MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: (C) Telephone Conversation with President Zelenskyy of Ukraine

PARTICIPANTS: President Zelenskyy of Ukraine

Notetakers: The White House Situation Room

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(S/NI) President Zelenskyy: Yes you are absolutely right. Not only 100%, but actually 100% and I can tell you the following; I did talk to Angela Merkel and I did meet with her. I also met and talked with Macron and I told them that they are not doing quite as much as they need to be doing on the issues with the sanctions. They are not enforcing the sanctions. They are not working as much as they should work for Ukraine. It turns out that even though logically, the European Union should be our biggest partner but technically the United States is a much bigger partner than the European Union and I'm very grateful to you for that because the United States is doing quite a lot for Ukraine. Much more than the European Union especially when we are talking about sanctions against the Russian Federation. I would also like to thank you for your great support in the area of defense. We are ready to continue to cooperate for the next steps specifically we are almost ready to buy more Javelins from the United States for defense purposes.
The President: I would like you to do us a favor though because our country has been through a lot and Ukraine knows a lot about it. I would like you to find out what happened with this whole situation with Ukraine, they say CrowdStrike… I guess you have one of your wealthy people... The server, they say Ukraine has it. There are a lot of things that went on, the whole situation. I think you’re surrounding yourself with some of the same people. I would like to have the Attorney General call you or your people and I would like you to get to the bottom of it. As you saw yesterday, that whole nonsense ended with a very poor performance by a man named Robert Mueller, an incompetent performance, but they say a lot of it started with Ukraine. Whatever you can do, it's very important that you do it if that's possible.

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

The President: Good because I heard you had a prosecutor who was very good and he was shut down and that's really unfair. A lot of people are talking about that, the way they shut your very good prosecutor down and you had some very bad people involved. Mr. Giuliani is a highly respected man. He was the mayor of New York City, a great mayor, and I would like him to
call you. I will ask him to call you along with the Attorney General. Rudy very much knows what's happening and he is a very capable guy. If you could speak to him that would be great. The former ambassador from the United States, the woman, was bad news and the people she was dealing with in the Ukraine were bad news so I just want to let you know that. The other thing, there's a lot of talk about Biden's son, that Biden stopped the prosecution and a lot of people want to find out about that so whatever you can do with the Attorney General would be great. Biden went around bragging that he stopped the prosecution so if you can look into it... It sounds horrible to me.

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

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

\[\text{(S/NF) President Zelenskyy:} \text{ I would like to tell you that I also have quite a few Ukrainian friends that live in the United States. Actually last time I traveled to the United States, I stayed in New York near Central Park and I stayed at the Trump}\]
Tower. I will talk to them and I hope to see them again in the future. I also wanted to thank you for your invitation to visit the United States, specifically Washington DC. On the other hand, I also want to ensure you that we will be very serious about the case and will work on the investigation. As to the economy, there is much potential for our two countries and one of the issues that is very important for Ukraine is energy independence. I believe we can be very successful and cooperating on energy independence with United States. We are already working on cooperation. We are buying American oil but I am very hopeful for a future meeting. We will have more time and more opportunities to discuss these opportunities and get to know each other better. I would like to thank you very much for your support.

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

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

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

(3/MP) President Zelenskyy: Thank you very much Mr. President.

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

(3/MP) President Zelenskyy: Thank you Mr. President bye-bye.

-- End of Conversation --
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

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

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

Thank you very much! And I'm waiting

Call at 10 correct?

Yes

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

9/26/19, 10:34 AM

1917951562

4:48pm

Redacted

I will leave today 3 pm
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

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

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

I will be near Madrid over weekend

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

I will probably be in NYC

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

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
Hi Mr Mayor - Kurt Volker here. Good speaking with 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 on 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

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

Ok will let you know ASAP

Will be in DC this Friday

7/19/19, 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.

I will arrive on Aug 1 and until 5

Thank you

Thanks for your help! Kurt

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?

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 Zelensky 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 Zelensky is committed to fighting corruption and other illegal activities, and that investigations into such matters would be consistent with the overall approach.

Ambassador Volker has confirmed that, at President's Advisor Andrew 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
@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

Read 9/22/19
[7/17/12, 656:21 PM] Andrey Yermakov: Messages to this chat and calls are now secured with end-to-end encryption.


[7/17/12, 00:56:00 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey - thanks and see you soon. Best - Kurt


[7/17/12, 02:25:53 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey - are you back in Kyiv or still in Canada or US? When should we meet next week? Best - Kurt

[7/17/12, 02:25:58 PM] Andrey Yermakov: Hi, Kurt: Already back to Kyiv. I will come on Tuesday 9 and till I know that we will have meeting together with Mr. Donluk on Wednesday 7 pm. But it will be great to meet with you personally for lunch or dinner during those days. Please let me know when it works for you. Best Andrey.

[7/17/12, 03:07:35 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey - sorry for delay. Can we meet for dinner on Tuesday? 7pm? I am meeting Danylokh 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.

[7/17/12, 03:32:42 AM] Andrey Yermakov: Hi, Kurt. My plane will land at 3 pm. We can have late dinner or breakfast on Wednesday morning. It will be great to meet with you before our big meeting.

[7/18/12, 01:03:42 AM] Andrey Yermakov: I will stay in Trump International Hotel.

[7/18/12, 01:05:42 AM] 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 / 9:30am at Trump Hotel.

[7/18/12, 01:05:49 PM] Andrey Yermakov: Yes. Perfect. Wednesday, Big am at Trump Hotel.

[7/18/12, 01:24:54 PM] Andrey Yermakov: Great - see you there.

[7/18/12, 02:08:20 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey - got here early and ordered a coffee. No rush - see you in a bit. Kurt

[7/18/12, 05:01:08 AM] Andrey Yermakov: Hi Kurt, I'm in 5 mins.

[7/18/12, 05:06:50 PM] Andrey Yermakov: 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 fluid and I really to talk with him at any time. Please, let me know when you can meet. Andrey.

[7/18/12, 05:50:29 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey - sorry for delay - full evening. Can we talk by phone tomorrow between 11am and 12? I'm flying to Ovar at 12:46 but can talk before. Best - Kurt

[7/18/12, 06:50:29 PM] Andrey Yermakov: Ok, than you.

[7/18/12, 07:28:01 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey - sorry for delay - are you available to talk? Kurt

[7/18/12, 07:35:43 PM] Kurt Volker: Let's talk Saturday after the Paris meeting.

[7/18/12, 07:36:16 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.

[7/18/12, 08:24:48 PM] Andrey Yermakov: Ok and thank you very much! I will inform you about meeting in Paris.

[7/18/12, 08:32:43 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey - how was Paris? Can you talk today about tomorrow? Kurt

[7/18/12, 08:35:43 AM] Andrey Yermakov: Hi Kurt, You know much better. I think phone conversation between Presidents' works. I back tonight and can call you. What time?

[7/18/12, 08:37:20 AM] Kurt Volker: I will be 10 hours behind Kyiv. When here is 10pm Kyiv. Is that too late? Otherwise we could do tomorrow around 8am here / 8pm Kyiv.

[7/18/12, 08:40:25 AM] Andrey Yermakov: If it's ok for you I'll 30 pm Kyiv and 1:30 pm you.

[7/18/12, 08:41:03 AM] Kurt Volker: Yeah - perfect.

[7/18/12, 08:32:20 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey - still ok?

[7/18/12, 08:42:20 PM] Kurt Volker: I think it is late for you - let's try tomorrow.

[7/18/12, 08:50:36 PM] Andrey Yermakov: How ok for you?

[7/18/12, 08:50:25 PM] Kurt Volker: In about 23 minutes. Just wrapping up a meeting.

[7/18/12, 08:52:20 PM] Kurt Volker: I should step out.


[7/18/12, 09:56:27 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

[7/18/12, 02:10:00 AM] Kurt Volker: Andrey Yermakov, Thank you Kurt.

[7/18/12, 02:12:48 PM] Kurt Volker: Andrey Yermakov, Can you tell me about an hour?

[7/18/12, 02:14:42 PM] Andrey Yermakov: Yes, of course.

[7/18/12, 02:20:30 AM] Kurt Volker: Also - please convey my best wishes and congratulations to the President. Best result.

[7/18/12, 02:20:30 AM] Andrey Yermakov: Of course.

[7/18/12, 02:25:00 AM] Andrey Yermakov: One question. I have information about phone call from President Trump to President Zelensky at 5 pm Kyiv time today. Can you confirm it?

[7/18/12, 02:27:07 AM] Kurt Volker: I will check - maybe yes.

[7/18/12, 02:27:09 AM] Kurt Volker: I think that was very useful - help it all keeps moving. Suggest you send text to follow up and get Madrid details - back - Kurt

[7/18/12, 02:29:40 AM] Andrey Yermakov: Missed voice call.

[7/18/12, 02:31:25 AM] Andrey Yermakov: When you will be in Kyiv?

[7/18/12, 02:31:25 AM] Kurt Volker: Andrey Yermakov: And thank you for conversation and your help.

[7/18/12, 02:31:45 AM] Kurt Volker: I'm 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.

[7/18/12, 02:45:24 AM] Kurt Volker: Hope to meet with the President - also see you and others.

[7/18/12, 06:30:40 PM] Andrey Yermakov.

[7/18/12, 07:30:30 AM] Andrey Yermakov: What about late dinner Wednesday or breakfast Thursday?

[7/18/12, 07:30:30 AM] Kurt Volker: Sorry about Thursday I understand, you will go to the East.

[7/18/12, 07:30:30 AM] Andrey Yermakov: Breakfast possible only Friday.

[7/18/12, 07:30:30 AM] Kurt Volker: Please let me know about Wednesday and we will decide about Friday.

[7/18/12, 07:30:30 AM] Andrey Yermakov: Thanks.

[7/18/12, 07:30:30 AM] Kurt Volker: Looks like midnight arrival on Wednesday, so let's try Friday breakfast.

[7/18/12, 07:30:30 AM] Andrey Yermakov: Ok, great.

[7/18/12, 02:00:20 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey. I sent this to Danylokh. Would also be happy to connect you if you and/or Prystaiko is interested. "A friend of mine who is retired DA - former security chief in Moscow, Islamabed, and Talisman - 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."

[7/18/12, 11:45:30 AM] Andrey Yermakov: Hi Kurt. Yes, please connect me with. Thank you.
Andrew Yermak: We have breakfast and lunch with Gordon Friday.

Andrew Yermak: Should we call between Presidents Thursday?

Kurt Volker: I am pretty sure the phone call will go forward for Thursday — will keep monitoring.

Kurt Volker: I think we could do 7:00am at the Hyatt. Alternately, are you free Saturday morning?

Kurt Volker: I think we could do Friday lunch — will check schedule on that.

Andrew Yermak: Up to you. I'm with pleasure and Friday and Saturday. Phone call still not confirm.

Andrew Yermak: When you can, let me know. I need 2 min by phone.

Kurt Volker: Ok — in about an hour.

Andrew Yermak: And call me now being set for Friday I think.

Andrew Yermak: Suker.

Kurt Volker: And I'm told president Z new available Thursday to meet with me, so I will arrange schedule.

Andrew Yermak: Yes.

Andrew Yermak: Let's discuss in hour.

Kurt Volker: Ok.

Andrew Yermak: 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 roll down steps for visit to Washington. DA! Luck. See you tomorrow — Kurt.

Andrew Yermak: Phone call went well. President Trump proposed to choose any convenient dates. President Zelensky chose 20.21.22 September for the White House visit. Thank you again for your help! Please remind Mr. Mayer to share the Mache's dates.

Andrew Yermak: Great — thanks and will do.


Andrew Yermak: Hi Kurt, now in plane from Zurich to Madrid. Will call you after landing.

Andrew Yermak: Missed voice call.

Andrew Yermak: Hi Kurt.

Andrew Yermak: My meeting with Mr. Mayer was very good.

Andrew Yermak: We asked for White House meeting during week start 16 Sept. Waiting for confirmation. May be you know the date?

Andrew Yermak: When can we talk?

Andrew Yermak: Will be in Paris in place.

Kurt Volker: Hi Andrew — sorry I missed you. Will be free when you land.

Andrew Yermak: Hi Kurt, how are you? Do you have any news?

Kurt Volker: Hi Andrew — speaking with Rudy in about 2 hours — call you after?

Andrew Yermak: Yes, of course.

Kurt Volker: Have still not heard back — other than a text saying "great meeting."

Kurt Volker: I think it is late in Spain now so will try again first thing in the morning.

Kurt Volker: Hi Andrew — had a good long talk with Rudy — call anytime. Kurt.

Andrew Yermak: Hi Kurt. How are you? Do you have some news about White House meeting date?

Andrew Yermak: Not yet — I tested Rudy earlier to make sure he weights in following your meeting. Gordon should be speaking with the president on Friday. We are pressing this...

Andrew Yermak: Thank you.

Andrew Yermak: I expect to see Pompeo next week as well but not yet confirmed. Will ask him to help.

Andrew Yermak: Can you talk? I have some news

Kurt Volker: Hi Andrew — yes — now is good — or tomorrow if too late for you now.

Andrew Yermak: Missed voice call.

Andrew Yermak: This message was deleted.

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 good 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.

Kurt Volker: It's late for you — why don't we talk in my morning, your afternoon tomorrow? Say Hello Span?

Andrew Yermak: I agree with your approach. Let's iron out statement and use that to get date and then pronto go forward with it?

Andrew Yermak: Great. Gordon is available to join as well.

Andrew Yermak: Excellent.

Andrew 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 energy meddling in investigations

Kurt Volker: Sounds great.

Kurt Volker: Hi Andrew — ready in 10 minutes?

Kurt Volker: In 25 min ok?

Kurt Volker: No problem.

Andrew Yermak: Missed voice call.

Andrew Yermak: Missed voice call.

Andrew Yermak: Missed voice call.

Andrew Yermak: Missed voice call.

Andrew Yermak: Missed voice call.
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 instigate 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.


[3/17/92, 12:08 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey - yes and if it is too late for you, we can also do first things first. Let's do it around 1pm. Up to you.


[3/17/92, 12:10 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey - sorry for delay - is it now good?

[3/17/92, 12:10 PM] Andrey Yarmuk: Hi Kurt. Finishing meeting with President and will go. Sorry, delay, hope not more than 30-40 min.

[3/17/92, 12:11 PM] Kurt Volker: No worries - just in. We are in no hurry.


[3/17/92, 12:14 PM] Andrey Yarmuk: It's very important for our team that you were with us today. Great day for Ukraine if I'd like to check with you some info. Thank you!

[3/17/92, 12:15 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey - sorry - was another call. Was great to be here - thank you. Very inspiring day!

[3/17/92, 12:17 PM] Kurt Volker: Can talk now or tomorrow morning - flight is at 2pm to Frankfurt.

[3/17/92, 12:18 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey - let me know when you can talk - here more on RE following up on discussion with the President.

[3/17/92, 12:19 PM] Andrey Yarmuk: Hi Kurt - did you get to see Balto?


[3/17/92, 12:26 PM] Kurt Volker: That's disappointing - what time is the meeting with the president tomorrow?


[3/17/92, 12:30 PM] Kurt Volker: Ok - I think his breakfast is already booked, but I'll ask.

[3/17/92, 12:31 PM] Andrey Yarmuk: No problem, may be later after.


[3/17/92, 12:33 PM] Andrey Yarmuk: As I understand he don't know about dates.

[3/17/92, 12:34 PM] Andrey Yarmuk: Correct - but he is working hard for the meeting in Warsaw, and that will hopefully break things free.


[3/17/92, 12:36 PM] Andrey Yarmuk: Turns out that Balto can't make it. We'll talk.


[3/17/92, 12:38 PM] Andrey Yarmuk: That's too bad - but bill is on the ground with him so he knows the schedule. How was the meeting with the president?


[3/17/92, 12:43 PM] Andrey Yarmuk: This message was deleted.


[3/17/92, 12:51 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey - I can talk at 2.00pm meeting on Tuesday in Warsaw. Let's talk.

[3/17/92, 12:53 PM] Kurt Volker: Just saw trump canceling going to Poland - sending Pence instead. Hope we keep the blab - and push for data next week.

[3/17/92, 12:54 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey - how was peace meeting?


[3/17/92, 12:56 PM] Andrey Yarmuk: How was US meeting. Can call in an hour or so...


[3/4/13, 8:58 AM] Andrey Yarmak: Call you in 30 min?

[3/4/13, 8:59 AM] Kurt Volker: My pleasure. Did you have a chance to put a word into Brezek about me visiting?

[3/4/13, 9:00 AM] Andrey Yarmak: If you have an hour or two before you leave, you can talk to me.


[3/4/13, 9:03 AM] Kurt Volker: And I'm happy to see you. Let's connect a bit later—maybe this weekend?

[3/4/13, 9:04 AM] Andrey Yarmak: Can't talk now. Will you be in London this weekend?


[3/4/13, 9:06 AM] Andrey Yarmak: Please pass this along to Mr. Green and let him know I'll call you tonight.


[3/4/13, 9:10 AM] Andrey Yarmak: I'm not sure. But I would like to meet you sometime this week.


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[3/4/13, 9:18 AM] Andrey Yarmak: Please pass this along to Mr. Green and let him know I'll call you tonight.

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[3/24/16, 10:54 AM] Andrey Yermak: Yes

[3/24/16, 10:54 AM] Andrey Yermak: You will make a reservation or may?

[3/24/16, 10:54 AM] Kurt Valkar: I'll get a reservation -- what hotel are you staying at? will look for a steak place.


[3/24/16, 11:01 AM] Kurt Valkar : Reservation for 4 people at The Strip House -- 8pm. 53 West 44th Street.

[3/24/16, 11:02 AM] Kurt Valkar: Gordon has another dinner at 7pm and will join as soon as he can after.

[3/24/16, 11:02 AM] Andrey Yermak: Will you tell Vadym?

[3/24/16, 11:02 AM] Andrey Yermak: Ok

[3/24/16, 11:02 AM] Andrey Yermak: Yeah

[3/24/16, 11:03 AM] Andrey Yermak: Yeah


[3/24/16, 11:05 PM] Andrey Yermak: I have one question.

[3/24/16, 11:05 PM] Andrey Yermak: May be you know.


[3/24/16, 11:11 PM] Kurt Valkar: Don't have an answer yet and trying to get one.

[3/25/16, 8:20 AM] Andrey Yermak: Good morning


[3/25/16, 8:28 AM] Kurt Valkar: Spoke with Gordon -- he was feeling sick last night.

[3/25/16, 8:28 AM] Kurt Valkar: We are both weighing in on the issue... nothing more yet.

[3/25/16, 8:28 AM] Andrey Yermak: Will publish full or part?

[3/25/16, 8:28 AM] Kurt Valkar: I pushed for sharing w you first, then meeting then release. But no word back.


[3/25/16, 8:29 AM] Kurt Valkar: Did you want to meet and follow up also with Gordon? Can try, though schedules are tight for all of us.

[3/25/16, 9:54 AM] Andrey Yermak: Yes


[3/25/16, 9:54 AM] Andrey Yermak: I will call you about 8 pm


[3/25/16, 9:54 AM] Andrey Yermak: Can you talk now?


[3/25/16, 9:56 AM] Kurt Valkar: He is planning to be in Ukraine through tomorrow.


You created group "Andrey/Gordon/Kurt"

Andrew/Gordon/Kurt: Messages in this group are now secured with end-to-end encryption.

Kurt Volkov: Hi Andrew - we have all consulted here, including with Rudy. Can you do a call later today or tomorrow your afternoon time? Kurt

Gordon Sandland: I have a call scheduled at 3pm Eastern for the three of us. You will call

Kurt Volkov: Hi Andrey - we spoke with Rudy. When is good to call you?

Andrey Yermak: Hi Kurt

Gordon Sandland: I can talk now

Andrey Yermak: I'm in Israel

Gordon Sandland: Important. Do you have 5 mins

Andrey Yermak: I can speak in 10-15 min

Gordon Sandland: OK I will have our operator dial us in at 4:35 Brussels time

Kurt Volkov: Can we do this one on what's App?

Gordon Sandland: OK. Line. Can you initiate?

Kurt Volkov: Yes - will do

Andrey Yermak: OK

Kurt Volkov: Hi Andrey - good talking - following is text with insert at the end for the 2 key items. We will work on official request

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.
[11/24/16 8:33:34 AM] Bill Taylor: Messages to this chat and calls are now secured with end-to-end encryption.

[11/24/16 8:33:34 AM] Bill Taylor: Kurt, did you send a draft of the op-ad we discussed to Steve? 

[11/24/16 8:33:47 AM] Bill Taylor: Steve hasn’t received a draft yet. Still a good idea? 

[11/24/16 8:33:52 AM] Bill Taylor: Yes. I should have it today.

[11/24/16 8:33:57 AM] Bill Taylor: On another topic, we continue to plan the February 12 roundtable on Dubas peace plans. It’s on Steve’s calendar. Two questions: can you kick off the discussion? Minister Aregov will also speak. Second, would you be OK if we invited Professor Dykin. Steve’s friend from IMEMO? He made a proposal for peacekeepers last year. Minister Aregov and Gregory Nyenya are both comfortable inviting Dykin.


[11/24/16 8:43:01 AM] Kurt Valkier: OK — so I’ll be there from 9:30 to 10:30?


[11/24/16 8:53:43 AM] Bill Taylor: Interestingly, means there is no room for progress


[11/24/16 8:53:44 AM] Bill Taylor: Haven’t heard from Steve on the drafts 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.

[11/24/16 8:53:47 PM] Bill Taylor: Kurt Valkier: Good — saw the drafts — think he will want to make the recommendations less of a list — but let’s hear from him.

[11/24/16 8:53:47 PM] Bill Taylor: Kurt Valkier: If we don’t get Steve (although we should) is there someone else the WI would be impressed by?


[11/24/16 8:54:01 PM] Bill Taylor: Kurt Valkier: Yes. I’m hoping he’s on an airplane. It’s usually very busy. Is there a way to repackage the recommendations in a way that looks less of a laundry list?

[11/24/16 8:54:03 PM] Bill Taylor: Also, is there a way to make the initiative more appealing?

[11/24/16 8:54:11 PM] Bill Taylor: Could be, but might make it longer. Want to take a shot? Do you?


[11/24/16 8:54:20 PM] Bill Taylor: Kurt Valkier: Just sent via email to the group — kv


[11/24/16 8:54:33 PM] Bill Taylor: Willie is still declining saying they’ve recently done a piece on the Orthodox Church and that our piece is too long for them. Jackson Bish has a piece similar to ours in the past today. We are pitching our piece to the Times.

[11/24/16 8:54:33 PM] Bill Taylor: Kurt Valkier: Have you considered foreign policy?


[11/24/16 8:54:39 PM] Bill Taylor: Kurt Valkier: We are submitting the op-ad to Foreign Affairs tomorrow morning.


[11/24/16 8:54:48 PM] Bill Taylor: Kurt Valkier: Hi Bill — any news on the op-ad? Needed now more than ever. Indeed, may need to be sharper up front.


[11/24/16 8:54:51 PM] Bill Taylor: Kurt Valkier: 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.


[11/24/16 8:54:58 PM] Bill Taylor: Kurt Valkier: Hi Bill — should we try foreign policy instead? I can send you contact for lead advisor Jonathan Tepperman if you want — kv

[11/24/16 8:55:01 PM] Bill Taylor: Kurt Valkier: Yes. Submitted it to FA this morning, pinged twice and haven’t heard from them. If we don’t hear by 5:30, will call it and resubmit it to FP. As soon as we do, will let you know so you can alert your contact there. We have another contact there as well.


[11/24/16 8:55:36 PM] Bill Taylor: Regarding the February 12 roundtable. I was thinking about inviting representatives from Normandy Format embassies. I’m keeping Choly and Uskova informed. We will talk back from Chenevay but Dykin’s colleague Zegorci is trying to get here. The Russian Embassy? Are there Dubas watchers at the French and German embassies?
Kurt Volker: Yes — Chris knows the names at the Normandy embassies. Fine on Zogorsky. Avakov is a mixed bag. Is he still coming?

Bill Taylor: Yes

Bill Taylor: Hi bill — did they publish?

Bill Taylor: As soon as they get the contributor consent form back from Steve, they hit publish.

Bill Taylor: Great — thanks!

Bill Taylor: It's up. On your email

Bill Taylor: Great! Thanks!

Bill Taylor: What did you volunteer me for?

Bill Taylor: I can't remember — context?

Bill Taylor: George has asked me to go to Kyiv for a while.

Bill Taylor: Ah... good!!

Bill Taylor: I've heard so much more than I knew.

Kurt Volker: Anti-Fraud Reform — 2 pages attached. DODIDAA17-Anti-Fraud Reform.docx

Bill Taylor: I like this a lot.

Bill Taylor: Thankful. Will need more expert advice, but wanted to kick this off.

Bill Taylor: I am still struggling with the decision whether to go. Can anyone hope to succeed with the Gulianni-Gudeni issue filtering for the next 18 months? Can $ offer any reassurance on this issue?

Bill Taylor: You mentioned that several people have asked you to go out as DCA. I think that is the answer. It wouldn't be that long. No one knows the issues better.

Bill Taylor: We need to talk, isn't Kurt going out — we already have a special envoy.

Bill Volker: Let's see how it looks on Monday. I don't know how much we can do about the Gulianni thing, but I think the key thing is to do what we can right now since the future of the country is in play right now.

Bill Volker: It is, and that's why it's encouraging that you would consider being there during this critical time. I, for one, fully support you — as would Steve in any way we can.

Bill 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.

Bill Volker: How about for a short period of time?

Bill Taylor: Kurt Volker: I can visit for a day or two, but not longer.

Bill Taylor: Do we know for sure that there is a letter inviting me to visit? Fiona doesn't think so.

Bill Volker: I heard it from Mulvaney — I think so.

Bill Taylor: Wouldn't it have to pass through Fiona?

Bill Taylor: I don't know how things work over there. In a normal world, of course. But...

Bill Taylor: Do I want to enter this non-normal world?

Bill Taylor: 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...

Bill Volker: And just checked with Sandland, who said Mulvaney told him today it's with POTUS. The...

Bill Taylor: Hi bill — Perry, Sandland and I had a good call with Bolton yesterday. He is going to get a data for 2 visit — maybe late July — and also ask about VP/DUS visit to Kyiv. At good. East — Kurt

Bill Taylor: Excellent — thanks, Kurt. I am hoping to meet in Kyiv, maybe in Brussels on my way to Kyiv.

Bill Volker: Go do it!!

Bill Taylor: Can you introduce me to AMS Sandland? 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 and then see him in Kyiv.

Bill Taylor: Are you in DC now? We should take a picture together!

Bill Volker: Then can we meet when you are in Kyiv

Bill Taylor: Excellent idea! I am here until Sunday night. Where are you?

Bill Taylor: I am en route to the Ukrainian embassy now.

Bill Taylor: Kurt, what's the view of Rolby on among the three of you?

Bill Taylor: Hi bill — I think Perry is the most negative — see 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.

Bill Taylor: Kurt — Gordon shares this view — but maybe a little less negative.

Bill Taylor: I know you have been on the reform, so I think it's 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.

Bill Volker: Btw — hope the testimony went well — by

Bill Taylor: I am getting the same thing out here — stiffing private investment. Will look for your testimony

Bill Taylor: Yay — still stiffing private investment

Bill Taylor: Here's the testimony best — Kurt

Bill Volker: Do you think Gordon saw my note asking him for help with the meeting note and the delegation to Independence Day?

Bill Taylor: At 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.

Bill Taylor: Hi — he is religious about checking messages so am sure he did. Got the point on Ze — will do my best — any thoughts about "emotional?"

Bill Taylor: I am checking that suggestion with Pryscilla.

Bill Taylor: Are you telling Chris about the call?

Bill Taylor: Pryscilla?

Bill Taylor: He will be in Toronto with Ze
Kurt Volker: Yes — in person though

Bill Taylor: Chris in person, right? Should I give Vasily a heads up since he will be in Toronto with Zb?

Kurt Volker: Yes — that’s a good idea

Bill Taylor: Are you OK with me briefing Ulrich on these conversations? Maybe you have already?

Kurt Volker: I have not — please feel free.

Bill Taylor: I’ll call you.

Kurt Volker: The key thing is to set up a phone call w/ Putin and then get visit nailed down.

Bill Taylor: I agree. Let’s call Putin and then get this sorted.

Bill Taylor: It depends what kind of call we’re doing.

Bill Taylor: My question is about Dannylik Prystaiko — have you been working with both on the phone call? Did Prystaiko and Z on phone call? What happens when you laid out what needed to happen on the call? Should the call happen with Prystaiko?

Bill Taylor: I’ll talk to him.

Bill Taylor: Let’s talk today. I will be asking to see Bohdan (probably with Vasily) to try to nail things down this weekend. The call is not a meeting per se, but is a phone call to consult. I think this is a good time for you today.

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(7/24/16, 6:23 AM) Kurt Valken: Hi bill -- can you talk now?
(7/23/16, 1:44 PM) Bill Taylor: Did Tom say how he was doing or the call?
(7/21/16, 11:55 PM) Bill Taylor: Is your Moscow trip on track?
(7/21/16, 21:15 PM) Kurt Valken: Not yet. We heard low surfack but nothing from Masha or Karak.
(7/21/16, 21:05 PM) Kurt Valken: Maximine Yermak is in touch with Karak and will be in do next week and wants to coordinate before a Moscow trip.
(7/21/16, 21:16 PM) Kurt Valken: Speak to on Friday and have joint FBI/SVP Moscow Monday. Preparing for 9/14 summit (at least request) in mid-September.
(7/21/16, 21:39 PM) Bill Taylor: I like the bilateral Ukraine-Russia process with Ukrainians coordinating with us. Not clear to me what the Germans and French bring.
(7/22/16, 2:03 PM) Bill Taylor: You are still planning to be here for August 24?
(7/22/16, 2:42 PM) Kurt Valken: Yes - assuming there are things to do - arrive on 23rd early evening and depart 27th early morning. Any sense on what they are planning?
(7/22/16, 2:05 PM) Bill Taylor: I asked Prystayke again Friday. He smiled and said something about a parade with no tanks. Sounds pretty vague.
(7/22/16, 2:07 PM) Kurt Valken: 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 DU this week if we can.

(7/21/16, 22:43 PM) Bill Taylor: Bill Taylor: Will do. I am sure they would love to have you here in any case.
(7/21/16, 22:31 PM) Kurt Valken: The timing is easy so I'm happy to do it.
(7/21/16, 22:44 PM) Bill Taylor: Branding invitation to stay here.
(7/21/16, 22:53 PM) Kurt Valken: Thank you! You don't happen to have a gym, do you?
(7/21/16, 22:52 PM) Kurt Valken: That's the single best thing about the Ritz...
(7/21/16, 22:52 PM) Kurt Valken: I am supposed to arrive on 23rd at 8:45pm from Vienna on an Ukrainian Air flight. Maybe we can plan on casual dinner if you do not have National Day duties -- may get together with Masha and Andrey Y.
(7/21/16, 23:05 PM) Bill Taylor: Sounds good. Sadly, no gym.
(7/21/16, 23:16 PM) Bill Taylor: Kurt, we are meeting with Hanchack and Ryaboshapka on Thursday to get their thoughts on de-oligarchization. We may want to enlist the reform-minded B-7 to this effort. Clearly this has to be Ukrainian-owned for it to have a chance. You are OK on all this?
(7/21/16, 23:13 PM) Kurt Valken: Yes - all good. Would it be possible to arrange a follow up with G7 (with or sequentially with or Ryaboshapka) on 24th?
(7/21/16, 23:18 PM) Bill Taylor: Urgent.
(7/21/16, 23:19 PM) Kurt Valken: Urgent.
(7/22/16, 0:39 AM) Bill Taylor: Sounds good.
(7/22/16, 0:51 AM) Bill Taylor: The person who asked for an official request was Yermak?
(7/22/16, 0:51 AM) Bill Taylor: Kurt Valken: Yes but don't cite him.
(7/22/16, 0:53 AM) Bill Taylor: Do you want? You are right -- this is not good. We need to stay clean.
(7/22/16, 0:55 AM) Kurt Valken: Were you able to discover if we have ever asked for an investigation or what would take to do so?
(7/22/16, 1:07 AM) Bill Taylor: Just landed back in Kyiv. En route back to the embassy.
(7/22/16, 1:02 AM) Bill Taylor: Turns out that our latest just left on leave. You should ask Bruce Schwartz at Justice.
(7/22/16, 1:04 AM) Bill Taylor: OK -- will do.
(7/22/16, 1:05 AM) Bill Taylor: We have dinner Friday, the ceremony Saturday morning, a 2nd day reception Saturday afternoon. Other requests? What time do you leave on Sunday?
(7/22/16, 1:07 AM) Bill Taylor: Kurt Valken: Yes - can you do a D7 Amb coffee? And a separate meeting w Yermak?
(7/22/16, 1:09 AM) Bill Taylor: Anyone else we should see on anti-trust legislation?
(7/22/16, 1:12 AM) Bill Taylor: I'm not sure Yermak will stay after the dinner. Some B-7 ambassadors are not in town, both turnover and leave. I can see if Hanchack is available.
(7/22/16, 1:13 AM) Bill Taylor: Hanchack can meet us after the president's reception. What about a dinner with the embassy team working on de-oligarchization?
(7/22/16, 1:15 AM) Bill Taylor: Kurt Valken: Casual embassy dinner would be great. And Yermak after dinner or lunch Saturday -- whatever is best for him.
(7/22/16, 1:17 AM) Bill Taylor: Got it.
(7/22/16, 1:17 AM) Bill Taylor: Turns out it works for Hanchack for lunch on Saturday. Yermak for dinner on Friday. Internal. Informal dinner Saturday.
(7/22/16, 1:19 AM) Bill Taylor: Good.
(7/22/16, 1:20 AM) Bill Taylor: Kurt Valken: Great.
(7/22/16, 3:45 AM) Bill Taylor: Hanchack moved to 1630 Saturday at the residence.
(7/22/16, 3:45 AM) Bill Taylor: FS is suggesting skipping the Sunday press engagements because of the B-7/G7 comments and the NYT article. Thoughts?
(7/22/16, 4:20 AM) Kurt Valken: I think I can handle these topics... might even be useful. But let's discuss tomorrow or Saturday. Things always seem to change...
(7/22/16, 5:38 AM) Bill Taylor: Sounds good.
(7/22/16, 6:03 AM) Kurt Valken: Hi bill -- is it casual or suit for dinner? Thanks! Kurt
(7/22/16, 6:15 AM) Bill Taylor: We'll see.
(7/22/16, 6:18 AM) Bill Taylor: Kurt Valken: But no jeans then either -- no prob.
(7/22/16, 6:45 AM) Bill Taylor: We are working today!
(7/22/16, 6:48 AM) Bill Taylor: Hi bill -- thanks for a great visit.
(7/22/16, 6:47 AM) Kurt Valken: Briefed Bolton, spoke w Hurnman and with Jamie Fry. Jamie will visit in mid-late September.
(7/22/16, 6:48 AM) Kurt Valken: Since Bolton has extra time, strongly recommend you set up a meeting with Yermak for him tomorrow, before he sees Z on Wednesday. I will also recommend thru WSH...

(7/22/16, 6:48 AM) Bill Taylor: Talk tomorrow if it is too late today. Best - Kurt
(7/22/16, 6:52 AM) Bill Taylor: When you brief on Bolton, did you recommend to see Yermak?
(7/22/16, 6:53 AM) Kurt Valken: Yes, but I did not stress the point. On reflection, think we really should...
(7/22/16, 7:03 AM) Bill Taylor: Bolton and I talked to you and Gordon briefly. Not overly specific. What should they talk about? Tim says Bolton wants to stay out of politics.
(7/22/16, 7:05 AM) Kurt Valken: How to make the PTOES encounter a success, and what deliverables we achieve for a W11 meeting.
(7/22/16, 8:10 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.
(7/22/16, 8:10 AM) Bill Taylor: Good. Any luck on getting him down with Yermak?
(7/22/16, 8:17 AM) Kurt Valken: He would like to meet with Bolton after the meeting with Zelensky if possible (to help coach for Warsaw)
(7/22/16, 8:20 AM) Bill Taylor: Have questions in with Bolton team, Prystayke and Yermak. Nothing back yet.
(7/21/16, 11:20 AM) Bill Taylor: Attached: 00001270 Andrey Zagorskyayak.doc
(7/22/16, 12:25 AM) Bill Taylor: Kurt, can you What does Defense Minister Zagorskyayak- do? We just met to discuss the pause in security assistance. He would like your advice and assistance.

Confidential
KV00000028
Kurt Volker: Sure — need a few min but will do!

Bill Taylor: Many thanks. I think he is very good.

Kurt Volker: Hi bill — we are talking in half an hour. Have you got a minute to talk?

Bill Taylor: Sorry to miss you last night. Glad you connected. Glad to talk — when works for you?


Kurt Volker: Hi Bill greetings from Munich — on route to Tbilisi...

Bill Taylor: I’ll let Chris answer on who the advisor is...

Bill Taylor: Looking forward to seeing you next week

Kurt Volker: However — what I did not want to say in that wider group is that I team does not plan on a Minsk-related constitutional amendment. They want to do decentralization through legislation

Kurt Volker: Yes — made of!

Bill Taylor: And I agree with him on no constitutional amendment on special status: Decentralization!

Kurt Volker: Hi bill — is there a good time to call this afternoon / eve? Best - Kurt

Bill Taylor: Maybe around 5?

Kurt Volker: Ok - in 30 min?

Bill Taylor: No. sorry -- 3 PM my time.

Bill Taylor: Ok - 1pm here - can do

Bill Taylor: We just had a good meeting with Zelensky, Babay and Zhelev (now in Yelner's position) and discussed Donbas and Steinmyer formulas at some length. Yermak is not available for breakfast, how about Babay and Zhelev for breakfast?

Kurt Volker: Sure — that would be great.

Bill Taylor: Did you ask about Prutskih?


Kurt Volker: Great — interested to hear...
(8/3/13, 12:22:23 PM) Call with Sondland/Volker: Messages to this group are now secured with end-to-end encryption.
(8/3/13, 12:20:29 PM) Gordon Sondland created group "Call with Sondland/Volker"
(8/3/13, 12:20:23 PM) Gordon Sondland added you
(8/3/13, 12:30:03 PM) Gordon Sondland: Andrey, can you, Kurt and I have a call today after 3pm Eastern time?
(8/3/13, 12:30:38 PM) Andrey Yermak: Yes, ok
(8/3/13, 12:31:50 PM) Gordon Sondland: I will have our State Dept ops center place the call to you at this number at 3pm Washington time.
You created group "Gordon and Bill"

[6/12/19, 8:59:22 AM] Gordon and Bill. Messages to this group are now secured with end-to-end encryption.

[6/12/19, 8:59:22 AM] Gordon and Bill: Messages to this group are now secured with end-to-end encryption.

[6/12/19, 8:59:23 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 USD. Best – Kurt


[6/14/19, 5:12:14 AM] Gordon Sandland: This message was deleted.

[6/14/19, 5:12:31 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

[6/15/19, 8:33:07 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, 2:00:21 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 to 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

[6/24/19, 2:48:43 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?

[6/25/19, 3:43:33 PM] Kurt Volker: Let’s have an internal call Friday — three of us plus Secretary Perry. — Kurt

[6/25/19, 3:53:18 PM] Gordon Sandland: This is Vindman and Ze being fixed. Agree Kurt, let’s talk fri


[6/27/19, 7:33:33 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 to agree with Kurt that the call tomorrow should be just Americans. Thoughts?

[6/27/19, 7:33:33 AM] Gordon Sandland: Just Americans tomorrow. Give me a call when you can on this line


[6/27/19, 10:22:11 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.

[6/23/19, 3:40:19 AM] Bill Taylor: Call this afternoon still on?

[6/23/19, 3:52:05 AM] Gordon Sandland: Vindman and Ze are being fixed. Agree Kurt, let’s talk fri


Thanks for including me and for the Secretary’s kind endorsement. Good luck in Toronto, Kurt.

[6/23/19, 8:00:20 AM] Gordon Sandland: Whoa, glad you stayed on! I might see him Sunday with Congresswoman Vela’s congressional delegation.


[6/23/19, 11:25:52 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!


[6/23/19, 1:20:45 PM] Bill Taylor: Kurt had a good meeting with Ze. I hear we just sent Dmychuk’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?


[6/23/19, 1:50:02 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 day!

[6/23/19, 1:54:33 PM] Bill Taylor: Thanks — to you as well

[6/23/19, 1:00:04 AM] Bill Taylor: Prytula is with the president at the line of contact. They asked if we have anything more on the phone call. I am with Dmychuk in his helicopter on the way back from the Crimean border. Can pass on any new information.

[6/23/19, 10:07:30 AM] Gordon Sandland: We are seeing Dmychuk in a couple of days. Better face to face with Bolton.

[6/23/19, 1:51:16 PM] Bill Taylor: As Kurt knows, the NSC office is a ways from the president’s. For now, Prytula is physically closer, traveling with Ze to Toronto and the line of contact. Let me know if I can get answers.


[6/23/19, 3:08:56 PM] Gordon Sandland: Yes, let’s do that

[6/23/19, 4:20:06 PM] Bill Taylor: Bill Taylor: Great. If you get me a time for the call, I will get them ready and the call on their schedule.

[6/23/19, 7:55:03 AM] Bill Taylor: Just had a meeting with Army and Vadhyn. Very concerned about what Ltensky told them — that, according to Rz, the GE-PJUS meeting will not happen.

[6/23/19, 7:55:39 AM] Kurt Volker: Good grief. Please tell Vadhyn to let the official USG representatives speak for the U.S. Ltensky has his own 5-interest here...


[6/23/19, 10:20:13 PM] Bill Taylor: How did the meeting go?


KVO0300036
11/10/19, 10:30-23 PM Bill Taylor: Just called. You are on the phone.

11/14/19, 10:31-27 AM Gordon Sandland: Everyone is now focused on making the Putin-Zelensky call happen prior to 7/21.

11/14/19, 10:31-33 AM Kurt Volker: Anything new you have heard?

11/14/19, 10:32-57 AM Gordon Sandland: Tim Morrison is also tracking now. Good sign.

11/14/19, 10:46-40 AM Bill Taylor: They will make it happen whenever they want, but they want him in an office, ideally his, so the connection and interpretation are clear. Any indication of timing most welcome.

11/15/19, 10:40-23 AM Bill Taylor: We keep getting readouts of the Danylyk-Biden meeting that predict no phone call or meeting anytime soon. This can't be my message to Z. How to proceed?

11/18/19, 12:47-18 PM Bill Taylor: Make any progress?

11/14/19, 10:46-23 AM Bill Taylor: Danylyk just asked if there was any news from the WH. Any updates?

11/14/19, 10:40-03 AM Gordon Sandland: I put in a call to Putin and am waiting for a return.

11/14/19, 10:40-44 AM Bill Taylor: Excellent — thanks, Gordon.

11/15/19, 10:34-54 AM Bill Taylor: Dmytro just said that all security assistance to Ukraine is frozen, per a conversation with Mulvaney and POTUS. Over to you.

11/15/19, 10:40-05 AM Gordon Sandland: All over it.

11/16/19, 10:41-00 AM Bill Taylor: Can we marshal our forces to get a congratulatory phone call from POTUS to Z as mid to late next week, assuming the election goes well and Servant of the People does well?

11/16/19, 10:43-03 AM Gordon Sandland: Talked to WH. This is moving but post-election.

11/17/19, 10:46-51 AM Bill Taylor: Bill, how can we get a congratulatory call/post-election that could begin to establish the relationship?

11/17/19, 10:46-42 PM Kurt Volker: Can we then do a call tomorrow — say noon Wash DC?

11/16/19, 10:50-23 PM Gordon Sandland: Looks like Putin call tomorrow. I spoke directly to Zelensky and gave him a full briefing. He got it.


11/18/19, 12:42-22 PM Kurt Volker: Good. Had breakfast with Rudy this morning — teasing up call w Yarmol Monday. Must have helped. Most imp't is for Zelensky to say that he will help investigation — and any specific personal issues — if there any any.

11/19/19, 12:42-55 AM 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 10/10 Kyiv time today has been put on hold pending the outcome of the election tomorrow. Is that what you hear?

11/19/19, 12:42-58 AM Bill Taylor: If possible, I'd like to at least know when these are scheduled. I can at least reassure what you are doing.

11/19/19, 12:42-15 AM Gordon Sandland: Call me Bill this.

11/19/19, 12:42-01 AM Bill Taylor: Do we need to talk at noon Wash DC time?

11/19/19, 12:42-50 AM Kurt Volker: Yes — if available. Not sure if Gordon can join but let's plan on it, and we'll see.

11/19/19, 12:42-00 AM Bill Taylor: Kupchan (sp?) wants to talk to Danylyk so I am meeting taking him to my office. Can we reschedule?

11/19/19, 12:42-37 AM Kurt Volker: Absolutely.

11/19/19, 12:42-37 AM Kurt Volker: Anytime today will work for me.

11/19/19, 12:42-20 AM Bill Taylor: Maybe after the Kupchan-Danylyk call? Around 5-6 my time tonight.

11/19/19, 12:42-34 PM Kurt Volker: OK.

11/19/19, 12:42-44 PM Bill Taylor: Just finished with Danylyk. Will be in the car 10 minutes. Call then.

11/19/19, 12:42-16 PM Kurt Volker: Yarmol.

11/20/19, 12:42-04 PM Bill Taylor: Call now?

11/20/19, 12:42-54 AM Bill Taylor: Gordon, one thing. I talked about yesterday was Sasha Danylyk's point that President Zelensky is sensitive about Ukraine being taken seriously, not merely as an instrument in Washington domestic/more politics.

11/20/19, 12:42-54 AM Gordon Sandland: Absolutely, but we need to get the conversation started and the relationship built, irrespective of the protest. I am worried about the alternative.

11/20/19, 12:43-47 AM Bill Taylor: So, the call tomorrow is a positive step.

11/20/19, 12:43-56 AM Bill Taylor: Good, pretty long meeting — both one-on-one and with Biden, Sasha, Yarmol, Rozumkov — with the president at his campaign headquarters last night. Interested in both the call and meeting. I couldn't be specific.

11/20/19, 12:43-08 AM Bill Taylor: Sounds like Washington is thinking about a congratulatory call over the next couple of days — Kupchan wrote asking if the result would be known.

11/20/19, 12:42-05 AM Bill Taylor: Very good election results for Zelensky and us. Likely a young, Western-oriented prime minister. As likely to be in coalition with Volodymyr (with whom I have met once or twice in the last three days).

11/20/19, 12:42-22 AM Gordon Sandland: So Monday call was just rumor?

11/20/19, 12:42-22 AM Bill Taylor: Don't sound like one from either side that it was actually scheduled.

11/20/19, 12:42-35 AM Bill Taylor: Yarmol thinks Call is at 5pm kyiv today. Bill — any idea? Should call be there?

11/20/19, 12:42-38 AM Gordon Sandland: Good idea.

11/20/19, 12:42-38 AM Bill Taylor: Behind the scenes, it's not on today and I should tell Danylyk that they will schedule through him shortly.

11/20/19, 12:42-12 AM Bill Taylor: I have talked to Sasha (and Yarmol)

11/20/19, 12:42-77 AM Bill Taylor: Don't you think we should work through Sasha?

11/20/19, 12:42-03 AM Kurt Volker: Yes — you've got your latest. That's good. Work thru Sasha. And they will schedule thru Danylyk. Keep us posted what you hear.

11/20/19, 12:42-16 AM Kurt Volker: I'll talk Yarmol same thing.


11/20/19, 12:42-44 AM Bill Taylor: NSC is trying to schedule the call for Thursday. I am checking with Sasha to see if that works for them.

11/20/19, 12:42-53 AM Gordon Sandland: Great. I will let you know tonight.

11/20/19, 12:42-47 AM Bill Taylor: Looking forward to seeing you here.

11/20/19, 12:42-05 PM Bill Taylor: NSC now looking at Friday for the call. Ukrainians are checking to see if that works.

11/20/19, 12:42-08 AM Kurt Volker: Great. Sounds like this is now on track?

11/20/19, 12:43-57 AM Gordon Sandland: Oy.

11/20/19, 12:44-01 AM Gordon Sandland: Yay.

11/20/19, 12:45-32 AM Bill Taylor: On-the-fly. Also, some question about which day to go past, 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 firm for sharing Monday. I am waiting to hear if Friday works for the Ukrainians.

11/20/19, 12:45-26 AM Kurt Volker: Great. I'll go on whichever day is to accommodate Zelensky — face-to-face way.

11/20/19, 12:45-19 AM Gordon Sandland: Call me just spoke to Danylyk. Have a great.
Bill Taylor: Calling now.

Prystaiak and Danylik are now coordinating the call. President Zelenskyy is traveling on Friday.

Kurt Volker: OK — so we are meeting Ze on Thursday and going east Friday?

Kurt Volker: Great, the call is set.

Kurt Volker: Have just boarded in Zurich en route to Vienna.

Bill Taylor: The call is not yet scheduled — NSC trying for Friday. Zelenskyy traveling on Friday, they prefer Thursday. Prystaiak wants our meeting and the POTUS call on Thursday, trip to the East as soon. That doesn't work for you, Gordon.

Kurt Volker: We should do what works for Ze on Kyiv/S-3 schedule. Must insist that phone calls happen no matter what day.

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 Prystaiak difficult.

Bret Gordon: My primary objective is Zelenskyy. Friday morning is great.

Bret Gordon: But it, Kurt?

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 Zelenskyy's substantive efforts.

Bill Taylor: There's a report — from Yashin via an irritated Sasha — that the phone call could happen at 7 tomorrow evening our time. Tim Morrison trying to confirm.

Bill Taylor: That's great! Why are they irritated? They are getting the data they asked for.

Kurt Volker: Also — Gordon just called and Prystaiak said meeting w president is confirmed for 4pm Friday — so we should keep the trip east on Thursday.

Bill Taylor: The phone call is now confirmed for tomorrow at 10:00 Kyiv time. We are planning the trip to the East after the Zelenskyy meeting on Friday morning.

Bret Gordon: Sounds good.

Bret Gordon: Looking forward to seeing you both tomorrow.

Kurt Volker: Outstanding - thanks, Kurt.

Bill Taylor: Gordon, Kurdt I will be at the restaurant in 10 minutes. Sounds like the call went well. Sasha will give us a readout.

Kurt Volker: Thanks for getting him on message, Gordon. This is why you are the US Ambassador to Europe.

Bill Taylor: Hi bill — what's the status on data? Thanks

Bret Gordon: Thanks, Kurt. I will call Hq regarding the actual data. Did the WH formally offer dates for Ze's consideration.

Bret Gordon: WH offered three windows: the third week of September 8, 15, and 22. The Ukrainians want to make one trip, so either the week before UNGA or the week after. Bill is talking on his behalf.

Kurt Volker: Thanks.

Bill Taylor: I am en route to Kyiv tomorrow and will ask. I guess the week of 15th in this case makes most sense. A shame not to do it 3 weeks earlier...

Bill Taylor: Yes, let's manage it.


Bret Gordon: This team works like a Swiss Watch.

Bill Taylor: Or a times... takes a licker and keeps on ticking...

Bill Taylor: I know about the licker part.

Bill Taylor: Standing by to hear from Tim who had hoped to have a call by yesterday.

Bill Taylor: On another topic: we just met a staff member 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 left, totally corrupt, beyond saving, not worth investing in. Makes these staffers jobs harder — worse case support to Ukraine. (They had heard about the proposed pause in security assistance to Ukrain.) Kurt, we may need Steve Hadley to reassure...

Bill Taylor: Gordon, I have a new call with Tim Man. Sounds like bad news. Kurt, call if you have a care.

Bret Gordon: Hi Kurt. Gordon — will call in a bit — held a long talk w him on Friday. Seeing stete Sen Thursday. We just keep working...

Bret Gordon: Bill Taylor: Just talked to Tim. Tapping on status. He's looking forward to talking with you, Gordon, tomorrow. Kurt is right — we'll do.

Bill Taylor: No. We have all three talked with Tim. What's our strategy?

Bill Taylor: Kurt, Volker: Keeping going.

Bill Taylor: Formal, WH asked for a preference on week from Ukraine and Ukraine responded?

Bill Taylor: Should there be a paper going up that seeks a decision based on that, etc?

Bill Taylor: Russia responded saying they want to plan one trip, as the week before UNGA will work. The week of September 8 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..."

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..."

Bret Gordon: Bill Taylor: Gordon, Tim had to bump ours till Thurs morning. I am working on the problem however.

Bill Taylor: Meeting on Fri 2:40 Sunday afternoon.

Bill Taylor: Full blast.

Bill Taylor: Yan, very much.

Bill Taylor: Outstanding!!

Gordon: Fantastical News Bill.

Gordon: Vlad must have made quite the impression on John S.

Bill Taylor: You are listed a participating. Gordon.

Bill Taylor: He did have a good, long meeting.

Bill Taylor: Does this mean as Washington meeting?

Confidential

KV00000033
Kurt Volker, just the opposite—should open the door.

Bill Taylor: Hope you are right.

Bill Taylor: Trip canceled.

Kurt Volker: Hope VP US keeps the bilat—and tees up Wil visit.

Kurt Volker: And hope Gordon and Perry still going.

Gordon Sondland: I am going. Pompeo is speaking to Putin today to see if his go.

Bill Taylor: Are we now saying that security assistance and Wil meeting are conditioned on investigations?

Bill Taylor: Defense Minister Zelensky, is calling you both about security assistance. I think Kurt talked with him last night.

Bill Taylor: Sounds good. Am heading to the airport to pick up Senators Johnson and Murphy. Messages for them.

Kurt Volker: Thank you for the letter!! And push for Wil visit...

Kurt Volker: Being denied visas for Russia is a badge of honor.

Kurt Volker: Even more convinced of our assessment after inauguration—Zelensky is the real deal and he needs us support.

Kurt Volker: Iii—got an email overnight from SACE—says hold is lifted. Let's verify...

Bill Taylor: Got the same message. Checking with NSC.

Kurt Volker: Great—thanks! Let me know what you hear.


Bill Taylor: Yup.

Bill Taylor: Will be interesting to talk w Roncharuk on Saturday.

Bill Taylor: Yes.
We still meeting in Kyiv fri?

[7/22/93, 4:33 PM] Kurt Voller: Yes — Morrison. We're talking in 5
[7/22/93, 4:35 PM] Kurt Voller: And... — do come to kyiv? I'll go east on Thursday (welcome there too) and go to kyiv on Friday.

[7/22/93, 8:27 AM] Gordon Sandland: Hi Gordon — Tim is a good guy. Tell him we are in touch and respected. I want meet fast but will be in Kyiv Thu night/all day Fri.

[7/22/93, 4:33 PM] Kurt Voller: Hi Gordon — I have called Fiana's replacement and will call Bolan if needed.
[7/22/93, 4:35 PM] Kurt Voller: But I can call Bolan and you can tell Wick that they agree on a call, if that helps.

[7/22/93, 4:31 PM] Gordon Sandland: I talked to Tim Morrison (Fiana's replacement). He is pushing but feel free as well.

[7/25/93, 8:51 AM] Gordon Sandland: Hi Gordon — good your message. Had a great lunch in Yarmak and then passed your message to him. He will see you tomorrow. Think everything in place.

[7/26/93, 8:33 AM] Kurt Voller: Hi Gordon — what are you flying, and when can I call you about Swedish? Kurt

[7/26/93, 8:41 AM] Gordon Sandland: Call

[7/26/93, 4:46 AM] Kurt Voller: When we land — still in kola — maybe another 45 min?

[7/26/93, 8:46 AM] Gordon Sandland: Sure

[7/26/93, 4:45 PM] Kurt Voller: Hi Gordon — we could get a chance to call. Free for 2 min or call tomorrow?


[7/27/93, 8:03 AM] Kurt Voller: Hi Gordon — have an hour now — let's talk when you can.

[7/27/93, 8:06 AM] Kurt Voller: I want to meet you at the Swedish embassy in Washington, who was dispatched from her vacation to go back to work.


[7/29/93, 9:30 AM] Gordon Sandland: Yes

[7/29/93, 10:56 AM] Kurt Voller: I gather there is getting a Swedish briefing this afternoon — Swedish met with O'Brien, and somehow Will lawyer thinks they did not take the meeting... crazy.

[7/29/93, 12:05 PM] Gordon Sandland: Missed voice call

[7/29/93, 12:05 PM] Kurt Voller: Call you back in 15

[7/29/93, 12:05 PM] Gordon Sandland: Sure


[7/29/93, 9:01 PM] Kurt Voller: Gordon — on eastern coast?


[7/29/93, 10:25 PM] Gordon Sandland:


[8/1/93, 10:55 AM] Gordon Sandland: Missed voice call

[8/1/93, 5:33 PM] Gordon Sandland: Morrison ready to get dates as soon as Yarmak confirms.

[8/1/93, 5:45 PM] Kurt Voller: Excellent — how did you away hir?

[8/1/93, 5:47 PM] Gordon Sandland: Not sure I did. I think I am the one who wants the deliverable.

[8/1/93, 5:45 PM] Kurt Voller: But does he know that?

[8/1/93, 5:42 PM] Gordon Sandland: Yes


[8/1/93, 5:42 PM] Gordon Sandland: To avoid misunderstandings, might be helpful to ask Andrey for a draft statement (embarrassed) so that we can see exactly what they propose to cover.

[8/1/93, 5:51 PM] Gordon Sandland: Even though the presser they can still summarize in a brief statement. Thoughts?


[8/1/93, 11:52 AM] Gordon Sandland: Anything from Andrey?


[8/1/93, 1:22 AM] Gordon Sandland: I briefly Ursch. All good

[8/1/93, 11:44 AM] Kurt Voller: This came in from Andrey — I suggested we talk at my 10am / his 5pm tomorrow.

[8/1/93, 11:24 PM] Kurt Voller: 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 helpful 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.

[8/1/93, 11:03 PM] Gordon Sandland: If that's a good time. I can join you if you wish.


[7/30/93, 5:15 PM] Gordon Sandland: Great. You want to call State ops or shall I?


[8/1/93, 9:43 AM] Gordon Sandland: Yes


[3/13/12, 9:20:44 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.


[3/13/12, 10:38:57 AM] Gordon Sandland: Missed voice call


[3/13/12, 10:48:59 PM] Gordon Sandland: U going to call Andrey first tomorrow?

[3/13/12, 10:26:58 AM] Gordon Sandland: Hi, did you connect with Andrey?

[3/13/12, 10:24:14 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


[3/13/12, 8:02:55 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi – you got nothing. Bill had no info on requesting an investigation – calling a friend at DOJ (Bruce Schwartz)

[3/13/12, 8:08:19 AM] Gordon Sandland: Do we still want to give us an unclassified draft with Yermak and Borzeza?

[3/13/12, 8:43:20 PM] Kurt Volker: That's the clear message so far...

[3/13/12, 8:43:35 PM] Kurt Volker: I'm hoping we can get something out there that causes him to respond with that

[3/13/12, 4:03:24 AM] Gordon Sandland: Under the circumstances I will return Andrey's call tomorrow and suggest they send us a clean draft.

[3/13/12, 8:37:41 AM] Kurt Volker: Let's talk tomorrow. I'm still a bit uptight on this.

[3/13/12, 8:58:05 PM] Gordon Sandland: Deal.


[3/13/12, 9:56:25 AM] Gordon Sandland: Great news. I got back the "larger issue" home with Yermak. Not about just a meeting but the relationship issue. Please come to John. Also Yermak raised the Borzeza issue and said he would appreciate us both joining the meetings. Kindly convey. IB

[3/13/12, 7:17:50 PM] Gordon Sandland: Missed voice call


[3/13/12, 12:08:40 PM] Kurt Volker: thanks – u called – ring back when you can


[3/13/12, 3:37:22 PM] Gordon Sandland: Call at your convenience

[3/13/12, 5:20:21 PM] Kurt Volker: Is it ok to call now?


[3/13/12, 6:08:31 PM] Gordon Sandland: Missed voice call

[3/13/12, 9:03:59 PM] Gordon Sandland: Missed voice call


[3/13/12, 12:44:41 AM] Gordon Sandland: Yes, please call soonest


[3/13/12, 6:07:41 AM] Gordon Sandland: Try me back


[3/13/12, 1:58:02 AM] Kurt Volker: Need a few mins still – closing the discussion but will pass later when I can and call


[3/13/12, 3:25:14 AM] Kurt Volker: I am free for about 90 mins if you can call. Let's - RV


[3/13/12, 6:07:41 AM] Gordon Sandland: Will take up when I see her Friday

[3/13/12, 6:10:38 AM] Kurt Volker: Great - thanks


[3/13/12, 4:54:41 AM] Kurt Volker: Great news otherwise on security assistance — and great statements from Inhofe and McConnell to back it up

[3/13/12, 7:03:30 PM] Gordon Sandland: Call me in on these involving Burisma and Yermak. Hi Gordon – hearing about ZE for bilateral at UNGA. Have you heard?

[3/13/12, 12:08:57 AM] Gordon Sandland: Nice, but we should be there. Perry is going to brief NY as well for nuclear signing I am working on with RJ. We need to all be manifested for this bilateral.

[3/13/12, 12:29:43 AM] Kurt Volker: Yes – will push for that

[3/13/12, 12:28:53 AM] Gordon Sandland: I will send Dorrion an email as well and we'll copy you.


[3/13/12, 4:03:59 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Gordon – are you stateside or in Brussels?

[3/13/12, 4:04:35 PM] Kurt Volker: I just got to NY for a dinner

[3/13/12, 11:33:33 PM] Gordon Sandland: Just saw this. Call at convenience. In DC, NY or Suz
(3/22/19, 12:03:58 PM) Kurt Valken: Landsal yet? Will call
(3/22/19, 12:04:02 PM) Gordon Sandland: Yes. can u meet with S this afternoon?
(3/22/19, 12:05:02 PM) Kurt Valken: I'm in DC — but would be happy to join by phone
(3/22/19, 12:54:32 PM) Gordon Sandland: U calling in?
(3/22/19, 12:54:44 PM) Gordon Sandland: At 5:45
(3/22/19, 12:58:51 PM) Kurt Valken: Yes — secure from state via app
(3/22/19, 7:21:05 PM) Kurt Valken: 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!
(3/22/19, 10:03:30 AM) Kurt Valken: Hi Gordon. can you make dinner with me and Andrew and Valera at 8pm? Venue 1B?
(3/22/19, 10:46:56 AM) Gordon Sandland: I am taking Racher, Morgan and another 7 to dinner at Cipriani at 8. Maybe drop by later? Where will u be?
(3/22/19, 10:56:42 AM) Kurt Valken: Working on that. Can you recommend steakhouse in midtown?
(3/22/19, 10:57:01 AM) Gordon Sandland: Hts Strip House
(3/22/19, 10:59:14 AM) Kurt Valken: Done — reservation for 4 at 8pm. Join when you can
(3/22/19, 10:59:31 AM) Gordon Sandland: OK
(3/22/19, 11:10:18 AM) Kurt Valken: 15 W 44th St.
(3/22/19, 11:31:24 PM) Kurt Valken: We are here - hope you can make it
(3/22/19, 10:43:33 PM) Kurt Valken: ??
(3/22/19, 10:45:21 PM) Kurt Valken: Ok — we are taking off. Let's talk when you can
(3/23/19, 7:53:10 AM) Gordon Sandland: Missed voice call
(3/23/19, 7:54:05 AM) Gordon Sandland: Sorry about last night. Felt like shit and went to bed at 8. Didnt even go to my dinner. Much better today. Call when able
(3/23/19, 8:03:55 AM) Kurt Valken: Sorry to hear that! Hope you feel better. Need to discuss one urgent topic — best - Kurt
(3/23/19, 7:48:01 PM) Kurt Valken: Breakfast with Andrew at Park Hyatt at 8am/??
(3/23/19, 8:03:43 PM) Gordon Sandland: If you guys could come to the Peninsula for blfst my treat. I have to be on a call just prior.
(3/23/19, 10:08:57 PM) Gordon Sandland: Missed voice call
(3/24/19, 9:03:33 PM) Kurt Valken: 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?
(3/24/19, 9:33:57 PM) Kurt Valken: 57th street
(3/25/19, 4:58:07 AM) Gordon Sandland: Kurt, sorry cant make 8:00. Can you have a moment to chat by phone or in person after your blfst?
(3/25/19, 9:31:44 AM) Kurt Valken: Could you make it if we want to take a walk at 8? Otherwise — yes - let's find time to talk later in morning.
(3/25/19, 5:41:17 PM) Gordon Sandland: Can make 8 but can we meet around 9:30 or 10?
(3/25/19, 5:42:14 AM) Kurt Valken: No - Andrew has meetings w/Lz then. I can call you in that time range - and he can call later if am sure as well
(3/25/19, 5:44:04 AM) Gordon Sandland: Just wanted to meet with you
(3/25/19, 9:47:55 AM) Kurt Valken: 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
[3/2/19, 11:12 AM] Gordon Sanland: I created group "Ukraine".
[3/2/19, 11:24 AM] Bill Taylor: Now is fine with me.
[3/2/19, 11:45 AM] Bill Taylor: Gordon and I just spoke. I can brief you if you and Gordon don't connect.
[3/2/19, 12:27 PM] Bill Taylor: The nightmare is they give the interview and don't get the security assistance. The Russians love it. (And I quit.)
[3/2/19, 5:04 PM] Kurt Volker: I'm not in the loop. Talk Monday?
[3/2/19, 11:52 AM] Gordon Sanland: Call at your convenience or let me know a good time. I am in Brussels.
[3/2/19, 12:31 PM] 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. Trust my nightmare scenario.
[3/2/19, 12:54 PM] Bill Taylor: Counting on you to be right about this interview. Gordon.
[3/2/19, 12:57 PM] Gordon Sanland: As I said on the phone, I think it's crazy to withhold security assistance for help with a political campaign.
[3/2/19, 1:35 PM] Bill Taylor: If you are incorrect about President Trump's intentions, the President has been crystal clear: no quid pro quos 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 Kane or me a call to discuss them directly. Thanks.