

[9/29/19, 1:43:45 PM] You created group "Rudy-Kurt-Gordon"

[8/12/19, 8:53:52 PM] Rudy-Kurt-Gordon: Messages to this group are now secured with end-to-end encryption.

[9/29/19, 1:44:31 PM] You left

Message  
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

[Redacted]  
Monday 10 to 11

[Redacted]  
Ok, thank you

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



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


[Redacted]  
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

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

9/26/19, 10:34 AM



[Redacted]

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

[REDACTED]  
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, 11:03 AM

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

[REDACTED]  
I will be near Madrid over weekend

[REDACTED]  
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

[REDACTED]  
I will probably be in NYC

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

[REDACTED]  
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!



Good idea Kurt. I am on Pacific time.



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



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?



Yes just call

Message with [REDACTED]  
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, 8:06 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, 8:36 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.

8/22/19, 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, promotes 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.

@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



[5/20/19, 3:03:51 PM] Alex Danylyuk: Messages to this chat and calls are now secured with end-to-end encryption.  
[5/20/19, 3:03:51 PM] Alex Danylyuk: Hi Kurt, this is Alex Danylyuk. Meeting today?  
[5/20/19, 3:41:43 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Alex — sorry for delay — we are just leaving for hotel now. We can meet around 11:15. Or we can miss tonight and stay in touch by text / cell phone and email  
[5/20/19, 3:42:01 PM] Kurt Volker: Dinner ran late — very sorry about that  
[5/21/19, 9:49:27 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Alex -- per our conversations, here is a very first draft of a concept note concerning anti-trafficking legislation and breaking up the oligarchic system. Please send me any reactions and I'll update. Very happy to work this with US, EU, and IMF. Thanks and good to see you -- Kurt  
[5/21/19, 9:49:42 AM] Kurt Volker: Anti-Trust Reform.docx <attached: 00000006-Anti-Trust Reform.docx>  
[5/22/19, 1:45:09 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Alex — any thoughts today? Thanks - Kurt  
[5/22/19, 2:23:36 PM] Alex Danylyuk: Missed voice call  
[5/22/19, 2:23:58 PM] Alex Danylyuk: Hi Kurt, can we briefly talk?  
[5/25/19, 10:11:20 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Alex — let's talk today when you can  
[5/28/19, 12:22:57 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Alex — congratulations on the appointment! Very good news  
[5/28/19, 12:23:09 PM] Kurt Volker: How is it going? Talk tomorrow? Kurt  
[5/30/19, 12:52:44 PM] Kurt Volker: <attached: 00000013-PHOTO-2019-05-30-12-52-44.jpg>  
[5/30/19, 12:55:00 PM] Alex Danylyuk: Excellent! Thanks!  
[5/30/19, 12:55:28 PM] Kurt Volker: We are thinking of pompeo visit to ukraine before election and White House visit by Ze after  
[6/4/19, 7:41:20 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Alex — hope the Brussels visit goes well!  
[6/4/19, 7:41:56 AM] Kurt Volker: I will write to our Russian friend tomorrow — nothing new — just checking in and restating what needs to happen.  
[6/4/19, 7:42:17 AM] Kurt Volker: Sent just now to Prystaiko. Copying you below  
[6/4/19, 7:42:32 AM] Kurt Volker: 2019 0531 KV Draft letter to Surkov - w edits • 1 page <attached: 00000019-2019 0531 KV Draft letter to Surkov - w edits.docx>  
[6/14/19, 4:21:08 PM] Alex Danylyuk: Missed voice call  
[6/14/19, 4:24:04 PM] Alex Danylyuk: Hi Kurt, i hope you are well. I would like to update you on a recent developments. Can we fix time for tomorrow?  
[6/14/19, 4:41:42 PM] Kurt Volker: Yes! Call anytime after my 9am?  
[6/28/19, 5:43:44 PM] Alex Danylyuk: Hi Kurt, can you talk?  
[6/28/19, 5:45:09 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Alex - yes - now is good!  
[6/30/19, 3:27:24 PM] Alex Danylyuk: Hi Kurt! Let's talk tmrw Before you go to toronto. There is one thing i would like to tell you Before your meeting with Zelensky  
[6/30/19, 5:55:17 PM] Kurt Volker: Great — thanks — I am free before 9am and between 9:30am and 10:30am. Best - Kurt  
[7/1/19, 9:42:25 AM] Alex Danylyuk: Missed voice call  
[7/1/19, 9:42:34 AM] Alex Danylyuk: Missed voice call  
[7/1/19, 9:42:46 AM] Alex Danylyuk: Can you talk now?  
[7/1/19, 9:42:59 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Alex. 5 min?  
[7/1/19, 9:43:07 AM] Alex Danylyuk: Sure!  
[7/2/19, 8:01:27 PM] Alex Danylyuk: Hi! How was the meeting?  
[7/2/19, 10:21:35 PM] Alex Danylyuk: Missed voice call  
[7/4/19, 1:18:24 PM] Alex Danylyuk: Missed voice call  
[7/4/19, 1:19:03 PM] Alex Danylyuk: Dear Kurt! Happy independence Day!!  
[7/4/19, 1:55:12 PM] Kurt Volker: Thank you!! Great day!!  
[7/8/19, 5:30:16 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Alex — are we meeting today or tomorrow at 5:30?  
[7/8/19, 5:31:19 PM] Alex Danylyuk: Tomorrow). Unless you are in LONDON now  
[7/8/19, 5:31:38 PM] Kurt Volker: :) good! In DC and looking forward to tomorrow!  
[7/8/19, 5:35:58 PM] Alex Danylyuk: See you!  
[7/9/19, 5:25:53 PM] Kurt Volker: I'm in the lobby — 1700 H st — take your time. Thx - kv  
[7/11/19, 8:16:16 AM] Alex Danylyuk: Good morning! Is it convenient to talk?  
[7/22/19, 8:34:35 AM] Kurt Volker: Congratulations!! And see you this week  
[7/22/19, 8:42:01 AM] Alex Danylyuk: Thanks! See you!  
[7/22/19, 8:46:59 AM] Kurt Volker: I think White House will be rescheduling phone call between our presidents. Not today, but soon. You should hear from WH directly  
[7/22/19, 8:49:10 AM] Alex Danylyuk: Thanks! Understand

[9/28/19, 7:45:34 AM] Alex Danylyuk: Missed voice call  
[9/28/19, 9:16:56 AM] Alex Danylyuk: Missed voice call  
[9/28/19, 2:03:43 PM] Alex Danylyuk: Kurt, just want to say "thank you" You sincerely cared about Ukraine. I hope to keep in touch. As you might know i have stepped down too. [REDACTED]  
Best regards Alex  
[9/28/19, 2:57:54 PM] Kurt Volker: Thanks Alex! And yes - I saw that. Let's do stay in touch — we can speaking series as a team some day!!



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 29, 2019

His Excellency  
Volodymyr Zelenskyy  
President of Ukraine  
Kyiv

Dear Mr. President,

On the occasion of your inauguration, I wish to offer my congratulations on your historic election victory.

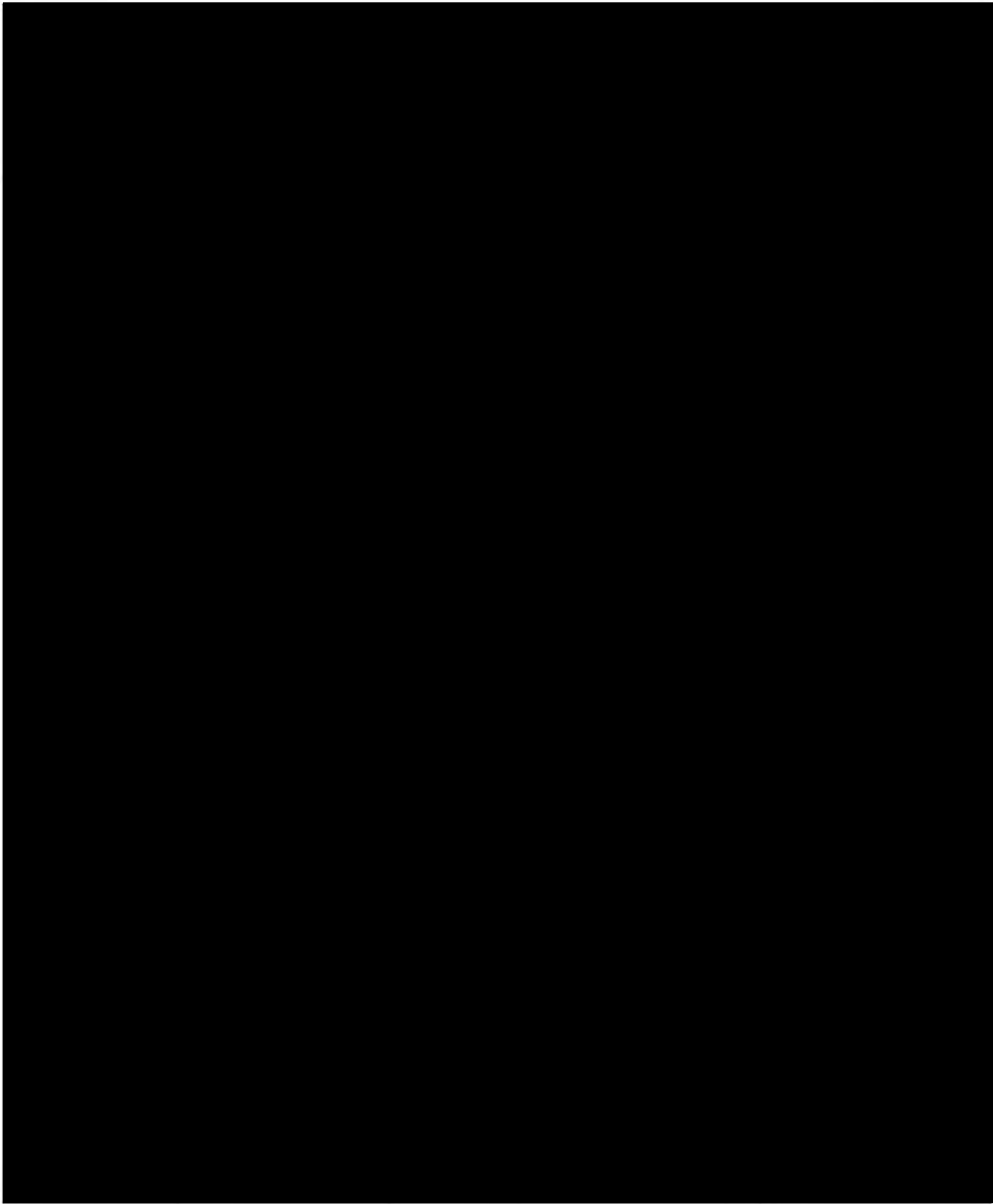
The United States and Ukraine are steadfast partners, working together to realize the shared vision of a stable, prosperous, and democratic Ukraine that is integrated into the Euro-Atlantic community. Our partnership is rooted in the idea that free citizens should be able to exercise their democratic rights, choose their own destiny, and live in peace. As you said in your victory speech, your election demonstrates that democracy is possible anywhere in the former Soviet region. Ukraine's success exemplifies the triumph of democracy over resurgent despotism. United States support for Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity is unwavering.

As you prepare to address the many challenges facing Ukraine, please know that the American people are with you and are committed to helping Ukraine realize its vast potential. To help show that commitment, I would like to invite you to meet with me at the White House in Washington, D.C., as soon as we can find a mutually convenient time.

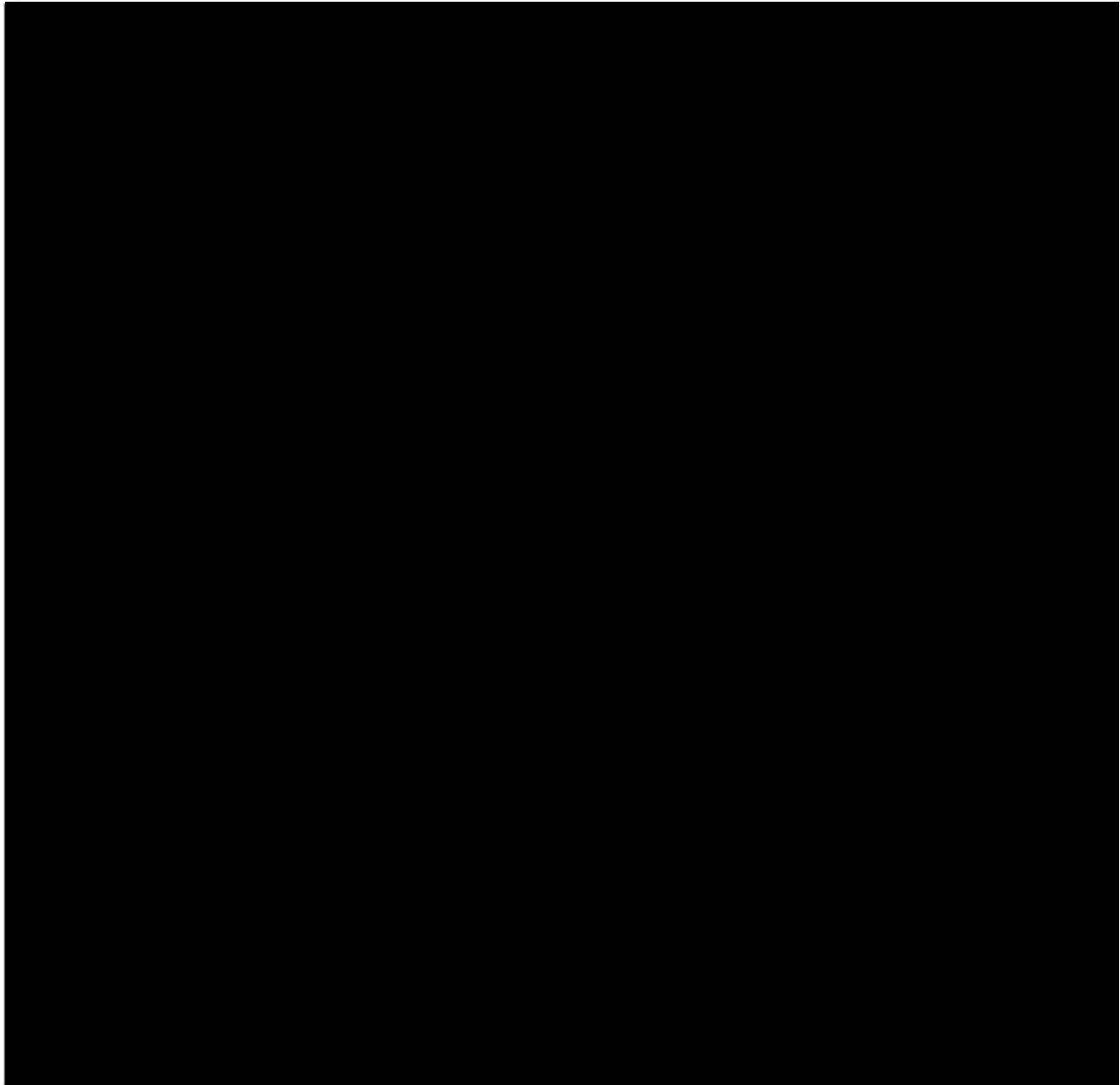
I wish you every success as you assume office, and I look forward to meeting with you.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Donald Trump", written in a cursive style.









[9/2/19, 3:18:06 PM] Andrei Zagorodnyuk : Messages to this chat and calls are now secured with end-to-end encryption.  
[9/2/19, 3:18:06 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrei - Kurt Volker here. Are you free for a phone call?  
[9/2/19, 3:18:24 PM] Andrei Zagorodnyuk : Hey  
[9/2/19, 3:18:34 PM] Andrei Zagorodnyuk : Can we talk in 30 min?  
[9/2/19, 3:18:42 PM] Kurt Volker: Yes - perfect  
[9/2/19, 3:18:48 PM] Andrei Zagorodnyuk : Great  
[9/2/19, 3:18:57 PM] Andrei Zagorodnyuk : Will call this number  
[9/2/19, 3:19:11 PM] Kurt Volker: Good— looking forward to your call  
[9/3/19, 11:28:23 AM] Kurt Volker: Ukraine Security Letter • 2 pages <attached: 00000009-Ukraine Security Letter.pdf>  
[9/3/19, 11:40:28 AM] Andrei Zagorodnyuk : Fantastic  
[9/3/19, 11:40:37 AM] Andrei Zagorodnyuk : Thank you so much  
[9/4/19, 9:57:26 AM] Kurt Volker: Thanks — it is a good letter — and senate will keep pressure on this.  
[9/4/19, 3:56:45 PM] Andrei Zagorodnyuk : Hello. Just to update, I have a call with Def Sec at 15.00 UA time on Friday  
[9/4/19, 7:46:33 PM] Kurt Volker: Outstanding !!  
[9/4/19, 7:47:25 PM] Kurt Volker: My suggestion : emphasis on your commitment to reform and professionalization — and really want US support  
[9/4/19, 7:48:41 PM] Kurt Volker: Understand US assistance is an internal US decision, but if US goes forward, committed to making sure it is effective, transparent and makes a real difference for reform  
[9/4/19, 11:55:37 PM] Andrei Zagorodnyuk : Yes, thank you. Appreciate your advice  
[9/4/19, 11:56:08 PM] Andrei Zagorodnyuk : Will get back to you right after the call





[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 Zelenskiy 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, 1:16:05 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, 8:26:00 AM] Kurt Volker: Also – Rudy Giuliani says he arrives in Madrid on August 1 and departs August 5.

[7/27/19, 3:01:16 AM] Andrey Yermak: Good morning

[7/27/19, 3:01:42 AM] Andrey Yermak: I will be in Hyatt in 7 min

[8/1/19, 2:23:52 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey – just checking in – how is everything? On track for Madrid? Visit to DC? Kurt

[8/1/19, 3:36:03 PM] Andrey Yermak: Hi Kurt. Now in plane from Zurich to Madrid. Will call you after landing

[8/2/19, 1:27:31 PM] Andrey Yermak: Missed voice call

[8/2/19, 1:27:42 PM] Andrey Yermak: Hi Kurt

[8/2/19, 1:28:19 PM] Andrey Yermak: My meeting with Mr. Mayor was very good

[8/2/19, 1:30:36 PM] Andrey Yermak: We asked for White House meeting during week start 16 Sept. Waiting for confirmation. May be you know the date?

[8/2/19, 1:30:46 PM] Andrey Yermak: When we can talk?

[8/2/19, 1:31:04 PM] Andrey Yermak: Will be 1,5 hours in plane

[8/2/19, 1:38:44 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey – sorry I missed you. Will be free when you land

[8/4/19, 12:39:54 PM] Andrey Yermak: Hi Kurt, how are you? Do you have any news?

[8/4/19, 1:16:37 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey – speaking w Rudy in about 2 hours – call you after?

[8/4/19, 1:17:17 PM] Andrey Yermak: Yes, of course

[8/4/19, 4:20:55 PM] Kurt Volker: Have still not heard back – other than a text saying "great meeting"

[8/4/19, 4:21:11 PM] Kurt Volker: I think it is late in Spain now so will try again first thing in the morning

[8/5/19, 1:19:18 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey – had a good long talk w Rudy – call anytime - Kurt

[8/7/19, 1:32:10 PM] Andrey Yermak: Hi Kurt. How are you? Do you have some news about White House meeting date?

[8/7/19, 1:34:35 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey! Not yet – I texted Rudy earlier to make sure he weighs in following your meeting. Gordon should be speaking with the president on Friday. We are pressing this..

[8/7/19, 1:35:09 PM] Andrey Yermak: Thank you!

[8/7/19, 1:36:07 PM] Kurt Volker: Also – I expect to see Pompeo next week as well, but not yet confirmed. Will ask him to help also.

[8/8/19, 3:46:10 PM] Andrey Yermak: Hi Kurt. Can you talk? I have some news

[8/8/19, 4:51:58 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey – yes – Now is good – or tomorrow if too late for you now

[8/10/19, 4:46:29 PM] Andrey Yermak: Missed voice call

[8/10/19, 4:53:15 PM] Andrey Yermak: This message was deleted.

[8/10/19, 4:56:15 PM] Andrey Yermak: Hi Kurt. Please let me know when you can talk. I think it's possible to make this declaration and mention all these things. Which we discussed yesterday. But it will be logic to do after we receive a confirmation of date. We inform about date of visit and about our expectations and our guarantees for future visit. Let discuss it

[8/10/19, 5:01:32 PM] Kurt Volker: Ok! It's late for you – why don't we talk in my morning, your afternoon tomorrow? Say 10am/5pm?

[8/10/19, 5:02:18 PM] Kurt Volker: I agree with your approach. Let's iron out statement and use that to get date and then Prez can go forward with it?

[8/10/19, 5:26:17 PM] Andrey Yermak: Ok

[8/10/19, 5:38:43 PM] Kurt Volker: Great. Gordon is available to join as well

[8/10/19, 5:41:45 PM] Andrey Yermak: Excellent

[8/10/19, 5:42:10 PM] Andrey Yermak: Once we have a date, will call for a press briefing, announcing upcoming visit and outlining vision for the reboot of US-Ukraine relationship, including among other things Burisma and election meddling in investigations

[8/10/19, 5:42:30 PM] Kurt Volker: Sounds great!

[8/11/19, 9:49:09 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey - ready in 10 minutes?

[8/11/19, 9:50:01 AM] Andrey Yermak: Hi Kurt. In 25 min ok?

[8/11/19, 9:51:01 AM] Kurt Volker: Yes – no problem

[8/11/19, 10:19:01 AM] Andrey Yermak: Missed voice call

[8/11/19, 10:27:26 AM] Andrey Yermak: Missed voice call

[8/11/19, 10:27:33 AM] Andrey Yermak: Missed voice call

[8/11/19, 10:27:39 AM] Andrey Yermak: Missed voice call

[8/11/19, 10:27:44 AM] Andrey Yermak: Missed voice call

[8/11/19, 10:27:51 AM] Andrey Yermak: Missed voice call

[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 в 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  
[8/26/19, 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 w he 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 Motor 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-168953>  
[8/29/19, 8:55:04 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 date 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 2e 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— 9am?  
[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 Onipro 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 — 9am 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 9am  
[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!!

[9/20/19, 11:02:05 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — let me know when is good to call. Going to see Russian Amb on Monday and looking 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?

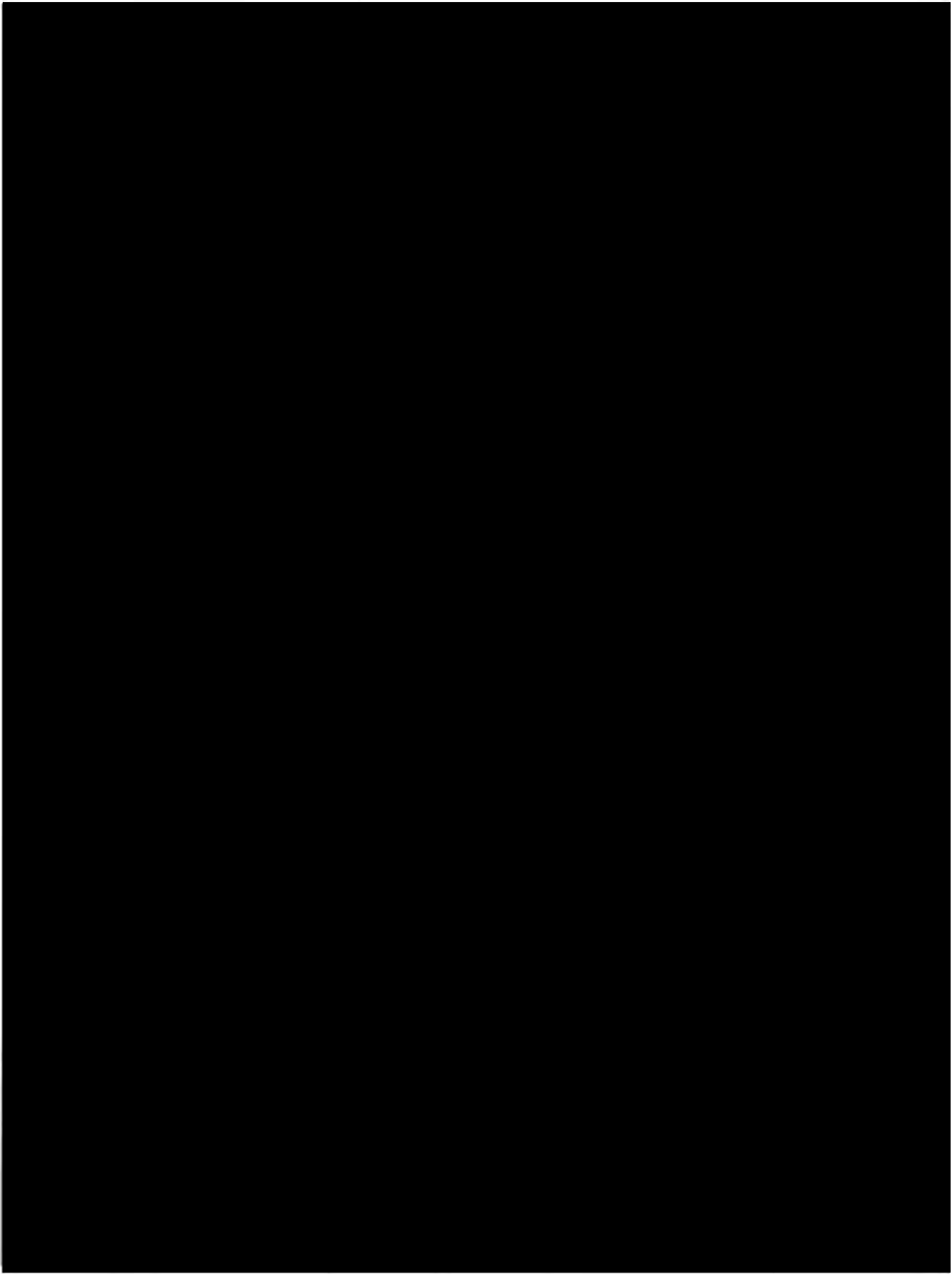
[9/24/19, 10:15:47 AM] Andrey Yermak: Yes  
[9/24/19, 10:17:13 AM] Andrey Yermak: You will make a reservation for me?  
[9/24/19, 10:43:04 AM] Kurt Volker: I'll get a reservation -- what hotel are you be staying at? will look for a steak place.  
[9/24/19, 10:43:29 AM] Andrey Yermak:   
[9/24/19, 10:43:47 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, 9:18:16 PM] Andrey Yermak: What you think? Great that you was  
[9/25/19, 9:20:43 PM] Kurt Volker: Thanks - very good meeting. Exactly what I expected. Once they can talk to each other -- all good  
[9/25/19, 9:36:27 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, 9:54:07 PM] Andrey Yermak: Yes  
[9/25/19, 9:54:16 PM] Andrey Yermak: With pleasure  
[9/25/19, 9:54:47 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

[9/27/19, 7:44:20 PM] Andrey Yermak: Hi  
[9/28/19, 8:11:36 AM] Andrey Yermak: Hello again, (+) 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.







[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, 10:28:22 AM] Bill Taylor: I look forward to pushing it in Kyiv.

[5/26/19, 5:14:39 PM] Bill Taylor: I am still struggling with the decision whether to go. Can anyone hope to succeed with the Giuliani-Biden 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 chargé 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, 2:28:12 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 Z 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, 11:41:15 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, 9:31:37 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, 11:02:19 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 Craft 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 Mariupol 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, 8:23:59 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 DK 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 Xyiv. 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, 11:14:36 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, 6:21:06 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, 8:45:58 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. - ky

[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 AM] 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...



## CONCEPT NOTE

### Breaking the Oligarchic System through Anti-Trust Reform

#### Objectives:

- Fundamentally break the grip of the oligarchic system on Ukrainian society.
- Reverse the incentives that now prevent rule of law, instead creating a demand for rule of law by the most powerful elements in society.
- Create the conditions for substantial foreign investment, boosting GDP growth, new job creation, and higher wages.
- Overcome divisions in Ukrainian society that have deepened over perceived injustice and corruption in the judicial and economic system.

#### Why Go Big?

- Corruption is often treated as a problem in Ukraine, but in reality, it is just a symptom of a bigger problem.
- The larger problem is a political and economic system distorted by oligarchs with disproportionate power in the country.
  - They seek control of institutions to private benefit, rather than maintenance of institutions that protect successful competition.
  - They seek monopolistic returns rather than additional, diverse investment in the Ukrainian economy as a whole.
  - This corrupts the judicial system, the Rada, and repels foreign investment.
- In this circumstance, incrementalism does not work.
- Only a major reform attacking the core problem itself gives Ukraine the opportunity for fundamental change.

#### Key Components

- Identify, draft, and gain Parliamentary approval of highly restrictive anti-trust legislation modeled on European Union best practices.
  - Prohibit excessive control by any single actor, or small number of actors, in any sector the economy.
  - Prevent excessive vertical or horizontal integration.
  - Require any person or company in excess of these limits to sell off assets in order to come into compliance.
  - Fixed time period for compliance – e.g., 3 years.
- Those coming into compliance retain proceeds of selling assets, minus 10 percent one-time tax.



- After compliance, amnesty from prosecution for crimes related to the acquisition of these assets, or past bribery or corruption charges.
- For those failing to come into compliance, state forcibly sells assets on behalf of those targeted and retains 30 percent one-time tax
  - No amnesty from prosecution for past crimes.
  - Failure to accept sale is prosecutable offense in itself.
- Agree on implementation of such legislation with U.S., EU, IMF as major reform
- Establish special, international Court of Appeals in London or The Hague to oversee implementation of legislation and adjudicate contested cases

### Political Benefits

- Provides ambitious, major reform that truly tackles entire system in Ukraine, commensurate with President Zelensky's campaign promises.
- Use as litmus test for those seeking election to Rada – President's candidates will adopt pledge to support such legislation, and challenge others to do the same. Creates identity and method for advancing President's agenda through Rada election.
- Use as a compact with U.S., EU, and IMF as basis for securing further tranches of budgetary support, technical assistance, and support for private sector business investment.
- Establishes President and his political party as fundamentally aligning with EU and U.S. standards.
- Implementation will open door to substantial foreign investment that will raise GDP growth, job creation, and wages.
- Creates "pole of attraction" for occupied territories in Donbas and Crimea.

United States Senate  
WASHINGTON, DC 20510

September 3, 2019

Mick Mulvaney  
Director  
Office of Management and Budget  
725 17<sup>th</sup> Street N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20007

Dear Director Mulvaney:

As members of the bi-partisan Ukraine Caucus we write to express our deep concerns of reports that the Administration is considering not obligating the Ukraine Security Initiative funds for 2019.

This body has long advocated for increasing the military capacity and capabilities of Ukraine—a fledgling democracy that is pro-West and pro-United States, and since 2014 has been under increased military, political and economic pressure from Russia.

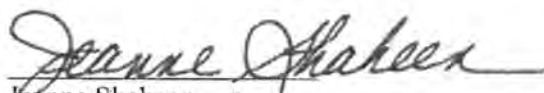
The funds designated for the Ukraine Security Assistance Initiative are vital to the long term viability of the Ukrainian military. It has helped Ukraine develop the independent military capabilities and skills necessary to fend off the Kremlin's continued onslaughts within its territory. In fact, Ukraine continues to fight daily on its eastern border against Russia-backed separatists in the provinces of Donetsk and Luhansk, and over 10,000 Ukrainian soldiers and civilians have lost their lives in this war. U.S.-funded security assistance has already helped turn the tide in this conflict, and it is necessary to ensure the protection of the sovereign territory of this young country, going forward. This is not only critical from a security perspective, but it is the only way for Ukrainians to continue their progress toward reforming and defending their country's democratic institutions. In this way, we are helping Ukraine to one day become a net assistance provider, and not just a recipient.

We have worked hard in a bi-partisan manner in the Senate to provide funding for a security assistance program for Ukraine that is effective, transparent and fiscally responsible. This funding is crucial to the long term stability of Ukraine and has the continued backing and approval of the U.S. Congress which appropriated these funds. We strongly urge you to direct the Department of Defense to obligate these funds immediately.

Thank you for your prompt attention to this matter.




Sincerely,



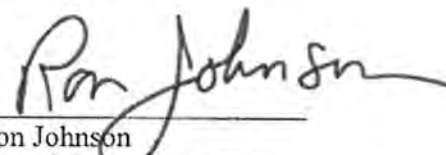
Jeanne Shaheen  
United States Senator



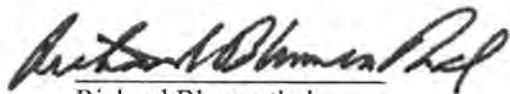
Rob Portman  
United States Senator



Richard J. Durbin  
United States Senator



Ron Johnson  
United States Senator



Richard Blumenthal  
United States Senator

CC: Secretary of State Michael R. Pompeo  
Secretary of Defense Mark T. Esper

[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 Bill"  
[6/12/19, 9:39:22 AM] Gordon and Bill: 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 Charge. 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. Best - 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 Sondland: This message was deleted.  
[6/19/19, 5:13:31 AM] Gordon Sondland: 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 Perry. -- Kurt  
[6/26/19, 3:50:13 PM] Gordon Sondland: 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 Sondland: 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 Sondland: 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 Sondland: 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 Sondland: 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 Sondland: Did Danyliuk 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 Sondland: 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 Sondland: 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 NSDC 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 Sondland: 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 e Mulvaney on Monday by phone? Kurt  
[7/7/19, 5:08:56 PM] Gordon Sondland: 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 ZC 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: DMB 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: Vey  
[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/zW8pad9R0CC>  
[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 staffer 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, 11:49:50 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, 4:15:18 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, 10:11:17 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, 11:49:48 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






Confidential

KV00000040



10:25

4G 




Vladomyr Zelenskyy

last seen today at 10:25 AM



Today

 Messages to this chat and calls are now secured with end-to-end encryption. Tap for more info.

Hi Vladomyr, thanks for hosting us yesterday. I am super impressed the way you have taken charge of the country in a few short weeks and are in full command. Very hopeful signs. Working hard on the White House visit. We are fully behind you and stand ready to help at a moments notice. All the best and mazel tov! Gordon

9:15 AM ✓

Thank you ! Gordon! I hope , I'll see you in the nearest future in USA. And thank you again for your support . Vlad.

10:11 AM



[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?

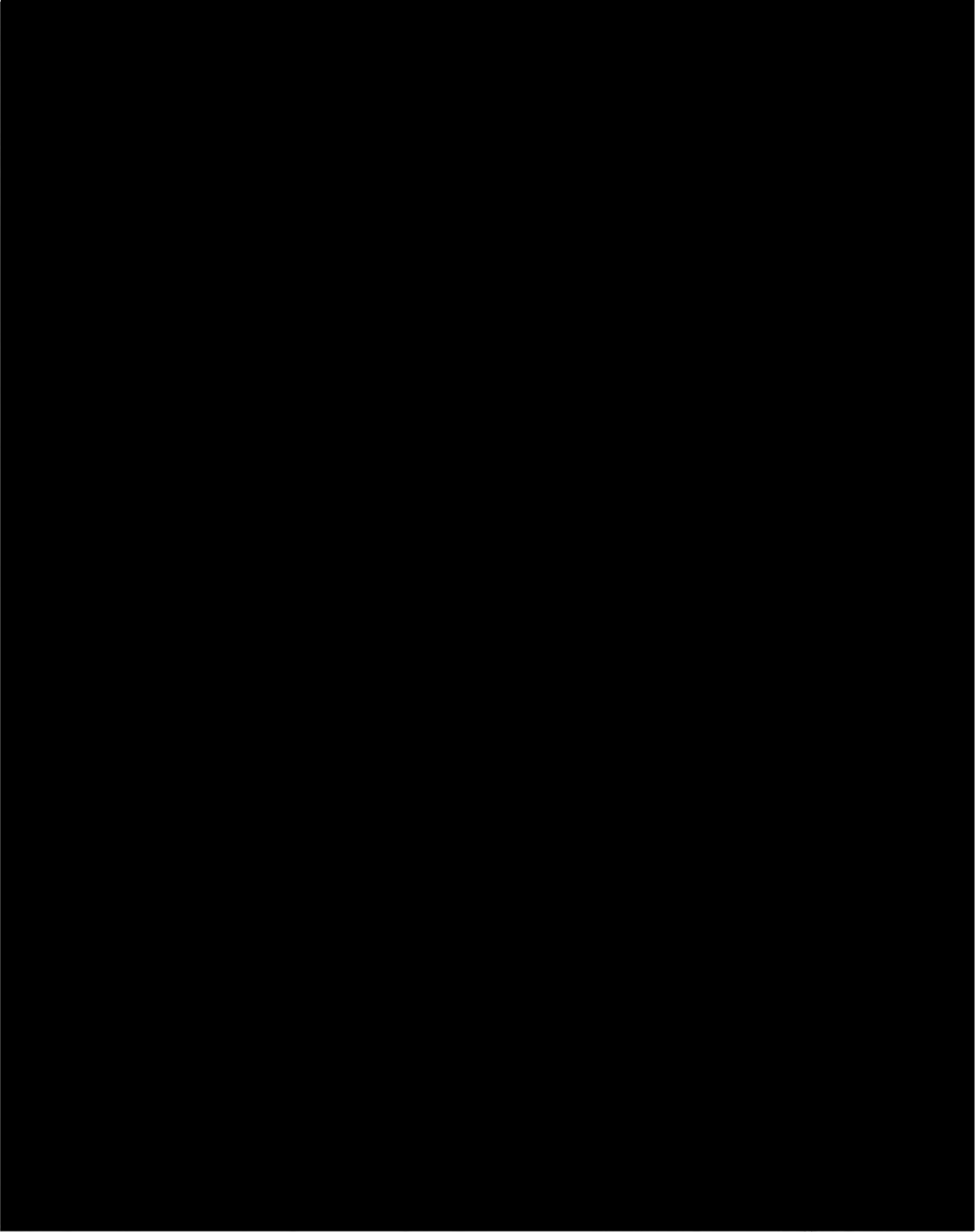
[7/22/19, 4:30:35 PM] Kurt Volker: Yes — Morrison. We're talking in 5  
[7/22/19, 4:31:05 PM] Kurt Volker: And yes — do come to kyiv! I'll go east on Thursday (welcome there too) and go to kyiv on Friday.  
[7/22/19, 4:32:00 PM] Gordon Sandland: Tim is a good guy. Tell him we are in touch and synced. I wont 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.

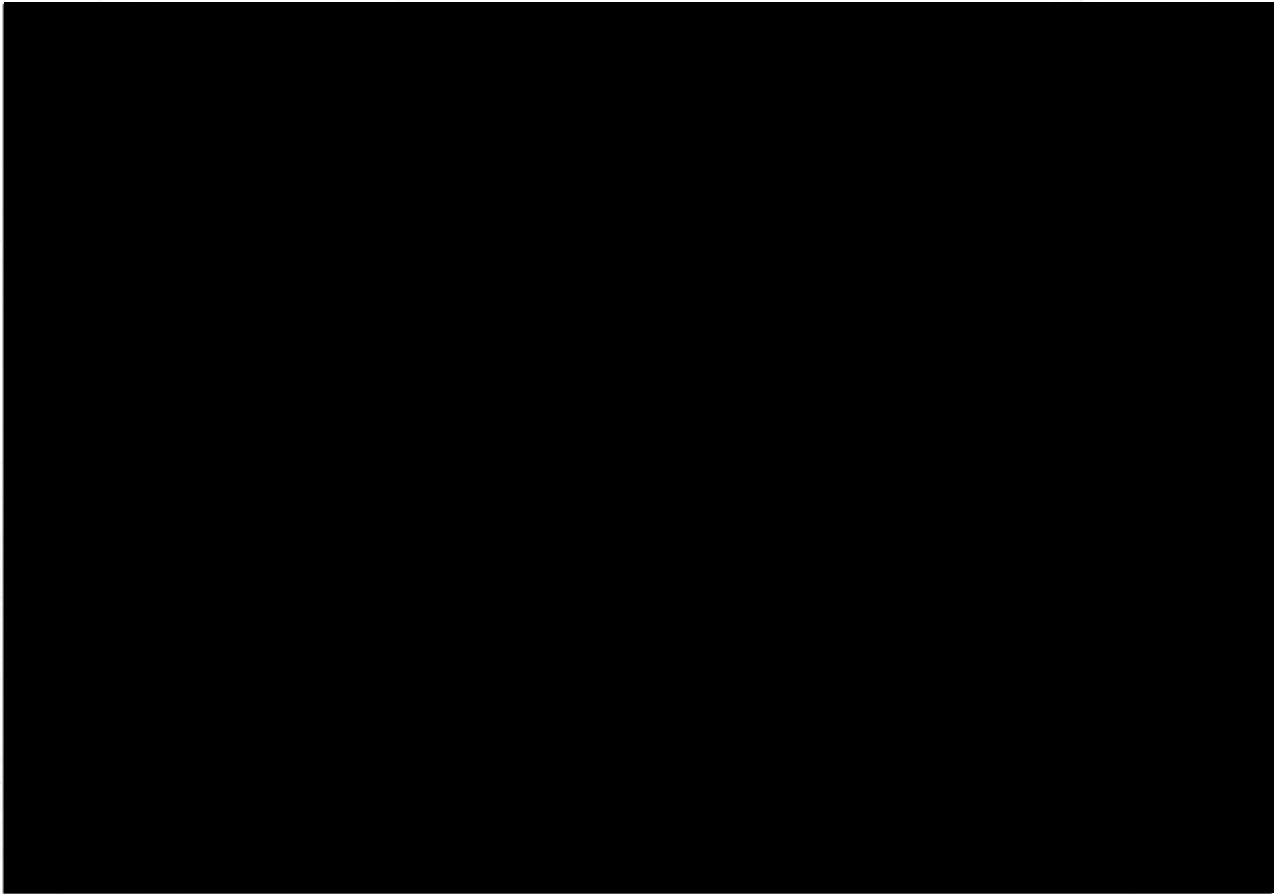
[7/29/19, 12:05:24 PM] Gordon Sandland: Missed voice call  
[7/29/19, 12:05:41 PM] Kurt Volker: Call you back in 15.  
[7/29/19, 12:05:52 PM] Gordon Sandland: Sure  
[8/1/19, 7:05:41 AM] Gordon Sandland: I am on Eastern time. Can u talk?  
[8/4/19, 4:21:51 PM] Kurt Volker: Gordon — on east coast time?  
[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, 9:48:53 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Gordon — ready in 10 min?  
[8/11/19, 9:49:08 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 Sondland: 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 Sondland: 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 Sondland: Missed voice call  
[8/13/19, 10:39:27 AM] Gordon Sondland: Missed group voice call  
[8/13/19, 10:42:20 AM] Gordon Sondland: Missed voice call  
[8/13/19, 10:49:20 AM] Gordon Sondland: Missed voice call  
[8/13/19, 2:44:59 PM] Gordon Sondland: U going to call Andrey first tomorrow?  
[8/15/19, 7:26:36 AM] Gordon Sondland: 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 Sondland: Good thought  
[8/17/19, 2:48:40 PM] Gordon Sondland: 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 Sondland: Do we still want Ze to give us an unequivocal draft with 2016 and Borensma?  
[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 Sondland: 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 Sondland: Deal  
[8/18/19, 7:13:04 AM] Gordon Sondland: 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 Sondland: 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 Sondland: Missed voice call  
[8/19/19, 7:27:59 PM] Gordon Sondland: Missed voice call  
[8/23/19, 10:49:20 AM] Gordon Sondland: Missed voice call  
[8/23/19, 10:49:31 AM] Gordon Sondland: 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 Sondland: Missed voice call  
[8/28/19, 5:37:32 PM] Gordon Sondland: 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 Sondland: Missed voice call  
[9/2/19, 4:08:31 PM] Gordon Sondland: Missed voice call  
[9/2/19, 4:10:03 PM] Gordon Sondland: Missed voice call  
[9/8/19, 1:16:57 PM] Gordon Sondland: Missed voice call  
[9/9/19, 1:24:44 AM] Gordon Sondland: Yes, please call soonest  
[9/9/19, 1:42:48 AM] Gordon Sondland: Missed voice call  
[9/9/19, 1:43:27 AM] Gordon Sondland: Missed voice call  
[9/9/19, 1:43:35 AM] Gordon Sondland: Try me back  
[9/9/19, 1:55:22 AM] Gordon Sondland: 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 Sondland:   
[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 Sondland: Missed voice call  
[9/9/19, 4:20:56 AM] Gordon Sondland: Just called  
[9/11/19, 1:57:21 PM] Gordon Sondland: Pls call

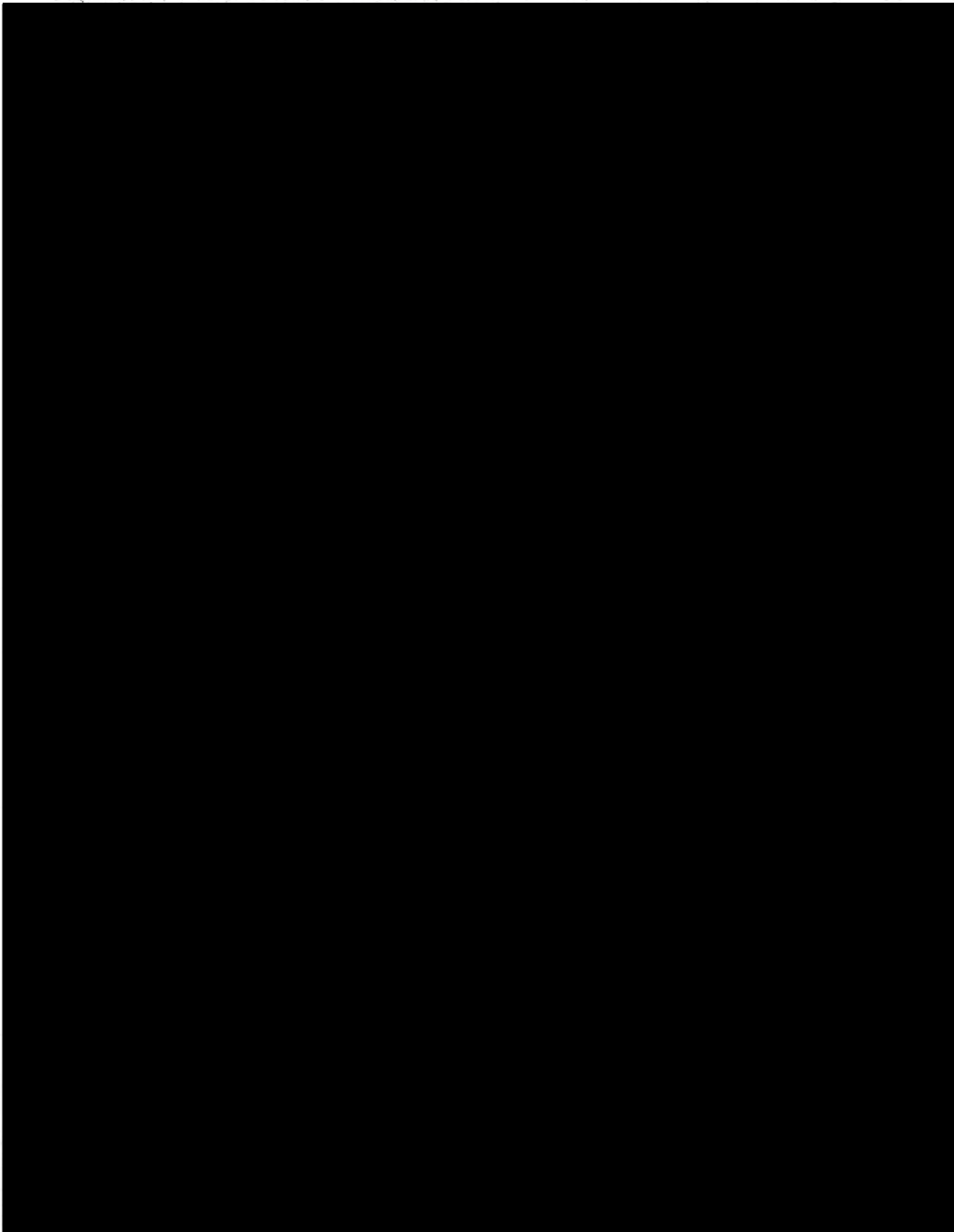
[9/12/19, 12:15:24 PM] Gordon Sondland: Missed voice call  
[9/12/19, 4:28:41 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Gordon - Any news from call to Lisa / WH?  
[9/12/19, 4:29:24 PM] Kurt Volker: Great news otherwise on security assistance - and great statements from Inhofe and McConnell to back it up  
[9/12/19, 5:17:01 PM] Gordon Sondland: 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 Sondland: 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 Sondland: I will send Morrison an email as well and will copy you.  
[9/14/19, 9:25:22 AM] Gordon Sondland: 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 Sondland: 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 - hest - 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, 11:36:57 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.









[1/29/19, 12:02:13 PM] Pavlo Klimkin: Of course))) I have to) ♦

[1/29/19, 12:21:56 PM] Kurt Volker: Ok — tell me when we should meet up — maybe Saturday late afternoon?

[1/29/19, 12:22:53 PM] Pavlo Klimkin: Still don't know my schedule - will get back to you asap

[1/31/19, 10:56:52 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi pavlo — any news on sajdk replacement? Mayr-Harting thoughts? Kurt

[4/15/19, 9:51:54 AM] Pavlo Klimkin: Hi, I shared with Masha Yovanovich some impressions about P2 visit to Berlin and Paris. Pls read her note, I'm worried about Normandy summit perspective early June. Best p

[4/15/19, 10:02:58 AM] Kurt Volker: Thanks Pavlo — will do! Hope you are well!

[5/19/19, 5:49:05 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Pavlo — late arrival — 10:35pm from Munich to Kiev. That messes up dinner, unfortunately. We'll work something else out — looking forward to seeing you. - Kurt

[5/19/19, 6:17:32 AM] Pavlo Klimkin: Hi, can do breakfast 7.30 or 8am tomorrow

[5/19/19, 6:55:47 AM] Kurt Volker: Ok — will check w embassy schedule and let you know

[5/19/19, 11:14:00 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Pavel — we have a delegation meeting w Secretary Perry at 8am. Could you and I meet at 7:30 or even 7:15 at Hyatt?

[5/19/19, 11:19:12 AM] Pavlo Klimkin: Can do 7.20am cause have a Skype interview at 7.10 in the MFA

[5/19/19, 11:19:39 AM] Kurt Volker: Ok — that works for me

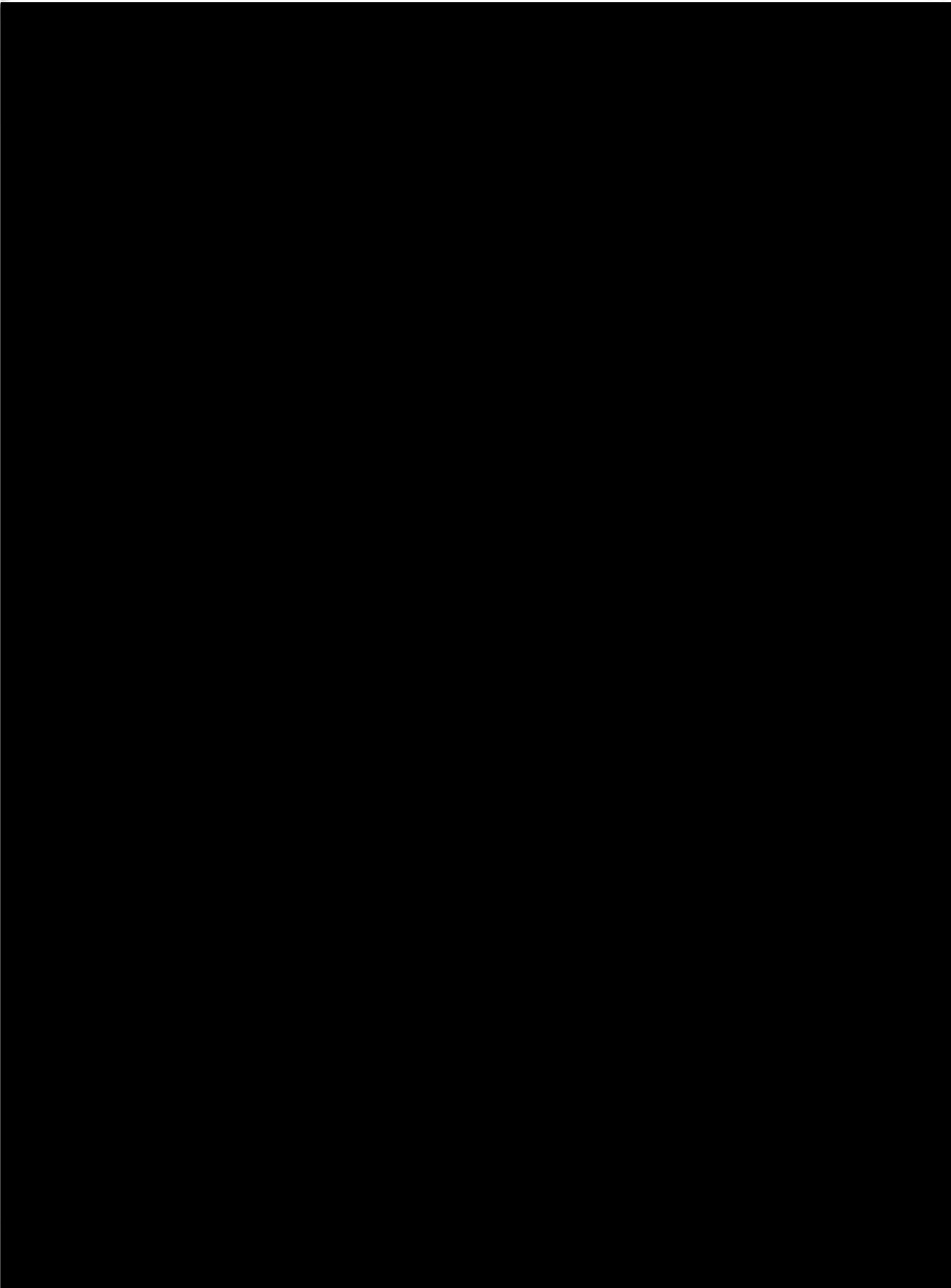
[5/19/19, 11:19:51 AM] Pavlo Klimkin: Great

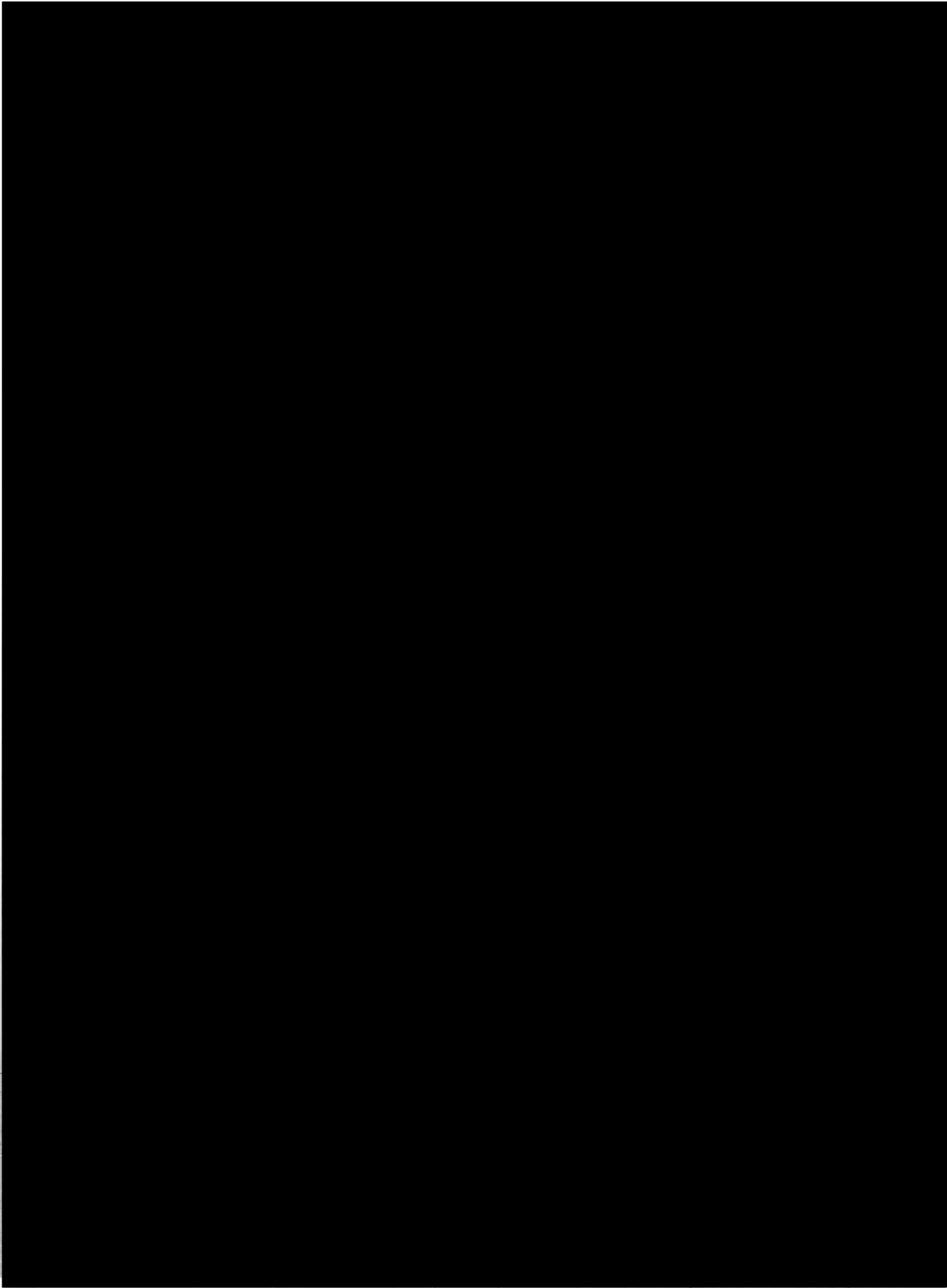
[5/19/19, 4:53:12 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Pavlo — arrived — see you in the morning - Kurt

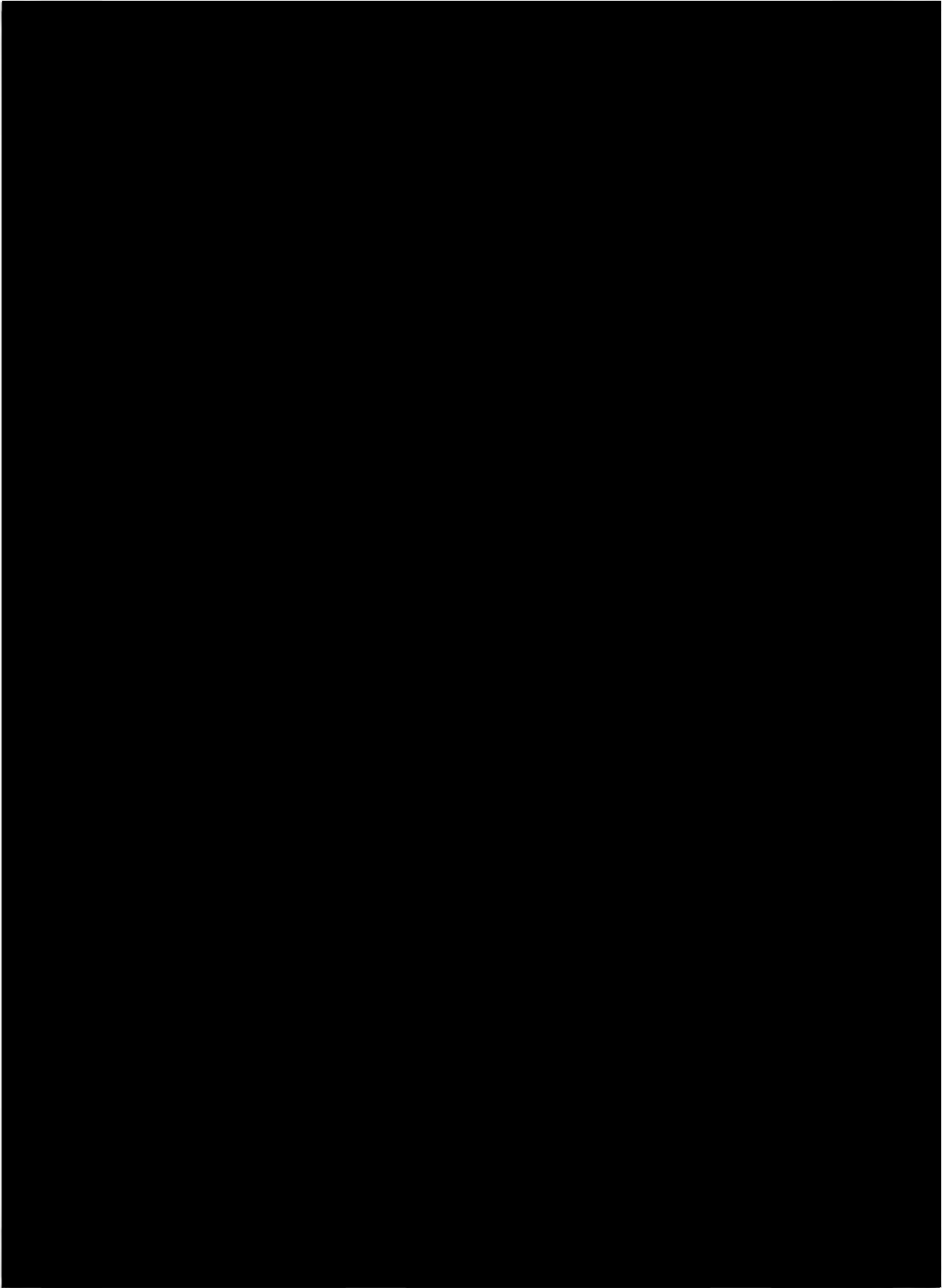
[5/19/19, 4:54:17 PM] Pavlo Klimkin: ♦

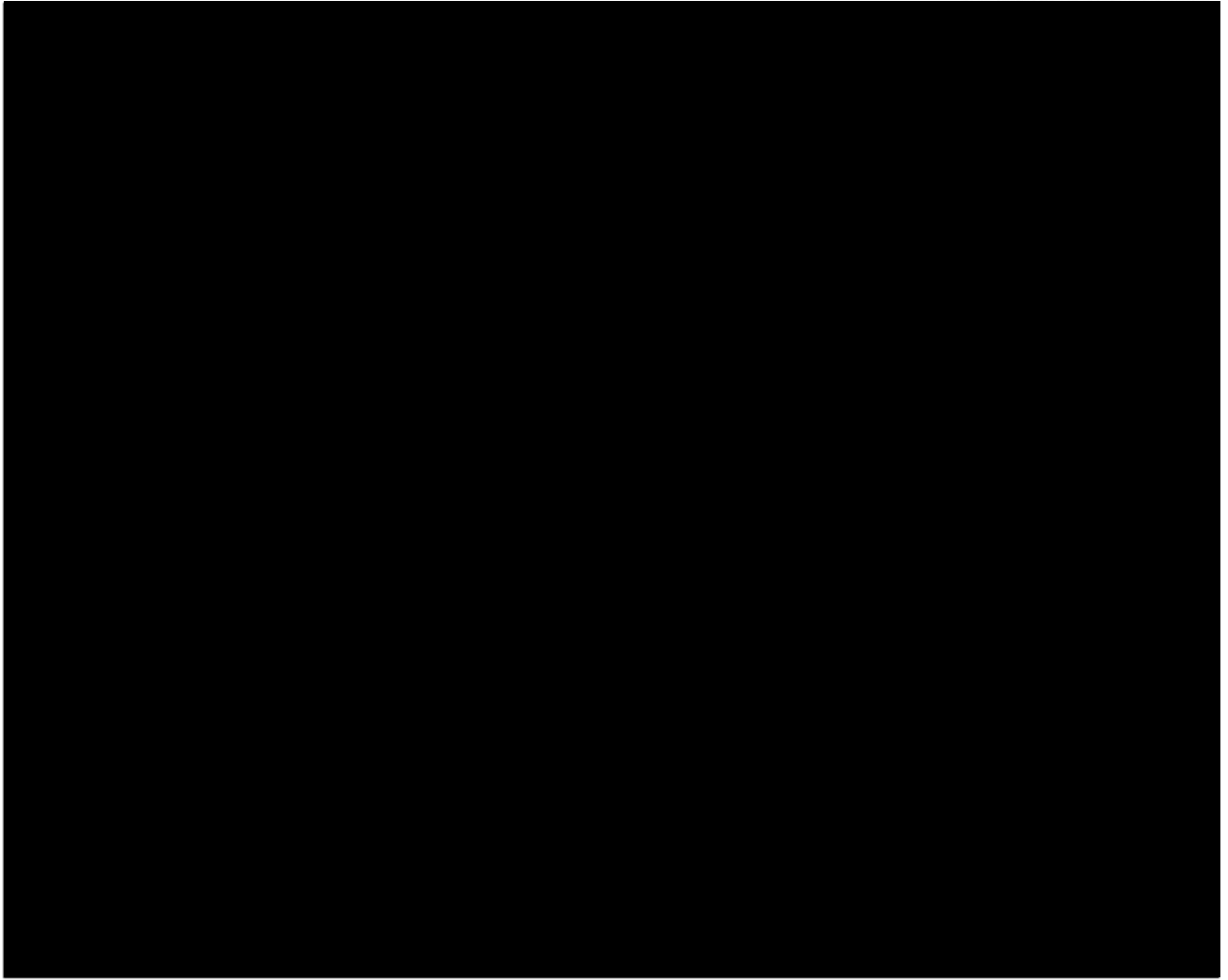
[5/20/19, 12:26:42 AM] Pavlo Klimkin: In 2min

[5/20/19, 12:29:44 AM] Kurt Volker: No worries — I am in restaurant in the back behind the screen











[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?  
[9/8/19, 12:16:42 AM] Gordon Sondland: Call at your convenience or let me know a good time. I am in Brussels  
[9/8/19, 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!  
[9/8/19, 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.  
[9/8/19, 12:34:44 AM] Bill Taylor: Counting on you to be right about this interview, Gordon.  
[9/8/19, 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.  
[9/8/19, 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.  
[9/8/19, 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.  
[9/8/19, 5:47:09 AM] Bill Taylor: I agree

[5/25/19, 8:43:45 AM] Vadym Prystaiko: Messages to this chat and calls are now secured with end-to-end encryption.  
[5/25/19, 8:43:45 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Vadym! When is good for you to talk? I am free anytime - Kurt  
[5/25/19, 8:44:16 AM] Vadym Prystaiko: can you talk right now?  
[5/25/19, 9:04:44 AM] Kurt Volker: Anti-Trust Reform • 2 pages <attached: 00000004-Anti-Trust Reform.docx>  
[5/25/19, 9:34:22 AM] Vadym Prystaiko: thank you for that. And for a good conversation. I will be in touch  
[5/25/19, 9:37:41 AM] Kurt Volker: Great!  
[5/28/19, 12:24:18 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Vadym — how is it going? Talk tomorrow? Kurt  
[5/28/19, 12:27:44 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: Ok. Let's talk tmrw. Your lead  
[5/29/19, 12:20:34 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Vadym — now a good time to call?  
[5/29/19, 3:16:38 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: Good night, what about now?  
[5/29/19, 3:19:09 PM] Kurt Volker: Greetings — ok if not too late for you  
[5/29/19, 3:22:38 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: 3 min?  
[5/29/19, 3:22:52 PM] Kurt Volker: Yes - no problem  
[5/29/19, 3:26:31 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: Missed voice call  
[5/29/19, 3:28:04 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: Missed voice call  
[5/29/19, 3:30:05 PM] Kurt Volker: Try now?  
[5/30/19, 12:52:22 PM] Kurt Volker: <attached: 00000017-PHOTO-2019-05-30-12-52-22.jpg>  
[5/30/19, 12:53:26 PM] Kurt Volker: We are thinking of pompeo visit to ukraine before election and White House visit by Ze after  
[5/30/19, 12:58:18 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: thank you, good news! already reported to Pr. we have to work on timing  
[5/30/19, 12:58:55 PM] Kurt Volker: Good — thanks. You should get this "officially" from the embassy, but wanted you to get it right away  
[5/30/19, 4:25:28 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: :) they will be soo unhappy  
[5/30/19, 4:26:16 PM] Kurt Volker: They'll get over it...  
[6/4/19, 7:40:16 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Vadym — good luck with visit to Brussels! Can you talk today or tomorrow?  
[6/4/19, 7:40:46 AM] Kurt Volker: Will send letter to our Russian friend tomorrow ... forwarding you a draft now  
[6/4/19, 7:40:59 AM] Kurt Volker: 2019 0531 KV Draft letter to Surkov - w edits • 1 page <attached: 00000025-2019 0531 KV (draft letter to Surkov - w edits.docx>  
[6/4/19, 3:07:03 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: thank you, will read now and we might talk tmrw. Visit is not a time for reflections))  
[6/4/19, 3:07:21 PM] Kurt Volker: Understood! Hope it is going well!  
[6/5/19, 9:00:36 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi vadym — all good? Kurt  
[6/5/19, 9:25:39 AM] Vadym Prystaiko: Hi, finishing up last meetings in Bru. Just agreed to have EU summit on July 8. Great message. Unfortunately NATO is trying to reschedule. This will be used to show that we are changing our NATO course. I hate it  
[6/5/19, 9:27:14 AM] Kurt Volker: We'll back you up  
[6/5/19, 9:27:25 AM] Kurt Volker: And good press already on Z at nato  
[6/5/19, 9:27:33 AM] Kurt Volker: (RFE)  
[6/5/19, 12:01:42 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: thank you, Kurt, for the letter. I believe, I have to report it to Pr Ze. I fully share your believe that there is a chance we should grasp. I am ready to meet with my colleagues- forpol advisors in the nearest future. Surkov included. Although, I urged our deputies to meet first to assess the new reality and prepare the talks  
[6/5/19, 1:06:28 PM] Kurt Volker: Great — thanks Vadym! Please do let him know — and if he has any comment or guidance, please do convey that to me.  
[6/5/19, 1:06:39 PM] Kurt Volker: I will let you know what response we get  
[6/5/19, 1:07:06 PM] Kurt Volker: I also shared the text with the French and Germans, so feel free in discussing with them too  
[6/5/19, 1:07:09 PM] Kurt Volker: Thanks!  
[6/12/19, 1:56:53 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: Dear Kurt, I bother you on purpose that you will not forget about your duties in the middle of celebration!  
But, seriously, please accept my best wishes. Long, prosperous and happy life for you both!  
[6/12/19, 2:50:11 PM] Kurt Volker: Thank you Vadym! Very kind of you!! We are very happy!  
[6/21/19, 1:04:33 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Vadym — hope it is going well. From what I saw, paris was good. Berlin as well?  
[6/21/19, 1:07:23 PM] Kurt Volker: We are looking at a visit to east on July 22-23 — ideally together w president z. But want to be sure this is done in a way that works substantively for the president.  
[6/21/19, 1:08:54 PM] Kurt Volker: Maybe Stanitsa Luhanska? Or Zalota? Or Mariupol?  
[6/21/19, 1:09:18 PM] Kurt Volker: And we should coordinate message / new "initiative"  
[6/21/19, 1:09:35 PM] Kurt Volker: Would then come to Kyiv and have meetings there before departure  
[6/21/19, 1:10:33 PM] Kurt Volker: Also — I will head US del to Toronto. Would like to arrange bilat there to discuss this, plans, WH visit, etc.  
[6/22/19, 3:34:44 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: Kurt, thank you. We are looking to your visit. I guess that St. Luh will be good move as we are hoping to withdraw forces from here after the sustainable ceasefire and start contracting the bridge.  
Hope to see you in Toronto. Will talk in more details  
[6/22/19, 4:34:16 PM] Kurt Volker: That sounds good — see you in Toronto. I get in Monday eve and leave Wednesday morning  
[6/23/19, 1:21:31 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: Same with us. See you there  
[6/30/19, 5:56:16 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Vadym — looking forward to seeing you in Toronto. Will you join the first panel (I am moderating) with Swedish FM and EU Commissioner? Best - Kurt  
[7/1/19, 1:17:46 AM] Vadym Prystaiko: Hi Kurt, Will see you in Toronto. I was planning for the first panel but see now that Pr has his meeting, so I might be with him. Will see how it goes. Best, Vadym  
[7/1/19, 7:35:38 AM] Kurt Volker: Got it — thanks — see you later today and certainly at breakfast tomorrow. Best - Kurt  
[7/1/19, 2:43:27 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Vadym. At the airport heading up to Toronto. Please tell the president I was unhappy to see the media link my comments about sakharova's claims on sailors with Klimkin's behavior. I was responding directly to Russian MFA claims before Klimkin had said anything, and of course I did not know that Klimkin would do so in a way that undercuts Zelensky. If I can help to reframe this in any way to help Zelensky, let me know. See you later — best — Kurt  
[7/1/19, 11:31:14 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: Hi, Kurt, I knew you are a good friend with Pavlo!  
[7/2/19, 5:12:48 AM] Kurt Volker: Very funny — thanks — see you in a bit  
[7/2/19, 6:42:54 AM] Vadym Prystaiko: you still have you sense of humor with you - good sign, see you in a bit  
[7/4/19, 8:22:14 AM] Kurt Volker: Thanks for everything. What is your take on our meeting, and the visit overall?  
[7/4/19, 1:33:54 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: thank you, it was important contact, I must admit, I felt that you sugarcoated a message on a visit. Or the message I got earlier was not correct, the visit went well - he is fast learner and adapts constantly. Frankly, this one was expectedly easy and friendly. Will introduce him to a tougher ones gradually. What was your reading?

[7/4/19, 1:52:44 PM] Kurt Volker: I wanted to make sure he knew we are supporting him and his stated commitment to reforms — and that there are still concerns at the highest level he needs to address proactively — about Kolo and whether he will really pursue reforms he says. I talked to him privately about Giuliani and impact on president T

[7/4/19, 1:53:51 PM] Kurt Volker: My impression is that he is sincere in wanting to press forward on everything, but doesn't have a full team yet. doesn't quite know how to do it, and knows there will be tough opposition

[7/4/19, 1:54:36 PM] Kurt Volker: But he made a good impression in Toronto and am sure he will do the same in Washington

[7/5/19, 10:13:31 AM] Vadym Prystaiko: Got it. Thank you, will you advise us on time for telephone call?

[7/5/19, 10:14:12 AM] Kurt Volker: Yes — am hoping we can nail that down on Monday or Tuesday

[7/5/19, 3:52:12 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: Thank you

[7/14/19, 7:23:56 AM] Vadym Prystaiko: Morning Kurt. Are you coming to UA?

[7/14/19, 9:06:14 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Vadym — yes — still working out dates — what works for you and president? And how was paris?

[7/14/19, 10:49:20 AM] Vadym Prystaiko: Paris was OK. Will forward a final paper to you.

[7/14/19, 10:49:53 AM] Vadym Prystaiko: I have to check the dates for the Pr but am ready to accommodate your time lines

[7/14/19, 11:35:50 AM] Kurt Volker: Ok - for dates, am thinking of arriving in the east on the 23rd. Meetings out there (S-L) or 24th and then Kyiv on 25th. Would any of that work?

[7/14/19, 4:43:44 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: will check tmrw. How many of you?

[7/14/19, 4:49:40 PM] Kurt Volker: Sorry — push that to the right — arrive 24th, meetings in S-L on 25th, Kyiv 26th. Probably 3 or 4? But we can adjust.

[7/15/19, 4:32:39 AM] Vadym Prystaiko: 1907012 N4 advisors steps FINAL.DOCX • 1 page <attached: 00000073-1907012 N4 advisors steps FINAL.docx>

[7/17/19, 12:46:38 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: Morning. We are OK with the dates you gave me. Pr will not be able to accompany you to East but I already booked time with him upon your return to Kyiv you Emb here can't update me on logistics yet. Is it done on purpose?

[7/17/19, 1:43:28 PM] Kurt Volker: That sounds great. No idea what problem could be with embassy, I'll push them. Looking forward to it. Kurt

[7/17/19, 1:44:10 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: Pls. do not. Good people. Will check with them myself

[7/17/19, 1:44:46 PM] Kurt Volker: Ok ... will you be coming east or we can find time in Kyiv as well?

[7/17/19, 1:45:41 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: Hate it, being there so many times but will go with you if Pr allows

[7/17/19, 1:46:13 PM] Kurt Volker: Ok --- entirely your call. I just want to be as supportive as possible

[7/17/19, 1:47:15 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: You are, sorry just one of those days. Of course. I will go

[7/17/19, 2:00:19 PM] Kurt Volker: I wish you well!

[7/22/19, 8:33:41 AM] Kurt Volker: Congratulations! Please give my best to the president — see you this week

[7/22/19, 8:39:54 AM] Vadym Prystaiko: thank you, I will still counting though. See you later this week

[7/26/19, 6:22:26 AM] Kurt Volker: 180730 Deployment Timeline • 2 pages <attached: 00000084-180730 Deployment Timeline.pdf>

[7/26/19, 6:27:22 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Vadym — here is the paper on rollout of a peacekeeping force — intended to be an annex to a UNSCR on establishing a un-mandates PKO

[7/26/19, 6:28:36 AM] Kurt Volker: Suggest we review and change as makes sense to you. And I can seek meetings in Moscow — maybe use then or maybe meet first and then propose something.

[7/26/19, 3:16:52 PM] Kurt Volker: <attached: 00000087-PHOTO-2019-07-26-15-16-52.jpg>

[7/26/19, 3:16:52 PM] Kurt Volker: <attached: 00000088-PHOTO-2019-07-26-15-16-52.jpg>

[7/26/19, 3:16:52 PM] Kurt Volker: <attached: 00000089-PHOTO-2019-07-26-15-16-52.jpg>

[7/27/19, 3:27:36 AM] Vadym Prystaiko: Thank you, Kurt. I appreciate your effort and courage to make it to the TouchLine.

[7/27/19, 3:39:11 AM] Kurt Volker: Thank you for making it possible! Was a really good opportunity — very glad we did it.

[8/7/19, 12:51:13 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Vadym — just checking in. Terrible on the attack near Donetsk. How are things otherwise?

[8/7/19, 4:17:31 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: Kurt, I am with Pr at the visit to Turkey. Have seen your statement on last escalation. Thank you. We are making our own steps. Talked to Pu and Mak this morning, reaching out for Merk. Asking them to get together to reflect on updating Mnsk or take other steps to achieve tangible progress

[8/7/19, 4:49:40 PM] Kurt Volker: Good. Let us know how we can help. Am looking at dates for a Moscow trip — want to be sure the right people are there ....

[8/8/19, 10:47:26 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Vadym - Did macron agree to try to schedule N4 meeting?

[8/8/19, 11:59:22 AM] Vadym Prystaiko: Yes, he promised to reach to Merk and he will see Pu soo anyways. I felt that he is planning for UNEA. You think that your leader would like to join?

[8/8/19, 12:12:16 PM] Kurt Volker: Not sure — but let's try

[8/8/19, 12:19:16 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: not sure either, but can foresee a new big deal with possible outcome of eventual resolution. Will he rather be a part of historic moment? A leader and driver of the process?

[8/8/19, 4:52:22 PM] Kurt Volker: If we are there, he will want in

[8/9/19, 1:04:35 AM] Vadym Prystaiko: is that your educated guess or you know something? could be Warsaw. BTW

[8/9/19, 7:05:55 AM] Kurt Volker: Educated guess only

[8/9/19, 7:47:03 AM] Vadym Prystaiko: ok

[8/20/19, 10:44:06 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Vadym — hope all is well — are you free to talk today or tomorrow? Kurt

[8/20/19, 10:54:45 AM] Vadym Prystaiko: Morning, Kurt, yes, will be glad to. In a couple of hours?

[8/20/19, 10:58:36 AM] Kurt Volker: Great — my 2:30pm?

[8/20/19, 11:29:33 AM] Vadym Prystaiko: I am in Brussels now)) so, it is...?

[8/20/19, 11:30:05 AM] Kurt Volker: 6 hours difference — so 8:30pm your time?

[8/20/19, 11:31:25 AM] Vadym Prystaiko: OK. Will dial you

[8/20/19, 3:15:24 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Vadym — heading into pentagon for an hour and will be without phone. Let's try later or tomorrow - between noon and 3 your time

[8/20/19, 4:45:15 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: sorry, just back to phone. i am away from UA. we can do it tmrw if it works for you.

[8/20/19, 4:45:52 PM] Kurt Volker: Yes - great - thanks

[8/22/19, 11:55:28 AM] Vadym Prystaiko: Morning. Are you available for a chat?

[8/22/19, 11:58:31 AM] Kurt Volker: Yes — in a few min — just arriving at a dinner in Vilnius. Ok?

[8/22/19, 12:01:50 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: sorry, please have a dinner first))

[8/22/19, 12:17:52 PM] Kurt Volker: Ok — are you sure? Can call now, or after 8pm Brussels

[8/22/19, 12:18:29 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: totally up to you. I can do both

[8/22/19, 12:22:23 PM] Kurt Volker: Just tried. Will try again in a minute.

[8/22/19, 12:23:13 PM] Kurt Volker: Meanwhile, I noticed this picture of this young, good-looking guy on your what's App account. Who is that? :)

[8/29/19, 12:43:41 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Vadym — can I congratulate you yet?

[8/29/19, 1:01:21 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: Should I rather accept condolences?

[8/29/19, 1:01:47 PM] Kurt Volker: Not at all! Great opportunities ahead...

[8/29/19, 1:40:33 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: )) BTW, I will go to N4 to Berlin Sept 2

[8/29/19, 4:12:01 PM] Kurt Volker: Good luck!

[8/29/19, 4:12:29 PM] Kurt Volker: Can we get you or someone from new team in Tbilisi on Sept 9-10?

[8/29/19, 4:12:55 PM] Kurt Volker: And what are your current thoughts on OSCE Rep? Amb to US?

[8/29/19, 4:35:59 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: not sure I understand what you are talking about

[8/29/19, 4:37:03 PM] Kurt Volker: On Tbilisi, you and others should have received an invitation to the McCain Institute Tbilisi Int'l Conference. Are you aware of that? I can tell them to re-send.

[8/29/19, 4:37:46 PM] Kurt Volker: On OSCE Rep on Ukraine — I know you don't like Mayr-Harting, but not sure who is available or would be better that would get consensus.

[8/29/19, 4:38:27 PM] Kurt Volker: And is there news on next Ukraine Amb to US now that you are FM? I heard that Shamsbur is not doing it, so...

[8/29/19, 4:38:51 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: I have re-rived one. Thank you, will try to send someone

[8/29/19, 4:39:21 PM] Kurt Volker: That would be great — need the new team, not old voices.

[8/29/19, 4:39:28 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: we are for Heidi T

[8/29/19, 4:39:42 PM] Kurt Volker: Will she do it?

[8/29/19, 4:40:07 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: no, unfortunately he is not coming, I am finalizing the list to suggest to Pr

[8/29/19, 4:41:28 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: I did not talk to her personally but asked our rep to do so. She told she would be available since October or so. Until then Sajik can work

[8/29/19, 4:41:47 PM] Kurt Volker: Ok - great. We can support her.

[8/29/19, 4:41:57 PM] Kurt Volker: Good luck on Amb!

[8/29/19, 4:42:38 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: I will need it. Should we send you?))

[8/29/19, 4:43:06 PM] Kurt Volker: ). (!) do it anyway — you may as well get 2 for the price of 1

[8/29/19, 4:43:44 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: )) imagine, how creative it would sound

[8/29/19, 4:44:10 PM] Kurt Volker: True...

[8/29/19, 4:55:26 PM] Kurt Volker: You deleted this message.

[8/29/19, 5:02:57 PM] Kurt Volker: Trump not going to Warsaw now — Pence going ... I'm so sorry

[9/1/19, 11:33:13 AM] Kurt Volker: How was Pence meeting?

[9/1/19, 1:27:11 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: have to recognize it was a good meet. Nobody was rushing, seems the chemistry was there. It could easily be a very successful meeting with POTUS. However, on assistance side it did not become clearer, "regardless of the decision, you have to know that the US is staying strong next to UA in its war against

[9/1/19, 3:24:08 PM] Kurt Volker: Good grief. We need to get our side sorted out on the assistance. But glad the meeting was good overall... still working for WH visit.

[9/3/19, 8:58:01 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Vadym — what is your take on N4 meeting?

[9/3/19, 9:07:31 AM] Vadym Prystaiko: it was usually tough. I will show you docs. Ge+Fr are pushing for a Summit, your friend was fighting against. As always there were sensitivity on their side on outsiders to N4. You are coming to YES?

[9/3/19, 11:28:23 AM] Kurt Volker: Ukraine Security Letter - 2 pages <attached: 00000149-Ukraine Security Letter.pdf>

[9/4/19, 9:54:47 AM] Kurt Volker: Thanks. Planning on YES! Maybe visit Moscow first. What do you think?

[9/4/19, 9:54:57 AM] Kurt Volker: No surprise on dynamics in Berlin...

[9/4/19, 12:16:48 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: TCG finished for today. Not much. Are not at speed of our leader yet. Will have to give them a boost

[9/4/19, 12:44:41 PM] Kurt Volker: Honestly, I don't know anything that is the at the speed of your leader!

[9/4/19, 4:20:11 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: we are learning from the best

[9/4/19, 4:28:03 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: lets talk about your possible visit to RU in a day or two?

[9/5/19, 8:16:32 PM] Kurt Volker: Sorry — yes — talk Friday? Thx!

[9/23/19, 5:30:43 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Vadym -- are you free before the Wednesday bilat at any point? I get to NY around 3:30pm tomorrow. Kurt

[9/23/19, 8:47:21 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: yes, I am, will see you

[9/24/19, 2:06:18 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Vadym — has Andrey reached out? Plan for dinner at 9pm? Did you want to meet separately? Kurt

[9/24/19, 3:06:30 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: you have a dinner with Yermak?

[9/24/19, 3:21:04 PM] Kurt Volker: Yes — he reached out to me — I asked if he would invite you and he said yes, but I have not heard back. Can you join? And/Or would you prefer to meet separately?

[9/24/19, 3:41:09 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: I have other meeting at this time unfortunately. Will Gordon be there as well?

[9/24/19, 3:41:27 PM] Kurt Volker: He is joining late — probably 9:30

[9/24/19, 3:43:29 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: I see, will try to get there. Where you meet?

[9/24/19, 3:48:03 PM] Kurt Volker: Strip House steak—15 W 44th

[9/24/19, 4:15:27 PM] Kurt Volker: Do you have time between 6 and 7:30?

[9/24/19, 4:17:16 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: finishing up at 19:00 at UN, Have time until next thing

[9/24/19, 4:18:30 PM] Kurt Volker: Ok — I need to be somewhere between 7:30 and 8:30 — so let's stick with dinner

[9/24/19, 4:43:24 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: will try to join you

[9/24/19, 4:43:54 PM] Kurt Volker: OK -- would be great if you can -- what time is your next appt after the 7pm break?

[9/24/19, 5:33:13 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: EU reception at 19:10 but I can skip if we find time to meet. It will be much easier than 21:00 dinner

[9/24/19, 6:31:40 PM] Kurt Volker: I'm sorry — Do the reception, I will have to be upper east side until 8:30pm...

[9/24/19, 6:37:07 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: OK. Too late. Can you speak for a sec now?

[9/24/19, 6:38:32 PM] Kurt Volker: Yes - in a car with others, so will watch my words, but yes - can talk

[9/24/19, 6:38:45 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: OK. 15 min.

[9/24/19, 6:38:49 PM] Kurt Volker: Ok

[9/24/19, 6:59:12 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: now?

[9/24/19, 7:01:19 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: Missed voice call

[9/25/19, 12:06:34 PM] Kurt Volker: Vadym - Can you meet w pompeo and me at bilat venue at 1400? Kurt

[9/25/19, 1:24:17 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: I can do it.

[9/25/19, 1:28:12 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: Missed voice call

[9/25/19, 1:46:22 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: Missed voice call

[9/28/19, 3:17:54 AM] Vadym Prystaiko: Dear Kurt, do I have to start worrying or they are just rumors?

[9/28/19, 9:25:39 AM] Kurt Volker: You mean you weren't worried when you became foreign minister?!

[9/28/19, 9:27:12 AM] Kurt Volker: Seriously — I had step down to deal with the Congress and I would not be able to do the job effectively in this circus... but still paying attention and will be helpful

[9/28/19, 9:29:50 AM] Vadym Prystaiko: this is a very good observation. I am worrying now too. Your departure made me even more uncertain

[9/28/19, 9:30:21 AM] Kurt Volker: Hang in there ... Ukraine needs good people

[9/28/19, 9:31:12 AM] Vadym Prystaiko: that was my exact message to you. What now?





THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 29, 2019

His Excellency  
Volodymyr Zelenskyy  
President of Ukraine  
Kyiv

Dear Mr. President,

On the occasion of your inauguration, I wish to offer my congratulations on your historic election victory.

The United States and Ukraine are steadfast partners, working together to realize the shared vision of a stable, prosperous, and democratic Ukraine that is integrated into the Euro-Atlantic community. Our partnership is rooted in the idea that free citizens should be able to exercise their democratic rights, choose their own destiny, and live in peace. As you said in your victory speech, your election demonstrates that democracy is possible anywhere in the former Soviet region. Ukraine's success exemplifies the triumph of democracy over resurgent despotism. United States support for Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity is unwavering.

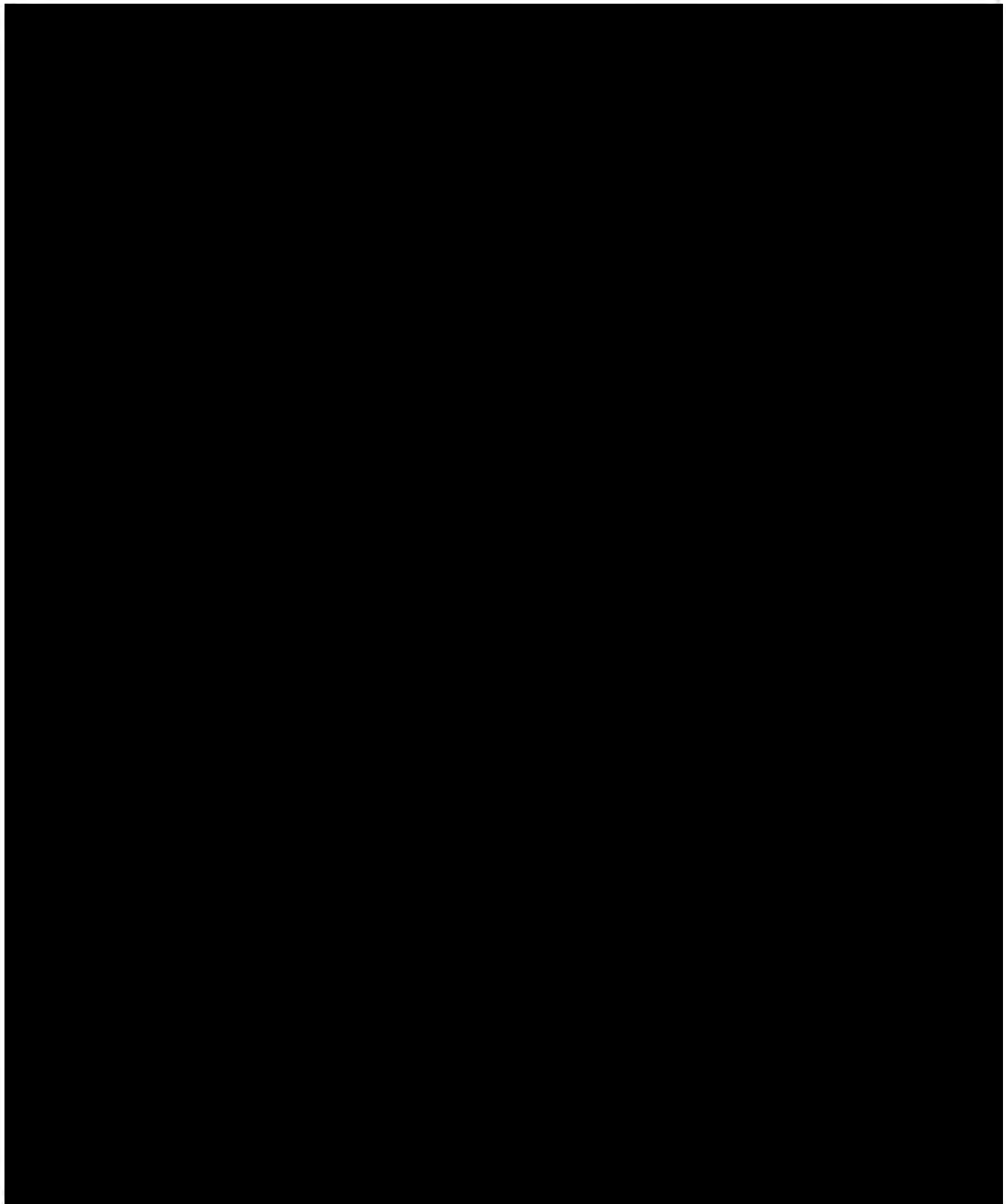
As you prepare to address the many challenges facing Ukraine, please know that the American people are with you and are committed to helping Ukraine realize its vast potential. To help show that commitment, I would like to invite you to meet with me at the White House in Washington, D.C., as soon as we can find a mutually convenient time.

I wish you every success as you assume office, and I look forward to meeting with you.

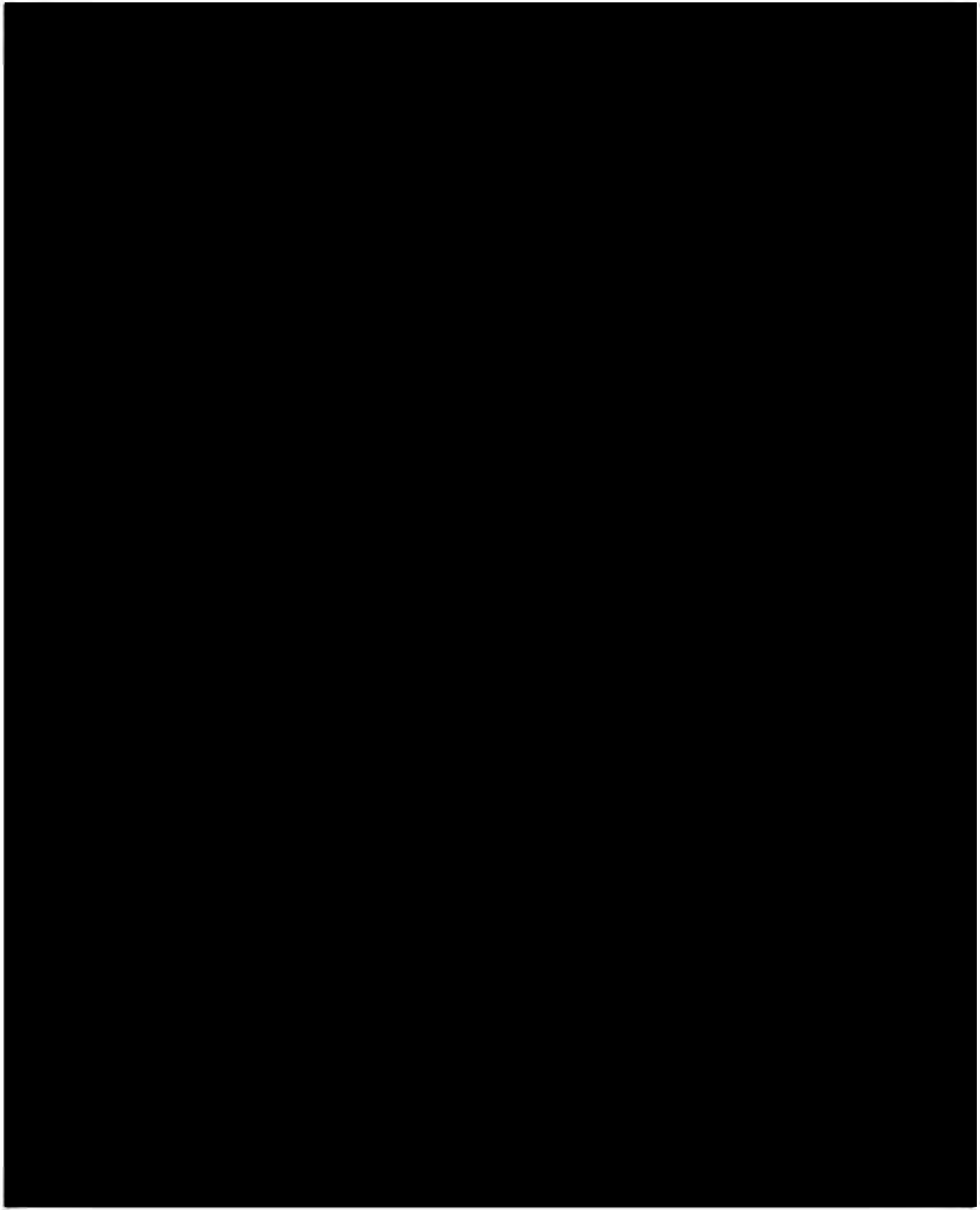
Sincerely,

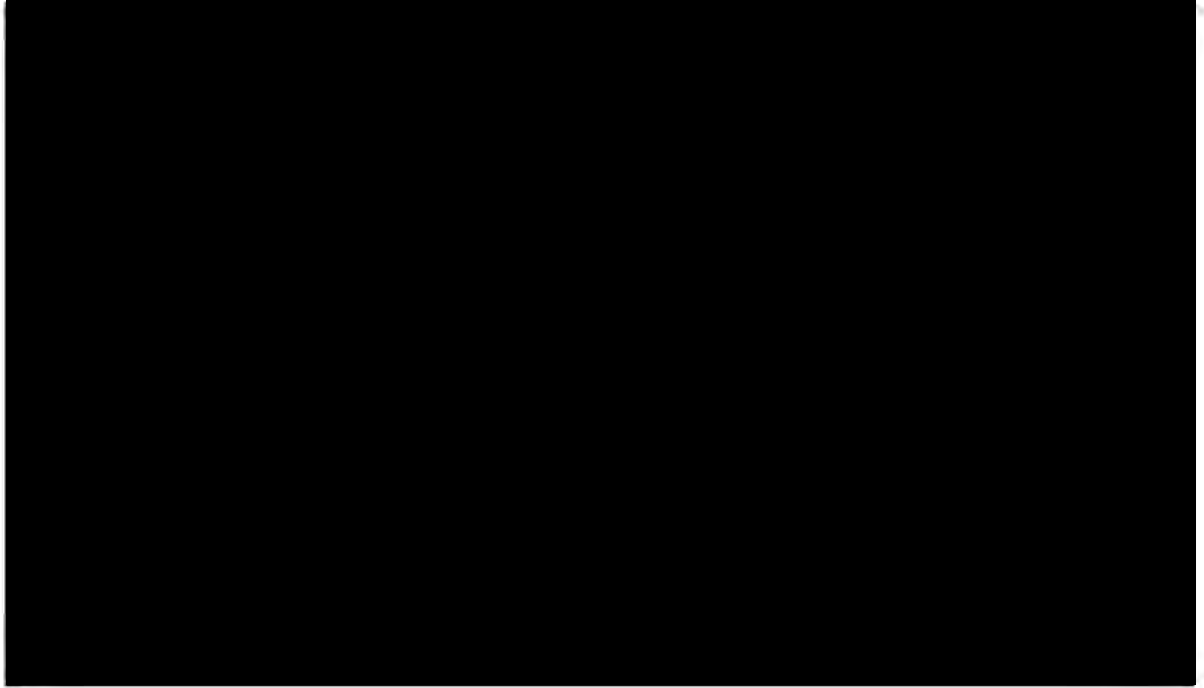
A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "Donald Trump", written in a cursive style.















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