

# THE TRUMP-UKRAINE IMPEACHMENT INQUIRY REPORT

PRESENTATION BEFORE THE  
HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE

DECEMBER 9, 2019

# KEY FINDINGS

- 1. President Trump used the power of his office to pressure and induce the newly-elected president of Ukraine to interfere in the 2020 presidential election for President Trump's personal and political benefit.**

# KEY FINDINGS

- 2. In order to increase the pressure on Ukraine to announce the politically-motivated investigations that President Trump wanted, he withheld a coveted Oval Office meeting and \$391 million of essential military assistance from Ukraine.**

# KEY FINDINGS

**3. President Trump's conduct sought to undermine our free and fair elections and posed an imminent threat to our national security.**

# KEY FINDINGS

- 4. Faced with the revelation of his pressure campaign against Ukraine, President Trump directed an unprecedented effort to obstruct Congress' impeachment inquiry into his conduct.**

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**JULY 25, 2019**

8:36 AM



**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**



**YERMAK**

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# TESTIMONY OF AMBASSADOR SONDLAND ON "QUID PRO QUO"

LIVE

AMBASSADOR

IMPEACHMENT  
INQUIRY

GORDON SONDLAND

U.S. Ambassador to the European Union

C-SPAN3

# TESTIMONY OF AMBASSADOR SONDLAND “QUID PRO QUO”

**“I know that members of this committee frequently frame these complicated issues in the form of a simple question: *‘Was there a quid pro quo?’*”**

**As I testified previously with regard to the requested White House call and the White House meeting, *the answer is ‘yes.’*”**

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# JULY 25, 2019 TRUMP-ZELENSKY CALL RECORD

**ZELENSKY:** "I would also like to thank you for your **great support in the area of defense**. We are ready to continue to cooperate for the next steps specifically we are almost ready to buy more Javelins from the United States for defense purposes."

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# JULY 25, 2019 TRUMP-ZELENSKY CALL RECORD

TRUMP: "I would like you to do us a favor though because our country has been through a lot and Ukraine knows a lot about it. I would like you to find out what happened with this whole situation with Ukraine, they say CrowdStrike... I guess you have one of your wealthy people... The server, they say Ukraine has it. There are a lot of things that went on, the whole situation. I think you're surrounding yourself with some of the same people."

# JULY 25, 2019 TRUMP-ZELENSKY CALL RECORD

TRUMP: "I would like you to do us a favor though because our country has been through a lot and Ukraine knows a lot about it. I would like you to find out what happened with this whole situation with Ukraine, they say CrowdStrike... I guess you have one of your wealthy people... The server, they say Ukraine has it. There are a lot of things that went on, the whole situation. I think you're surrounding yourself with some of the same people."

# JULY 25, 2019 TRUMP-ZELENSKY CALL RECORD

TRUMP: "I would like to have the Attorney General call you or your people and I would like you to get to the bottom of it. As you saw yesterday, that whole nonsense ended with a very poor performance by a man named Robert Mueller, an incompetent performance, but they say a lot of it started with Ukraine. Whatever you can do, it's very important that you do it if that's possible."

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# FEBRUARY 2, 2017 JOINT NEWS CONFERENCE: PRESIDENT PUTIN AND PRIME MINISTER ORBAN

**“Second, as we all know, during the presidential campaign in the United States, the Ukrainian government adopted a unilateral position in favor of one candidate.**

**“More than that, certain oligarchs, certainly with the approval of the political leadership, funded this candidate, or female candidate, to be more precise.”**

*- President Putin*

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# **PRESIDENT PUTIN GRATEFUL UKRAINE FALSELY BLAMED FOR 2016**

**“Thank God no one is accusing us anymore of interfering in U.S. elections. Now they're accusing Ukraine.”**

*- President Putin*

*“The View from Moscow on the Trump Impeachment Inquiry,” NPR, November 27, 2019.*

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# JULY 25, 2019 TRUMP-ZELENSKY CALL RECORD

TRUMP: "The other thing, There's a lot of talk about **Biden**'s son, that **Biden** stopped the prosecution and a lot of people want to find out about that so whatever you can do with the Attorney General would be great. **Biden** went around bragging that he stopped the prosecution so if you can look into it.. It sounds horrible to me."

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# TESTIMONY OF AMBASSADOR SONDLAND



**“Mr. Giuliani was expressing the desires of the President of the United States, and we knew these investigations were important to the President.”**

*Transcript page 18, Open Hearing with Ambassador Sondland, Nov 20, 2019.*

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# JULY 25, 2019 TRUMP-ZELENSKY CALL RECORD

**ZELENSKY:** "I also wanted to thank you for your invitation to visit the United States, specifically Washington DC. On the other hand, I also wanted to ensure you that we will be very serious about the case and will work on the investigation."

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# TESTIMONY OF DAVID HOLMES



**“It is important to understand that a White House visit was critical to President Zelensky. President Zelensky needed to show U.S. support at the highest levels in order to demonstrate to Russian President Putin that he had U.S. backing as well as to advance his ambitious anticorruption reform agenda at home.”**

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# TESTIMONY OF DAVID HOLMES



**“I heard Ambassador Sondland greet the President and explain he was calling from Kyiv. I heard President Trump then clarify that Ambassador Sondland was in Ukraine. Ambassador Sondland replied, yes, he was in Ukraine, and went on to state that President Zelensky, quote, ‘loves your ass.’**

**“I then heard President Trump ask, ‘So he’s going to do the investigation?’ Ambassador Sondland replied that he is going to do it, adding that President Zelensky will do ‘anything you ask him to do.’ ”**

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# TESTIMONY OF DR. HILL



**“You go and tell Eisenberg that I am not part of whatever drug deal Sondland and Mulvaney are cooking up on this, and you go and tell him what you've heard and what I've said.”**

# THE TRUMP-UKRAINE IMPEACHMENT INQUIRY REPORT

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# JULY 19, 2019



From: Gordon Sondland

15:28

To: Robert Blair, Lisa Kenna, Brian McCormack, Mick Mulvaney, Rick Perry, Mike Pompeo

**RE: I Talked to Zelensky just now**

He is prepared to receive Potus' call. Will assure him that he intends to run a fully transparent investigation and will "turn over every stone". He would greatly appreciate a call prior to Sunday so that he can put out some media about a "friendly and productive call" (no details) prior to Ukraine election on Sunday.

From: Rick Perry

21:30

To: Brian McCormack, Gordon Sondland

**RE: I Talked to Zelensky just now**

Mick just confirmed the call being set up for tomorrow by NSC.

RP

From: Mick Mulvaney

22:25

To: Robert Blair, Lisa Kenna, Brian McCormack, Gordon Sondland, Rick Perry, Mike Pompeo

**RE: I Talked to Zelensky just now**

I asked NSC to set it up for tomorrow.

MM

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# TESTIMONY OF AMBASSADOR TAYLOR

**“[O]n July 20, I had a phone conversation with Mr. Danyliuk, during which he conveyed to me that President Zelensky did not want to be used as a pawn in a U.S. reelection campaign.”**



Jonathan Ernst/Reuters

*Transcript page 30, Deposition Transcript of Ambassador Bill Taylor, October 22, 2019.*

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# COMPARISON OF STATEMENTS

## Yermak Draft | August 12

... 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.

## Giuliani-Volker-Sondland Draft | August 13

... We intend to initiate and complete a transparent and unbiased investigation of all available facts and episodes, including those involving Burisma and the 2016 US elections, which in turn will prevent the recurrence of this problem in the future.

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# **BY THE END OF AUGUST 2019, SEVERAL TRUTHS BECAME EVIDENT**

- 1. The President demanded that Ukraine publicly announce two politically-motivated investigations to benefit his reelection.**

# **BY THE END OF AUGUST 2019, SEVERAL TRUTHS BECAME EVIDENT**

**2. A coveted White House meeting was expressly conditioned on Ukraine announcing those investigations.**

# **BY THE END OF AUGUST 2019, SEVERAL TRUTHS BECAME EVIDENT**

**3. President Trump had placed a hold on vital military assistance to Ukraine without any explanation *and* notwithstanding uniform support for that assistance from the relevant Federal agencies and Congress.**

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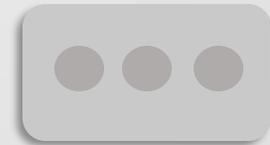
# SEPTEMBER 9, 2019

12:47 AM



TAYLOR

**As I said on the phone, I think it's crazy to withhold security assistance for help with a political campaign.**



SONDLAND



VOLKER

# THE TRUMP-UKRAINE IMPEACHMENT INQUIRY REPORT

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# AUG 22, 2019



From: Gordon Sondland  
To: Mike Pompeo, Lisa Kenna

19:00

**RE: Zelensky**

Mike,

Should we block time in Warsaw for a short pull-aside for Potus to meet Zelensky?

I would ask Zelensky to look him in the eye and tell him that once Ukraine's new justice folks are in place (mid-Sept) Ze should be able to move forward publicly and with confidence on those issues of importance to Potus and to the US. Hopefully, that will break the logjam.

From: Mike Pompeo  
To: Gordon Sondland

19:03

**RE: Zelensky**

Yes.

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# TESTIMONY OF AMBASSADOR SONDLAND



**“I mentioned to Vice President Pence before the meetings with the Ukrainians that I had concerns that the delay in aid had become tied to the issue of investigations.”**

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# TESTIMONY OF AMBASSADOR TAYLOR

**“Ambassador Sondland also said that he had talked to President Zelensky and Mr. Yermak and had told them that, although this was not a quid pro quo, if President Zelensky did not clear things up in public, we would be at a stalemate. I understood a ‘stalemate’ to mean that Ukraine would not receive the much-needed military assistance.”**



Jonathan Ernst/Reuters

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# WHITE HOUSE BRIEFING – OCT 17, 2019



# WHITE HOUSE BRIEFING – OCTOBER 17, 2019

**MR. MULVANEY:** ...So that was — those were the driving factors. Did he also mention to me in the past the corruption related to the DNC server? Absolutely. No question about that. But that's it. And that's why we held up the money. Now, there was a report —

**REPORTER:** So the demand for an investigation into the Democrats was part of the reason that he ordered to withhold funding to Ukraine?

**MR. MULVANEY:** The look back to what happened in 2016 —

**REPORTER:** The investigation into Democrats.

**MR. MULVANEY:** — certainly was part of the thing that he was worried about in corruption with that nation. And that is absolutely appropriate.

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# PRESIDENT TRUMP SPEAKS TO REPORTERS – OCT 3, 2019



# PRESIDENT TRUMP'S REMARKS – OCTOBER 3, 2019

**REPORTER:** Mr. President, what exactly did you hope Zelensky would do about the Bidens after your phone call? Exactly.

**THE PRESIDENT:** Well, I would think that, if they were honest about it, they'd start a major investigation into the Bidens. It's a very simple answer.

They should investigate the Bidens, because how does a company that's newly formed — and all these companies, if you look at —

And, by the way, likewise, China should start an investigation into the Bidens, because what happened in China is just about as bad as what happened with — with Ukraine.

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# NINE TOP AIDES TO PRESIDENT TRUMP DEFIED SUBPOENAS AT HIS DIRECTION



**Mick Mulvaney**

*Acting White House  
Chief of Staff*



**Robert Blair**

*Assistant to the President,  
Senior Advisor to the  
Chief of Staff*



**John Eisenberg**

*Legal Advisor,  
National Security Council*



**Michael Ellis**

*Deputy Legal Advisor,  
National Security Council*



**P. Wells Griffith**

*Senior Director for International  
Energy and Environment,  
National Security Council*



**Russell T. Vought**

*Acting Director, Office  
of Management and Budget*



**Michael Duffey**

*Assoc. Dir. for National  
Security Programs, OMB*



**Brian McCormack**

*Assoc. Dir. for Natural Resources,  
Energy, and Science, OMB*



**T. Ulrich Brechbuhl**

*Counselor, Department of State*

# THREE TOP AIDES REFUSED TO TESTIFY



**Secretary Rick Perry**

*Department of Energy*



**Ambassador John Bolton\***

*Former National Security Advisor*

*\* if Ambassador Bolton were subpoenaed,  
he would file a lawsuit and would  
comply with the subpoena  
only if ordered to do so by the court*



**Dr. Charles Kupperman**

*Former Deputy National Security Advisor*

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# CONCLUSIONS

- 1. President Trump directed a scheme to pressure Ukraine into opening two investigations that would benefit his 2020 reelection campaign, not the U.S. national interest.**

# CONCLUSIONS

- 2. President Trump used his official office and official tools of U.S. foreign policy—the withholding of an Oval Office meeting and \$391 million in security assistance—to pressure Ukraine into meeting his demands.**

# CONCLUSIONS

- 3. Everyone was in the loop—from the Vice President and the Acting Chief of Staff, to the Secretary of State and Secretary of Energy.**

# CONCLUSIONS

- 4. Despite public discovery of this scheme, which prompted the President to release the aid, he has not given up. He and his agents continue to solicit Ukrainian interference in our election, causing an imminent threat to our elections and our national security.**

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**BACK-UP SLIDES**

# NINE TOP AIDES TO PRESIDENT TRUMP

*Defied Congressional Subpoenas at the Direction of the President*



**Mick Mulvaney**  
*Acting White House  
Chief of Staff*



**Robert Blair**  
*Assistant to the President,  
Senior Advisor to the  
Chief of Staff*



**John Eisenberg**  
*Deputy Legal Counsel,  
National Security Council*



**Michael Ellis**  
*Deputy Legal Advisor,  
National Security Council*



**Russell T. Vought**  
*Acting Director, Office  
of Management and Budget*



**Michael Duffey**  
*Assoc. Dir. for National  
Security Programs, OMB*



**Brian McCormack**  
*Assoc. Dir. for Natural Resources,  
Energy, and Science, OMB*



**T. Ulrich Dreichbuhl**  
*Counselor, Department of State*

# TESTIMONY OF AMBASSADOR TAYLOR



**We condition assistance on issues that will improve our foreign policy, serve our foreign policy, ensure that taxpayers' money is well-spent. Those...conditions are either coming from the Congress or from policy decisions stemming from authority Congress has given us to make sure that the taxpayers' money is well-spent or that the receiving...country takes the actions in our national interest.”**



Jonathan Ernst/Reuters

# PRESIDENT ZELENSKY ON THE FRONT LINES



Photo: [president.gov.ua](http://president.gov.ua)

**JULY 10, 2019**



**YERMAK**

**Thank you for the 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.**



**VOLKER**

**Note:** all of the following slides I created based on previous versions of Goldman's opening. Keeping them in the deck for now just in case we decide to re-insert them, but anyone can feel free to delete.

# NATIONAL SECURITY OFFICIALS HAD CONCERNS ABOUT THE JULY 25 CALL

“ [I]t was improper for the President to request—to demand an investigation into a political opponent... [I]t was also clear that if Ukraine pursued an investigation into the 2016 elections, the Bidens and Burisma, it would be interpreted as a partisan play. This would undoubtedly result in Ukraine losing bipartisan support, undermining U.S. national security, and advancing Russia's strategic objectives in the region.

**- Lt. Col. Alexander Vindman**



Andrew Harnik/AP

# NATIONAL SECURITY OFFICIALS HAD CONCERNS ABOUT THE JULY 25 CALL

“... I would say that it struck me as unusual and inappropriate.

*- Jennifer Williams*

*Transcript of Open Hearing with Jennifer Williams, Nov 19, 2019, page ##*



Chip Somodevilla/Getty

# NATIONAL SECURITY OFFICIALS HAD CONCERNS ABOUT THE JULY 25 CALL

“ I found it obsequious. I heard issues related to the server. And I was concerned that Dr. Hill was correct about this parallel process. And I grew concerned that the call was not the full-throated endorsement of the Ukraine reform agenda that I was hoping to hear.

**- Tim Morrison**

*Deposition of Tim Morrison, Oct 31, 2019, page 41*

It's not what we recommended the President discuss.

**- Tim Morrison**

*Transcript of Open Hearing with Tim Morrison, Nov 19, 2019, page 38*



Andrew Caballero-Reynolds/AFP/Getty Images

# AMBASSADOR BILL TAYLOR ON THE IMPORTANCE OF SECURITY ASSISTANCE:

“...the United States was trying to support Ukraine as a frontline state against Russian attack. And, again, the whole notion of a rules-based order was being threatened by the Russians in Ukraine. So our security assistance was designed to support Ukraine. And it was not just the United States; it was all of our allies.



Jonathan Ernst/Reuters

**CALL**

**EXHIBIT — WH SUMMARY OF APRIL 21**

# The New York Times

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



Rudolph W. Giuliani, President Trump's personal lawyer, plans to travel to Kiev, the Ukrainian capital, in coming days. Doug Mills/The New York Times

By **Kenneth P. Vogel** May 9, 2019

# ***THE NEW YORK TIMES, MAY 9, 2019***

**GIULIANI: "We're not meddling in an election, we're meddling in an investigation, which we have a right to do."**

Kenneth P. Vogel, "Rudy Giuliani Plans Ukraine Trip to Push for Inquiries That Could Help Trump," *The New York Times*, May 9, 2019.

**GIULIANI: "He basically knows what I'm doing, sure, as his lawyer."**

Kenneth P. Vogel, "Rudy Giuliani Plans Ukraine Trip to Push for Inquiries That Could Help Trump," *The New York Times*, May 9, 2019.

As Ambassador Sondland would later testify:

**EXHIBIT:** “Mr. Giuliani was expressing the desires of the President of the United States, and we knew these investigations were important to the President.”

**Exhibit — Volker 7/7 text about “Giuliani factor”**

# OCT 4, 2019 WHITE HOUSE COUNSEL LETTER



# PRESIDENT TRUMP'S OWN WORDS

“

*Minneapolis, MN Rally, October 10, 2019*

# THE PRESIDENT DIRECTED NON-COMPLIANCE WITH CONGRESSIONAL REQUESTS FOR DOCUMENTS

*Executive Branch Agencies Ignoring Congressional Requests,  
Following the President's Orders Not to Cooperate:*



**The White House**



**Department of Defense**



**Office of the Vice President**



**Department of State**



**Office of Management  
and Budget**



**Department of Energy**

# WITNESS INTIMIDATION IN REAL TIME



**Donald J. Trump** ✓

@realDonaldTrump



Everywhere Marie Yovanovitch went turned bad. She started off in Somalia, how did that go? Then fast forward to Ukraine, where the new Ukrainian President spoke unfavorably about her in my second phone call with him. It is a U.S. President's absolute right to appoint ambassadors.

10:01 AM · Nov 15, 2019 · [Twitter for iPhone](#)

the President tweeted (**EXHIBIT**):

I want to know who's the person who gave the whistle-blower the information because that's close to a spy. You know what we used to do in the old days when we were smart with spies and treason, right? We used to handle it a little differently than we do now.

*Listen: Audio of Trump Discussing Whistleblower at Private Event: 'That's Close to a Spy,' Los Angeles Times (Sept. 26, 2019) (online at [www.latimes.com/politics/story/2019-09-26/trump-at-private-breakfast-who-gave-the-whistle-blower-the-information-because-thats-almost-a-spy](http://www.latimes.com/politics/story/2019-09-26/trump-at-private-breakfast-who-gave-the-whistle-blower-the-information-because-thats-almost-a-spy)).*

# WHITE HOUSE BRIEFING – OCT 17, 2019



# WHITE HOUSE BRIEFING – OCT 17, 2019



# WHITE HOUSE BRIEFING – OCT 17, 2019



# JULY 21, 2019

**Gordon, one thing Kurt and I talked about yesterday was Sasha Danyliuk's point that President Zelensky is sensitive about Ukraine being taken seriously, not merely as an instrument in Washington domestic, reelection politics.**



TAYLOR



SONDLAND



VOLKER

# TESTIMONY OF GEORGE KENT



Andrew Caballero-Reynolds/AFP/Getty Images

**“ You can’t promote principled anticorruption action without pissing off corrupt people.”**

*Transcript page 132, Open Hearing with George Kent and Ambassador Taylor, Nov 13, 2019.*

# LUTSENKO: NO REASON FOR UKRAINE TO INVESTIGATE THE BIDENS

“

- *Yuriy Lutsenko*

““No reason to probe Bidens: former Ukraine prosecutor.” BBC News,  
*September 29, 2019*