

2020

Who's Running State of the Race Politics Newsletter Mapping the Money Election Calendar

## Rudy Giuliani Plans Ukraine Trip to Push for Inquiries That Could Help Trump

By Kenneth P. Vogel

May 9, 2019

WASHINGTON — Rudolph W. Giuliani, President Trump's personal lawyer, is encouraging Ukraine to wade further into sensitive political issues in the United States, seeking to push the incoming government in Kiev to press ahead with investigations that he hopes will benefit Mr. Trump.

Mr. Giuliani said he plans to travel to Kiev, the Ukrainian capital, in the coming days and wants to meet with the nation's president-elect to urge him to pursue inquiries that allies of the White House contend could yield new information about two matters of intense interest to Mr. Trump.

One is the origin of the special counsel's investigation into Russia's interference in the 2016 election. The other is the involvement of former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr.'s son in a gas company owned by a Ukrainian oligarch.

Mr. Giuliani's plans create the remarkable scene of a lawyer for the president of the United States pressing a foreign government to pursue investigations that Mr. Trump's allies hope could help him in his re-election campaign. And it comes after Mr. Trump spent more than half of his term facing questions about whether his 2016 campaign conspired with a foreign power.

"We're not meddling in an election, we're meddling in an investigation, which we have a right to do," Mr. Giuliani said in an interview on Thursday when asked about the parallel to the special counsel's inquiry.

"There's nothing illegal about it," he said. "Somebody could say it's improper. And this isn't foreign policy — I'm asking them to do an investigation that they're doing already and that other people are telling them to stop. And I'm going to give them reasons why they shouldn't stop it because that information will be very, very helpful to my client, and may turn out to be helpful to my government."

Mr. Giuliani's planned trip, which has not been previously reported, is part of a monthslong effort by the former New York mayor and a small group of Trump allies working to build interest in the Ukrainian inquiries. Their motivation is to try to discredit the special counsel's investigation; undermine the case against Paul Manafort, Mr. Trump's imprisoned former campaign chairman; and potentially to damage Mr. Biden, the early front-runner for the 2020 Democratic presidential nomination.

The investigations had been opened by Ukrainian prosecutors serving during the term of the country's current president, Petro O. Poroshenko. He lost his re-election bid last month to Volodymyr Zelensky, a comedian and political newcomer. Mr. Zelensky has said he would like to replace the prosecutor who oversaw some of the matters, Yuriy Lutsenko, who has met multiple times with Mr. Giuliani to discuss the issues.

Mr. Zelensky is set to take office on June 3.

Mr. Giuliani said he had been planning for several weeks to travel to Kiev to deliver a paid speech to a Jewish group about Middle East policy.

But intermediaries for Mr. Giuliani worked to organize meetings with people who they believed would have insights into the incoming Zelensky administration and the investigations in which Mr. Giuliani was interested. And in recent days, Mr. Giuliani reached out through intermediaries to request a meeting with Mr. Zelensky, he said, adding, "It's not confirmed yet."

If the meeting does occur, Mr. Giuliani said, "I am going to tell him what I know about the people that are surrounding him, and how important it is to do a full, complete and fair investigation."

He said his efforts in Ukraine have the full support of Mr. Trump. He declined to say specifically whether he had briefed him on the planned meeting with Mr. Zelensky, but added, "He basically knows what I'm doing, sure, as his lawyer."

The White House did not immediately respond to a request for comment on Thursday.

Mr. Trump has called attention to the scrutiny of Mr. Biden's son Hunter Biden, and to questions about the former vice president's involvement in the removal of a Ukrainian prosecutor whose office had authority over investigations of the oligarch whose company paid Hunter Biden.

Mr. Trump has also sought to stir up interest in claims that Ukrainian officials tried to benefit Hillary Clinton in 2016 by focusing attention on Mr. Manafort's business in Ukraine. The attention forced Mr. Manafort to resign from the Trump campaign, but allies of the Ukrainian officials involved have denied that they acted improperly to benefit Mrs. Clinton's campaign. Mr. Trump has recently suggested he would like Attorney General William P. Barr to look into the material gathered by the Ukrainian prosecutors.

Mr. Giuliani has been working on the effort with other allies of Mr. Trump whose involvement has not been previously reported, including Victoria Toensing, a lawyer who was named last year, along with her husband, as part of the legal team representing the president in the special counsel's investigation. The appointment was rescinded less than one week later amid concerns about conflicts of interest, but Mr. Trump's legal team suggested that Ms. Toensing and her husband, Joseph E. diGenova, would assist the president "in other legal matters."

On social media and in regular appearances on Fox News, the couple advanced the theory that the special counsel's investigation was the result of a Justice Department effort to frame Mr. Trump. They increasingly began pushing the claim that "the real collusion began in @Ukraine," as Ms. Toensing put it in a post on Twitter in March.

The tweet spotlighted a story in the conservative media in which Mr. Lutsenko, Ukraine's top prosecutor, announced he was opening an investigation into whether Ukrainian officials tried to help Mrs. Clinton during the 2016 presidential election by disseminating documents related to Mr. Manafort's work in Ukraine before 2014.

Ms. Toensing has also met with Mr. Lutsenko, the Ukrainian prosecutor who has pushed the investigations, Mr. Giuliani said. (Mr. Giuliani had previously said that Ms. Toensing was representing Mr. Lutsenko, but after this article published, he said that he had been mistaken.)

Ms. Toensing will accompany Mr. Giuliani to Ukraine, he said, explaining that she was "concerned" for Mr. Lutsenko and wanted the incoming president to "promptly understand what he's trying to do."

Asked about the trip and her interactions with of Mr. Lutsenko, which have not been previously disclosed, she responded, "I'm not going to talk to you about this matter."

Also involved in planning the trip and pushing the investigations is Lev Parnas, a Ukrainian-American businessman who knows Mr. Giuliani well.

Mr. Parnas turned up in Kiev, presenting himself as a representative of Mr. Giuliani seeking information about Mr. Lutsenko's claims, and about Hunter Biden's involvement in the Ukrainian gas company, according to people familiar with Mr. Parnas's activity.

He organized a phone call between Mr. Giuliani and Mr. Lutsenko, as well as a separate call between Mr. Giuliani and Mr. Lutsenko's predecessor in the Ukrainian prosecutor general's office, according to Mr. Giuliani. He said Mr. Parnas also helped arrange a trip to the United States for Mr. Lutsenko in January. During it, the prosecutor met for hours with Mr. Giuliani in New York.

Mr. Parnas is an executive of an energy company that donated \$325,000 to a pro-Trump super PAC last year, prompting a Federal Election Commission complaint by a nonpartisan campaign finance watchdog accusing Mr. Parnas, his business partner and the company of violating campaign finance laws.

A lawyer for Mr. Parnas, who had previously defended the contribution, did not respond to a request for comment about his client's work with Mr. Giuliani in Ukraine.

Mr. Giuliani has done work in Ukraine before, having been hired in 2017 by the Ukrainian-Russian developer Pavel Fuks.

Mr. Giuliani described that work as related to emergency management consulting, but Mr. Fuks said in an interview that he hired Mr. Giuliani as "a lobbyist for Kharkiv and Ukraine" to lure American investors. "This is stated in the contract."

Mr. Giuliani said that work had ended, and that Mr. Fuks had nothing to do with his current efforts.

"My only client is the president of the United States," he said. "He's the one I have an obligation to report to, tell him what happened."

Zach Montague contributed reporting.

A version of this article appears in print on May 10, 2019, Section A, Page 1 of the New York edition with the headline: Giuliani Plans to Prod Ukraine In Cases That Might Aid Trump

READ 791 COMMENTS

iMessage  
7/19/19, 4:48 PM

Mr Mayor — really enjoyed breakfast this morning. As discussed, connecting you here with Andrey Yermak, who is very close to President Zelensky. I suggest we schedule a call together on Monday — maybe 10am or 11am Washington time? Kurt

19179513862



Monday 10 to 11

Redacted



Ok, thank you

I will set up call — 10am — thanks - Kurt

Redacted



7/22/19, 8:29 AM

Redacted



Hello

Good morning — and congratulations! Looking forward to talking — in 90 min

Redacted



Thank you very much! And I'm waiting

19179513862



Call at 10 correct?

Yes

Redacted



Yes

7/22/19, 10:50 AM

Redacted

Thank you, Mr. Mayor for honest and productive conversation. I'm sure things will move quickly from today onwards and we will be able to take this relationship to a new level. If I may have your

KMI  
ENGAD 800-631-6989  
EXHIBIT  
2  
IMAGION

 schedule, I will plan a trip to meet in person ASAP.

9/26/19, 10:34 AM

19179513862

 4:48pm

**Redacted**

 I will leave today 3 pm

iMessage  
8/1/19, 9:55 AM

Hi Mr Mayor — hope all is well, and that things are on track to see Yermak in Madrid.

Am copying Gordon Sondland, a friend of POTUS who is our Ambassador to the EU. He is also helping on Ukraine and would love to catch up with you at some point.

As always, let me know if I can be helpful on anything - Kurt

15038058010

 Thanks Kurt. Hi Mayor. Working on a number of time sensitive EU issues. Would welcome your take? I'm in Brussels but in DC and NY regularly. Gordon

8/1/19, 11:08 AM

19179513862

 Seeing Yermak in Madrid tomorrow. Would like to meet with Gordon also.

 I will be near Madrid over weekend

15038058010

 Rudy, great. We met a while back in NY at one of Doug Ducey's events. Had a good talk. Roy Bailey was on the menu 😊. I will be in DC on the 12. Will you be there or in NY? Have a number of things for you to think about. Gordon

19179513862

 I will probably be in NYC

15038058010

 Bkfst @ Peninsula first thing on 8/12? Have to be in DC mid day.

19179513862

 If I'm here will let you know as soon as I can

8/9/19, 11:27 AM

Hi Mr Mayor! Had a good chat with Yermak last night. He was pleased with your phone call. Mentioned Z making a statement. Can we all get on the phone to make sure I advise Z correctly as to what he should be saying? Want to make sure we

get this done right. Thanks!

15038058010



Good idea Kurt. I am on Pacific time.

19179513862



Yes can you call now going to Fundraiser at 12:30

15038058010



I will have state ops build a call.



State is calling now

8/11/19, 10:28 AM

Hi Rudy — we have heard bCk from Andrey again — they are writing the statement now and will send to us. Can you talk for 5 min before noon today?

19179513862



Yes just call

iMessage with 19179513862

5/11/19, 10:04 AM

Hi Mr Mayor - Kurt Volker here. Good speaking w you yesterday. Call anytime up to about 4pm today if you want to follow up. Would like to brief you more about Zelensky discussion and also Russia-Ukraine dynamic.

This number is good for text and cell phone

7/10/19, 8:01 AM

Mr Mayor — could we meet for coffee or lunch in the next week or so? I'd like to update you on my conversations about Ukraine. I think we have an opportunity to get you what you need. Best - Kurt V

Yes I am so n way to Albania. I'll text some suggestions a little later

Great - thank you!

7/15/19, 2:53 PM

Dear Mr. Mayor -- are you back stateside? Let's talk or get together... Best - Kurt Volker

7/17/19, 12:00 PM

Checking in — are you stateside? Kurt V

7/17/19, 1:06 PM

Will be in DC this Friday

Great -- let's meet for breakfast or coffee?

Ok will let you know ASAP

7/18/19, 5:11 PM

Hi Mr Mayor — can I buy you breakfast tomorrow?

Suggest trump hotel - 7:30am or 8:00am?

8:00am is fine

Great — see you there — thanks - Kurt

7/19/19, 8:08 AM

Good morning! Am in the restaurant on the mezzanine. Kurt

7/26/19, 5:55 AM

Hi Mr Mayor — you may have heard— the President has a great phone call with the Ukrainian President yesterday. Exactly the right messages as we discussed.

Please send dates when you will be in Madrid. I am seeing Yermak tomorrow morning. He will come to you in Madrid.

Thanks for your help! Kurt

I will arrive on Aug 1 and until 5

Thank you

Great —I will tell Yermak and he'll visit with you there. Thanks!

8/4/19, 12:55 PM

Mr Mayor — how was your meeting with Andrey — do you have time for a call? Best - Kurt

It was excellent I can call a little later.

Great to hear. Maybe 3pm DC time?

8/4/19, 4:10 PM

Is now a good time to call?

8/7/19, 12:52 PM

Hi Rudy —hope you made it back safely. Let's meet if you are coming to DC. And would be good if you could convey results of your meeting in Madrid to the boss so we get a firm date for a visit. Best - Kurt

8/13/19, 9:57 AM

Mr mayor — trying to set up call in 5 min via state Dept. If now is not convenient, is there a time later today?

9/22/19, 8:35 AM

Kurt,  
Thanks for the support. All I need is for you to tell the truth. You called me about Yermak and I reported back to you and Sondland, eg., a

conference call on Aug. 11. Three others before.  
Really this is not hard just fair to affirm truth.  
Rudy

Also Secretary seems not to know you put us  
together. Straighten him out.



I certainly will let him know

Please send dates when you will be in Madrid. I am  
seeing Yermak tomorrow morning. He will come to  
you in Madrid.

Thanks for your help! Kurt

Kurt will you please get out a statement that State  
connected me to Yermak and I reported back to  
State on my conversations. Yermak has talked about  
this to Press so it's now public information. All I'm  
asking is to tell the truth. I can send you text chain if  
you need to check your recollection.

Also have Sondland inform Pompeo he can say State  
connected me with Ukraine official and was aware of  
it.

9/22/19, 6:40 PM

Hi Rudy — sorry for delay — just spoke w Secretary  
Pompeo — wanted to be sure we are coordinated.  
We have a statement from Aug 22 that makes clear  
it was coordinated — indeed, that i made the  
connection between you and Yermak.



Was tweeted by NYTimes Ken Vogel at the time

STATE DEPARTMENT SPOKESPERSON STATEMENT  
AUGUST 22, 2019

- The United States strongly supports Ukraine as it deepens its democracy, fights corruption, pursues economic reform, and improves its ability to defend itself against Russia's ongoing aggression.
- President Trump has invited President Zelenskyy to visit him at the White House, and both sides are working on the scheduling of such a meeting.
- We understand that the Ukrainian government taking shape under President Zelenskyy is committed to fighting corruption and other illegal activities and that investigations into such matters would be consistent within that overall approach.
- Ambassador Volker has confirmed that, at Presidential Advisor Andriy Yermak's request, Volker put Yermak in direct contact with Mr. Giuliani.
- Mr. Giuliani is a private citizen and acts in a personal capacity as a lawyer for President

Trump. He does not speak on behalf of the U.S. Government. We would refer you to Mr. Giuliani for information about the content of Mr. Giuliani's conversations with Ukrainian officials.

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@StenyHoyer JUST IN: The @StateDept, which facilitated @RudyGiuliani's communications with the Ukrainian gov't (during which he urged an investigation of @JoeBiden), says Giuliani "acts in a personal capacity as a lawyer for President TRUMP. He does not speak on behalf of the US Government."



Kenneth P. Vogel  
[twitter.com](https://twitter.com)

Read 9/22/19

[7/2/19, 6:50:21 PM] Andrey Yermak: Messages to this chat and calls are now secured with end-to-end encryption.  
[7/2/19, 6:50:21 PM] Andrey Yermak: Hello again, Yermak Andrey  
[7/2/19, 10:56:00 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey - thanks and see you soon. Best - Kurt  
[7/2/19, 11:24:22 PM] Andrey Yermak: Thank you  
[7/4/19, 8:22:56 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — are you back in Kyiv or still in Canada or US? When should we meet next week? Best - Kurt  
[7/5/19, 4:29:11 PM] Andrey Yermak: Hi, Kurt! Already back to Kiev. I will come on Tuesday 9 and till 12. I know that we will have meeting together with Mr. Daniluk on Wednesday 2 pm. But it will be great to meet with you personally for lunch or dinner during these days. Please let me know when it works for you. Best Andrey  
[7/7/19, 7:10:37 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — sorry for delay. Can we meet for dinner on Tuesday? 7pm? I am meeting danylyuk for drinks at 5:30pm. I don't know if you are meeting together or separately, but maybe a separate dinner with the two of us would still be good  
[7/8/19, 10:02:42 AM] Andrey Yermak: Hi, Kurt. My plane will land at 8 pm. We can have late dinner or breakfast on Wednesday morning. It will be great to meet with you before our big meeting. Up to you, I'm at your disposal at any time  
[7/8/19, 10:03:42 AM] Andrey Yermak: I will stay in Trump International Hotel  
[7/8/19, 1:05:49 PM] Kurt Volker: Are you coming straight from Kyiv? That will be 10pm before you are downtown. I could do coffee Wednesday morning around 9:00am / 9:15am at trump hotel.  
[7/8/19, 2:05:11 PM] Andrey Yermak: Yes. Perfect, Wednesday, 9:15 am at Trump hotel  
[7/8/19, 5:14:05 PM] Kurt Volker: Great — see you there  
[7/10/19, 9:08:20 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — got here early and ordered a coffee. No rush — see you in a bit. Kurt  
[7/10/19, 9:10:19 AM] Andrey Yermak: Hi Kurt. I'm 5 min  
[7/10/19, 4:06:30 PM] Andrey Yermak: Thank you for meeting and your clear and very logical position. Will be great meet with you before my departure and discuss. I feel that the key for many things is Rudi and I ready to talk with him at any time. Please, let me know when you can meet. Andrey  
[7/10/19, 9:56:26 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — sorry for delay — full evening. Can we talk by phone tomorrow between 11am and 12pm? I am flying to Denver at 12:45 but can talk before. Best - Kurt  
[7/10/19, 9:59:20 PM] Andrey Yermak: Ok, thank you  
[7/11/19, 12:28:00 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — sorry for delay — are you available to talk? Kurt  
[7/11/19, 12:35:14 PM] Kurt Volker: Let's talk Saturday after the Paris meeting.  
[7/11/19, 12:36:10 PM] Kurt Volker: One more feedback from yesterday — I think Alex could have been more direct and political in his message. But still, the message got through and we will keep working.  
[7/11/19, 8:34:49 PM] Andrey Yermak: Ok and thank you very much! Will inform you about meeting in Paris  
[7/13/19, 8:32:48 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — how was Paris? Can you talk today or tomorrow? Kurt  
[7/13/19, 8:35:45 AM] Andrey Yermak: Hi Kurt. You know much better. I think phone conversation between Presidents works. I back tonight and can call you. What time?  
[7/13/19, 8:37:26 AM] Kurt Volker: I will be 10 hours behind Kyiv. Noon here is 10pm Kyiv. Is that too late? Otherwise we could do tomorrow around 8am here / 6pm Kyiv  
[7/13/19, 8:40:35 AM] Andrey Yermak: If it's ok for you 11:30 pm Kyiv and 1:30 pm you?  
[7/13/19, 8:42:16 AM] Kurt Volker: Yes — perfect  
[7/13/19, 3:38:20 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — still ok?  
[7/13/19, 3:44:23 PM] Kurt Volker: I think it is late for you — let's try tomorrow!  
[7/13/19, 4:26:35 PM] Andrey Yermak: Now ok for you?  
[7/13/19, 4:30:36 PM] Kurt Volker: In about 20 minutes? Just wrapping up a meeting  
[7/13/19, 4:38:26 PM] Andrey Yermak: Ok  
[7/19/19, 5:08:47 AM] Andrey Yermak: КСТАТИ, <https://en.interfax.com.ua/news/interview/601400.html>  
[7/19/19, 6:58:27 AM] Kurt Volker: Thanks Andrey — good interview. Having our long anticipated breakfast today — will let you know and try to connect you directly. Good luck this weekend and see you next week. Kurt  
[7/19/19, 1:17:15 PM] Andrey Yermak: Thank you Kurt  
[7/19/19, 2:02:43 PM] Kurt Volker: Can I call you in about an hour?  
[7/19/19, 3:22:42 PM] Andrey Yermak: Yes, of course  
[7/22/19, 8:32:30 AM] Kurt Volker: Also — please convey my best wishes and congratulations to the President! Great result!  
[7/22/19, 8:32:50 AM] Andrey Yermak: Of course!  
[7/22/19, 8:35:35 AM] Andrey Yermak: One question. I have information about phone call from President Trump to President Zelenskyy at 6 pm Kyiv time today. Can you confirm it?  
[7/22/19, 8:36:07 AM] Kurt Volker: I will check — maybe yes  
[7/22/19, 8:38:07 AM] Andrey Yermak: Its very good that our conversation with Mr. Mayor will be before it  
[7/22/19, 8:47:51 AM] Kurt Volker: Yes — and I checked — call will not be today but White House will call Danylyuk to re-schedule it  
[7/22/19, 10:44:16 AM] Kurt Volker: I think that was very useful — hope it all keeps moving. Suggest you send a text to follow up and get Madrid dates - best - Kurt  
[7/22/19, 11:24:54 AM] Andrey Yermak: Missed voice call  
[7/22/19, 11:25:25 AM] Andrey Yermak: When you will be in Kiev?  
[7/22/19, 11:26:23 AM] Andrey Yermak: And thank you for conversation and your help!  
[7/22/19, 12:08:42 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi — sorry I missed your call. I land in Kyiv late Wednesday and then early Thursday go to the East. Will be in Kyiv all day Friday  
[7/22/19, 12:08:54 PM] Kurt Volker: Hope to meet with the President — also see you and others  
[7/22/19, 12:09:40 PM] Andrey Yermak: ♦  
[7/22/19, 12:10:36 PM] Andrey Yermak: What about late dinner Wednesday or breakfast Thursday?  
[7/22/19, 12:18:01 PM] Andrey Yermak: Sorry about Thursday I understand, you will go to the East  
[7/22/19, 12:18:42 PM] Andrey Yermak: Breakfast possible only Friday  
[7/22/19, 12:19:43 PM] Andrey Yermak: Please let me know about Wednesday and we will decide about Friday  
[7/22/19, 12:40:05 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi — looks like midnight arrival on Wednesday, so let's try Friday breakfast.  
[7/22/19, 1:43:15 PM] Andrey Yermak: Ok, great ♦  
[7/23/19, 1:08:09 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey. I sent this to Danylyuk. Would also be happy to connect you if you and/or Prystaiko is interested. "A friend of mine who is retired CIA — former station chief in Moscow, Islamabad, and Tallinn — will be visiting Kyiv this week. If you are interested in meeting him, I'll connect you. He has good contacts in US agencies still."  
[7/23/19, 1:14:46 PM] Andrey Yermak: Hi Kurt. Yes, please connect with me. Thank you

[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, 1:38:07 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

[8/12/19, 7:30:52 PM] Andrey Yermak: Hi Kurt. Can you talk?  
[8/12/19, 7:48:34 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey - yes - and if it is too late for you, can also do first thing my morning. Up to you  
[8/12/19, 8:24:20 PM] Andrey Yermak: Missed voice call  
[8/12/19, 8:31:25 PM] Andrey Yermak: Отдельного внимания заслуживает проблема вмешательства в политические процессы Соединенных Штатов, в том числе при возможном участии некоторых украинских политиков. Хочу заявить о недопустимости подобной практики. Мы намерены обеспечить и довести до конца прозрачное и непредвзятое расследование всех имеющихся фактов и эпизодов, что в свою очередь предотвратит повторение данной проблемы в будущем.

Special attention should be paid to the problem of interference in the political processes of the United States, especially with the alleged involvement of some Ukrainian politicians. I want to declare that this is unacceptable. We intend to initiate and complete a transparent and unbiased investigation of all available facts and episodes, which in turn will prevent the recurrence of this problem in the future.

[8/17/19, 2:09:08 PM] Andrey Yermak: Hi Kurt! Can you talk?  
[8/17/19, 3:03:45 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — am driving for the next hour. Would it work to call you then?  
[8/17/19, 3:05:31 PM] Andrey Yermak: Yes, please  
[8/17/19, 4:34:05 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey— sorry for delay — is now good? Kurt  
[8/23/19, 12:27:21 PM] Andrey Yermak: Hi Kurt. Finishing meeting with President and will go. Sorry, delay, hope not more than 20-30 min  
[8/23/19, 12:30:16 PM] Kurt Volker: No worries — just got in. We are in no hurry  
[8/24/19, 3:15:13 PM] Andrey Yermak: Good evening  
[8/24/19, 3:21:41 PM] Andrey Yermak: It's very important for all our team that you was with us today. Great day for Ukraine! I'd like to check with you some info. Thank you!  
[8/24/19, 3:31:45 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey - sorry - was on another call. Was great to be here — thank you! Very inspiring day!  
[8/24/19, 3:32:37 PM] Kurt Volker: Can talk now or tomorrow morning — flight is at 2pm to Frankfurt  
[8/25/19, 4:18:07 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — let me know when you can talk — have more on RFE following up on discussion with the President. - Kurt  
[8/27/19, 2:08:04 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — did you get to see Bolton?  
[8/27/19, 2:08:30 PM] Andrey Yermak: Hi Kurt  
[8/27/19, 2:08:32 PM] Andrey Yermak: No  
[8/27/19, 2:08:42 PM] Andrey Yermak: Nobody call me  
[8/27/19, 2:08:44 PM] Kurt Volker: :(  
[8/27/19, 2:09:12 PM] Kurt Volker: That's disappointing— what time is the meeting with the president tomorrow?  
[8/27/19, 2:09:14 PM] Andrey Yermak: Tomorrow, in official meeting with President  
[8/27/19, 2:09:52 PM] Andrey Yermak: 10:30 big group, 12:30 with President  
[8/27/19, 2:10:31 PM] Kurt Volker: Ok — I imagine his breakfast is already booked, but I'll ask.  
[8/27/19, 2:11:44 PM] Andrey Yermak: No problem, maybe better after  
[8/27/19, 2:11:55 PM] Kurt Volker: Ok  
[8/27/19, 2:12:32 PM] Andrey Yermak: As I understand he don't know about dates  
[8/27/19, 2:13:16 PM] Kurt Volker: Correct — but he is working hard for the meeting in Warsaw, and that will hopefully break things free  
[8/27/19, 2:14:22 PM] Andrey Yermak: Ok, I'm ready meet with him after official meeting  
[8/28/19, 8:11:57 AM] Andrey Yermak: Turns out that Bolton can't make it. We'll talk  
[8/28/19, 8:12:10 AM] Andrey Yermak: Hi Kurt  
[8/28/19, 8:12:20 AM] Andrey Yermak: It's from Taylor  
[8/28/19, 8:14:08 AM] Kurt Volker: That's too bad — but bill is on the ground with him so he knows the schedule. How was the meeting with the president?  
[8/28/19, 8:15:29 AM] Andrey Yermak: I think very good  
[8/28/19, 8:17:47 AM] Andrey Yermak: And involved in this case with Mator Sich  
[8/28/19, 8:19:05 AM] Andrey Yermak: Me  
[8/28/19, 8:19:32 AM] Andrey Yermak: Ok, for me no problem  
[8/28/19, 8:20:12 AM] Andrey Yermak: This message was deleted.  
[8/28/19, 8:28:54 AM] Kurt Volker: Ok — let's talk later today  
[8/28/19, 4:02:34 PM] Andrey Yermak: Missed voice call  
[8/29/19, 2:27:35 AM] Andrey Yermak: Hi Kurt  
[8/29/19, 2:28:13 AM] Andrey Yermak: Need to talk with you  
[8/29/19, 3:06:14 AM] Andrey Yermak: <https://www.politico.com/story/2019/08/28/trump-ukraine-military-aid-russia-1689531>  
[8/29/19, 6:55:04 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey - Absolutely. When is good for you?  
[8/29/19, 3:01:38 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — am told 2:40pm meeting on Sunday in Warsaw. 1 hour bilat  
[8/29/19, 5:03:38 PM] Kurt Volker: Just saw trump cancelling going to Poland — sending Pence instead. Hope we keep the bilat — and push for data for WH visit  
[9/1/19, 11:33:02 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — how was pence meeting?  
[9/3/19, 8:58:30 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — how was N4 meeting. Can call in an hour or so...  
[9/3/19, 9:08:33 AM] Andrey Yermak: Hi Kurt  
[9/3/19, 9:08:51 AM] Andrey Yermak: Will be in plane  
[9/3/19, 9:09:05 AM] Andrey Yermak: In general, ok  
[9/3/19, 9:09:24 AM] Andrey Yermak: Details tonight  
[9/3/19, 9:09:44 AM] Andrey Yermak: What about Pence meeting?  
[9/3/19, 9:10:00 AM] Andrey Yermak: Any news about dates?  
[9/3/19, 11:28:23 AM] Kurt Volker: Ukraine Security Letter ■ 2 pages <attached: 00000174-Ukraine Security Letter.pdf>  
[9/4/19, 9:56:30 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey. Reports are that pence liked meeting and will press trump on scheduling Ze visit. Gordon will follow up with pence and, if nothing moving, will have a chance to talk with President on Saturday.  
[9/4/19, 9:56:49 AM] Kurt Volker: Sorry — on Friday  
[9/4/19, 9:57:35 AM] Andrey Yermak: Hi Kurt

[9/4/19, 9:57:41 AM] Andrey Yermak: Thank you!  
[9/4/19, 9:58:09 AM] Andrey Yermak: Call you in 30 min?  
[9/4/19, 9:58:14 AM] Kurt Volker: My pleasure. Did you have a chance to put a word into Kozak about me visiting?  
[9/4/19, 9:58:29 AM] Kurt Volker: In an hour would be better — going in to a meeting now...  
[9/4/19, 1:53:32 PM] Andrey Yermak: Missed voice call  
[9/4/19, 2:37:50 PM] Andrey Yermak: Missed voice call  
[9/4/19, 2:56:25 PM] Andrey Yermak: Can you talk?  
[9/5/19, 8:17:50 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — flying to Georgia — can talk Friday or Saturday. Nothing new on RFE? I will see RFE Presidet Jamie Fly on Monday. Best - Kurt  
[9/7/19, 8:17:52 AM] Kurt Volker: Great news on the prisoner exchange! Hope it leads to progress in Donbas.  
[9/9/19, 8:01:26 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — let me know if there is a good time to call. Can we meet for breakfast or coffee on Saturday? Best - Kurt  
[9/11/19, 2:23:51 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey - hope all is well — looking forward to seeing you Saturday. Will be interested to get your read on call this eve. Just spoke w Gordon after your call and we are pushing again for a date. Best - Kurt  
[9/11/19, 4:52:34 PM] Andrey Yermak: Hi Kurt  
[9/11/19, 4:52:52 PM] Andrey Yermak: Can call you in 40 min?  
[9/11/19, 5:36:41 PM] Andrey Yermak: Missed voice call  
[9/12/19, 12:58:11 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — sorry to miss you last night. Let's try later today— Sam?  
[9/12/19, 1:44:10 PM] Andrey Yermak: Missed voice call  
[9/12/19, 2:59:54 PM] Andrey Yermak: Missed voice call  
[9/12/19, 3:26:07 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — sorry to miss your call. Just getting back from a dinner and will call  
[9/12/19, 3:40:42 PM] Kurt Volker: Call in 20 min - no problem  
[9/14/19, 2:39:42 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — planning on 20:30 dinner at Hyatt. Let me know once you are back from Dnipro if you need to adjust timing. I am flexible. Kurt  
[9/14/19, 2:40:34 AM] Andrey Yermak: Hi, Kurt  
[9/14/19, 2:40:35 AM] Andrey Yermak: Ok  
[9/14/19, 2:41:05 AM] Kurt Volker: Ok - thanks  
[9/14/19, 2:41:34 AM] Andrey Yermak: Thank you  
[9/14/19, 12:03:54 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — checking schedule — ok for 8:30pm?  
[9/14/19, 12:06:51 PM] Andrey Yermak: If possible 9 pm  
[9/14/19, 12:06:55 PM] Andrey Yermak: ?  
[9/14/19, 12:09:40 PM] Kurt Volker: Yes — Sam is fine. Also — Pinchuk is urging that you come to YES and join dinner he is hosting here. As long as we have a chance to speak privately, that's fine with me. But also happy to leave here and meet you privately at Hyatt.  
[9/14/19, 12:17:59 PM] Andrey Yermak: I was in YES dinner yesterday, it's problematic to speak there. See you at Hyatt  
[9/14/19, 12:18:15 PM] Kurt Volker: Ok — see you there at Sam  
[9/14/19, 12:18:49 PM] Andrey Yermak: Tomorrow?  
[9/14/19, 12:19:15 PM] Andrey Yermak: 9 am?  
[9/14/19, 12:32:42 PM] Kurt Volker: Sorry — I meant 9pm!!  
[9/14/19, 12:32:52 PM] Kurt Volker: I have a flight at 6am tomorrow  
[9/14/19, 12:34:38 PM] Andrey Yermak: Ok  
[9/14/19, 12:34:41 PM] Andrey Yermak: Excellent  
[9/14/19, 12:34:57 PM] Kurt Volker: Ok - thank you!!  
[9/16/19, 1:18:05 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — looks like the Metropolitan's What's App account was hacked.

The phone number is correct. I just spoke with him.

I suggest you give him a call at that number rather than engage in the text stream. Kurt

[9/20/19, 11:02:05 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — let me know when is good to call. Going to see Russian Amb on Monday and locking at next weekend (27th-30th or so) to visit Moscow.  
[9/20/19, 1:27:38 PM] Andrey Yermak: Hi  
[9/20/19, 1:27:51 PM] Andrey Yermak: Will call you  
[9/20/19, 1:51:37 PM] Kurt Volker: Ok - thanks  
[9/20/19, 2:20:52 PM] Andrey Yermak: Missed voice call  
[9/21/19, 12:25:47 AM] Andrey Yermak: <https://thehill.com/opinion/white-house/462422-missing-piece-to-the-ukraine-puzzle-state-departments-overture-to-rudy>  
[9/23/19, 5:29:23 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey -- welcome to New York! Would you be free between 4pm and 6pm tomorrow? Either the two of us, or also with Vadym? Best - Kurt  
[9/24/19, 10:08:26 AM] Andrey Yermak: Hi Kurt  
[9/24/19, 10:08:48 AM] Andrey Yermak: And what about evening?  
[9/24/19, 10:09:04 AM] Andrey Yermak: Gordon already here?  
[9/24/19, 10:09:15 AM] Kurt Volker: Yes — I have a dinner at 8:30pm — but can rearrange to make time for you.  
[9/24/19, 10:09:22 AM] Kurt Volker: Yes - he is there  
[9/24/19, 10:09:28 AM] Kurt Volker: I arrive around 3:30pm  
[9/24/19, 10:09:56 AM] Andrey Yermak: It will be excellent  
[9/24/19, 10:10:05 AM] Kurt Volker: What time are you free  
[9/24/19, 10:10:07 AM] Kurt Volker: ?  
[9/24/19, 10:10:28 AM] Andrey Yermak: 8:30 pm?  
[9/24/19, 10:11:19 AM] Kurt Volker: Ok — I'll skip my dinner — let's get a dinner reservation for 8:30  
[9/24/19, 10:11:42 AM] Andrey Yermak: Ok  
[9/24/19, 10:12:07 AM] Kurt Volker: Is 9pm too late? 9-10:30pm?  
[9/24/19, 10:12:47 AM] Andrey Yermak: May be Gordon will joint us?  
[9/24/19, 10:15:02 AM] Kurt Volker: I'll ask him  
[9/24/19, 10:15:12 AM] Kurt Volker: Do you want to invite Vadym?

[9/24/19, 10:15:47 AM] Andrey Yermak: Yes  
[9/24/19, 10:17:13 AM] Andrey Yermak: You will make a reservation or me?  
[9/24/19, 10:43:04 AM] Kurt Volker: i'll get a reservation -- what hotel are you be staying at? will look for a steak place.  
[9/24/19, 10:43:29 AM] Andrey Yermak:   
[9/24/19, 10:43:47 AM] Andrey Yermak: Park Hyatt  
[9/24/19, 10:50:58 AM] Kurt Volker: Reservation for 4 people at The Strip House -- 9pm. 15 West 44th Street  
[9/24/19, 10:51:23 AM] Kurt Volker: Gordon has another dinner at 7pm and will join as soon as he can after  
[9/24/19, 10:51:32 AM] Kurt Volker: Will you tell Vadym?  
[9/24/19, 10:54:18 AM] Andrey Yermak: Ok  
[9/24/19, 10:54:23 AM] Andrey Yermak: Yes  
[9/24/19, 10:54:35 AM] Andrey Yermak:   
[9/24/19, 11:01:02 AM] Kurt Volker: Great!  
[9/24/19, 7:16:04 PM] Andrey Yermak: See you very soon  
[9/24/19, 7:16:06 PM] Andrey Yermak: I have one question  
[9/24/19, 7:16:06 PM] Andrey Yermak: May be you know  
[9/24/19, 7:17:07 PM] Kurt Volker: Yes -- I think so  
[9/24/19, 7:17:19 PM] Kurt Volker: Don't have an answer yet and trying to get one  
[9/25/19, 8:21:20 AM] Andrey Yermak: Good morning  
[9/25/19, 8:21:28 AM] Andrey Yermak: Any news?  
[9/25/19, 8:22:46 AM] Kurt Volker: Spoke w Gordon - he was feeling sick last night  
[9/25/19, 8:23:28 AM] Kurt Volker: We are both weighing in on the issue.. nothing more yet  
[9/25/19, 9:31:27 AM] Andrey Yermak: Will publish full or part?  
[9/25/19, 9:52:05 AM] Kurt Volker: I pushed for sharing w you first, then meeting, then release. But no word back  
[9/25/19, 3:18:16 PM] Andrey Yermak: What you think? Great that you was  
[9/25/19, 3:20:43 PM] Kurt Volker: Thanks - very good meeting. Exactly what I expected. Once they can talk to each other -- all good  
[9/25/19, 5:36:27 PM] Kurt Volker: Did you want to meet and follow up also with Gordon? Can try, though schedules are tight for all of us  
[9/25/19, 5:54:07 PM] Andrey Yermak: Yes  
[9/25/19, 5:54:16 PM] Andrey Yermak: With pleasure  
[9/25/19, 5:54:47 PM] Andrey Yermak: I will call you about 8 pm?  
[9/25/19, 6:00:15 PM] Kurt Volker: Ok -- can talk briefly then  
[9/25/19, 7:24:30 PM] Andrey Yermak: Missed voice call  
[9/25/19, 7:24:51 PM] Andrey Yermak: Can you talk now?  
[9/25/19, 7:27:25 PM] Kurt Volker: Yes -- but maybe better in 15-20 min?  
[9/25/19, 11:36:11 PM] Andrey Yermak: What about tomorrow?  
[9/25/19, 11:36:41 PM] Kurt Volker: Yes -- 8am your Hotel -- Park Hyatt  
[9/25/19, 11:36:59 PM] Andrey Yermak:   
[9/26/19, 7:49:17 AM] Andrey Yermak: Missed voice call  
[9/26/19, 7:50:20 AM] Andrey Yermak: Missed voice call  
[9/26/19, 7:55:46 AM] Andrey Yermak: Missed voice call  
[9/26/19, 7:57:58 AM] Andrey Yermak: Good morning  
[9/26/19, 7:58:38 AM] Andrey Yermak: Waiting for you in lobby, place for breakfast  
[9/26/19, 10:43:57 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey -- good visit. Reminder about Metropolitan Emmanuel Adamakis. Do you need his number again? Thanks - Kurt  
[9/26/19, 10:47:21 AM] Andrey Yermak: Thank you! Yes, please  
[9/26/19, 10:48:10 AM] Kurt Volker: +33 6 89 52 12 55  
[9/26/19, 10:48:36 AM] Kurt Volker: He is planning to be in ukraine through tomorrow  
[9/27/19, 7:44:20 PM] Andrey Yermak: Hi  
[9/28/19, 8:11:36 AM] Andrey Yermak: Hello again. I+I channel want to talk with you?  
[9/28/19, 9:23:16 AM] Kurt Volker: Thanks -- not yet -- have to do the Congress first  
[9/28/19, 9:23:31 AM] Andrey Yermak: Ok

[8/9/19, 2:24:21 PM] You created group "Andrey/Gordon/Kurt"

[8/9/19, 2:24:21 PM] Andrey/Gordon/Kurt: Messages to this group are now secured with end-to-end encryption.

[8/9/19, 2:24:57 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — we have all consulted here, including with Rudy. Can you do a call later today or tomorrow your afternoon time? Kurt

[8/9/19, 2:25:40 PM] Gordon Sondland: I have a call sched at 3pm Eastern for the three of us. Ops will call

[8/13/19, 10:11:50 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — we spoke with Rudy. When is good to call you?

[8/13/19, 10:19:20 AM] Andrey Yermak: Hi Kurt

[8/13/19, 10:19:50 AM] Gordon Sondland: I can talk now

[8/13/19, 10:20:54 AM] Andrey Yermak: I'm in Israel

[8/13/19, 10:21:20 AM] Gordon Sondland: Important. Do you have 5 mins

[8/13/19, 10:21:21 AM] Andrey Yermak: I can speak in 10-15 min

[8/13/19, 10:22:55 AM] Gordon Sondland: Ok I will have our operator dial us in at 4:35 Brussels time

[8/13/19, 10:23:14 AM] Kurt Volker: Can we do this one on what's App?

[8/13/19, 10:23:31 AM] Gordon Sondland: Ok, fine. Can you initiate?

[8/13/19, 10:23:41 AM] Kurt Volker: Yes - will do

[8/13/19, 10:24:17 AM] Andrey Yermak: Ok

[8/13/19, 12:11:15 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — good talking — following is text with insert at the end for the 2 key items. We will work on official request

[8/13/19, 12:11:19 PM] Kurt Volker: Special attention should be paid to the problem of interference in the political processes of the United States, especially with the alleged involvement of some Ukrainian politicians. I want to declare that this is unacceptable. We intend to initiate and complete a transparent and unbiased investigation of all available facts and episodes, including those involving Burisma and the 2016 U.S. elections, which in turn will prevent the recurrence of this problem in the future.

(12/24/18, 6:33:34 AM) Bill Taylor: Messages to this chat and calls are now secured with end-to-end encryption.  
(12/24/18, 6:33:34 AM) Bill Taylor: Kurt, did you send a draft of the op-ed we discussed to Steve?  
(1/2/19, 11:12:47 AM) Bill Taylor: Steve hasn't received a draft yet. Still a good idea?  
(1/2/19, 11:13:02 AM) Kurt Volker: Yes - I should have it today  
(1/2/19, 11:37:21 AM) Bill Taylor: On another topic, we continue to plan the February 12 roundtable on Donbas peace plans. It's on Steve's calendar. Two questions: can you kick off the discussion? Minister Avakov will also speak. Second, would you be OK if we invited Professor Dynkin, Steve's friend from IMEMO? He made a proposal for peacekeepers last year. Minister Avakov and Gregory Nemyria are both comfortable inviting Dynkin.  
(1/2/19, 11:38:07 AM) Kurt Volker: Yes - all good. What time on 12th?  
(1/2/19, 11:40:58 AM) Bill Taylor: Opening comments at 9:30. First session on peacekeepers until 12:30. Informal lunch. Afternoon sessions on interim international administration and political prospects in the UN. Close by 5.  
(1/2/19, 11:43:01 AM) Kurt Volker: Ok - so I can be there from 9:30-10:15am?  
(1/2/19, 11:47:33 AM) Bill Taylor: Yes  
(1/2/19, 12:32:13 PM) Kurt Volker: Great. Will it be as USIP?  
(1/2/19, 1:53:37 PM) Bill Taylor: Yes  
(1/3/19, 11:57:40 AM) Bill Taylor: Dynkin declined.  
(1/3/19, 11:58:43 AM) Kurt Volker: Interesting. Means there is no room for progress  
(1/3/19, 12:22:13 PM) Bill Taylor: Not with this Ukrainian administration, he says.  
(1/5/19, 11:02:14 AM) Bill Taylor: Haven't heard from Steve on the edits he asked me to make. He wanted it shortened and the recommendations focused. I tried to shorten but didn't want to lose any of the recommendations. Am checking to see if Steve is flying back from China and thus offline.  
(1/5/19, 11:04:13 PM) Kurt Volker: Good - I saw the edits - I think he will want to make the recommendations less of a "list" - but let's hear from him.  
(1/5/19, 11:04:00 PM) Kurt Volker: If we don't get Steve (although we should) is there someone else the WH would be impressed by?  
(1/5/19, 1:23:58 PM) Bill Taylor: That's a hard question. Steve is almost unique -- a reasonable Republican, respected by both ends of that spectrum.  
(1/5/19, 1:24:39 PM) Kurt Volker: Exactly. Almost anyone else would not be respected at WH. So let's convince him!  
(1/5/19, 1:26:40 PM) Bill Taylor: Yup. I'm hoping he's in an airplane. He is usually very responsive. Is there a way to repackaging the recommendations in a way that looks less like a laundry list?  
(1/5/19, 1:36:55 PM) Kurt Volker: I think just turning it into prose instead of bullets would do it  
(1/5/19, 1:38:21 PM) Bill Taylor: Could be, but might make it longer. Want to take a shot? Or I can.  
(1/5/19, 1:38:40 PM) Kurt Volker: I can do it now - back to you in half an hour  
(1/5/19, 2:43:05 PM) Kurt Volker: Just sent via email to the group - kv  
(1/5/19, 3:01:43 PM) Bill Taylor: Got it -- looks good  
(1/5/19, 3:03:50 PM) Kurt Volker: Same recommendations, but less jarring - think he'll like that better  
(1/5/19, 3:05:43 PM) Bill Taylor: Agree. Hope it gets published before the Russians move.  
(1/5/19, 10:10:08 PM) Bill Taylor: Missed voice call  
(1/7/19, 3:15:33 PM) Bill Taylor: WSJ declined saying they'd recently done a piece on the Orthodox Church and that our piece is too long for them. Jackson Diehl has a piece similar to ours in the Post today. We are pitching our piece to the Times.  
(1/7/19, 4:01:13 PM) Kurt Volker: Have you considered foreign policy?  
(1/7/19, 4:02:04 PM) Bill Taylor: Good idea  
(1/7/19, 5:05:02 PM) Kurt Volker: Btw - surprised wsj rejected since this has nothing to do with the church. Did shai speak with an editor and explain who it is and why it is imp?  
(1/7/19, 5:47:43 PM) Bill Taylor: I'll press  
(1/7/19, 8:17:53 PM) Bill Taylor: Shai did push and did talk to their op-ed editor. Steve came back asking us to offer it to the Post -- he knows Fred Hiatt well -- and to consider FT and Foreign Affairs website.  
(1/7/19, 9:59:37 PM) Kurt Volker: Ok - great - thanks - hope they take it!  
(1/9/19, 10:22:43 AM) Bill Taylor: Status: submitted to the NYT two days ago, no response yet. If they accept but ask that it be shortened, we will -- and check with you. If they decline, we will go to Foreign Affairs, then Foreign Policy.  
(1/9/19, 10:24:34 AM) Bill Taylor: Different topic: what do you think about inviting Chesnakov to the February 12 roundtable? Not to present, but to participate.  
(1/9/19, 5:37:18 PM) Kurt Volker: I think it is a good idea  
(1/9/19, 5:52:01 PM) Bill Taylor: I agree. John Herbst doesn't think that Chesnakov will agree to participate. But we can ask.  
We are submitting the op-ed to Foreign Affairs tomorrow morning.  
(1/9/19, 11:50:33 PM) Kurt Volker: Sounds good - thx!  
(1/9/19, 11:51:01 PM) Kurt Volker: And on chesnakov - let it be him who declines - good that we ask  
(1/10/19, 5:07:24 AM) Bill Taylor: Sounds good  
(1/15/19, 7:07:33 PM) Kurt Volker: Hi Bill - any news on the op-ed? Needed now more than ever. Indeed, may need to be sharper up front.  
(1/15/19, 7:55:21 PM) Bill Taylor: I asked our guys this afternoon -- apparently FA requires multiple pings. Told Steve. Got any changes to the opening?  
(1/15/19, 8:25:52 PM) Kurt Volker: Just sent you a tougher opening. Steve may not like it, but all the info I am getting is that we are going to do absolutely nothing. Zero from the list we discussed.  
(1/15/19, 8:36:35 PM) Bill Taylor: Just sent it to Steve, blind copying you.  
(1/16/19, 3:40:28 PM) Kurt Volker: Hi Bill - should we try foreign policy instead? I can send you contact for lead editor Jonathan Tepperman if you want - kv  
(1/16/19, 3:51:30 PM) Bill Taylor: Yes. We submitted it to FA this morning, pinged twice and haven't heard from them. If we don't hear by 5:30, we'll pull it and resubmit it to FP. As soon as we do, I will let you know so you can alert your contact there. We have another contact there as well.  
(1/16/19, 3:52:28 PM) Kurt Volker: Ok - great - thanks!  
(1/16/19, 9:53:33 PM) Bill Taylor: Submitted and alerted Jonathan Tepperman  
(1/16/19, 10:08:52 PM) Kurt Volker: Great - thanks!  
(1/17/19, 9:42:25 AM) Bill Taylor: Looking good for FP. Will confirm  
(1/17/19, 9:42:32 AM) Kurt Volker: Great!  
(1/17/19, 9:42:51 AM) Kurt Volker: Let me know and I'll try to get it into TV interviews  
(1/17/19, 11:08:52 AM) Bill Taylor: Will do  
(1/17/19, 11:49:41 AM) Bill Taylor: Regarding the February 12 roundtable, I was thinking about inviting representatives from Normandy Format embassies. I'm keeping Chaly and Oksana informed. No word back from Chesnakov but Dynkin's colleague Zagorski is trying to get here. The Russian embassy? Are there Donbas watchers at the French and German embassies?

(1/17/19, 1:41:41 PM) Kurt Volker: Yes — Chris knows the names at the Normandy embassies. Fine on Zagorsky. Avakov is a mixed bag. Is he still coming?

(1/17/19, 1:47:43 PM) Bill Taylor: Yes

(1/18/19, 12:23:17 PM) Kurt Volker: Hi Bill — did they publish?

(1/18/19, 1:59:09 PM) Bill Taylor: As soon as they get the contributor consent form back from Steve, they hit publish.

(1/18/19, 2:23:29 PM) Kurt Volker: Great - thanks!

(1/18/19, 4:12:22 PM) Bill Taylor: It's up. On your email

(1/18/19, 6:05:31 PM) Kurt Volker: Great!! Thanks!

(4/29/19, 5:01:59 PM) Bill Taylor: What did you volunteer me for?

(4/29/19, 5:02:31 PM) Kurt Volker: I can't remember— context?

(4/29/19, 5:14:18 PM) Bill Taylor: George has asked me to go to Kyiv for a while.

(4/29/19, 5:16:52 PM) Kurt Volker: Ah... good!!!

(4/29/19, 5:16:56 PM) Kurt Volker: You should!

(4/29/19, 5:17:39 PM) Bill Taylor: George described two snake pits, one in Kyiv and one in Washington.

(4/29/19, 5:19:15 PM) Kurt Volker: :) so what's new?

(4/29/19, 5:23:05 PM) Bill Taylor: Yes, but he described much more than I knew. Very ugly

(5/25/19, 10:07:55 AM) Kurt Volker: Anti-Trust Reform • 2 pages <attached: 00000072-Anti-Trust Reform.docx>

(5/25/19, 10:21:15 AM) Bill Taylor: I like this a lot.

(5/25/19, 10:22:50 AM) Kurt Volker: Thanks! Will need more expert advice, but wanted to kick this off

(5/25/19, 10:23:22 AM) Bill Taylor: I look forward to pushing it in Kyiv.

(5/26/19, 2:14:39 PM) Bill Taylor: I am still struggling with the decision whether to go. Can anyone hope to succeed with the Giuliani-Bidan issue swirling for the next 18 months? Can S offer any reassurance on this issue?

(5/26/19, 6:25:42 PM) Bill Taylor: You mentioned that several people have asked you to go out as CoA. I think that is the answer. It wouldn't be that long. No one knows the issues better. People will ask, why isn't Kurt going out -- we already have a special envoy.

(5/26/19, 11:23:10 PM) Kurt Volker: Let's see how it looks on Tuesday ... I don't know if there is much to do about the Giuliani thing, but I do think the key thing is to do what we can right now since the future of the country is in play right now

(5/27/19, 6:47:44 AM) Bill Taylor: It is, and that's why it's encouraging that you would consider being charged during this critical time. I, for one, fully support you -- as would Steve in any way we can.

(5/27/19, 2:33:31 PM) Kurt Volker: But as we discussed — I can't do it for a variety of reasons, and I am more useful being here anyway. We need someone on the ground there.

(5/27/19, 3:20:12 PM) Bill Taylor: How about for a short period of time?

(5/27/19, 4:22:43 PM) Kurt Volker: I can visit for a day or two, but not longer. Still have all the other commitments here

(5/28/19, 5:49:28 PM) Bill Taylor: Do we know for sure that there is a letter inviting Ze to visit? Fiona doesn't think so

(5/28/19, 5:59:25 PM) Kurt Volker: I heard it from Mulvaney — so I think so

(5/28/19, 6:00:39 PM) Bill Taylor: Wouldn't it have to go through Fiona?

(5/28/19, 6:01:04 PM) Kurt Volker: I don't know how things work over there. In a normal world, of course. But ...

(5/28/19, 6:03:31 PM) Bill Taylor: Do I want to enter this non-normal world?

(5/28/19, 6:09:01 PM) Kurt Volker: Despite everything, I feel like we have moved the ball substantially forward over the last 2 years. I think it is worth it to continue to keep pushing...

(5/28/19, 6:15:16 PM) Kurt Volker: And just checked w Sondland, who said Mulvaney told him today it is with POTUS... tbc...

(6/11/19, 4:05:35 PM) Kurt Volker: Hi Bill — Perry, Sondland and I had a good call w Bolton yesterday. He is going to get a date for Z visit — maybe late July - and also ask about VPOTUS visit to Kyiv. All good. Best - Kurt

(6/11/19, 4:20:41 PM) Bill Taylor: Excellent -- thanks, Kurt. I am hoping to meet AMB Sondland, maybe in Brussels on my way to Kyiv.

(6/11/19, 4:59:53 PM) Kurt Volker: Good idea!

(6/12/19, 7:56:49 AM) Bill Taylor: Can you introduce me to AMB Sondland? I looked to see if I could see him in Brussels on the way to Kyiv, but it looks like that won't work. I will try to get there sometime soon or see him in Kyiv.

(6/14/19, 4:43:35 PM) Kurt Volker: Hi Bill — are you in DC now? We should take a picture together!

(6/14/19, 4:43:46 PM) Kurt Volker: Then can tweet when you are in Kyiv

(6/14/19, 4:46:24 PM) Bill Taylor: Excellent idea! I am here until Sunday night. Where are you?

(6/14/19, 4:59:20 PM) Bill Taylor: I am en route to the Ukrainian embassy now.

(6/19/19, 2:26:12 AM) Bill Taylor: Kurt, what's the view of Kobolyev among the three of you?

(6/19/19, 6:07:25 AM) Kurt Volker: Hi Bill! I think Perry is the most negative — sees him as obstructing both the upstream and downstream opening up of the market. Perry also wants 2 senior US energy industry people on an expanded board.

(6/19/19, 6:07:59 AM) Kurt Volker: Gordon shares this view - but maybe a little less negative.

(6/19/19, 6:09:13 AM) Kurt Volker: I remember Naftogaz before the reform, so I know K did a lot of good. But now he needs to get behind even more ambitious reform. He is capable of doing it, but he needs to be committed to it.

(6/19/19, 6:10:02 AM) Kurt Volker: Btw - hope the testimony went over well - kv

(6/19/19, 11:04:25 AM) Bill Taylor: Kurt, I am getting the same thing out here -- stifling private investment. Will look for your testimony

(6/19/19, 11:16:05 AM) Kurt Volker: Yes — exactly — stifling private investment

(6/19/19, 11:17:26 AM) Kurt Volker: Here's the testimony - best - Kurt  
<https://www.c-span.org/video/?461818-1/us-policy-russia-ukraine>

(6/25/19, 11:31:15 AM) Bill Taylor: Do you think Gordon saw my note asking him for help with the meeting date and the delegation to Independence Day?

(6/25/19, 2:36:53 PM) Bill Taylor: At a dinner this evening, Klimkin advised you to engage Ze in Toronto "on an emotional level." He was at pains to emphasize how important is the US role right here, right now. You have to play it right, he said. The Russians are clever.

(6/25/19, 2:47:13 PM) Kurt Volker: Hi - he is religious about checking messages so am sure he did. Got the point on Ze — will do my best — any thoughts about "emotions?"

(6/25/19, 2:48:21 PM) Bill Taylor: I am checking that suggestion with Prystaiko.

(6/28/19, 11:38:56 AM) Bill Taylor: Are you telling Chris about the call?

(6/28/19, 11:40:45 AM) Bill Taylor: Prystaiko?

(6/28/19, 11:41:16 AM) Bill Taylor: He will be in Toronto with Ze.

[6/28/19, 11:53:24 AM] Kurt Volker: Yes — in person though  
[6/28/19, 12:00:53 PM] Bill Taylor: Chris in person, right? Should I give Vadym a heads up since he will be in Toronto with Ze?  
[6/28/19, 12:25:39 PM] Kurt Volker: Yes — that's a good idea  
[7/3/19, 2:01:39 PM] Bill Taylor: Are you OK with me briefing Ulrich on these conversations? Maybe you have already?  
[7/3/19, 5:53:34 PM] Kurt Volker: I have not — please feel free  
[7/3/19, 5:54:06 PM] Kurt Volker: The key thing is to tee up a phone call w potus and then get visit nailed down  
[7/3/19, 11:09:58 PM] Bill Taylor: I agree. Is Ze on board with a phone call?  
[7/4/19, 1:30:29 AM] Kurt Volker: Yes — bogdan was a little skeptical, but Zelensky was ok with it. Now we need to get it on potus schedule...  
[7/4/19, 1:40:35 AM] Bill Taylor: The three amigos are on a roll. Let me know when I can help.  
[7/7/19, 2:46:13 PM] Bill Taylor: Do you have a minute to talk?  
[7/7/19, 3:08:45 PM] Bill Taylor: My question is about Danyliuk-Prystaiko -- have you been working with both on the phone call? Did Prystaiko and Ze get it when you laid out what needs to happen on the call? Should I follow up with Prystaiko?  
[7/7/19, 3:09:30 PM] Bill Taylor: Or with Bohdan?  
[7/7/19, 4:30:24 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi bill — sorry — just saw this — I can talk now or first thing tomorrow if you can - best Kurt  
[7/7/19, 4:32:31 PM] Kurt Volker: Spoke w Zelensky, bogdan and Prystaiko in Toronto. Have spoke w Danylyuk by phone and will see him in DC Tuesday. There does seem to be some disconnect on their side — in addition to our side! Best - Kurt  
[7/7/19, 11:21:12 PM] Bill Taylor: Yup. Can I tell the three of them -- Prystaiko, Danyliuk and Bohdan -- that we can schedule the phone call if Ze is ready to say that he is not interfering, one way or another, in any investigations? I would like to talk about it -- what's a good time for you today?  
[7/8/19, 9:12:25 AM] Bill Taylor: Let's talk today, I will be asking to see Bohdan (probably with Vadym) to try to nail down this end of the phone call. They didn't say that they were on board for the call when you talked to them in Toronto?  
[7/8/19, 9:12:30 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi bill - I can call around 9:30/9:40 dc time of ok?  
[7/8/19, 9:14:05 AM] Kurt Volker: Zelensky was on board - bogdan was skeptical. Worried that a call substitutes for a visit. I pulled the two of them aside at the end and explained the Giuliani factor...  
[7/8/19, 9:16:50 AM] Bill Taylor: Live interview here 4:30 here, 9:30 there. How about 6 here, 11 there? Or pick a later time today.  
[7/8/19, 9:31:17 AM] Kurt Volker: Great — I can do 1:30pm here / 8:30 for you — does that work?  
[7/8/19, 10:01:37 AM] Bill Taylor: Perfectly  
[7/8/19, 1:29:42 PM] Bill Taylor: Calling shortly  
[7/10/19, 3:22:20 AM] Bill Taylor: Are you OK on MNNA for Ukraine? They are raising it a lot. Would be a win for Ze?  
[7/10/19, 6:23:34 AM] Kurt Volker: Personally I think it is fine. Not sure what it gets them, but is a nice symbolic gesture. Would be imp to message that this does not change our commitment to Ukraine's eventual NATO membership...  
[7/10/19, 6:24:38 AM] Bill Taylor: Absolutely  
[7/10/19, 2:28:34 PM] Bill Taylor: Ulrich is still looking for ideas for candidates to be ambassador here. I have already put you on the list. Other candidates?  
[7/10/19, 10:30:22 PM] Bill Taylor: Missed voice call  
[7/10/19, 10:39:22 PM] Bill Taylor: Missed voice call  
[7/10/19, 10:45:02 PM] Bill Taylor: Can you talk now?  
[7/10/19, 10:48:07 PM] Bill Taylor: Missed voice call  
[7/11/19, 9:24:23 AM] Bill Taylor: When can we talk?  
[7/11/19, 9:26:39 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Bill! Can we try around 11am my time?  
[7/11/19, 9:46:51 AM] Bill Taylor: Yes. I will call you then. Thanks  
[7/11/19, 10:29:23 AM] Kurt Volker: I have another call at 11:15 so let's talk at 11 but then follow up again later as needed...  
[7/11/19, 10:53:42 AM] Bill Taylor: I can call now if that works  
[7/11/19, 10:54:41 AM] Bill Taylor: Missed voice call  
[7/11/19, 10:58:15 AM] Bill Taylor: Missed voice call  
[7/11/19, 10:59:45 AM] Bill Taylor: Calling shortly  
[7/11/19, 11:01:39 AM] Bill Taylor: Missed voice call  
[7/11/19, 11:01:57 AM] Bill Taylor: Missed voice call  
[7/11/19, 11:02:13 AM] Bill Taylor: Call when you can  
[7/16/19, 9:48:08 AM] Bill Taylor: Should I suggest that you join your N4 counterparts starting soon?  
[7/16/19, 9:48:43 AM] Bill Taylor: And do you have dates for your (and Gordon's) visit?  
[7/16/19, 9:59:10 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi bill — looking at leaving here 23rd — arriving east on 24th. Meetings there on 25th, Kyiv on 26th return on 27th. Catherine Croft should be working w your staff.  
[7/16/19, 10:00:30 AM] Kurt Volker: On N4 — what specifically? I saw Jan Hecker in DC last week — I know they are planning another meeting in August. But taking stock after seeing how TCG goes tomorrow in Minsk...  
[7/16/19, 11:30:45 AM] Bill Taylor: On your trip, Vadym asks what you want to see in the east -- the bridge? the Mariopol district? The latter is of course easier to get to. He also wondered about the president's participation.  
[7/16/19, 12:22:47 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi — I want to be supportive of the president's efforts, so whatever helps them them most. I would be interested in visiting somewhere together with the president if that works, but would do on my own if not. I am fine with either S-L or Mariupol — both have reasons to be visited, so whichever they prefer  
[7/16/19, 12:40:55 PM] Bill Taylor: Got it  
[7/17/19, 1:45:10 PM] Kurt Volker: Prystaiko confirmed the dates work for my visit — Ze will not go east with me but will meet in Kyiv on Friday. He is looking to nail down logistics. -kv  
[7/17/19, 1:59:01 PM] Bill Taylor: Excellent. I will plan to join you. Gordon coming?  
[7/17/19, 2:00:42 PM] Kurt Volker: Yes - he wants to. And Prystaiko will also come  
[7/17/19, 2:04:16 PM] Bill Taylor: Excellent. My folks will work with Catherine.  
[7/19/19, 11:55:14 PM] Bill Taylor: Preparations for the trip are well underway. You had breakfast with RG?  
[7/22/19, 10:43:00 AM] Kurt Volker: Should I plan on being in Kyiv on National day? Will get my own ticket this time... come down from Vilnius— arrive late 23rd or early 24th, depart 25th  
[7/22/19, 11:59:50 AM] Bill Taylor: Excellent idea! Stay at the residence.  
[7/22/19, 12:06:49 PM] Kurt Volker: Ok — will do!  
[7/24/19, 3:39:05 AM] Bill Taylor: I will call you back

[7/24/19, 6:23:59 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi bill — can you talk now?  
[8/3/19, 1:41:55 PM] Bill Taylor: Did Tim say how he was doing on the call?  
[8/11/19, 12:55:01 PM] Bill Taylor: Is your Moscow trip on track?  
[8/11/19, 2:18:06 PM] Kurt Volker: Not yet. We heard from surkov but nothing from ushakov or Kozak.  
[8/11/19, 2:18:35 PM] Kurt Volker: Meantime Yermak is in touch with Kozak and will be in dc next week and wants to coordinate before a Moscow trip  
[8/11/19, 2:19:16 PM] Kurt Volker: Spoke w Etienne on Friday and have joint FR/GE SVTC Monday. Paris hoping for N4 summit (at UKR request) in mid September  
[8/11/19, 2:21:08 PM] Bill Taylor: I like the bilateral Ukraine-Russia process with the Ukrainians coordinating with us. Not clear to me what the Germans and French bring.  
[8/11/19, 2:23:00 PM] Bill Taylor: You are still planning to be here for August 24?  
[8/11/19, 2:23:43 PM] Kurt Volker: Yes — assuming there are things to do — arrive on 23rd early evening and depart 25th early morning. Any sense on what they are planning?  
[8/11/19, 2:25:08 PM] Bill Taylor: I asked Prystaiko again Friday. He smiled and said something about a parade with no tanks. Sounds pretty vague  
[8/11/19, 2:26:21 PM] Kurt Volker: Some kind of Ukrainian pride March I think ... but if it would be awkward for me to go, we should rethink... let's clarify their plans for DV's this week if we can  
...  
[8/11/19, 2:27:43 PM] Bill Taylor: Will do. I am sure they would love to have you here in any case.  
[8/11/19, 2:37:10 PM] Kurt Volker: And the timing is easy so I'm happy to do it  
[8/11/19, 2:44:15 PM] Bill Taylor: Standing invitation to stay here.  
[8/11/19, 2:52:03 PM] Kurt Volker: Thank you! You don't happen to have a gym, do you?  
[8/11/19, 2:52:22 PM] Kurt Volker: That's the single best thing about the Hyatt...  
[8/11/19, 2:55:21 PM] Kurt Volker: I am supposed to arrive on 23rd at 6:15pm from Vilnius on Ukrainian Air 178. Maybe we can plan on casual dinner if you do not have National day duties — maybe together w Vadym and Andrey Y  
[8/11/19, 2:56:48 PM] Bill Taylor: Sounds good. Sadly, no gym.  
[8/13/19, 10:05:59 AM] Bill Taylor: Kurt, we are meeting with Honcharuk and Ryabshapka on Thursday to get their thoughts on de-oligarchization. We may want to enlist the reform-minded G-7 to this effort. Clearly this has to be Ukrainian-owned for it to have a chance. You are OK on all this?  
[8/13/19, 10:11:19 AM] Kurt Volker: Yes — all good. Would it be possible to arrange a follow up with G7 (with or sequentially with or Ryabshapka) on 24th?  
[8/15/19, 10:36:15 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi bill — can you take a call?  
[8/15/19, 10:38:50 AM] Bill Taylor: In a car in Lviv. Can call now.  
[8/15/19, 10:39:02 AM] Bill Taylor: Missed voice call  
[8/15/19, 10:39:06 AM] Kurt Volker: 2 min  
[8/15/19, 10:39:22 AM] Bill Taylor: Sounds good  
[8/16/19, 12:54:11 AM] Bill Taylor: The person who asked for an official request was Yermak?  
[8/16/19, 7:01:10 AM] Kurt Volker: Yes — but don't cite him.  
[8/16/19, 7:04:33 AM] Bill Taylor: I won't. You are right -- this is not good. We need to stay clear.  
[8/16/19, 7:06:33 AM] Kurt Volker: Were you able to discover if we have ever asked for an investigation, or what it would take to do so?  
[8/16/19, 7:07:40 AM] Bill Taylor: Just landed back in Kyiv. En route back to the embassy.  
[8/16/19, 8:52:44 AM] Bill Taylor: Turns out that our legatt just left on leave. You should ask Bruce Schwartz at Justice.  
[8/16/19, 8:53:14 AM] Kurt Volker: Ok — will do  
[8/20/19, 8:40:36 AM] Bill Taylor: We have dinner Friday, the ceremony Saturday morning, a Zelenskyy reception Saturday afternoon. Other requests? What time do you leave on Sunday?  
[8/20/19, 10:43:27 AM] Kurt Volker: Yes — can we do a G7 Amb coffee? And a separate meeting w Yermak? Anyone else we should see on anti-trust legislation?  
[8/20/19, 12:33:37 PM] Bill Taylor: Let's ask Yermak to stay after the dinner. Most G-7 ambassadors are not in town, both turnover and leave. I can see if Honcharuk is available.  
[8/20/19, 11:44:36 PM] Bill Taylor: Honcharuk can meet us after the president's reception. What about a dinner with the embassy team working on de-oligarching?  
[8/21/19, 6:03:53 AM] Kurt Volker: Yes - casual embassy dinner would be great. And Yermak after dinner or lunch Saturday — whatever is best for him  
[8/21/19, 6:13:03 AM] Bill Taylor: Got it  
[8/21/19, 6:21:05 AM] Bill Taylor: Turns out it works for Honcharuk for lunch on Saturday, Yermak after dinner on Friday. Internal, informal dinner Saturday.  
[8/21/19, 6:31:05 AM] Kurt Volker: Great!  
[8/22/19, 3:45:56 AM] Bill Taylor: Honcharuk moved to 16:30 Saturday at the residence.  
PAS is suggesting skipping the Sunday press engagements because of the G-7/8 comments and the NYT article. Thoughts?  
[8/22/19, 4:39:48 AM] Kurt Volker: I think I can handle those topics... might even be useful. But let's decide tomorrow or Saturday. Things always seem to change ...  
[8/22/19, 5:38:09 AM] Bill Taylor: Sounds good  
[8/23/19, 4:59:09 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi bill — is it casual or suits for dinner? Thanks! Kurt  
[8/23/19, 5:00:14 AM] Bill Taylor: No ties  
[8/23/19, 5:00:33 AM] Kurt Volker: But no jeans then either — no prob!  
[8/23/19, 5:25:45 AM] Bill Taylor: We are working today!  
[8/23/19, 5:44:20 AM] Kurt Volker: :) great - see you later  
[8/26/19, 4:46:31 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Bill — thanks for a great visit!  
[8/26/19, 4:47:43 PM] Kurt Volker: Briefed Bolton, spoke w Huntsman and with Jamie Fly. Jamie will visit in mid- late September.  
[8/26/19, 4:48:44 PM] Kurt Volker: Since Bolton has extra time, strongly recommend you set up a meeting with Yermak for him tomorrow, before he sees Ze on Wednesday. I will also recommend thru WHSR. - kv  
[8/26/19, 4:48:58 PM] Kurt Volker: Talk tomorrow if it is too late today. Best - Kurt  
[8/26/19, 11:05:35 PM] Bill Taylor: When you briefed Bolton, did you recommend he see Yermak?  
[8/27/19, 5:59:19 AM] Kurt Volker: Yes, but I did not stress the point. On reflection, think he really should ...  
[8/27/19, 7:34:55 AM] Bill Taylor: Bolton said he talked to you and Gordon briefly, nothing specific. What should they talk about? Tim says Bolton wants to stay out of politics.  
[8/27/19, 7:44:57 AM] Kurt Volker: How to make the POTUS encounter a success, and what deliverables we achieve for a WH meeting.  
[8/27/19, 8:03:03 AM] Bill Taylor: Bolton is pretty sure the meeting in Warsaw will happen. Wants to judge the dynamics of that meeting first. That one will be short.  
[8/27/19, 2:09:55 PM] Kurt Volker: Good. Any luck on sitting him down with Yermak?  
[8/27/19, 2:17:58 PM] Kurt Volker: He would like to meet with Bolton after the meeting with Zelenskyy if possible (to help coach for Warsaw)  
[8/27/19, 2:42:03 PM] Bill Taylor: Have questions in with Bolton team, Prystaiko and Yermak. Nothing back yet.  
[9/2/19, 11:26:26 AM] Bill Taylor: <attached: 00000230-Andrei Zagorodnyuk.vcf>  
[9/2/19, 11:28:40 AM] Bill Taylor: Kurt, can you WhatsApp Defense Minister Zagorodnyuk? We just met to discuss the pause in security assistance. He would like your advice and assistance.

(9/2/19, 11:28:59 AM) Kurt Volker: Sure — need a few min but will do!  
(9/2/19, 11:29:38 AM) Bill Taylor: Many thanks. I think he is very good.  
(9/2/19, 12:32:19 PM) Bill Taylor: You two connected?  
(9/2/19, 3:25:47 PM) Kurt Volker: Hi bill — we are taking in half an hour. Have you got a minute to talk?  
(9/2/19, 11:08:28 PM) Bill Taylor: Sorry to miss you last night. Glad you connected. Glad to talk -- when works for you?  
(9/3/19, 11:27:50 AM) Kurt Volker: Ukraine Security Letter ■ 2 pages <attached: 00000237-Ukraine Security Letter.pdf>  
(9/6/19, 10:44:57 AM) Kurt Volker: Hi Bill greetings from Munich — en route to Tbilisi...  
(9/6/19, 10:45:10 AM) Kurt Volker: I'll let Chris answer on who the advisor is..  
(9/6/19, 10:45:42 AM) Bill Taylor: Looking forward to seeing you next week  
(9/6/19, 10:45:59 AM) Kurt Volker: However — what I did not want to say in that wider group is that Z team does not plan on a Minsk-related constitutional amendment. They want to do decentralization through legislation  
(9/6/19, 10:46:05 AM) Kurt Volker: Yes — me too!  
(9/6/19, 10:47:27 AM) Bill Taylor: And I agree with him on no constitutional amendment on special status. Decentralization!  
(9/9/19, 8:01:57 AM) Kurt Volker: Hi bill — is there a good time to call this afternoon / eve? Best - Kurt  
(9/9/19, 8:10:16 AM) Bill Taylor: Maybe around 9?  
(9/9/19, 8:30:59 AM) Kurt Volker: Ok — in 30 min?  
(9/9/19, 8:33:41 AM) Bill Taylor: No, sorry -- 9 PM my time.  
(9/9/19, 8:34:10 AM) Kurt Volker: Ok - 10pm here - can do  
(9/13/19, 7:55:14 AM) Bill Taylor: We just had a good meeting with Zelenskyy, Bohdan and Zhovka (now in Yeliseiev position) and discussed Donbas and Steinmyer formula at some length. If Yermak is not available for breakfast, how about Bohdan and Zhovka for breakfast?  
(9/13/19, 7:55:36 AM) Kurt Volker: Sure — that would be great  
(9/13/19, 8:06:14 AM) Kurt Volker: Did you ask about Privatbank?  
(9/13/19, 8:08:34 AM) Bill Taylor: Yes, and Kolomoisky, NBU, Hontereva.  
(9/13/19, 8:11:13 AM) Kurt Volker: Great — interested to hear...

[8/9/19, 12:29:28 PM] Call with Sondland/Volker: Messages to this group are now secured with end-to-end encryption.

[8/9/19, 12:29:28 PM] Gordon Sondland created group "Call with Sondland/Volker"

[8/9/19, 12:29:28 PM] Gordon Sondland added you

[8/9/19, 12:30:03 PM] Gordon Sondland: Andrey, can you, Kurt and I have a call today after 3pm Eastern time?

[8/9/19, 12:31:38 PM] Andrey Yermak: Yes, ok

[8/9/19, 12:32:50 PM] Gordon Sondland: I will have our State Dept ops center place the call to you at this number at 3pm Washington time.

[6/12/19, 9:39:22 AM] You created group "Gordon and Bil"  
[6/12/19, 9:39:22 AM] Gordon and Bil: Messages to this group are now secured with end-to-end encryption.  
[6/12/19, 9:40:38 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Gordon — introducing you here to Bill Taylor, who is going out to Kyiv as Chargé. You guys should meet / talk when you can. Bill was Amb in Kyiv at end of Bush Admin and more recently has been VP at USIP. Bast - Kurt  
[6/12/19, 9:56:09 AM] Bill Taylor: Thanks, Kurt.  
Ambassador, good to meet you. I look forward to working with you.  
Bill  
[6/19/19, 5:12:14 AM] Gordon Sandland: This message was deleted.  
[6/19/19, 5:13:31 AM] Gordon Sandland: Bill, thanks for joining us on the call yesterday. This is a great team working together in support of the Ukrainian people. I look forward to meeting you in person soon. All the best, Gordon  
[6/19/19, 8:33:02 AM] Bill Taylor: Thanks, Gordon -- a very productive call. We are working on several of the actions and will keep you posted on progress. Bill  
[6/24/19, 3:01:31 PM] Bill Taylor: Gordon,  
Can I ask you to see if you can break through on two key issues: a date from the White House for the Ze visit and a senior lead for a delegation to Kyiv for their Independence Day parade and celebration on August 24. The date for the visit is urgent. The NSC has not been able get a date (many are traveling, of course). Two years ago Secretary Mattis came for Independence Day; last year Ambassador Bolton. Secretary Pompeo can't make it. The Vice President? Many thanks  
[6/26/19, 3:48:43 PM] Bill Taylor: Gordon,  
You might not have seen the message from George Kent on the high side that tells us that senior levels at the WH said that the visit is not happening any time soon. Very discouraging. Any chance you can turn this around? If not, I don't think a senior call with the Ukrainians on Friday as your staff is suggesting makes sense. (Plus it's a Ukrainian holiday -- Constitution Day.) Your thoughts?  
[6/26/19, 3:49:33 PM] Kurt Volker: Let's have an internal call Friday — three of us plus Secretary Parry. - Kurt  
[6/26/19, 3:50:13 PM] Gordon Sandland: This is Vindman and is being fixed. Agree Kurt, lets talk Fri  
[6/26/19, 3:51:04 PM] Bill Taylor: Good idea.  
[6/27/19, 7:13:33 AM] Bill Taylor: Gordon, is this fixed? If we have a date for the meeting, I am glad to ask Ukrainians to talk to us tomorrow on their Constitution Day holiday. If we don't yet have a date, I am reluctant and agree with Kurt that the call tomorrow should be just Americans. Thoughts?  
[6/27/19, 7:53:52 AM] Gordon Sandland: Just Americans tomorrow. Give me a call when u can on this line  
[6/27/19, 8:46:02 AM] Bill Taylor: Calling now  
[6/27/19, 10:23:19 AM] Bill Taylor: Calling again shortly  
[6/27/19, 10:28:11 AM] Bill Taylor: Call when it's convenient. I will be on this number for the next 30 minutes. After that, I will be in my office and will need an email alert to come get this phone.  
taylorwb@state.gov  
[6/28/19, 9:47:19 AM] Bill Taylor: Call this afternoon still on?  
[6/28/19, 9:52:06 AM] Gordon Sandland: Yes, they will be calling you. Just got moved by Ukraine to 10:15-10:30 Eastern  
[6/28/19, 9:52:52 AM] Bill Taylor: Got it -- thanks  
[6/28/19, 11:03:23 AM] Bill Taylor: Good call.  
Thanks for including me and for the Secretary's kind endorsement. Good luck in Toronto, Kurt  
[6/28/19, 11:08:30 AM] Gordon Sandland: Whew, glad you stayed on!  
[6/28/19, 11:13:33 AM] Bill Taylor: Me, too. I might see him Sunday with Congressman Hoyer's congressional delegation.  
[6/28/19, 11:15:54 AM] Bill Taylor: How do you plan to handle informing anyone else about the call? I will completely follow your lead.  
[6/28/19, 11:23:52 AM] Kurt Volker: I think we just keep it among ourselves to try to build working relationship and just get the d\*\*\* date for the meeting!  
[6/28/19, 11:23:57 AM] Kurt Volker: :)  
[6/28/19, 11:34:39 AM] Gordon Sandland: Agree with KV. Very close hold  
[6/28/19, 11:37:32 AM] Bill Taylor: Got it  
[7/3/19, 1:20:45 PM] Bill Taylor: Kurt had a good meeting with Ze. I hear. I just sent Danyliuk's strategic partnership plan in preparation for next Wednesday's meeting. OK to talk with Ulrich about these conversations, or have you already briefed him?  
[7/3/19, 1:22:28 PM] Gordon Sandland: Did Dayliuk get confirmed with Bolton for next week?  
[7/3/19, 1:26:21 PM] Bill Taylor: Yes -- 2 PM Wednesday  
[7/3/19, 1:50:06 PM] Gordon Sandland: I have not briefed Ulrich yet. Waiting for the Bolton meeting and then a comprehensive briefing. If you want to chat with him sooner, no worries on my end. Have a great 4th!  
[7/3/19, 1:54:03 PM] Bill Taylor: Thanks -- to you as well.  
[7/7/19, 10:04:04 AM] Bill Taylor: Prystaiko is with the president at the line of contact. They asked if we have anything more on the phone call. I am with Danyliuk in his helicopter on the way back from the Crimean border. Can pass on any new information.  
[7/7/19, 10:07:30 AM] Gordon Sandland: We are seeing Danyliuk in a couple of days. Better face to face with Bolton  
[7/7/19, 1:50:19 PM] Bill Taylor: As Kurt knows, the NSOC office is a ways from the president's. For now, Prystaiko is physically closer, traveling with Ze to Toronto and the line of contact. Let me know if I can get answers.  
[7/7/19, 2:15:32 PM] Gordon Sandland: Call me.  
[7/7/19, 2:29:01 PM] Bill Taylor: Just called. Let me know what's a convenient time.  
[7/7/19, 2:34:01 PM] Kurt Volker: Gordon - maybe we can talk a Mulvaney on Monday by phone? Kurt  
[7/7/19, 5:08:56 PM] Gordon Sandland: Yes, lets do that  
[7/7/19, 11:24:09 PM] Bill Taylor: Great. If you get me a time for the call, I will get them ready and the call on their schedule.  
[7/10/19, 7:56:03 AM] Bill Taylor: Just had a meeting with Andriy and Vadym. Very concerned about what Lutsenko told them -- that, according to RG, the ZE-POTUS meeting will not happen. Advice?  
[7/10/19, 7:57:58 AM] Kurt Volker: Good grief. Please tell Vadym to let the official USG representatives speak for the U.S. Lutsenko has his own self-interest here...  
[7/10/19, 7:58:37 AM] Bill Taylor: Exactly what I told them.  
[7/10/19, 7:59:41 AM] Bill Taylor: And I said that RG is a private citizen.  
[7/10/19, 11:43:41 AM] Bill Taylor: I briefed Ulrich this afternoon on this.  
[7/10/19, 2:26:06 PM] Bill Taylor: Eager to hear if your meeting with Danyliuk and Bolton resulted in a decision on a call.  
[7/10/19, 10:26:13 PM] Bill Taylor: How did the meeting go?  
[7/10/19, 10:29:44 PM] Kurt Volker: Not good — let's talk — kv

[7/10/19, 10:31:20 PM] Bill Taylor: Just called. You are on the phone.  
[7/14/19, 10:07:27 AM] Gordon Sondland: Everyone is now focused on making the Potus ZE call happen prior to 7/21  
[7/14/19, 10:09:33 AM] Kurt Volker: Anything new you have heard?  
[7/14/19, 10:12:57 AM] Gordon Sondland: Tim Morrison is also tracking now. Good sign  
[7/14/19, 10:16:46 AM] Bill Taylor: They will make it happen whenever, but they want him in an office, ideally his, so the connection and interpretation are clear. Any indication of timing most welcome  
[7/15/19, 10:10:22 AM] Bill Taylor: We keep getting readouts of the Danyliuk-Bolton meeting that predict no phone call or meeting any time soon. This can't be my message to Ze. How to proceed?  
[7/15/19, 10:31:05 AM] Gordon Sondland: Talking to NSC tomorrow at 8:30 eastern  
[7/16/19, 12:47:13 PM] Bill Taylor: Make any progress?  
[7/17/19, 10:46:23 AM] Bill Taylor: Danyliuk just asked if there was any news from the WH. Any update?  
[7/17/19, 10:47:01 AM] Gordon Sondland: I put in a call to Potus and am waiting for a return  
[7/17/19, 10:47:44 AM] Bill Taylor: Excellent -- thanks, Gordon  
[7/18/19, 10:19:54 AM] Bill Taylor: OMB on a SVTS just now said that all security assistance to Ukraine is frozen, per a conversation with Mulvaney and POTUS. Over to you.  
[7/18/19, 11:07:08 AM] Gordon Sondland: All over it  
[7/19/19, 10:19:10 AM] Bill Taylor: Can we marshal our forces to get a congratulatory phone call from POTUS to Ze mid to late next week, assuming the election goes well and Servant of the People does well?  
[7/19/19, 11:31:03 AM] Gordon Sondland: Talked to WH. This is moving but post election  
[7/19/19, 11:49:51 AM] Bill Taylor: If we can get a congratulatory call post election, that could begin to establish the relationship?  
[7/19/19, 4:49:42 PM] Kurt Volker: Can we three do a call tomorrow -- say noon WASHINGTON?  
[7/19/19, 6:50:29 PM] Gordon Sondland: Looks like Potus call tomorrow. I spike directly to Zelensky and gave him a full briefing. He's got it.  
[7/19/19, 6:52:57 PM] Gordon Sondland: Sure!  
[7/19/19, 7:01:22 PM] Kurt Volker: Good. Had breakfast with Rudy this morning -- teeing up call w Yermak Monday. Must have helped. Most imp't is for Zelensky to say that he will help investigation -- and address any specific personnel issues -- if there are any  
[7/19/19, 11:53:55 PM] Bill Taylor: Good idea for us to check in at noon Washington time. I just heard that the POTUS call that had been scheduled for 1500 Kyiv time today has been put on hold pending the outcome of the election tomorrow. Is that what you hear?  
[7/20/19, 4:52:58 AM] Bill Taylor: If possible, I'd like to at least know when these are scheduled. I can at least reinforce what you are doing.  
[7/20/19, 4:53:15 AM] Gordon Sondland: Call me Bill thx  
[7/20/19, 10:41:01 AM] Bill Taylor: Do we need to talk at noon Washington time?  
[7/20/19, 10:45:50 AM] Kurt Volker: Yes - I'm available. Not sure if Gordon can or not but let's plan on it, and we'll loop Gordon in if we can  
[7/20/19, 11:33:00 AM] Bill Taylor: Kupperman (sp?) wants to talk to Danyliuk secure so I am meeting taking him to my office. Can we reschedule?  
[7/20/19, 11:37:11 AM] Kurt Volker: Absolutely  
[7/20/19, 11:37:19 AM] Kurt Volker: Anytime today will work for me  
[7/20/19, 11:46:20 AM] Bill Taylor: Maybe after the Kupperman-Danyliuk call? Around 9 my time tonight?  
[7/20/19, 12:29:14 PM] Kurt Volker: Ok  
[7/20/19, 1:48:41 PM] Bill Taylor: Just finished with Danyliuk. Will be in the car in 10 minutes. Call then?  
[7/20/19, 1:49:03 PM] Kurt Volker: Yes - good  
[7/20/19, 2:27:04 PM] Bill Taylor: Call now?  
[7/21/19, 1:45:54 AM] Bill Taylor: Gordon, one thing Kurt and I talked about yesterday was Sasha Danyliuk's point that President Zelenskyy is sensitive about Ukraine being taken seriously, not merely as an instrument in Washington domestic, reelection politics.  
[7/21/19, 4:45:44 AM] Gordon Sondland: Absolutely, but we need to get the conversation started and the relationship built, irrespective of the pretext. I am worried about the alternative.  
[7/21/19, 5:21:47 AM] Bill Taylor: So, the call tomorrow can be a positive step.  
[7/22/19, 12:15:55 AM] Bill Taylor: Good, pretty long meeting -- both one-on-one and with Bohdan, Sasha, Yermak, Razumkov -- with the president at his campaign headquarters last night. Interested in both the call and meeting. I couldn't be specific.  
[7/22/19, 12:17:16 AM] Bill Taylor: Sounds like Washington is thinking about a congratulatory call in the next couple of days -- Kupperman wrote asking when the results will be known.  
[7/22/19, 12:20:59 AM] Bill Taylor: Very good election result for Zelenskyy and us. Likely a young, Western-oriented prime minister. Ze likely in coalition with Vakarchuk (with whom I have met one-on-one twice in the last three days).  
[7/22/19, 12:22:01 AM] Gordon Sondland: So Monday call was just rumor?  
[7/22/19, 12:28:22 AM] Bill Taylor: Doesn't sound like from either side that it was actually scheduled.  
[7/22/19, 8:38:05 AM] Kurt Volker: Yermak thinks Call is at 6pm Kiev today. Bill -- any idea? Should I call sitroom?  
[7/22/19, 8:40:38 AM] Gordon Sondland: Good idea  
[7/22/19, 8:42:39 AM] Bill Taylor: Tim Morrison just told me it's not on today and I should tell Danyliuk that they will schedule through him shortly.  
[7/22/19, 8:43:12 AM] Bill Taylor: I have told Sasha (and Vadym).  
[7/22/19, 8:44:12 AM] Bill Taylor: Don't you think we should work through Sasha?  
[7/22/19, 8:46:03 AM] Kurt Volker: Yes -- you've got the latest. That's good. Work thru Sasha. And great they will schedule thru danyliuk. Keep us posted what you hear.  
[7/22/19, 8:46:10 AM] Kurt Volker: I'll tell Yermak same thing  
[7/22/19, 8:46:52 AM] Bill Taylor: Excellent. Will do  
[7/23/19, 4:16:41 AM] Bill Taylor: NSC is trying to schedule the call for Thursday. I am checking with Sasha to see if that works for them.  
[7/23/19, 4:28:55 AM] Gordon Sondland: Great. I will be in Kyiv Thu night  
[7/23/19, 4:57:47 AM] Bill Taylor: Looking forward to seeing you here!  
[7/23/19, 11:33:06 PM] Bill Taylor: NSC now looking at Friday for the call. Ukrainians are checking to see if that works  
[7/24/19, 1:39:08 AM] Kurt Volker: Great! Sounds like this is now on track?  
[7/24/19, 1:40:57 AM] Gordon Sondland: Oy  
[7/24/19, 1:41:05 AM] Gordon Sondland: Vay  
[7/24/19, 2:56:33 AM] Bill Taylor: Is right. Also, some question about which day to go east, which to stay here for meetings. On the call, it sounds like the NSC is on board with the call and are just trying to get it scheduled. Not final but shooting for Friday. I am waiting to hear if Friday works for the Ukrainians.  
[7/24/19, 2:57:25 AM] Kurt Volker: Great. I'll go east on whichever day in order to accommodate zelenskyy -- fine either way  
[7/24/19, 2:57:41 AM] Gordon Sondland: Call me just spoke to Danyliuk. I have clarity

(7/24/19, 2:58:21 AM) Bill Taylor: Calling now  
(7/24/19, 3:30:19 AM) Bill Taylor: Prystaiko and Danyliuk are now coordinating the call. President Zelenskyy is traveling on Friday.  
(7/24/19, 3:39:03 AM) Kurt Volker: Ok — so we are meeting Ze on Thursday and going east Friday?  
(7/24/19, 3:39:09 AM) Kurt Volker: Great the call is on!  
(7/24/19, 3:39:25 AM) Kurt Volker: Have just boarded in Zurich en route to Vienna  
(7/24/19, 3:50:52 AM) Bill Taylor: The call is not yet scheduled -- NCS trying for Friday, Zelensky traveling on Friday, they prefer Thursday. Prystaiko wants our meeting and the POTUS call on Thursday, trip to the East on Friday. That doesn't work for you, Gordon.  
(7/24/19, 4:03:15 AM) Kurt Volker: We should do what works for Ze on Kyiv/S-L schedule. Most imp't thing is that potus call happens no matter what day.  
(7/24/19, 9:18:00 AM) Bill Taylor: Still waiting on word from NSC on the phone call tomorrow. President Zelenskyy will be here on Friday morning if you two wanted to schedule a meeting with him then. That would, however, make the trip to the East with Prystaiko difficult.  
(7/24/19, 9:23:08 AM) Gordon Sondland: My primary objective is Zelensky. Friday morning is great  
(7/24/19, 9:24:13 AM) Bill Taylor: Got it, Kurt?  
(7/24/19, 10:33:55 AM) Kurt Volker: Gordon — can you get there in time for a Thursday meeting? I think it is important to see the conflict area and the people affected by it — and in doing, reinforce zelensky's substantive efforts.  
(7/24/19, 10:39:20 AM) Bill Taylor: There is a report -- from Vadym via an irritated Sasha -- that the phone call could happen at 7 tomorrow evening our time. Tim Morrison is trying to confirm.  
(7/24/19, 10:41:07 AM) Kurt Volker: That's great! Why are they irritated? They are getting the date they asked for.  
(7/24/19, 10:41:47 AM) Kurt Volker: Also — Gordon just called and danyliuk said meeting w president is confirmed for 11am Friday — so we should keep the trip east on Thursday  
(7/24/19, 2:08:46 PM) Bill Taylor: The phone call is now confirmed for tomorrow at 16:00 Kyiv time. We are planning the trip to the East after the Zelenskyy meeting on Friday morning.  
(7/24/19, 2:54:33 PM) Gordon Sondland: Thanks Bill  
(7/24/19, 2:55:48 PM) Bill Taylor: Looking forward to seeing you both tomorrow.  
(7/24/19, 3:25:23 PM) Kurt Volker: Outstanding — thanks! Kurt  
(7/25/19, 12:00:55 PM) Bill Taylor: Gordon, Kurt and I will be at the restaurant in 10 minutes. Sounds like the call went well. Sasha will give us a readout.  
(7/26/19, 6:36:53 AM) Kurt Volker: <attached: 00000127-PHOTO-2019-07-26-06-36-53.jpg>  
(7/26/19, 6:37:38 AM) Kurt Volker: Great photo! Gordon- can you get this to POTUS without intermediaries? - kv  
(7/27/19, 4:26:25 AM) Gordon Sondland: <attached: 00000129-PHOTO-2019-07-27-04-26-25.jpg>  
(7/27/19, 4:40:43 AM) Gordon Sondland: <https://youtu.be/zW8pad9RDCQ>  
(7/27/19, 7:21:45 AM) Gordon Sondland: Ric and I are talking later today  
(7/27/19, 7:22:16 AM) Kurt Volker: Great — give him my best. I'm arriving to Kyiv on aug 23 and departing aug 25.  
(7/27/19, 7:22:31 AM) Kurt Volker: Would be happy if he joined  
(7/27/19, 7:23:56 AM) Bill Taylor: Thanks for getting him on message, Gordon. This is why you are the US ambassador to Europe.  
(8/1/19, 9:54:13 AM) Kurt Volker: Hi bill — what's the status on dates? Thanks  
(8/1/19, 10:04:23 AM) Gordon Sondland: Kurt, thx for flagging. Bill, S' office getting conflicting info. Did the WH formally offer dates for Ze's consideration.  
(8/1/19, 10:42:45 AM) Bill Taylor: WH offered three windows: the weeks of September 9, 16 and 30. The Ukrainians want to make one trip, so either the week before UNGA or the week after. Ball is back in Tim's court.  
(8/1/19, 11:03:57 AM) Kurt Volker: Thanks! I'm seeing Tim tomorrow and will ask. I guess the week of 16th in this case makes most sense. A shame not to do it 3 weeks earlier...  
(8/1/19, 11:06:47 AM) Bill Taylor: Yes, but let Tim handle it!  
(8/1/19, 11:07:21 AM) Kurt Volker: Of course!  
(8/1/19, 11:07:45 AM) Gordon Sondland: This team works like a Swiss Watch   
(8/1/19, 11:08:28 AM) Kurt Volker: Or a Timex... takes a licking and keeps on ticking...  
(8/1/19, 11:58:28 AM) Bill Taylor: I know about the licking part  
(8/3/19, 6:27:26 AM) Bill Taylor: Standing by to hear from Tim who had hoped to have a date by yesterday.  
(8/3/19, 6:34:01 AM) Bill Taylor: On another topic, we just met a staffed from the Senate Armed Services Committee. Very supportive. But also very concerned that the message on Ukraine in Washington is neutral at best and negative in many spheres -- the Russian message: Ukraine is lost, totally corrupt, beyond saving not worth investing in. Makes these staffers' jobs harder -- increase military support to Ukraine. (They had heard about the proposed pause in security assistance to Ukraine.) Kurt, we may need Steve Hadley to reengage.  
(8/3/19, 1:19:50 AM) Gordon Sondland: I have a sec call w Tim Mon. Sounds like bad news. Kurt, call if u have a sec. thx  
(8/3/19, 1:39:17 PM) Kurt Volker: Hi all — Gordon — will call in a bit — had a long talk w Tim on Friday. Seeing Steve H on Thursday. We just keep working it...  
(8/4/19, 8:52:00 AM) Bill Taylor: I just talked to Tim secure. He's looking forward to talking with you, Gordon, tomorrow. Kurt is right -- work to do.  
(8/6/19, 4:15:13 AM) Bill Taylor: Now that we have all three talked with Tim, what's our strategy?  
(8/6/19, 7:00:55 AM) Kurt Volker: Keep going...  
(8/6/19, 7:01:35 AM) Kurt Volker: Formally, WH asked for a preference on week from Ukraine, and Ukraine responded?  
(8/6/19, 7:02:05 AM) Kurt Volker: There should be a paper going up that seeks a decision based on that, no?  
(8/6/19, 7:57:32 AM) Bill Taylor: Ukraine responded saying that they want to plan one trip, so the week before UNGA or the week after works. The week of September 9 doesn't. But my conversation with Tim on Sunday did not fill me with hope that they will agree on a date any time soon unless, Tim said, "Gordon turns it around."  
(8/6/19, 7:59:21 AM) Bill Taylor: Gordon, you talked to Tim yesterday, right? Is that your sense? (Tim actually said, "Unless Gordon turns it around like he did with the phone call."  
(8/6/19, 8:27:12 AM) Bill Taylor: So, Kurt, I don't think a paper is going up -- at least as of Sunday.  
(8/6/19, 10:11:07 AM) Kurt Volker: That does sound right...  
(8/6/19, 10:27:04 AM) Gordon Sondland: Tim and I had to bump secure till Thurs morning. I am working the problem however  
(8/29/19, 3:00:42 PM) Bill Taylor: Meeting on for 2:40 Sunday afternoon  
(8/29/19, 3:01:01 PM) Kurt Volker: Full bilat?  
(8/29/19, 3:01:28 PM) Bill Taylor: Yup, an hour.  
(8/29/19, 3:01:48 PM) Kurt Volker: Outstanding!!  
(8/29/19, 3:02:08 PM) Gordon Sondland: Fantastic News Bill  
(8/29/19, 3:02:55 PM) Gordon Sondland: Vlad must have made quite the impression on John B  
(8/29/19, 3:03:01 PM) Bill Taylor: You are listed as a participant, Gordon.  
(8/29/19, 3:04:10 PM) Bill Taylor: He did have a good, long meeting.  
(8/29/19, 3:04:43 PM) Bill Taylor: Does this mean no Washington meeting?

[8/29/19, 3:05:02 PM] Kurt Volker: Just the opposite — should open the door  
[8/29/19, 3:05:33 PM] Bill Taylor: Hope you are right  
[8/30/19, 12:14:57 AM] Bill Taylor: Trip canceled  
[8/30/19, 12:16:02 AM] Kurt Volker: Hope VPOTUS keeps the bilat — and tees up WH visit...  
[8/30/19, 12:16:18 AM] Kurt Volker: And hope Gordon and Perry still going...  
[8/30/19, 5:31:14 AM] Gordon Sondland: I am going. Pompeo is speaking to Potus today to see if he can go.  
[9/1/19, 12:08:57 PM] Bill Taylor: Are we now saying that security assistance and WH meeting are conditioned on investigations?  
[9/1/19, 12:42:29 PM] Gordon Sondland: Call me  
[9/3/19, 11:49:46 AM] Bill Taylor: Defense Minister Zagorodnyuk is calling you both about security assistance. I think Kurt talked with him last night.  
[9/4/19, 9:55:18 AM] Kurt Volker: Yes — we had a good talk — Bill — I'll call you later today  
[9/4/19, 11:08:05 AM] Bill Taylor: Sounds good. Am heading to the airport to pick up Senators Johnson and Murphy. Messages for them?  
[9/4/19, 12:42:20 PM] Kurt Volker: Thank you for the letter!! And push for WH visit...  
[9/4/19, 12:42:44 PM] Kurt Volker: Being denied visas for Russia is a badge of honor  
[9/4/19, 12:44:03 PM] Kurt Volker: Even more convinced of our assessment after inauguration— zelenskyy is the real deal and he needs our support  
[9/4/19, 3:22:02 PM] Bill Taylor: Made those points. They are in exactly the right place.  
[9/12/19, 12:08:40 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi — got an email overnight from SASC — says hold is lifted. Let's verify...  
[9/12/19, 12:10:19 AM] Bill Taylor: Got the same message. Checking with NSC  
[9/12/19, 12:10:49 AM] Kurt Volker: Great - thanks! Let me know what you hear!  
[9/12/19, 3:56:27 AM] Kurt Volker: <https://www.rferl.org/a/ukraine-s-zelenskiy-talks-business-with-oligarch-kolomoyskiy/30157530.html>  
[9/12/19, 3:58:08 AM] Bill Taylor: Yup  
[9/12/19, 3:58:31 AM] Kurt Volker: Will be interesting to talk w Honcharuk on Saturday  
[9/12/19, 3:59:09 AM] Bill Taylor: Yes

[6/28/19, 3:12:31 AM] Gordon Sandland: Messages to this chat and calls are now secured with end-to-end encryption.  
[6/28/19, 3:12:31 AM] Gordon Sandland: Pls call. Urgent. Thx  
[7/10/19, 3:53:48 PM] Gordon Sandland: Missed voice call  
[7/10/19, 9:57:14 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Gordon — sorry I missed you earlier. Can talk tomorrow early morning? Kurt  
[7/10/19, 10:24:41 PM] Gordon Sandland: Will call  
[7/10/19, 10:30:45 PM] Gordon Sandland: Missed voice call  
[7/22/19, 4:27:55 PM] Kurt Volker: Orchestrated a great phone call w Rudy and Yermak. They are going to get together when Rudy goes to Madrid in a couple of weeks.  
[7/22/19, 4:28:08 PM] Kurt Volker: In the meantime, Rudy is now advocating for phone call  
[7/22/19, 4:28:26 PM] Kurt Volker: I have call into Fiona's replacement and will call Bolton if needed.  
[7/22/19, 4:28:48 PM] Kurt Volker: But I can tell Bolton and you can tell Mick that Rudy agrees on a call, if that helps  
[7/22/19, 4:30:10 PM] Gordon Sandland: I talked to Tim Morrison. (Fiona's replacement). He is pushing but feel free as well.

We still meeting in Kyiv Fri?

[7/22/19, 4:30:35 PM] Kurt Volker: Yes — Morrison. We're talking in 5  
[7/22/19, 4:31:05 PM] Kurt Volker: And yes — do come to kyiv! I'll go east on Thursday (welcome there too) and go to kyiv on Friday.  
[7/22/19, 4:32:00 PM] Gordon Sandland: Tim is a good guy. Tell him we are in touch and synced. I want make East but will be in Kyiv Thu night/all day Fri  
[7/22/19, 4:33:52 PM] Kurt Volker: Great!  
[7/25/19, 7:54:09 AM] Gordon Sandland: Missed voice call  
[7/25/19, 7:54:20 AM] Gordon Sandland: Call asap  
[7/25/19, 9:35:32 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Gordon - got your message. Had a great lunch w Yermak and then passed your message to him. He will see you tomorrow. Think everything in place  
[7/26/19, 9:34:51 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Gordon — when are you flying, and when can I call you about Sweden? Kurt  
[7/26/19, 9:39:42 AM] Gordon Sandland: Call  
[7/26/19, 9:41:03 AM] Kurt Volker: When we land — still in helo — maybe another 45 min?  
[7/26/19, 9:41:12 AM] Gordon Sandland: Sure  
[7/26/19, 4:54:58 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Gordon - we could not get a chance to call. Free for 2 min or call tomorrow? Kurt  
[7/26/19, 11:23:43 PM] Gordon Sandland: In air. On ground after 10am Brussels time  
[7/27/19, 12:43:35 AM] Kurt Volker: Ok - will call  
[7/27/19, 6:14:08 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Gordon — have an hour now — let's talk when you can.  
[7/27/19, 6:15:50 AM] Kurt Volker: I want to connect you to the Swedish ambassador in Washington, who was dispatched from her vacation to go back to work..  
[7/29/19, 9:29:26 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Gordon — can you take a call?  
[7/29/19, 9:30:27 AM] Gordon Sandland: Yes  
[7/29/19, 10:56:47 AM] Kurt Volker: I gather potus is getting a Sweden briefing this afternoon — Swedes met with O'Brien, and somehow WH lawyer thinks they did not take the meeting...

crazy...

[7/29/19, 12:05:24 PM] Gordon Sandland: Missed voice call  
[7/29/19, 12:05:41 PM] Kurt Volker: Call you back in 15  
[7/29/19, 12:05:52 PM] Gordon Sandland: Sure  
[8/1/19, 7:05:41 AM] Gordon Sandland: I am on Eastern time. Can u talk?  
[8/4/19, 4:21:51 PM] Kurt Volker: Gordon — on east coast time?  
[8/4/19, 4:22:29 PM] Gordon Sandland: West coast  
[8/4/19, 4:22:46 PM] Kurt Volker: Even better — call in a few?  
[8/4/19, 4:22:54 PM] Gordon Sandland:   
[8/9/19, 10:36:23 AM] Kurt Volker: Got a minute? Best - Kurt  
[8/9/19, 10:56:31 AM] Gordon Sandland: Missed voice call  
[8/9/19, 5:35:53 PM] Gordon Sandland: Morrison ready to get dates as soon as Yermak confirms.  
[8/9/19, 5:46:21 PM] Kurt Volker: Excellent!! How did you sway him? :)  
[8/9/19, 5:47:34 PM] Gordon Sandland: Not sure i did. I think potus really wants the deliverable  
[8/9/19, 5:48:00 PM] Kurt Volker: But does he know that?  
[8/9/19, 5:48:09 PM] Gordon Sandland: Yep  
[8/9/19, 5:48:37 PM] Gordon Sandland: Clearly lots of convos going on  
[8/9/19, 5:48:38 PM] Kurt Volker: Ok — then that's good it's coming from two separate sources  
[8/9/19, 5:51:18 PM] Gordon Sandland: To avoid misunderstandings, might be helpful to ask Andrey for a draft statement (embargoed) so that we can see exactly what they propose to cover. Even though Ze does a live presser they can still summarize in a brief statement. Thoughts?  
[8/9/19, 5:51:42 PM] Kurt Volker: Agree!  
[8/10/19, 11:58:56 AM] Gordon Sandland: Anything from Andrey?  
[8/10/19, 1:22:51 PM] Kurt Volker: Not yet — will give him some time  
[8/10/19, 1:23:24 PM] Gordon Sandland: I briefed Ulrich. All good  
[8/10/19, 5:12:44 PM] Kurt Volker: This came in from Andrey — I suggested we talk at my 10am / his 5pm tomorrow..  
[8/10/19, 5:12:49 PM] Kurt Volker: 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, 5:14:08 PM] Gordon Sandland: If that's 10am Eastern, I can join you if you wish.  
[8/10/19, 5:14:31 PM] Kurt Volker: Yes — hoping you can!  
[8/10/19, 5:14:51 PM] Gordon Sandland: Great. You want to call State ops or shall I?  
[8/10/19, 5:15:05 PM] Kurt Volker: No — I'll just do via what's App  
[8/10/19, 5:15:28 PM] Gordon Sandland: Perfect. Talk tomorrow.  
[8/11/19, 9:43:53 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Gordon — ready in 10 min?  
[8/11/19, 9:43:08 AM] Gordon Sandland: Yes  
[8/11/19, 9:51:16 AM] Kurt Volker: He needs another 15 min. So 10:15

[8/11/19, 9:52:54 AM] Gordon Sandland: Ok  
[8/13/19, 9:20:21 AM] Kurt Volker: You free?  
[8/13/19, 10:26:44 AM] Kurt Volker: Special attention should be paid to the problem of interference in the political processes of the United States, especially with the alleged involvement of some Ukrainian politicians. I want to declare that this is unacceptable. We intend to initiate and complete a transparent and unbiased investigation of all available facts and episodes, including those involving Burisma and the 2016 U.S. elections, which in turn will prevent the recurrence of this problem in the future.  
[8/13/19, 10:27:20 AM] Gordon Sandland: Perfect. Lets send to Andrey after our call  
[8/13/19, 10:27:53 AM] Kurt Volker: Yes  
[8/13/19, 10:38:57 AM] Gordon Sandland: Missed voice call  
[8/13/19, 10:39:27 AM] Gordon Sandland: Missed group voice call  
[8/13/19, 10:42:20 AM] Gordon Sandland: Missed voice call  
[8/13/19, 10:49:20 AM] Gordon Sandland: Missed voice call  
[8/13/19, 2:44:59 PM] Gordon Sandland: U going to call Andrey first tomorrow?  
[8/15/19, 7:26:36 AM] Gordon Sandland: Hi, did you connect with Andrey?  
[8/15/19, 7:34:14 AM] Kurt Volker: Not yet - will talk w bill and then call him later today. Want to know our status on asking them to investigate  
[8/15/19, 7:51:49 AM] Gordon Sandland: Good thought  
[8/17/19, 2:48:40 PM] Gordon Sandland: Yermak just tapped on me about dates. Havent responded. Any updates?  
[8/17/19, 3:02:55 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi - I've got nothing. Bill had no info on requesting an investigation - calling a friend at DOJ (Bruce Schwartz)  
[8/17/19, 3:06:19 PM] Gordon Sandland: Do we still want Ze to give us an unequivocal draft with 2016 and Borema?  
[8/17/19, 4:34:21 PM] Kurt Volker: That's the clear message so far ...  
[8/17/19, 4:34:39 PM] Kurt Volker: I'm hoping we can put something out there that causes him to respond with that  
[8/17/19, 4:41:09 PM] Gordon Sandland: Unless you think otherwise I will return Andrey's call tomorrow and suggest they send us a clean draft.  
[8/17/19, 6:57:11 PM] Kurt Volker: Let's talk tomorrow my morning so you have all latest. We spoke for about 30 min today  
[8/17/19, 6:58:05 PM] Gordon Sandland: Deal  
[8/18/19, 7:13:04 AM] Gordon Sandland: Call when up  
[8/18/19, 10:11:00 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Gordon - am free anytime - Kurt  
[8/19/19, 8:56:25 AM] Gordon Sandland: Drove the "larger issue" home with Yermak. Not about just a meeting but the relationship per se. please convey to John. Also Yermak raised the Bolton visit and said he would appreciate us both joining the meetings. Kindly convey. Thx  
[8/19/19, 7:27:50 PM] Gordon Sandland: Missed voice call  
[8/19/19, 7:27:59 PM] Gordon Sandland: Missed voice call  
[8/23/19, 10:49:20 AM] Gordon Sandland: Missed voice call  
[8/23/19, 10:49:31 AM] Gordon Sandland: New news. Pls call  
[8/23/19, 12:08:40 PM] Kurt Volker: Thanks -a just called - ring back when you can  
[8/28/19, 5:37:17 PM] Gordon Sandland: Missed voice call  
[8/28/19, 5:37:32 PM] Gordon Sandland: Call at your convenience  
[8/28/19, 5:52:21 PM] Kurt Volker: Is it ok to call now?  
[9/1/19, 11:59:02 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Gordon - how was pence - Ze meeting?  
[9/2/19, 3:51:50 PM] Gordon Sandland: Missed voice call  
[9/2/19, 4:08:31 PM] Gordon Sandland: Missed voice call  
[9/2/19, 4:10:03 PM] Gordon Sandland: Missed voice call  
[9/8/19, 1:16:57 PM] Gordon Sandland: Missed voice call  
[9/9/19, 1:24:44 AM] Gordon Sandland: Yes, please call soonest  
[9/9/19, 1:42:49 AM] Gordon Sandland: Missed voice call  
[9/9/19, 1:43:27 AM] Gordon Sandland: Missed voice call  
[9/9/19, 1:43:35 AM] Gordon Sandland: Try me back  
[9/9/19, 1:55:22 AM] Gordon Sandland: Missed voice call  
[9/9/19, 1:56:02 AM] Kurt Volker: Need a few min still - chairing a discussion - but will pass baton when I can and call  
[9/9/19, 1:56:15 AM] Gordon Sandland: ♦  
[9/9/19, 3:25:08 AM] Kurt Volker: I am free for about 90 min if you can call. Thx - kv  
[9/9/19, 4:20:41 AM] Gordon Sandland: Missed voice call  
[9/9/19, 4:20:56 AM] Gordon Sandland: Just called  
[9/11/19, 1:57:21 PM] Gordon Sandland: Pls call  
[9/12/19, 4:25:49 AM] Kurt Volker: Rompetrol II Investigation\_Background\_September 2019 - 2 pages <attached: 0000011-Rompetrol II Investigation\_Background\_September 2019.pdf>  
[9/12/19, 4:27:15 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Gordon - just sent the background on US businessman Phil Stephenson's case. Hope Ana can get a handle on this. Best - Kurt  
[9/12/19, 6:07:41 AM] Gordon Sandland: Will take up when i see her Friday  
[9/12/19, 6:10:08 AM] Kurt Volker: Great - thanks  
[9/12/19, 12:15:24 PM] Gordon Sandland: Missed voice call  
[9/12/19, 4:28:41 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Gordon - Any news from call to Lisa / WH?  
[9/12/19, 4:29:24 PM] Kurt Volker: Great news otherwise on security assistance - and great statements from Inhofe and McConnell to back it up  
[9/12/19, 5:17:01 PM] Gordon Sandland: Call me in am  
[9/13/19, 11:43:04 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Gordon - hearing sept 25 for bilat at UNGA. Have you heard?  
[9/14/19, 12:06:18 AM] Gordon Sandland: Nope, but we should be there. Perry is going to be in NY as well for nuclear signing I am working on with RO. We need to all be manifested for the bilat  
[9/14/19, 12:12:29 AM] Kurt Volker: Yes - will push for that  
[9/14/19, 12:29:43 AM] Gordon Sandland: I will send Morrison an email as well and will copy you.  
[9/14/19, 9:25:22 AM] Gordon Sandland: Missed voice call  
[9/20/19, 4:20:39 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Gordon - are you stateside or in Brussels?  
[9/20/19, 4:20:46 PM] Kurt Volker: I just got to NY for a dinner  
[9/20/19, 11:53:38 PM] Gordon Sandland: Just saw this. Call at convenience. In BRU. NY on Sun

[9/22/19, 12:03:58 PM] Kurt Volker: Landed yet? Will call  
[9/22/19, 12:04:38 PM] Gordon Sondland: Yes, can u meet with S this afternoon?  
[9/22/19, 12:05:02 PM] Kurt Volker: I'm in DC — but would be happy to join by phone  
[9/22/19, 3:54:32 PM] Gordon Sondland: U dialing in?  
[9/22/19, 3:54:44 PM] Gordon Sondland: At 5:45  
[9/22/19, 3:58:51 PM] Kurt Volker: Yes — secure from state via ops  
[9/22/19, 7:21:09 PM] Kurt Volker: Spoke w Rudy per guidance from S. He said he will use the statement and talk w John Solomon. Urged me to do so as well. Will stick with what we discussed. If you are with S - please pass along. Thanks!  
[9/24/19, 10:39:50 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Gordon - can you make dinner with me and Andrey and Vadym at 9pm? Venue TBD  
[9/24/19, 10:46:06 AM] Gordon Sondland: I am taking Reeker, Morgan and another 7 to dinner at Cipriani at 8. Maybe drop by later? Where will u be.  
[9/24/19, 10:46:49 AM] Kurt Volker: Working on that. Can you recommend steakhouse in midtown?  
[9/24/19, 10:47:01 AM] Gordon Sondland: The Strip House  
[9/24/19, 10:50:14 AM] Kurt Volker: Done — reservation for 4 at 9pm. Join when you can  
[9/24/19, 10:53:31 AM] Gordon Sondland: Ok!  
[9/24/19, 11:14:18 AM] Kurt Volker: 15 W 44th St  
[9/24/19, 9:31:24 PM] Kurt Volker: We are here - hope you can make it  
[9/24/19, 10:10:38 PM] Kurt Volker: ??  
[9/24/19, 10:45:12 PM] Kurt Volker: Ok — we are taking off. Let's talk when you can  
[9/25/19, 7:53:10 AM] Gordon Sondland: Missed voice call  
[9/25/19, 7:54:05 AM] Gordon Sondland: Sorry about last night. Felt like shit and went to bed at 8. Didnt even go to my own dinner. Much better today. Call when able  
[9/25/19, 8:00:56 AM] Kurt Volker: Sorry to hear that! Hope you feel better. Need to discuss one urgent topic - best - Kurt  
[9/25/19, 7:49:01 PM] Kurt Volker: Breakfast with Andrey at Park Hyatt at 8am??  
[9/25/19, 8:03:43 PM] Gordon Sondland: If you guys could come to the Peninsula for bkfst my treat. I have to be on a call just prior.  
[9/25/19, 8:41:14 PM] Gordon Sondland: Missed voice call  
[9/25/19, 10:08:57 PM] Gordon Sondland: Missed voice call  
[9/25/19, 11:09:33 PM] Kurt Volker: Sorry Gordon — was separated from my phone. He has an appointment immediately after at the Hyatt.... so thought best to meet there ... is it ok?  
[9/25/19, 11:38:57 PM] Kurt Volker: 57tj street  
[9/26/19, 4:59:07 AM] Gordon Sondland: Kurt, sorry cant make bkfst. Do you have a moment to chat by phone or in person after your bkfst?  
[9/26/19, 5:31:14 AM] Kurt Volker: Could you make it if we went to peninsula at 8? Otherwise - yes - let's find time to talk later in morning.  
[9/26/19, 5:41:07 AM] Gordon Sondland: Cant make 8 but can we meet around 9:30 or 10?  
[9/26/19, 5:43:42 AM] Kurt Volker: No - Andrey has meetings w Ze then. I can call you in that time range - and he can call later I am sure as well  
[9/26/19, 5:44:04 AM] Gordon Sondland: Just wanted to meet with you  
[9/26/19, 5:47:39 AM] Kurt Volker: Got it — going to be tough to meet in person — I've got several meetings and calls kind of stacked up in between. Let's talk today. Y phone and maybe longer call tomorrow if needed

[9/8/19, 11:20:08 AM] Ukraine: Messages to this group are now secured with end-to-end encryption.  
[9/8/19, 11:20:08 AM] Gordon Sondland created group "Ukraine"  
[9/8/19, 11:20:09 AM] Gordon Sondland added you  
[9/8/19, 11:20:32 AM] Gordon Sondland: Guys, multiple convos with Ze, Potus. Lets talk  
[9/8/19, 11:21:41 AM] Bill Taylor: Now is fine with me  
[9/8/19, 11:26:13 AM] Kurt Volker: Try again — could not hear  
[9/8/19, 11:40:11 AM] Bill Taylor: Gordon and I just spoke. I can brief you if you and Gordon don't connect  
[9/8/19, 12:37:28 PM] Bill Taylor: The nightmare is they give the interview and don't get the security assistance. The Russians love it. (And I quit.)  
[9/8/19, 5:04:16 PM] Kurt Volker: I'm not in the loop. Talk Monday?  
[9/9/19, 12:16:42 AM] Gordon Sondland: Call at your convenience or let me know a good time. I am in Brussels  
[9/9/19, 12:20:32 AM] Kurt Volker: Will do - just getting started here in Georgia — will step out and call in an hour or so a thanks!  
[9/9/19, 12:31:06 AM] Bill Taylor: The message to the Ukrainians (and Russians) we send with the decision on security assistance is key. With the hold, we have already shaken their faith in us. Thus my nightmare scenario.  
[9/9/19, 12:34:44 AM] Bill Taylor: Counting on you to be right about this interview, Gordon.  
[9/9/19, 12:37:16 AM] Gordon Sondland: Bill, I never said I was "right". I said we are where we are and believe we have identified the best pathway forward. Lets hope it works.  
[9/9/19, 12:47:11 AM] Bill Taylor: As I said on the phone, I think it's crazy to withhold security assistance for help with a political campaign.  
[9/9/19, 5:19:35 AM] Gordon Sondland: Bill, I believe you are incorrect about President Trump's intentions. The President has been crystal clear: no quid pro quo's of any kind. The President is trying to evaluate whether Ukraine is truly going to adopt the transparency and reforms that President Zelensky promised during his campaign. I suggest we stop the back and forth by text. If you still have concerns, I recommend you give Lisa Kenna or S a call to discuss them directly. Thanks.  
[9/9/19, 5:47:09 AM] Bill Taylor: I agree

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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 Yanukovich 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 Yanukovich's rise, as well as his ties to the pro-Russian oligarchs who funded Yanukovich'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 Shelden 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.”

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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, Chalupa, 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.

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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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