1, and requires him to “take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed,” *id.* § 3. This power and responsibility grant the President the “constitutional authority to supervise and control the activity of subordinate officials within the executive branch.” *The Legal Significance of Presidential Signing Statements*, 17 Op. O.L.C. 131, 132 (1993) (citing *Franklin v. Massachusetts*, 505 U.S. 788, 800 (1992)); see also *Constitutionality of Statute Requiring Executive Agency to Report Directly to Congress*, 6 Op. O.L.C. 632, 637 (1982) (“*Constitutionality of Reporting Statute*”). As we have previously explained, “the right of the President to protect his control over the Executive Branch [is] based on the fundamental principle that the President’s relationship with his subordinates must be free from certain types of interference from the coordinate branches of government in order to permit the President effectively to carry out his constitutionally assigned responsibilities.” *Authority of HUD’s Chief Financial Officer to Submit Final Reports on Violations of Appropriations Laws*, 28 Op. O.L.C. 248, 252 (2004) (“*Authority of HUD’s CFO*”) (quoting *Constitutionality of Reporting Statute*, 6 Op. O.L.C. at 638–39).

The President’s authority to supervise his subordinates in the Executive Branch includes the power to control communications with, and information provided to, Congress on behalf of the Executive Branch. See *Direct Reporting Requirement*, 32 Op. O.L.C. at 31, 39; *Authority of Agency Officials*, 28 Op. O.L.C. at 80–81; cf. *United States ex rel. Touhy v. Ragen*, 340 U.S. 462, 467–68 (1951) (upholding “a refusal by a subordinate of the Department of Justice to submit papers to the court in response to its subpoena *duces tecum* on the ground that the subordinate [wa]s prohibited from making such submission by” a valid order of the Attorney General). At a minimum, this responsibility includes the power to know about, and assert authority over, the disclosures his subordinates make to Congress regarding their official duties.

Congressional efforts to prevent the President from supervising the Executive Branch’s interactions with Congress interfere with the President’s ability to perform his constitutional responsibilities. We have long recognized that statutes, “if construed or enforced to permit Executive Branch officers to communicate directly with Congress without appropriate supervision by the President or his subordinates, would violate the constitutional separation of powers and, specifically, the President’s Article II authority to supervise Executive Branch personnel.” *Direct Reporting Requirement*, 32 Op. O.L.C. at 31–32, 39 (citing *Authority of the Special Counsel of the Merit Systems Protection Board to Litigate and Submit Legislation to Congress*, 8 Op. O.L.C. 30, 31 (1984); *Authority of HUD’s*

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*CFO*, 28 Op. O.L.C. at 252–53; *Authority of Agency Officials*, 28 Op. O.L.C. at 80–82). It is on this basis that the Department has consistently resisted congressional attempts to require, by statute, that executive branch officials submit information to Congress in the form of reports without prior opportunity for review by their superiors. *See, e.g., id.* at 34–39 (“[S]tatutory reporting requirements cannot constitutionally be applied to interfere with presidential supervision and control of the communications that Executive Branch officers . . . send to Congress.”); *Authority of HUD’s CFO*, 28 Op. O.L.C. at 252–53; *Access to Classified Information*, 20 Op. O.L.C. 402, 403–05 (1996); *Inspector General Legislation*, 1 Op. O.L.C. 16, 18 (1977).

Information sought in congressional depositions is no different. An agency employee testifying about official activities may be asked to disclose confidential information, yet the employee may lack the expertise necessary to protect privileged information on his own. Nor will an employee’s private counsel always adequately protect such information. Private counsel may not have the expertise to recognize all situations raising issues of executive privilege, and in any event, recognizing such situations and protecting privileged information is not private counsel’s job. Private counsel’s obligation is to protect the personal interests of the employee, not the interests of the Executive Branch. An agency representative, by contrast, is charged with protecting the Executive Branch’s interests during the deposition—ensuring that the information the employee provides to Congress is accurate, complete, and within the proper scope, and that privileged information is not disclosed. The Committee’s rule prohibiting agency counsel from accompanying an agency employee to a deposition would effectively, and unconstitutionally, require that employee to report directly to Congress on behalf of the Executive Branch, without an adequate opportunity for review by an authorized representative of the Executive Branch.

C.

Having concluded that the Committee could not constitutionally bar agency counsel from accompanying Mr. Gore or Mr. Kline to depositions, we further advised that the subpoenas that required them to appear without agency counsel, over the Executive Branch’s objections, exceeded the Committee’s lawful authority and therefore lacked legal effect. The Committee could not constitutionally compel Mr. Gore or Mr. Kline to appear under such circumstances, and thus the subpoenas could not be

enforced by civil or criminal means or through any inherent contempt power of Congress.

This conclusion is consistent with our treatment of referrals to the Department of contempt-of-Congress citations for criminal prosecution under 2 U.S.C. §§ 192 and 194. We have opined that “the criminal contempt of Congress statute does not apply to the President or presidential subordinates who assert executive privilege.” *Application of 28 U.S.C. § 458 to Presidential Appointments of Federal Judges*, 19 Op. O.L.C. 350, 356 (1995); see also *Whether the Department of Justice May Prosecute White House Officials for Contempt of Congress*, 32 Op. O.L.C. 65, 65–69 (2008) (concluding that the Department cannot take “prosecutorial action, with respect to current or former White House officials who . . . declined to appear to testify, in response to subpoenas from a congressional committee, based on the President’s assertion of executive privilege”); *Prosecution for Contempt of Congress of an Executive Branch Official Who Has Asserted a Claim of Executive Privilege*, 8 Op. O.L.C. 101, 101–102 (1984) (“*Prosecution for Contempt*”) (finding that “the contempt of Congress statute was not intended to apply and could not constitutionally be applied to an Executive Branch official” who followed presidential instructions to “assert[] the President’s claim of executive privilege”). Nor may Congress “utilize its inherent ‘civil’ contempt powers to arrest, bring to trial, and punish an executive official who assert[s] a Presidential claim of executive privilege.” *Prosecution for Contempt*, 8 Op. O.L.C. at 140 n.42. The fundamental constitutional principles underlying executive privilege would be vitiated if any executive branch employee following a direction to invoke the privilege could be prosecuted for doing so.

Similarly, we believe it would be unconstitutional to enforce a subpoena against an agency employee who declined to appear before Congress, at the agency’s direction, because the committee would not permit an agency representative to accompany him. As discussed above, having an agency representative present at a deposition of an agency employee may be necessary for the President to exercise his authority to supervise the disclosure of privileged information, as well as to ensure that the testimony provided is accurate, complete, and properly limited in scope. Therefore, agency employees, like Mr. Gore and Mr. Kline, who follow an agency instruction not to appear without the presence of an agency representative are acting lawfully to protect the constitutional interests of the Executive Branch.

### III.

In reaching this conclusion, we considered the contrary arguments advanced by the Committee in its April 10 and April 22 letters. The Committee's principal argument was that prohibiting agency counsel from attending depositions of agency employees poses no constitutional concern because Congress has the authority to "determine the Rules of its Proceedings," U.S. Const. art. I, § 5, cl. 2; see April 10 Cummings Letter at 2-3; April 22 Cummings Letter at 3. But congressional rulemaking authority "only empowers Congress to bind itself." *Chadha*, 462 U.S. at 955 n.21 (positing that the Constitution's provision of several powers like procedural rulemaking where each House of Congress can act alone reveals "the Framers' intent that Congress not act in any legally binding manner outside a closely circumscribed legislative arena, except in specific and enumerated instances"). Such rulemaking authority does not grant Congress the power to compel testimony from agency officials under circumstances that interfere with the legitimate prerogatives of the Executive Branch.

Congress's authority to make rules governing its own procedures does not mean that the constitutional authorities of a co-equal branch of government are checked at the door. See *Barenblatt*, 360 U.S. at 112 (noting that when engaging in oversight, Congress "must exercise its powers subject to the limitations placed by the Constitution on governmental action"). To the contrary, Congress "may not by its rules ignore constitutional restraints." *United States v. Ballin*, 144 U.S. 1, 5 (1892). Congress may not, by statute, override the President's constitutional authority to control the disclosure of privileged information and to supervise executive branch employees. See *Direct Reporting Requirement*, 32 Op. O.L.C. at 43-44; *Whistleblower Protections*, 22 Op. O.L.C. at 100. It necessarily follows that a committee may not accomplish the same result by adopting a rule governing its own proceedings.

The Committee also justified Committee Rule 15(e) on the ground that it has been in place for a decade. See April 10 Cummings Letter at 3; April 22 Cummings Letter at 3. But congressional committee use of depositions is a relatively recent innovation, and historically such "[d]epositions have been used in a relatively small number of major congressional investigations." *Staff Depositions* at 1. Moreover, committees proposing the use of depositions have previously faced objections that they may improperly "circumvent the traditional committee process" of hearings and staff interviews and may "compromise the rights of

deponents.” *Id.* at 2; *see supra* pp. 3–4. Accordingly, the Committee’s limited previous use of depositions from which agency counsel were excluded does not reflect a “long settled and established practice,” much less one that has been met by acquiescence from the Executive Branch. *NLRB v. Noel Canning*, 573 U.S. 513, 524 (2014) (internal quotation marks and brackets omitted).

In addition, the Committee claimed that Rule 15(e) serves the purpose of “ensur[ing] that the Committee is able to depose witnesses in furtherance of its investigations without having in the room representatives of the agency under investigation.” April 10 Cummings Letter at 2; April 22 Cummings Letter at 3. But that assertion does no more than restate the rule’s effect, without advancing any legitimate rationale for excluding the agency’s representatives, much less one sufficient to alter the constitutional calculus. The Committee here did not seek information concerning the private affairs of agency employees or articulate any particularized interest in excluding agency counsel. In fact, agency counsel appeared at the staff interviews of both Mr. Gore and Mr. Kline. In view of the President’s clear and well-established interests in protecting privileged information and supervising the Executive Branch’s interactions with Congress, the Committee offered no countervailing explanation for why it would be necessary to exclude any agency representative from these two depositions.

Indeed, the Committee has not explained why, as a general matter, the House needs to exclude agency counsel from depositions of agency officials. Agency representatives routinely accompany and support agency employees during congressional hearings and staff interviews. *See Authority to Pay for Private Counsel*, 41 Op. O.L.C. at \*3 (“When congressional committees seek to question employees of an Executive Branch agency in the course of a congressional oversight inquiry of the agency, the Executive Branch’s longstanding general practice has been for agency attorneys to accompany the witnesses.”); *Reimbursing Justice Department Employees for Fees Incurred in Using Private Counsel Representation at Congressional Depositions*, 14 Op. O.L.C. 132, 133 (1990) (“[W]hen Department employees are asked in their official capacities to give oral testimony for a congressional investigation (whether at a hearing, interview or deposition), a Department counsel or other representative will normally accompany the witness.”); *Representation of White House Employees*, 4B Op. O.L.C. at 754 (“[L]egitimate governmental interests” are “[o]rdinarily . . . monitored by agency counsel who accompany executive branch employees called to testify before congressional commit-

tees.”). There is no basis for believing that this routine practice diminishes the Committee’s ability to acquire any information it may legitimately seek.<sup>4</sup>

In defending the exclusion of agency counsel, the Committee pointed out that the witnesses may bring their private counsel to the depositions. April 10 Cummings Letter at 2; April 22 Cummings Letter at 3. But allowing agency employees to be accompanied by private counsel is no substitute for the presence of agency counsel. In addition to imposing unnecessary burdens on agency employees by requiring the retention of private counsel, the practice does not adequately protect the agency’s interests. As explained above, the President must be able to supervise who discloses executive branch information and under what conditions. An employee’s private counsel, however, represents the interests of the employee, not the agency, and “the attorney owes a fiduciary duty and a duty of confidentiality to the employee, not the agency.” *Authority to Pay for Private Counsel*, 41 Op. O.L.C. at \*5; see also *Representation of White House Employees*, 4B Op. O.L.C. at 754 (“[A]ny counsel directed to represent governmental interests must be controlled by the Government, and private counsel retained by employees to represent personal interests should not be permitted to assert governmental interests or privileges.”). Even if the private counsel may sometimes assist the agency employee in protecting agency information, the Committee cannot require the Executive Branch to rely upon the private counsel to make such judgments. Private counsel is not likely to know as well as agency counsel when a line of questioning, especially an unanticipated one, might intrude upon the Executive Branch’s constitutionally protected interests.

Finally, we concluded that the Committee’s proposed accommodation—to make a separate room available for agency counsel at the two depositions—was insufficient to remedy these constitutional concerns. See April 10 Cummings Letter at 3; April 22 Cummings Letter at 3. That

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<sup>4</sup> In a similar vein, agency employees are routinely represented by agency counsel in connection with depositions in civil litigation and, where appropriate, agency counsel will instruct agency employees not to answer questions that implicate privilege. Further, as the Supreme Court recognized in *Touhy*, 340 U.S. 462, the head of an agency may properly bar subordinate officials from disclosing privileged agency information, and departments have accordingly enacted so-called *Touhy* regulations to ensure that privileged information is appropriately protected by agency officials in civil discovery. See, e.g., 28 C.F.R. §§ 16.21–16.29 (Department of Justice *Touhy* regulations). Just as agency counsel may properly participate in ensuring appropriate disclosures in depositions in civil litigation, agency counsel may properly do so in congressional depositions.

practice would put the onus on the agency employee and his private counsel to divine whether the agency would have privilege concerns about each question, and then “request a break during the deposition to consult with” agency counsel. April 10 Cummings Letter at 3; see April 22 Cummings Letter at 3. Because this practice would leave such judgments entirely up to the employee and his private counsel, as well as depend on the discretion of the Committee’s staff to grant the requested break, it would not adequately ensure that the agency could make the necessary decisions to protect privileged information during the course of the deposition. It also would prevent the Executive Branch from ensuring that the testimony provided was accurate, complete, and properly limited in scope.

We recognize that there is at least one circumstance—an appearance before a grand jury—where a witness’s attorney must remain in a separate room during questioning. See Fed. R. Crim. P. 6(d)(1); *United States v. Mandujano*, 425 U.S. 564, 581 (1976). However, grand juries can hardly provide a model for congressional depositions, because they operate under conditions of extreme secrecy, and there is a long-established practice of excluding *all* attorneys for witnesses before the grand jury. See, e.g., *In re Black*, 47 F.2d 542, 543 (2d Cir. 1931); *Latham v. United States*, 226 F. 420, 422 (5th Cir. 1915). Committee Rule 15(e) not only lacks the historical pedigree of grand-jury proceedings, but the information collected in congressional depositions is not inherently confidential. Indeed, the Committee does not even have a categorical objection to allowing witnesses to be accompanied by counsel. Rather, the rule permits witnesses to be accompanied by counsel of their choice, provided that counsel does not represent the agency as well. This targeted exclusion underscores the separation of powers problems.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Indeed, the federal courts have recognized that “[t]here is a clear difference between Congress’s legislative tasks and the responsibility of a grand jury.” *Senate Select Comm.*, 498 F.2d at 732; see also *Nixon*, 418 U.S. at 712 n.19 (distinguishing the “constitutional need for relevant evidence in criminal trials,” on the one hand, from “the need for relevant evidence in civil litigation” and “congressional demands for information,” on the other). Congressional depositions appear more akin to depositions in civil litigation, rather than grand juries, and in civil litigation it is well established that attorneys “representing the deponent” and attorneys representing “any party to the litigation” have “the right to be present” at a deposition. Jay E. Grenig & Jeffrey S. Kinsler, *Handbook of Federal Civil Discovery and Disclosure* § 5:29 (4th ed. 2018).

IV.

For the foregoing reasons, we concluded that the Committee's prohibition on agency counsel's attendance at depositions impermissibly infringed on the President's constitutional authority to protect information within the scope of executive privilege and to supervise the Executive Branch's communications with Congress. Although the Executive Branch must facilitate legitimate congressional oversight, the constitutionally mandated accommodation process runs both ways. *See Am. Tel. & Tel. Co.*, 567 F.2d at 127, 130-31. Just as the Executive must provide Congress with information necessary to perform its legislative functions, Congress through its oversight processes may not override the Executive Branch's constitutional prerogatives. *See Barenblatt*, 360 U.S. at 112. Here, the constitutional balance requires that agency representatives be permitted to assist agency officials in connection with providing deposition testimony, including on matters that implicate privileged information. Thus, we advised that the subpoenas purporting to compel Mr. Gore and Mr. Kline to appear without agency counsel exceeded the Committee's authority and were without legal effect.

STEVEN A. ENGEL  
*Assistant Attorney General*  
*Office of Legal Counsel*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

October 8, 2019

The Honorable Nancy Pelosi  
Speaker  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

The Honorable Eliot L. Engel  
Chairman  
House Foreign Affairs Committee  
Washington, D.C. 20515

The Honorable Adam B. Schiff  
Chairman  
House Permanent Select Committee on  
Intelligence  
Washington, D.C. 20515

The Honorable Elijah E. Cummings  
Chairman  
House Committee on Oversight and Reform  
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Madam Speaker and Messrs. Chairmen:

I write on behalf of President Donald J. Trump in response to your numerous, legally unsupported demands made as part of what you have labeled—contrary to the Constitution of the United States and all past bipartisan precedent—as an “impeachment inquiry.” As you know, you have designed and implemented your inquiry in a manner that violates fundamental fairness and constitutionally mandated due process.

For example, you have denied the President the right to cross-examine witnesses, to call witnesses, to receive transcripts of testimony, to have access to evidence, to have counsel present, and many other basic rights guaranteed to all Americans. You have conducted your proceedings in secret. You have violated civil liberties and the separation of powers by threatening Executive Branch officials, claiming that you will seek to punish those who exercise fundamental constitutional rights and prerogatives. All of this violates the Constitution, the rule of law, and *every past precedent*. Never before in our history has the House of Representatives—under the control of either political party—taken the American people down the dangerous path you seem determined to pursue.

Put simply, you seek to overturn the results of the 2016 election and deprive the American people of the President they have freely chosen. Many Democrats now apparently view impeachment not only as a means to undo the democratic results of the *last* election, but as a strategy to influence the *next* election, which is barely more than a year away. As one member of Congress explained, he is “concerned that if we don’t impeach the President, he will get reelected.”<sup>1</sup> Your highly partisan and unconstitutional effort threatens grave and lasting damage to our democratic institutions, to our system of free elections, and to the American people.

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<sup>1</sup> Interview with Rep. Al Green, MSNBC (May 5, 2019).

For his part, President Trump took the unprecedented step of providing the public transparency by declassifying and releasing the record of his call with President Zelenskyy of Ukraine. The record clearly established that the call was completely appropriate and that there is no basis for your inquiry. The fact that there was nothing wrong with the call was also powerfully confirmed by Chairman Schiff's decision to create a false version of the call and read it to the American people at a congressional hearing, without disclosing that he was simply making it all up.

In addition, information has recently come to light that the whistleblower had contact with Chairman Schiff's office before filing the complaint. His initial denial of such contact caused *The Washington Post* to conclude that Chairman Schiff "clearly made a statement that was false."<sup>2</sup> In any event, the American people understand that Chairman Schiff cannot covertly assist with the submission of a complaint, mislead the public about his involvement, read a counterfeit version of the call to the American people, and then pretend to sit in judgment as a neutral "investigator."

For these reasons, President Trump and his Administration reject your baseless, unconstitutional efforts to overturn the democratic process. Your unprecedented actions have left the President with no choice. In order to fulfill his duties to the American people, the Constitution, the Executive Branch, and all future occupants of the Office of the Presidency, President Trump and his Administration cannot participate in your partisan and unconstitutional inquiry under these circumstances.

**I. Your "Inquiry" Is Constitutionally Invalid and Violates Basic Due Process Rights and the Separation of Powers.**

Your inquiry is constitutionally invalid and a violation of due process. In the history of our Nation, the House of Representatives has never attempted to launch an impeachment inquiry against the President without a majority of the House taking political accountability for that decision by voting to authorize such a dramatic constitutional step. Here, House leadership claims to have initiated the gravest inter-branch conflict contemplated under our Constitution by means of nothing more than a press conference at which the Speaker of the House simply announced an "official impeachment inquiry."<sup>3</sup> Your contrived process is unprecedented in the

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<sup>2</sup> Glenn Kessler, *Schiff's False Claim His Committee Had Not Spoken to the Whistleblower*, Wash. Post (Oct. 4, 2019).

<sup>3</sup> Press Release, Nancy Pelosi, *Pelosi Remarks Announcing Impeachment Inquiry* (Sept. 24, 2019).

history of the Nation,<sup>4</sup> and lacks the necessary authorization for a valid impeachment proceeding.<sup>5</sup>

The Committees' inquiry also suffers from a separate, fatal defect. Despite Speaker Pelosi's commitment to "treat the President with fairness,"<sup>6</sup> the Committees have not established any procedures affording the President even the most basic protections demanded by due process under the Constitution and by fundamental fairness. Chairman Nadler of the House Judiciary Committee has expressly acknowledged, at least when the President was a member of his own party, that "[t]he power of impeachment . . . demands a rigorous level of due process," and that in this context "due process mean[s] . . . the right to be informed of the law, of the charges against you, the right to confront the witnesses against you, to call your own witnesses, and to have the assistance of counsel."<sup>7</sup> All of these procedures have been abandoned here.

These due process rights are not a matter of discretion for the Committees to dispense with at will. To the contrary, they are constitutional requirements. The Supreme Court has recognized that due process protections apply to all congressional investigations.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, it has been recognized that the Due Process Clause applies to impeachment proceedings.<sup>9</sup> And precedent for the rights to cross-examine witnesses, call witnesses, and present evidence dates back nearly 150 years.<sup>10</sup> Yet the Committees have decided to deny the President these elementary rights and protections that form the basis of the American justice system and are protected by the Constitution. No citizen—including the President—should be treated this unfairly.

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<sup>4</sup> Since the Founding of the Republic, under unbroken practice, the House has never undertaken the solemn responsibility of an impeachment inquiry directed at the President without first adopting a resolution authorizing a committee to begin the inquiry. The inquiries into the impeachments of Presidents Andrew Johnson and Bill Clinton proceeded in multiple phases, each authorized by a separate House resolution. *See, e.g.*, H.R. Res. 581, 105th Cong. (1998); H.R. Res. 525, 105th Cong. (1998); III Hinds' Precedents §§ 2400-02, 2408, 2412. And before the Judiciary Committee initiated an impeachment inquiry into President Richard Nixon, the Committee's chairman rightfully recognized that "a[n] [inquiry] resolution has always been passed by the House" and "is a necessary step." III Deschler's Precedents ch. 14, § 15.2. The House then satisfied that requirement by adopting H.R. Res. 803, 93rd Cong. (1974).

<sup>5</sup> Chairman Nadler has recognized the importance of taking a vote in the House before beginning a presidential impeachment inquiry. At the outset of the Clinton impeachment inquiry—where a floor vote was held—he argued that even limiting the time for *debate* before that vote was improper and that "an hour debate on this momentous decision is an insult to the American people and another sign that this is not going to be fair." 144 Cong. Rec. H10018 (daily ed. Oct. 8, 1998) (statement of Rep. Jerrold Nadler). Here, the House has dispensed with any vote and any debate *at all*.

<sup>6</sup> Press Release, Nancy Pelosi, Transcript of Pelosi Weekly Press Conference Today (Oct. 2, 2019).

<sup>7</sup> *Examining the Allegations of Misconduct Against IRS Commissioner John Koskinen (Part II): Hearing Before the H. Comm. on the Judiciary*, 114th Cong. 3 (2016) (statement of Rep. Jerrold Nadler); *Background and History of Impeachment: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on the Constitution of the H. Comm. on the Judiciary*, 105th Cong. 17 (1998) (statement of Rep. Jerrold Nadler).

<sup>8</sup> *See, e.g., Watkins v. United States*, 354 U.S. 178, 188 (1957); *Quinn v. United States*, 349 U.S. 155, 161 (1955).

<sup>9</sup> *See Hastings v. United States*, 802 F. Supp. 490, 504 (D.D.C. 1992), *vacated on other grounds by Hastings v. United States*, 988 F.2d 1280 (D.C. Cir. 1993).

<sup>10</sup> *See, e.g.*, III Hinds' Precedents § 2445.

To comply with the Constitution's demands, appropriate procedures would include—at a minimum—the right to see all evidence, to present evidence, to call witnesses, to have counsel present at all hearings, to cross-examine all witnesses, to make objections relating to the examination of witnesses or the admissibility of testimony and evidence, and to respond to evidence and testimony. Likewise, the Committees must provide for the disclosure of all evidence favorable to the President and all evidence bearing on the credibility of witnesses called to testify in the inquiry. The Committees' current procedures provide *none* of these basic constitutional rights.

In addition, the House has not provided the Committees' Ranking Members with the authority to issue subpoenas. The right of the minority to issue subpoenas—subject to the same rules as the majority—has been the standard, bipartisan practice in all recent resolutions authorizing presidential impeachment inquiries.<sup>11</sup> The House's failure to provide co-equal subpoena power in this case ensures that any inquiry will be nothing more than a one-sided effort by House Democrats to gather information favorable to their views and to selectively release it as only they determine. The House's utter disregard for the established procedural safeguards followed in past impeachment inquiries shows that the current proceedings are nothing more than an unconstitutional exercise in political theater.

As if denying the President basic procedural protections were not enough, the Committees have also resorted to threats and intimidation against potential Executive Branch witnesses. Threats by the Committees against Executive Branch witnesses who assert common and longstanding rights destroy the integrity of the process and brazenly violate fundamental due process. In letters to State Department employees, the Committees have ominously threatened—without any legal basis and before the Committees even issued a subpoena—that “[a]ny failure to appear” in response to a mere letter *request* for a deposition “shall constitute evidence of obstruction.”<sup>12</sup> Worse, the Committees have broadly threatened that if State Department officials attempt to insist upon the right for the Department to have an agency lawyer present at depositions to protect legitimate Executive Branch confidentiality interests—or apparently if they make any effort to protect those confidentiality interests *at all*—these officials will have their salaries withheld.<sup>13</sup>

The suggestion that it would somehow be problematic for anyone to raise long-established Executive Branch confidentiality interests and privileges in response to a request for a deposition is legally unfounded. Not surprisingly, the Office of Legal Counsel at the Department of Justice has made clear on multiple occasions that employees of the Executive Branch who have been instructed not to appear or not to provide particular testimony before Congress based on privileges or immunities of the Executive Branch cannot be punished for

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<sup>11</sup> H.R. Res. 581, 105th Cong. (1998); H.R. Res. 803, 93rd Cong. (1974).

<sup>12</sup> Letter from Eliot L. Engel, Chairman, House Committee on Foreign Affairs, et al., to George P. Kent, Deputy Assistant Secretary, U.S. Department of State 1 (Sept. 27, 2019).

<sup>13</sup> See Letter from Eliot L. Engel, Chairman, House Committee on Foreign Affairs, et al., to John J. Sullivan, Deputy Secretary of State 2-3 (Oct. 1, 2019).

following such instructions.<sup>14</sup> Current and former State Department officials are duty bound to protect the confidentiality interests of the Executive Branch, and the Office of Legal Counsel has also recognized that it is unconstitutional to exclude agency counsel from participating in congressional depositions.<sup>15</sup> In addition, any attempt to withhold an official's salary for the assertion of such interests would be unprecedented and unconstitutional.<sup>16</sup> The Committees' assertions on these points amount to nothing more than strong-arm tactics designed to rush proceedings without any regard for due process and the rights of individuals and of the Executive Branch. Threats aimed at intimidating individuals who assert these basic rights are attacks on civil liberties that should profoundly concern all Americans.

## II. The Invalid "Impeachment Inquiry" Plainly Seeks To Reverse the Election of 2016 and To Influence the Election of 2020.

The effort to impeach President Trump—without regard to any evidence of his actions in office—is a naked political strategy that began the day he was inaugurated, and perhaps even before.<sup>17</sup> In fact, your transparent rush to judgment, lack of democratically accountable authorization, and violation of basic rights in the current proceedings make clear the illegitimate, partisan purpose of this purported "impeachment inquiry." The Founders, however, did not create the extraordinary mechanism of impeachment so it could be used by a political party that feared for its prospects against the sitting President in the next election. The decision as to who will be elected President in 2020 should rest with the people of the United States, exactly where the Constitution places it.

Democrats themselves used to recognize the dire implications of impeachment for the Nation. For example, in the past, Chairman Nadler has explained:

The effect of impeachment is to overturn the popular will of the voters. We must not overturn an election and remove a President from office except to defend our system of government or our constitutional liberties against a dire threat, and we must not do so without an overwhelming consensus of the American people. There must never be a narrowly voted impeachment or an impeachment supported by one of our major political parties and opposed by another. Such an impeachment will produce divisiveness and bitterness in our

<sup>14</sup> See, e.g., *Testimonial Immunity Before Congress of the Former Counsel to the President*, 43 Op. O.L.C. \_\_, \*19 (May 20, 2019); *Prosecution for Contempt of Congress of an Executive Branch Official Who Has Asserted a Claim of Executive Privilege*, 8 Op. O.L.C. 101, 102, 140 (1984) ("The Executive, however, must be free from the threat of criminal prosecution if its right to assert executive privilege is to have any practical substance.")

<sup>15</sup> *Attempted Exclusion of Agency Counsel from Congressional Depositions of Agency Employees*, 43 Op. O.L.C. \_\_, \*1-2 (May 23, 2019).

<sup>16</sup> See President Donald J. Trump, *Statement by the President on Signing the Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2019* (Feb. 15, 2019); *Authority of Agency Officials To Prohibit Employees From Providing Information to Congress*, 28 Op. O.L.C. 79, 80 (2004).

<sup>17</sup> See Matea Gold, *The Campaign To Impeach President Trump Has Begun*, Wash. Post (Jan. 21, 2017) ("At the moment the new commander in chief was sworn in, a campaign to build public support for his impeachment went live . . .").

politics for years to come, and will call into question the very legitimacy of our political institutions.<sup>18</sup>

Unfortunately, the President's political opponents now seem eager to transform impeachment from an extraordinary remedy that should rarely be contemplated into a conventional political weapon to be deployed for partisan gain. These actions are a far cry from what our Founders envisioned when they vested Congress with the "important trust" of considering impeachment.<sup>19</sup> Precisely because it nullifies the outcome of the democratic process, impeachment of the President is fraught with the risk of deepening divisions in the country and creating long-lasting rifts in the body politic.<sup>20</sup> Unfortunately, you are now playing out exactly the partisan rush to judgment that the Founders so strongly warned against. The American people deserve much better than this.

### III. There Is No Legitimate Basis for Your "Impeachment Inquiry"; Instead, the Committees' Actions Raise Serious Questions.

It is transparent that you have resorted to such unprecedented and unconstitutional procedures because you know that a fair process would expose the lack of any basis for your inquiry. Your current effort is founded on a completely appropriate call on July 25, 2019, between President Trump and President Zelenskyy of Ukraine. Without waiting to see what was actually said on the call, a press conference was held announcing an "impeachment inquiry" based on falsehoods and misinformation about the call.<sup>21</sup> To rebut those falsehoods, and to provide transparency to the American people, President Trump secured agreement from the Government of Ukraine and took the extraordinary step of declassifying and publicly releasing the record of the call. That record clearly established that the call was completely appropriate, that the President did nothing wrong, and that there is no basis for an impeachment inquiry. At a joint press conference shortly after the call's public release, President Zelenskyy agreed that the call was appropriate.<sup>22</sup> In addition, the Department of Justice announced that officials there had reviewed the call after a referral for an alleged campaign finance law violation and found no such violation.<sup>23</sup>

Perhaps the best evidence that there was no wrongdoing on the call is the fact that, after the actual record of the call was released, Chairman Schiff chose to concoct a false version of the call and to read his made-up transcript to the American people at a public hearing.<sup>24</sup> This

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<sup>18</sup> 144 Cong. Rec. H11786 (daily ed. Dec. 18, 1998) (statement of Rep. Jerrold Nadler).

<sup>19</sup> The Federalist No. 65 (Alexander Hamilton).

<sup>20</sup> See *id.*

<sup>21</sup> Press Release, Nancy Pelosi, Pelosi Remarks Announcing Impeachment Inquiry (Sept. 24, 2019).

<sup>22</sup> *President Trump Meeting with Ukrainian President*, C-SPAN (Sept. 25, 2019).

<sup>23</sup> Statement of Kerri Kupec, Director, Office of Public Affairs, Dept. of Justice (Sept. 25, 2019) ("[T]he Department's Criminal Division reviewed the official record of the call and determined, based on the facts and applicable law, that there was no campaign finance violation and that no further action was warranted.").

<sup>24</sup> See *Whistleblower Disclosure: Hearing Before the H. Select Comm. on Intel.*, 116th Cong. (Sept. 26, 2019) (statement of Rep. Adam Schiff).

powerfully confirms there is no issue with the actual call. Otherwise, why would Chairman Schiff feel the need to make up his own version? The Chairman's action only further undermines the public's confidence in the fairness of any inquiry before his Committee.

The real problem, as we are now learning, is that Chairman Schiff's office, and perhaps others—despite initial denials—were involved in advising the whistleblower before the complaint was filed. Initially, when asked on national television about interactions with the whistleblower, Chairman Schiff unequivocally stated that “[w]e have not spoken directly with the whistleblower. We would like to.”<sup>25</sup>

Now, however, it has been reported that the whistleblower approached the House Intelligence Committee with information—and received guidance from the Committee—before filing a complaint with the Inspector General.<sup>26</sup> As a result, *The Washington Post* concluded that Chairman Schiff “clearly made a statement that was false.”<sup>27</sup> Anyone who was involved in the preparation or submission of the whistleblower's complaint cannot possibly act as a fair and impartial judge in the same matter—particularly after misleading the American people about his involvement.

All of this raises serious questions that must be investigated. However, the Committees are preventing anyone, including the minority, from looking into these critically important matters. At the very least, Chairman Schiff must immediately make available all documents relating to these issues. After all, the American people have a right to know about the Committees' own actions with respect to these matters.

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Given that your inquiry lacks any legitimate constitutional foundation, any pretense of fairness, or even the most elementary due process protections, the Executive Branch cannot be expected to participate in it. Because participating in this inquiry under the current unconstitutional posture would inflict lasting institutional harm on the Executive Branch and lasting damage to the separation of powers, you have left the President no choice. Consistent with the duties of the President of the United States, and in particular his obligation to preserve the rights of future occupants of his office, President Trump cannot permit his Administration to participate in this partisan inquiry under these circumstances.

Your recent letter to the Acting White House Chief of Staff argues that “[e]ven if an impeachment inquiry were not underway,” the Oversight Committee may seek this information

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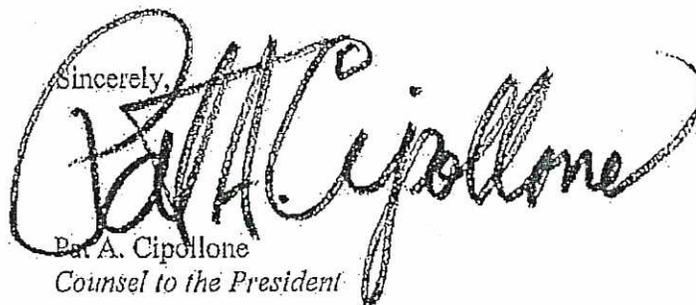
<sup>25</sup> Interview with Chairman Adam Schiff, MSNBC (Sept. 17, 2019).

<sup>26</sup> Julian Barnes, et al., *Schiff Got Early Account of Accusations as Whistle-Blower's Concerns Grew*, N.Y. Times (Oct. 2, 2019).

<sup>27</sup> Glenn Kessler, *Schiff's False Claim His Committee Had Not Spoken to the Whistleblower*, Wash. Post (Oct. 4, 2019).

as a matter of the established oversight process.<sup>28</sup> Respectfully, the Committees cannot have it both ways. The letter comes from the Chairmen of three different Committees, it transmits a subpoena “[p]ursuant to the House of Representatives’ impeachment inquiry,” it recites that the documents will “be collected as part of the House’s impeachment inquiry,” and it asserts that the documents will be “shared among the Committees, as well as with the Committee on the Judiciary as appropriate.”<sup>29</sup> The letter is in no way directed at collecting information in aid of legislation, and you simply cannot expect to rely on oversight authority to gather information for an unauthorized impeachment inquiry that conflicts with all historical precedent and rides roughshod over due process and the separation of powers. If the Committees wish to return to the regular order of oversight requests, we stand ready to engage in that process as we have in the past, in a manner consistent with well-established bipartisan constitutional protections and a respect for the separation of powers enshrined in our Constitution.

For the foregoing reasons, the President cannot allow your constitutionally illegitimate proceedings to distract him and those in the Executive Branch from their work on behalf of the American people. The President has a country to lead. The American people elected him to do this job, and he remains focused on fulfilling his promises to the American people. He has important work that he must continue on their behalf, both at home and around the world, including continuing strong economic growth, extending historically low levels of unemployment, negotiating trade deals, fixing our broken immigration system, lowering prescription drug prices, and addressing mass shooting violence. We hope that, in light of the many deficiencies we have identified in your proceedings, you will abandon the current invalid efforts to pursue an impeachment inquiry and join the President in focusing on the many important goals that matter to the American people.

Sincerely,  
  
Pat A. Cipollone  
*Counsel to the President*

cc: Hon. Kevin McCarthy, Minority Leader, House of Representatives  
Hon. Michael McCaul, Ranking Member, House Committee on Foreign Affairs  
Hon. Devin Nunes, Ranking Member, House Permanent Select Committee on  
Intelligence  
Hon. Jim Jordan, Ranking Member, House Committee on Oversight and Reform

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<sup>28</sup> Letter from Elijah E. Cummings, Chairman, House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform, et al., to John Michael Mulvaney, Acting Chief of Staff to the President 3 (Oct. 4, 2019).

<sup>29</sup> *Id.* at 1.

## Department Guidance Regarding Privileges and Work-Product Protections [Tab D]

The Department asks all personnel to abide by important obligations as employees of the Department. These obligations include the following requirements:

- Improper disclosure of any classified information is strictly prohibited.
- No documents, electronically stored information, or tangible things relating to official duties, including personal notes, should be produced or turned over during or after the proceedings. As noted in the Department's October 15 letter, the Department has taken independent steps to "identify, preserve, and collect potentially responsive documents" [Tab A], in order to engage with the three Committees or other Congressional Committees once outstanding legal issues are resolved.
- All privileges and work-product protections must be strictly preserved, including, but not limited to:

1) Executive Privilege. It is for the President and the Department of Justice—not the Department of Defense—to determine for the Executive Branch the scope of the privilege and whether it has been waived, e.g., by public statements. Accordingly, the Department advises that employees exercise an abundance of caution and refrain from giving any testimony, unless otherwise instructed by the White House, regarding:

(a) internal White House (including National Security Council (NSC), Office of Management and Budget (OMB)) communications (including but not limited to letters, documents, phone calls, and e-mails);

(b) communications between White House officials (including NSC and OMB) and individuals outside the Executive Branch (including individuals in the U.S. Government, foreign government officials, and private individuals);

(c) communications between White House officials and other Executive Branch officials; and

(d) discussions among Executive Branch officials regarding communications with the White House or the subject matter of such communications.

*See Assertion of Executive Privilege Concerning the Dismissal and Replacement of U.S. Attorneys, Solicitor General and Acting Attorney General Paul D. Clement (June 27, 2007) [attached].*

2) Attorney-Client Privilege. No testimony regarding communications between Department officials and the Department's Office of General Counsel, White

House Counsel, the Department of Justice, or any other attorneys related to the seeking or giving of legal advice or opinions.

- 3) Attorney Work-Product. No testimony regarding any documents, electronically stored media, tangible things, or conversations or opinions produced or expressed by the Department's Office of General Counsel or other attorneys in preparation for litigation or any other legal proceedings.
- 4) Deliberative Process Privilege. No testimony regarding pre-decisional discussions of Department policy decisions.

The Department understands the difficult circumstances facing your client and appreciates her and your professionalism in adhering to this guidance.