

[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


iMessage  
7/19/19, 4:48 PM

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

19179513862

 Monday 10 to 11

Redacted

 Ok, thank you

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

Redacted


7/22/19, 8:29 AM

Redacted


 Hello

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

Redacted

 Thank you very much! And I'm waiting

19179513862

 Call at 10 correct?

Yes

Redacted

 Yes

7/22/19, 10:50 AM

Redacted

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


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

9/26/19, 10:34 AM

19179513862

 4:48pm

Redacted

 I will leave today 3 pm

iMessage

8/1/19, 9:55 AM

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

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

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

15038058010

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

8/1/19, 11:08 AM

19179513862

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

I will be near Madrid over weekend

15038058010

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

19179513862

I will probably be in NYC

15038058010

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

19179513862

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

8/9/19, 11:27 AM

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



get this done right. Thanks!

15038058010



Good idea Kurt. I am on Pacific time.

19179513862



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

15038058010



I will have state ops build a call.



State is calling now

8/11/19, 10:28 AM

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

19179513862



Yes just call

iMessage with 19179513862

5/11/19, 10:04 AM

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

This number is good for text and cell phone

7/10/19, 8:01 AM

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

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

Great - thank you!

7/15/19, 2:53 PM

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

7/17/19, 12:00 PM

Checking in — are you stateside? Kurt V

7/17/19, 1:06 PM

Will be in DC this Friday

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

Ok will let you know ASAP

7/18/19, 5:11 PM

Hi Mr Mayor — can I buy you breakfast tomorrow?

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

8:00am is fine

Great — see you there — thanks - Kurt

7/19/19, 8:08 AM

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

7/26/19, 5:55 AM

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

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

Thanks for your help! Kurt

I will arrive on Aug 1 and until 5

Thank you

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

8/4/19, 12:55 PM

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

It was excellent I can call a little later.

Great to hear. Maybe 3pm DC time?

8/4/19, 4:10 PM

Is now a good time to call?

8/7/19, 12:52 PM

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

8/13/19, 9:57 AM

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

9/22/19, 8:35 AM

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

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

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



I certainly will let him know

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

Thanks for your help! Kurt

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

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

9/22/19, 6:40 PM

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



Was tweeted by NYTimes Ken Vogel at the time

**STATE DEPARTMENT SPOKESPERSON STATEMENT**  
AUGUST 22, 2019

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

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

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



**Kenneth P. Vogel**

twitter.com

Read 9/22/19

[7/23/19, 1:09:05 PM] You created group "Alex and Dan"

[7/23/19, 1:09:05 PM] Alex and Dan: Messages to this group are now secured with end-to-end encryption.

[7/23/19, 1:10:04 PM] Kurt Volker: Alex — Daniel Hoffman is the friend of mine I mentioned — connecting you here via What'sApp. He will be in Kyiv on 25th. Best - Kurt

[7/23/19, 1:18:18 PM] Kurt Volker: Daniel - Alex is the John Bolton equivalent — chair of the national security and defense council — with responsibility for reforming the security services.

[7/23/19, 1:19:50 PM] Dan Hoffman: Thank you Kurt for cross connecting us.

[7/23/19, 1:21:00 PM] Dan Hoffman: Alex, I'll be in Kiev from tomorrow late afternoon through Friday. With the exception of embassy meetings Friday afternoon my schedule is pretty open. Would it be possible to arrange a short meeting at your convenience?

[7/23/19, 3:14:43 PM] Alex Danylyuk: Daniel, let's meet thursday afternoon, say 16:00? Is it ok?

[7/23/19, 5:04:14 PM] Dan Hoffman: Yes great

[7/23/19, 5:06:44 PM] Dan Hoffman: Over to you sir to pick the place

[7/24/19, 8:11:44 AM] Dan Hoffman: Я прилетел сейчас в гостинице жду вашего решения где встретимся завтра в 16:00. Всего хорошего

[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 convinient 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! Undertood  
[7/23/19, 1:06:22 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Alex — Looking forward to seeing you. A friend of mine who is retired CIA — former station chief in Moscow, Islamabad, and Tallinn — will be visiting Kyiv this week. If you are interested in meeting him, I'll connect you. He has good contacts in US agencies still.  
[7/23/19, 1:07:36 PM] Alex Danylyuk: Sure! Will be happy too. Pls give him this number. See you soon!!!  
[7/23/19, 1:08:21 PM] Kurt Volker: Ok — will do!  
[8/24/19, 6:36:11 AM] Alex Danylyuk: Alex.danylyuk@gmail.com  
[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. I am concerned about ability of the team to lead the country. 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 be "Donald Trump", written in a cursive style.



Dear Vladislav,

Following the recent meetings in Sochi of Secretary Pompeo with President Putin and Foreign Minister Lavrov, and in light of Volodymyr Zelenskyy having taken office as President of Ukraine, I wonder if you believe the time may now be right to renew efforts to achieve genuine peace in eastern Ukraine through the full implementation of the Minsk agreements.

I have been in close consultation with our French and German colleagues, and have had initial discussions with the emerging Ukrainian team under President Zelenskyy. On all counts, there is a belief that with the election of a new Ukrainian President, we should see whether it is possible to renew efforts to end the war and implement the Minsk agreements.

To generate good will and momentum, a good first step by Russia would be the release of the Ukrainian sailors. I would hope that this could be done immediately, and then quickly followed by additional confidence building measures – most particularly, a mutually agreed, comprehensive prisoner exchange. I would also hope that Russia and Ukraine could agree on a genuine and lasting ceasefire. Other important early steps could be those proposed by OSCE Chairman-in-Office Lajcak. We believe it is particularly important to make progress on full humanitarian access for the local population, the establishment of an incident prevention mechanism and protection of critical civilian infrastructure as well as, at long last, progress on replacing the bridge at Stanytsya-Luhanska and opening additional Line of Contact crossing points at Zolote and Shchastya.

Our ultimate goal remains the full implementation of the Minsk agreements. Security is an essential first step and we continue to believe that the best course of action is the staged deployment of a UN-mandated peacekeeping force that eventually assumes responsibility for security in the entire contested area as the illegal armed groups are dismantled, foreign forces withdrawn, and the so-called “People’s Republics,” are disbanded. An international peacekeeping force and interim civil administration would be best placed to oversee full Minsk implementation – including special status and amnesty - and eventual restoration of Ukrainian control. President Zelenskyy and his team has made clear that he shares these goals and is committed to reaching out to the people of eastern Ukraine and supporting their rights as citizens of Ukraine.

With all that in mind, I wonder if you believe that Russia is prepared to do its part, and if so, whether it would be worthwhile to schedule a meeting between us in the coming weeks. Ideally, this could be in Moscow after the release of the sailors, though other options are possible. If not, perhaps you would prefer to meet after Ukraine’s parliamentary elections?

I hope you are well, and do let me know.

Best wishes,

Kurt

[7/30/19, 2:59:18 PM] You created group "Alex, Andrey and Vadym"

[7/30/19, 2:59:18 PM] Alex, Andrey and Vadym: Messages to this group are now secured with end-to-end encryption.

[7/30/19, 3:02:51 PM] Kurt Volker: Dear Vadym, Alex and Andrey -- Thank you again for a great visit to Ukraine last week. It could not have gone better, and I very much appreciate the chance to visit Stanitsa Luhanska.

[7/30/19, 3:03:19 PM] Kurt Volker: Attached is a draft note I propose to send to Surkov suggesting that now is a good time to get together. Would welcome your thoughts

[7/30/19, 3:03:51 PM] Kurt Volker: Draft Letter to VS 30.07.19.docx <attached: 00000004-Draft Letter to VS 30.07.19.docx>

[7/30/19, 3:06:42 PM] Kurt Volker: I would welcome your thoughts on the phased deployment of a peacekeeping force as we discussed last week. I think we need to produce a fresh concept among ourselves, even if we do not deploy as a proposal at this time.

[7/30/19, 3:06:48 PM] Kurt Volker: Best - Kurt

[7/30/19, 3:09:30 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: Dear Kurt, thank you for sharing the draft with us. I believe you can build up the momentum on your personal experience in st. Luhanska. We will try to push for the more concrete steps in bridging (literally) tmrw at Minsk. I will keep you informed about the progress.

[7/30/19, 3:11:57 PM] Kurt Volker: Thanks -- looking forward to hearing how tomorrow's meeting goes.

Dear Vladislav --

I hope you are well!

As you know, the Ukrainian elections are now behind us. The result is a renewed Ukrainian leadership that enjoys a strong majority in parliament and should be able to make decisions and pass significant legislation.

President Zelenskyy has also taken the initiative to order the disengagement of Ukrainian forces and to prepare for repairing the bridge at Stantisa Luhanska -- something I referred to in my last letter. As you may have seen, I visited there on Friday last week and was impressed with the reciprocal disengagement by the Russian-led forces, and the access afforded to engineers to evaluate the bridge for repair.

I hope that this disengagement continues to be successful, that it leads to a marginal improvement in the lives of the local population who depend on that boundary crossing point, and that it can become a catalyst for disengagement at other areas, and for the introduction of new boundary crossing points.

Of course, releasing the Ukrainian sailors held by Russia, and a further prisoner exchange, would also help build momentum for peace.

With all this in mind, I consulted with Ambassador Huntsman, and he strongly agrees that now is a good time for me to visit Moscow to resume bilateral dialogue about ending the war.

For my part, mid- to late-August is good timing. Ambassador Huntsman will be in touch in Moscow to see what specific dates might work best.

Please let me know if you agree that now is a good time to meet, and that the conditions are right for a productive discussion.

Best wishes,

Kurt

[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

[7/23/19, 1:16:27 PM] You created group "Andrey and Daniel"

[7/23/19, 1:16:27 PM] Andrey and Daniel: Messages to this group are now secured with end-to-end encryption.

[7/23/19, 1:17:11 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — Daniel Hoffman — connected here is the person I mentioned. He will be in Kyiv on the 25th.

[7/23/19, 1:17:33 PM] Kurt Volker: Daniel — Andrey is the Deputy chief of staff and will become the diplomatic advisor to the President

[7/23/19, 1:18:23 PM] Dan Hoffman: Thank you for cross connecting us Kurt

[7/23/19, 1:19:26 PM] Dan Hoffman: Andrey, I'll be in Kiev from tomorrow late afternoon until Friday evening. Would very much like to arrange a short chat at your convenience

[7/25/19, 3:16:08 AM] Dan Hoffman: Доброе утро Андрей я в Киеве если у вас будет возможность встретиться было бы здорово поделиться впечатлениями я улетаю рано утром послезавтра

[7/25/19, 3:16:18 AM] Dan Hoffman: Всего наилучшего Данил

[7/25/19, 2:57:30 PM] Dan Hoffman: У меня завтра встреча в посольстве начинается в 10 так что можно после обеда встретиться?

[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, 1:08:09 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey. I sent this to Danylyuk. Would also be happy to connect you if you and/or Prystaiko is interested. "A friend of mine who is retired CIA — former station chief in Moscow, Islamabad, and Tallinn — will be visiting Kyiv this week. If you are interested in meeting him, I'll connect you. He has good contacts in US agencies still."  
[7/23/19, 1:14:46 PM] Andrey Yermak: Hi Kurt. Yes, please connect with me. Thank you

[7/23/19, 1:16:05 PM] Andrey Yermak: We have breakfast and lunch with Gordon Friday?  
[7/23/19, 1:16:54 PM] Andrey Yermak: And phone call between Presidents Thursday?  
[7/23/19, 1:18:52 PM] Kurt Volker: I am pretty sure the phone call is going forward for Thursday — will keep monitoring.  
[7/23/19, 1:19:38 PM] Kurt Volker: For Friday — I could do 7:30am at the Hyatt. Alternatively, are you free Saturday morning?  
[7/23/19, 1:20:01 PM] Kurt Volker: I think yes on Friday lunch — will check schedule on that  
[7/23/19, 2:27:33 PM] Andrey Yermak: Up to you, I'm with pleasure and Friday and Saturday. Phone call still not confirm  
[7/23/19, 2:31:49 PM] Andrey Yermak: When you can, let me know, I need 2 min by phone  
[7/23/19, 2:33:05 PM] Kurt Volker: Ok — in about an hour?  
[7/23/19, 2:33:14 PM] Kurt Volker: And call now being set for Friday I think  
[7/23/19, 2:33:22 PM] Andrey Yermak: Super  
[7/23/19, 2:33:36 PM] Kurt Volker: And I'm told president Z now available Thursday to meet w me, so I will rearrange schedule  
[7/23/19, 2:33:54 PM] Andrey Yermak: Yes  
[7/23/19, 2:34:51 PM] Andrey Yermak: Let's discuss in hour  
[7/23/19, 2:35:10 PM] Kurt Volker: Ok  
[7/25/19, 8:36:45 AM] Kurt Volker: Good lunch - thanks. Heard from White House — assuming President Z convinces trump he will investigate / “get to the bottom of what happened” in 2016, we will nail down date for visit to Washington. Good luck! See you tomorrow - kurt  
[7/25/19, 10:15:06 AM] Andrey Yermak: Phone call went well. President Trump proposed to choose any convenient dates. President Zelenskiy chose 20,21,22 September for the White House visit. Thank you again for your help! Please remind Mr. Mayor to share the Madrid's dates  
[7/25/19, 10:16:42 AM] Kurt Volker: Great — thanks and will do!  
[7/26/19, 6:22:26 AM] Kurt Volker: 180730 Deployment Timeline • 2 pages <attached: 00000075-180730 Deployment Timeline.pdf>  
[7/26/19, 6:25:23 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — good meeting! Here is the paper we did last year — intended to be an annex to a UN Security Council Resolution about a peacekeeping force.  
[7/26/19, 6:26:00 AM] Kurt Volker: Also — Rudy Giuliani says he arrives in Madrid on August 1 and departs August 5.  
[7/27/19, 3:01:16 AM] Andrey Yermak: Good morning  
[7/27/19, 3:01:42 AM] Andrey Yermak: I will be in Hyatt in 7 min  
[8/1/19, 2:23:52 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey— just checking in — how is everything? On track for Madrid? Visit to DC? Kurt  
[8/1/19, 3:36:03 PM] Andrey Yermak: Hi Kurt. Now in plane from Zurich to Madrid. Will call you after landing  
[8/2/19, 1:27:31 PM] Andrey Yermak: Missed voice call  
[8/2/19, 1:27:42 PM] Andrey Yermak: Hi Kurt  
[8/2/19, 1:28:19 PM] Andrey Yermak: My meeting with Mr. Mayor was very good  
[8/2/19, 1:30:36 PM] Andrey Yermak: We asked for White House meeting during week start 16 Sept. Waiting for confirmation. May be you know the date?  
[8/2/19, 1:30:46 PM] Andrey Yermak: When we can talk?  
[8/2/19, 1:31:04 PM] Andrey Yermak: Will be 1.5 hours in plane  
[8/2/19, 1:38:44 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — sorry I missed you. Will be free when you land  
[8/4/19, 12:39:54 PM] Andrey Yermak: Hi Kurt, how are you? Do you have any news?  
[8/4/19, 1:16:37 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — speaking w Rudy in about 2 hours — call you after?  
[8/4/19, 1:17:17 PM] Andrey Yermak: Yes, of course  
[8/4/19, 4:20:55 PM] Kurt Volker: Have still not heard back — other than a text saying “great meeting”  
[8/4/19, 4:21:11 PM] Kurt Volker: I think it is late in Spain now so will try again first thing in the morning  
[8/5/19, 1:19:18 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — had a good long talk w Rudy — call anytime - Kurt  
[8/7/19, 1:32:10 PM] Andrey Yermak: Hi Kurt. How are you? Do you have some news about White House meeting date?  
[8/7/19, 1:34:35 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey! Not yet — I texted Rudy earlier to make sure he weighs in following your meeting. Gordon should be speaking with the president on Friday. We are pressing this...  
[8/7/19, 1:35:09 PM] Andrey Yermak: Thank you!  
[8/7/19, 1:36:07 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 при возможном участии некоторых украинских политиков. Хочу заявить о недопустимости подобной практики. Мы намерены обеспечить и довести до конца прозрачное и непредвзятое расследование всех имеющихся фактов и эпизодов, что в свою очередь предотвратит повторение данной проблемы в будущем.

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

[8/17/19, 2:09:08 PM] Andrey Yermak: Hi Kurt! Can you talk?

[8/17/19, 3:03:45 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — am driving for the next hour. Would it work to call you then?

[8/17/19, 3:05:31 PM] Andrey Yermak: Yes, please

[8/17/19, 4:34:05 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey— sorry for delay — is now good? Kurt

[8/23/19, 12:27:21 PM] Andrey Yermak: Hi Kurt. Finishing meeting with President and will go. Sorry, delay, hope not more than 20-30 min

[8/23/19, 12:30:16 PM] Kurt Volker: No worries — just got in. We are in no hurry

[8/24/19, 3:15:13 PM] Andrey Yermak: Good evening

[8/24/19, 3:21:41 PM] Andrey Yermak: It's very important for all our team that you was with us today. Great day for Ukraine! I'd like to check with you some info. Thank you!

[8/24/19, 3:31:45 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey - sorry - was on another call. Was great to be here — thank you! Very inspiring day!

[8/24/19, 3:32:37 PM] Kurt Volker: Can talk now or tomorrow morning — flight is at 2pm to Frankfurt

[8/26/19, 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-1689531>

[8/29/19, 6:55:04 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey - Absolutely. When is good for you?

[8/29/19, 3:01:38 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — am told 2:40pm meeting on Sunday in Warsaw. 1 hour bilat

[8/29/19, 5:03:38 PM] Kurt Volker: Just saw trump cancelling going to Poland — sending Pence instead. Hope we keep the bilat — and push for 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 Ze visit. Gordon will follow up with pence and, if nothing moving, will have a chance to talk with President on Saturday.

[9/4/19, 9:56:49 AM] Kurt Volker: Sorry — on Friday

[9/4/19, 9:57:35 AM] Andrey Yermak: Hi Kurt



[9/4/19, 9:57:41 AM] Andrey Yermak: Thank you!  
[9/4/19, 9:58:09 AM] Andrey Yermak: Call you in 30 min?  
[9/4/19, 9:58:14 AM] Kurt Volker: My pleasure. Did you have a chance to put a word into Kozak about me visiting?  
[9/4/19, 9:58:29 AM] Kurt Volker: In an hour would be better — going in to a meeting now..  
[9/4/19, 1:53:32 PM] Andrey Yermak: Missed voice call  
[9/4/19, 2:37:50 PM] Andrey Yermak: Missed voice call  
[9/4/19, 2:56:25 PM] Andrey Yermak: Can you talk?  
[9/5/19, 8:17:50 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — flying to Georgia — can talk Friday or Saturday. Nothing new on RFE? I will see RFE Presidet Jamie Fly on Monday. Best - Kurt  
[9/7/19, 8:17:52 AM] Kurt Volker: Great news on the prisoner exchange! Hope it leads to progress in Donbas.  
[9/9/19, 8:01:26 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — let me know if there is a good time to call. Can we meet for breakfast or coffee on Saturday? Best - Kurt  
[9/11/19, 2:23:51 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey - hope all is well — looking forward to seeing you Saturday. Will be interested to get your read on call this eve. Just spoke w Gordon after your call and we are pushing again for a date. Best - Kurt  
[9/11/19, 4:52:34 PM] Andrey Yermak: Hi Kurt  
[9/11/19, 4:52:52 PM] Andrey Yermak: Can call you in 40 min?  
[9/11/19, 5:36:41 PM] Andrey Yermak: Missed voice call  
[9/12/19, 12:58:11 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — sorry to miss you last night. Let's try later today— 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 Dnipro if you need to adjust timing. I am flexible. Kurt  
[9/14/19, 2:40:34 AM] Andrey Yermak: Hi, Kurt  
[9/14/19, 2:40:35 AM] Andrey Yermak: Ok  
[9/14/19, 2:41:05 AM] Kurt Volker: Ok - thanks  
[9/14/19, 2:41:34 AM] Andrey Yermak: Thank you  
[9/14/19, 12:03:54 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — checking schedule — ok for 8:30pm?  
[9/14/19, 12:06:51 PM] Andrey Yermak: If possible 9 pm  
[9/14/19, 12:06:55 PM] Andrey Yermak: ?  
[9/14/19, 12:09:40 PM] Kurt Volker: Yes — 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!!  
[9/16/19, 1:18:05 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — looks like the Metropolitan's What's App account was hacked.

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

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

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

[8/9/19, 2:24:21 PM] You created group "Andrey/Gordon/Kurt"  
[8/9/19, 2:24:21 PM] Andrey/Gordon/Kurt: Messages to this group are now secured with end-to-end encryption.  
[8/9/19, 2:24:57 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey— we have all consulted here, including with Rudy. Can you do a call later today or tomorrow your afternoon time? Kurt  
[8/9/19, 2:25:40 PM] Gordon Sondland: I have a call sched at 3pm Eastern for the three of us. Ops will call  
[8/13/19, 10:11:50 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — we spoke with Rudy. When is good to call you?  
[8/13/19, 10:19:20 AM] Andrey Yermak: Hi Kurt  
[8/13/19, 10:19:50 AM] Gordon Sondland: I can talk now  
[8/13/19, 10:20:54 AM] Andrey Yermak: I'm in Israel  
[8/13/19, 10:21:20 AM] Gordon Sondland: Important. Do you have 5 mins  
[8/13/19, 10:21:21 AM] Andrey Yermak: I can speak in 10-15 min  
[8/13/19, 10:22:55 AM] Gordon Sondland: Ok I will have our operator dial us in at 4:35 Brussels time  
[8/13/19, 10:23:14 AM] Kurt Volker: Can we do this one on what's App?  
[8/13/19, 10:23:31 AM] Gordon Sondland: Ok, fine. Can you initiate?  
[8/13/19, 10:23:41 AM] Kurt Volker: Yes - will do  
[8/13/19, 10:24:17 AM] Andrey Yermak: Ok  
[8/13/19, 12:11:15 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — good talking — following is text with insert at the end for the 2 key items. We will work on official request  
[8/13/19, 12:11:19 PM] Kurt Volker: Special attention should be paid to the problem of interference in the political processes of the United States, especially with the alleged involvement of some Ukrainian politicians. I want to declare that this is unacceptable. We intend to initiate and complete a transparent and unbiased investigation of all available facts and episodes, including those involving Burisma and the 2016 U.S. elections, which in turn will prevent the recurrence of this problem in the future.

[6/27/19, 2:05:42 PM] You created group "Bill and Emmanuel"

[6/27/19, 2:05:42 PM] Bill and Emmanuel: Messages to this group are now secured with end-to-end encryption.

[6/27/19, 2:07:03 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Bill — allow me to introduce here Metropolitan Emmanuel. He would like to meet with you when he is in Kyiv next week (Tuesday-Thursday). Concerned about F and seeking US help. Best - Kurt

[6/27/19, 2:11:54 PM] Emmanuel Adamakis: Thanks a lot Kurt. I'll be honored to meet Bill while in Kiev

[6/27/19, 2:28:21 PM] Bill Taylor: Glad to meet you. We have a congressional delegation in town next week, but later in the week could work?

Bill

[6/27/19, 2:30:03 PM] Emmanuel Adamakis: I'm arriving on 2nd July and I'm staying up to the 5th July. I fully understand if not this time probably when I come back

[6/27/19, 2:42:05 PM] Bill Taylor: Maybe when you come back -- the 4th of July is a holiday and I have 1200 people invited to my residence on the evening of the 5th!

[6/27/19, 2:42:53 PM] Emmanuel Adamakis: OK looking forward next time

[12/24/18, 6:33:34 AM] Bill Taylor: Messages to this chat and calls are now secured with end-to-end encryption.

[12/24/18, 6:33:34 AM] Bill Taylor: Kurt, did you send a draft of the op-ed we discussed to Steve?

[1/2/19, 11:12:47 AM] Bill Taylor: Steve hasn't received a draft yet. Still a good idea?

[1/2/19, 11:13:02 AM] Kurt Volker: Yes - I should have it today

[1/2/19, 11:37:21 AM] Bill Taylor: On another topic, we continue to plan the February 12 roundtable on Donbas peace plans. It's on Steve's calendar. Two questions: can you kick off the discussion? Minister Avakov will also speak. Second, would you be OK if we invited Professor Dynkin, Steve's friend from IMEMO? He made a proposal for peacekeepers last year. Minister Avakov and Gregory Nemyria are both comfortable inviting Dynkin.

[1/2/19, 11:38:07 AM] Kurt Volker: Yes — all good. What time on 12th?

[1/2/19, 11:40:58 AM] Bill Taylor: Opening comments at 9:30. First session on peacekeepers until 12:30. Informal lunch. Afternoon sessions on interim international administration and political prospects in the UN. Close by 5.

[1/2/19, 11:43:01 AM] Kurt Volker: Ok — so I can be there from 9:30-10:15am?

[1/2/19, 11:47:33 AM] Bill Taylor: Yes

[1/2/19, 12:32:13 PM] Kurt Volker: Great. Will it be as USIP?

[1/2/19, 1:53:37 PM] Bill Taylor: Yes

[1/3/19, 11:57:40 AM] Bill Taylor: Dynkin declined.

[1/3/19, 11:58:43 AM] Kurt Volker: Interesting. Means there is no room for progress

[1/3/19, 12:22:13 PM] Bill Taylor: Not with this Ukrainian administration, he says.

[1/5/19, 11:02:14 AM] Bill Taylor: Haven't heard from Steve on the edits he asked me to make. He wanted it shortened and the recommendations focused. I tried to shorten but didn't want to lose any of the recommendations. Am checking to see if Steve is flying back from China and thus offline.

[1/5/19, 11:01:13 PM] Kurt Volker: Good — I saw the edits — I think he will want to make the recommendations less of a "list" — but let's hear from him.

[1/5/19, 11:01:00 PM] Kurt Volker: If we don't get Steve (although we should) is there someone else the WH would be impressed by?

[1/5/19, 1:23:58 PM] Bill Taylor: That's a hard question. Steve is almost unique -- a reasonable Republican, respected by both ends of that spectrum.

[1/5/19, 1:24:39 PM] Kurt Volker: Exactly. Almost anyone else would not be respected at WH. So let's convince him!

[1/5/19, 1:26:40 PM] Bill Taylor: Yup. I'm hoping he's in an airplane. He is usually very responsive. Is there a way to repackaging the recommendations in a way that looks less like a laundry list?

[1/5/19, 1:36:55 PM] Kurt Volker: I think just turning it into prose instead of bullets would do it

[1/5/19, 1:38:21 PM] Bill Taylor: Could be, but might make it longer. Want to take a shot? Or I can.

[1/5/19, 1:38:40 PM] Kurt Volker: I can do it now — back to you in half an hour

[1/5/19, 2:43:05 PM] Kurt Volker: Just sent via email to the group - kv

[1/5/19, 3:01:43 PM] Bill Taylor: Got it -- looks good

[1/5/19, 3:03:50 PM] Kurt Volker: Same recommendations, but less jarring — think he'll like that better

[1/5/19, 3:05:43 PM] Bill Taylor: Agree. Hope it gets published before the Russians move.

[1/5/19, 10:10:08 PM] Bill Taylor: Missed voice call

[1/7/19, 3:15:33 PM] Bill Taylor: WSJ declined saying they'd recently done a piece on the Orthodox Church and that our piece is too long for them. Jackson Diehl has a piece similar to ours in the Post today. We are pitching our piece to the Times.

[1/7/19, 4:01:13 PM] Kurt Volker: Have you considered foreign policy ?

[1/7/19, 4:02:04 PM] Bill Taylor: Good idea

[1/7/19, 5:05:02 PM] Kurt Volker: Btw — surprised wsj rejected since this has nothing to do with the church. Did shai speak with an editor and explain who it is and why it is imp?

[1/7/19, 5:47:43 PM] Bill Taylor: I'll press

[1/7/19, 8:17:53 PM] Bill Taylor: Shai did push and did talk to their op-ed editor. Steve came back asking us to offer it to the Post -- he knows Fred Hiatt well -- and to consider FT and Foreign Affairs website.

[1/7/19, 9:59:37 PM] Kurt Volker: Ok - great - thanks - hope they take it!

[1/9/19, 10:22:43 AM] Bill Taylor: Status: submitted to the NYT two days ago, no response yet. If they accept but ask that it be shortened, we will -- and check with you. If they decline, we will go to Foreign Affairs, then Foreign Policy.

[1/9/19, 10:24:34 AM] Bill Taylor: Different topic: what do you think about inviting Chesnakov to the February 12 roundtable? Not to present, but to participate.

[1/9/19, 5:37:18 PM] Kurt Volker: I think it is a good idea

[1/9/19, 5:52:01 PM] Bill Taylor: I agree. John Herbst doesn't think that Chesnakov will agree to participate. But we can ask.

We are submitting the op-ed to Foreign Affairs tomorrow morning.

[1/9/19, 11:50:33 PM] Kurt Volker: Sounds good — thx!

[1/9/19, 11:51:01 PM] Kurt Volker: And on chesnakov — let it be him who declines — good that we ask

[1/10/19, 5:07:24 AM] Bill Taylor: Sounds good

[1/15/19, 7:07:33 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi bill — any news on the op-Ed? Needed now more than ever. Indeed, may need to be sharper up front.

[1/15/19, 7:55:21 PM] Bill Taylor: I asked our guys this afternoon -- apparently FA requires multiple pings. Told Steve. Got any changes to the opening?

[1/15/19, 8:25:52 PM] Kurt Volker: Just sent you a tougher opening. Steve may not like it, but all the info I am getting is that we are going to do absolutely nothing. Zero from the list we discussed.

[1/15/19, 8:36:35 PM] Bill Taylor: Just sent it to Steve, blind copying you.

[1/16/19, 3:40:28 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Bill — should we try foreign policy instead? I can send you contact for lead editor Jonathan Tepperman if you want - kv

[1/16/19, 3:51:30 PM] Bill Taylor: Yes. We submitted it to FA this morning, pinged twice and haven't heard from them. If we don't hear by 5:30, we'll pull it and resubmit it to FP. As soon as we do, I will let you know so you can alert your contact there. We have another contact there as well.

[1/16/19, 3:52:29 PM] Kurt Volker: Ok - great - thanks!

[1/16/19, 9:53:33 PM] Bill Taylor: Submitted and alerted Jonathan Tepperman

[1/16/19, 10:08:52 PM] Kurt Volker: Great - thanks!

[1/17/19, 9:42:25 AM] Bill Taylor: Looking good for FP. Will confirm

[1/17/19, 9:42:32 AM] Kurt Volker: Great!

[1/17/19, 9:42:51 AM] Kurt Volker: Let me know and I'll try to get it into TV interviews

[1/17/19, 11:08:52 AM] Bill Taylor: Will do

[1/17/19, 11:49:41 AM] Bill Taylor: Regarding the February 12 roundtable, I was thinking about inviting representatives from Normandy Format embassies. I'm keeping Chaly and Oksana informed. No word back from Chesnakov but Dynkin's colleague Zagorski is trying to get here. The Russian embassy? Are there Donbas watchers at the French and German embassies?

[1/17/19, 1:14:41 PM] Kurt Volker: Yes — Chris knows the names at the Normandy embassies. Fine on Zagorsky. Avakov is a mixed bag. Is he still coming?

[1/17/19, 1:17:43 PM] Bill Taylor: Yes

[1/18/19, 12:23:17 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi bill — did they publish?

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

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

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

[1/18/19, 6:05:31 PM] Kurt Volker: Great!! Thanks!

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

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

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

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

[4/29/19, 5:16:56 PM] Kurt Volker: You should!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[5/26/19, 2:14:39 PM] Bill Taylor: I am still struggling with the decision whether to go. Can anyone hope to succeed with the Giuliani-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 CDA. 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 Sandland, who said Mulvaney told him today it is with POTUS... tbc...

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

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

[6/11/19, 4:59:53 PM] Kurt Volker: Good idea!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[6/28/19, 11:40:45 AM] Bill Taylor: Prystaiko?

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

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

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



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

## 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.

[6/22/19, 3:25:03 PM] You created group "Dan and bill"

[6/22/19, 3:25:03 PM] Dan and bill: Messages to this group are now secured with end-to-end encryption.

[6/22/19, 3:26:26 PM] Kurt Volker: Introducing you — Bill Taylor, Chargé in Kyiv — meet Dan Hoffman — former COS in Moscow, Tallinn and Islamabad. Dan will be in Kyiv in coming days and wanted to put you in touch. Best - Kurt

[6/22/19, 11:26:24 PM] Bill Taylor: Thanks Kurt.

Welcome, Dan

Bill

[6/23/19, 10:06:02 AM] Dan Hoffman: Greetings sir, I'm looking at getting out to Kiev, would like to pay a courtesy call at your convenience.

[6/23/19, 10:36:24 AM] Bill Taylor: Excellent -- let me know when you have a schedule.

[6/23/19, 11:03:48 AM] Dan Hoffman: Great! Are you in Kiev now Sir? Are you there all of July? I might even think of popping over next week...

[6/23/19, 12:57:50 PM] Bill Taylor: I am here in Kyiv. The next two weeks are pretty crazy -- a congressional delegation, a ship visit in Odesa and the 4th of July events. Later in July?

[6/23/19, 1:01:31 PM] Dan Hoffman: Yes sir sounds great

[6/23/19, 1:02:15 PM] Dan Hoffman: May I correspond with your personal assistant to set a meeting?

[6/23/19, 1:09:00 PM] Bill Taylor: Yes, of course. Send me an email and I will connect you to Di. I am at [taylorwb@state.gov](mailto:taylorwb@state.gov)

[6/23/19, 2:03:25 PM] Dan Hoffman: Great thanks will do enjoy the rest of your Sunday

[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 Chargé. You guys should meet / talk when you can. Bill was Amb in Kyiv at end of Bush Admin and more recently has been VP at USIP. 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 Dayliuk get confirmed with Bolton for next week?

[7/3/19, 1:26:21 PM] Bill Taylor: Yes -- 2 PM Wednesday

[7/3/19, 1:50:06 PM] Gordon 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 ZE call happen prior to 7/21

[7/14/19, 10:09:33 AM] Kurt Volker: Anything new you have heard?

[7/14/19, 10:12:57 AM] Gordon Sondland: Tim Morrison is also tracking now. Good sign

[7/14/19, 10:16:46 AM] Bill Taylor: They will make it happen whenever, but they want him in an office, ideally his, so the connection and interpretation are clear. Any indication of timing most welcome

[7/15/19, 10:10:22 AM] Bill Taylor: We keep getting readouts of the Danyliuk-Bolton meeting that predict no phone call or meeting any time soon. This can't be my message to Ze. How to proceed?

[7/15/19, 10:31:05 AM] Gordon Sondland: Talking to NSC tomorrow at 8:30 eastern

[7/16/19, 12:47:13 PM] Bill Taylor: Make any progress?

[7/17/19, 10:46:23 AM] Bill Taylor: Danyliuk just asked if there was any news from the WH. Any update?

[7/17/19, 10:47:01 AM] Gordon Sondland: I put in a call to Potus and am waiting for a return

[7/17/19, 10:47:44 AM] Bill Taylor: Excellent -- thanks, Gordon

[7/18/19, 10:19:54 AM] Bill Taylor: OMB on a SVTS just now said that all security assistance to Ukraine is frozen, per a conversation with Mulvaney and POTUS. Over to you.

[7/18/19, 11:07:08 AM] Gordon Sondland: All over it

[7/19/19, 10:19:10 AM] Bill Taylor: Can we marshal our forces to get a congratulatory phone call from POTUS to Ze mid to late next week, assuming the election goes well and Servant of the People does well?

[7/19/19, 11:31:03 AM] Gordon Sondland: Talked to WH. This is moving but post election

[7/19/19, 11:49:51 AM] Bill Taylor: If we can get a congratulatory call post election, that could begin to establish the relationship?

[7/19/19, 4:49:42 PM] Kurt Volker: Can we three do a call tomorrow -- say noon WASHINGTON?

[7/19/19, 6:50:29 PM] Gordon Sondland: Looks like Potus call tomorrow. I spike directly to Zelensky and gave him a full briefing. He's got it.

[7/19/19, 6:52:57 PM] Gordon Sondland: Sure!

[7/19/19, 7:01:22 PM] Kurt Volker: Good. Had breakfast with Rudy this morning -- teeing up call w Yermak Monday. Must have helped. Most imp't is for Zelensky to say that he will help investigation -- and address any specific personnel issues -- if there are any

[7/19/19, 11:53:55 PM] Bill Taylor: Good idea for us to check in at noon Washington time. I just heard that the POTUS call that had been scheduled for 1500 Kyiv time today has been put on hold pending the outcome of the election tomorrow. Is that what you hear?

[7/20/19, 4:52:58 AM] Bill Taylor: If possible, I'd like to at least know when these are scheduled. I can at least reinforce what you are doing.

[7/20/19, 4:53:15 AM] Gordon Sondland: Call me Bill thx

[7/20/19, 10:41:01 AM] Bill Taylor: Do we need to talk at noon Washington time?

[7/20/19, 10:45:50 AM] Kurt Volker: Yes - I'm available. Not sure if Gordon can or not but let's plan on it, and we'll loop Gordon in if we can

[7/20/19, 11:33:00 AM] Bill Taylor: Kupperman (sp?) wants to talk to Danyliuk secure so I am meeting taking him to my office. Can we reschedule?

[7/20/19, 11:37:11 AM] Kurt Volker: Absolutely

[7/20/19, 11:37:19 AM] Kurt Volker: Anytime today will work for me

[7/20/19, 11:46:20 AM] Bill Taylor: Maybe after the Kupperman-Danyliuk call? Around 9 my time tonight?

[7/20/19, 12:29:14 PM] Kurt Volker: Ok

[7/20/19, 1:48:41 PM] Bill Taylor: Just finished with Danyliuk. Will be in the car in 10 minutes. Call then?

[7/20/19, 1:49:03 PM] Kurt Volker: Yes - good

[7/20/19, 2:27:04 PM] Bill Taylor: Call now?

[7/21/19, 1:45:54 AM] Bill Taylor: Gordon, one thing Kurt and I talked about yesterday was Sasha Danyliuk's point that President Zelenskyy is sensitive about Ukraine being taken seriously, not merely as an instrument in Washington domestic, reelection politics.

[7/21/19, 4:45:44 AM] Gordon Sondland: Absolutely, but we need to get the conversation started and the relationship built, irrespective of the pretext. I am worried about the alternative.

[7/21/19, 5:21:47 AM] Bill Taylor: So, the call tomorrow can be a positive step.

[7/22/19, 12:15:55 AM] Bill Taylor: Good, pretty long meeting -- both one-on-one and with Bohdan, Sasha, Yermak, Razumkov -- with the president at his campaign headquarters last night. Interested in both the call and meeting. I couldn't be specific.

[7/22/19, 12:17:16 AM] Bill Taylor: Sounds like Washington is thinking about a congratulatory call in the next couple of days -- Kupperman wrote asking when the results will be known.

[7/22/19, 12:20:59 AM] Bill Taylor: Very good election result for Zelenskyy and us. Likely a young, Western-oriented prime minister. Ze likely in coalition with Vakarchuk (with whom I have met one-on-one twice in the last three days).

[7/22/19, 12:22:01 AM] Gordon Sondland: So Monday call was just rumor?

[7/22/19, 12:28:22 AM] Bill Taylor: Doesn't sound like from either side that it was actually scheduled.

[7/22/19, 8:38:05 AM] Kurt Volker: Yermak thinks Call is at 6pm Kiev today. Bill -- any idea? Should I call sitroom?

[7/22/19, 8:40:38 AM] Gordon Sondland: Good idea

[7/22/19, 8:42:39 AM] Bill Taylor: Tim Morrison just told me it's not on today and I should tell Danyliuk that they will schedule through him shortly.

[7/22/19, 8:43:12 AM] Bill Taylor: I have told Sasha (and Vadym).

[7/22/19, 8:44:12 AM] Bill Taylor: Don't you think we should work through Sasha?

[7/22/19, 8:46:03 AM] Kurt Volker: Yes -- you've got the latest. That's good. Work thru Sasha. And great they will schedule thru danylyuk. 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 danylyuk said meeting w/president is confirmed for 11am Friday — so we should keep the trip east on Thursday  
[7/24/19, 2:08:46 PM] Bill Taylor: The phone call is now confirmed for tomorrow at 16:00 Kyiv time. We are planning the trip to the East after the Zelenskyy meeting on Friday morning.  
[7/24/19, 2:54:33 PM] Gordon Sondland: Thanks Bill  
[7/24/19, 2:55:48 PM] Bill Taylor: Looking forward to seeing you both tomorrow.  
[7/24/19, 3:25:23 PM] Kurt Volker: Outstanding — thanks! Kurt  
[7/25/19, 12:00:55 PM] Bill Taylor: Gordon, Kurt and I will be at the restaurant in 10 minutes. Sounds like the call went well. Sasha will give us a readout.  
[7/26/19, 6:36:53 AM] Kurt Volker: <attached: 00000127-Photo-2019-07-26-06-36-53.jpg>  
[7/26/19, 6:37:38 AM] Kurt Volker: Great photo! Gordon- can you get this to POTUS without intermediaries? - kv  
[7/27/19, 4:26:25 AM] Gordon Sondland: <attached: 00000129-Photo-2019-07-27-04-26-25.jpg>  
[7/27/19, 4:40:43 AM] Gordon Sondland: <https://youtu.be/zW8pad9RDCQ>  
[7/27/19, 7:21:45 AM] Gordon Sondland: Ric and I are talking later today  
[7/27/19, 7:22:16 AM] Kurt Volker: Great — give him my best. I'm arriving to Kyiv on aug 23 and departing aug 25.  
[7/27/19, 7:22:31 AM] Kurt Volker: Would be happy if he joined  
[7/27/19, 7:23:56 AM] Bill Taylor: Thanks for getting him on message, Gordon. This is why you are the US ambassador to Europe.  
[8/1/19, 9:54:13 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi bill — what's the status on dates? Thanks  
[8/1/19, 10:04:23 AM] Gordon Sondland: Kurt, thx for flagging. Bill, S' office getting conflicting info. Did the WH formally offer dates for Ze's consideration.  
[8/1/19, 10:42:45 AM] Bill Taylor: WH offered three windows: the weeks of September 9, 16 and 30. The Ukrainians want to make one trip, so either the week before UNGA or the week after. Ball is back in Tim's court.  
[8/1/19, 11:03:57 AM] Kurt Volker: Thanks! I'm seeing Tim tomorrow and will ask. I guess the week of 16th in this case makes most sense. A shame not to do it 3 weeks earlier...  
[8/1/19, 11:06:47 AM] Bill Taylor: Yes, but let Tim handle it!  
[8/1/19, 11:07:21 AM] Kurt Volker: Of course!  
[8/1/19, 11:07:45 AM] Gordon Sondland: This team works like a Swiss Watch   
[8/1/19, 11:08:28 AM] Kurt Volker: Or a Timex... takes a licking and keeps on ticking... :)  
[8/1/19, 11:58:28 AM] Bill Taylor: I know about the licking part  
[8/3/19, 6:27:26 AM] Bill Taylor: Standing by to hear from Tim who had hoped to have a date by yesterday.  
[8/3/19, 6:34:01 AM] Bill Taylor: On another topic, we just met a staffed from the Senate Armed Services Committee. Very supportive. But also very concerned that the message on Ukraine in Washington is neutral at best and negative in many spheres -- the Russian message: Ukraine is lost, totally corrupt, beyond saving not worth investing in. Makes these staffers' jobs harder -- increase military support to Ukraine. (They had heard about the proposed pause in security assistance to Ukraine.) Kurt, we may need Steve Hadley to reengage.  
[8/3/19, 11:19:50 AM] Gordon Sondland: I have a sec call w Tim Mon. Sounds like bad news. Kurt, call if u have a sec. thx  
[8/3/19, 1:39:17 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi all — Gordon — will call in a bit — had a long talk w Tim on Friday. Seeing steve H on Thursday. We just keep working it...  
[8/4/19, 8:52:00 AM] Bill Taylor: I just talked to Tim secure. He's looking forward to talking with you, Gordon, tomorrow. Kurt is right -- work to do.  
[8/6/19, 4:15:13 AM] Bill Taylor: Now that we have all three talked with Tim, what's our strategy?  
[8/6/19, 7:00:55 AM] Kurt Volker: Keep going...  
[8/6/19, 7:01:35 AM] Kurt Volker: Formally, WH asked for a preference on week from Ukraine, and Ukraine responded?  
[8/6/19, 7:02:05 AM] Kurt Volker: There should be a paper going up that seeks a decision based on that, no?  
[8/6/19, 7:57:32 AM] Bill Taylor: Ukraine responded saying that they want to plan one trip, so the week before UNGA or the week after works. The week of September 9 doesn't. But my conversation with Tim on Sunday did not fill me with hope that they will agree on a date any time soon unless, Tim said, "Gordon turns it around."  
[8/6/19, 7:59:21 AM] Bill Taylor: Gordon, you talked to Tim yesterday, right? Is that your sense? (Tim actually said, "Unless Gordon turns it around like he did with the phone call."  
[8/6/19, 8:27:12 AM] Bill Taylor: So, Kurt, I don't think a paper is going up -- at least as of Sunday.  
[8/6/19, 10:11:17 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, 11:49:46 AM] Bill Taylor: Defense Minister Zagorodnyuk is calling you both about security assistance. I think Kurt talked with him last night.  
[9/4/19, 9:55:18 AM] Kurt Volker: Yes — we had a good talk — Bill — I'll call you later today  
[9/4/19, 11:08:05 AM] Bill Taylor: Sounds good. Am heading to the airport to pick up Senators Johnson and Murphy. Messages for them?  
[9/4/19, 12:42:20 PM] Kurt Volker: Thank you for the letter!! And push for WH visit...  
[9/4/19, 12:42:44 PM] Kurt Volker: Being denied visas for Russia is a badge of honor  
[9/4/19, 12:44:03 PM] Kurt Volker: Even more convinced of our assessment after inauguration— zelenskyy is the real deal and he needs our support  
[9/4/19, 3:22:02 PM] Bill Taylor: Made those points. They are in exactly the right place.  
[9/12/19, 12:08:40 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi — got an email overnight from SASC — says hold is lifted. Let's verify...  
[9/12/19, 12:10:19 AM] Bill Taylor: Got the same message. Checking with NSC  
[9/12/19, 12:10:49 AM] Kurt Volker: Great - thanks! Let me know what you hear!  
[9/12/19, 3:56:27 AM] Kurt Volker: <https://www.rferl.org/a/ukraine-s-zelenskiy-talks-business-with-oligarch-kolomoyskiy/30157530.html>  
[9/12/19, 3:58:08 AM] Bill Taylor: Yup  
[9/12/19, 3:58:31 AM] Kurt Volker: Will be interesting to talk w Honcharuk on Saturday  
[9/12/19, 3:59:09 AM] Bill Taylor: Yes




**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 Sondland: Messages to this chat and calls are now secured with end-to-end encryption.  
[6/28/19, 3:12:31 AM] Gordon Sondland: Pls call. Urgent. Thx  
[7/10/19, 3:53:48 PM] Gordon Sondland: 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 Sondland: Will call  
[7/10/19, 10:30:45 PM] Gordon Sondland: 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 Sondland: 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 Sondland: 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 Sondland: Missed voice call  
[7/25/19, 7:54:20 AM] Gordon Sondland: 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 Sondland: 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 Sondland: 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 Sondland: In air. On ground after IDam Brussels time  
[7/27/19, 12:43:35 AM] Kurt Volker: Ok - will call  
[7/27/19, 6:14:08 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Gordon — have an hour now — let's talk when you can.  
[7/27/19, 6:15:50 AM] Kurt Volker: I want to connect you to the Swedish ambassador in Washington, who was dispatched from her vacation to go back to work..  
[7/29/19, 9:29:26 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Gordon — can you take a call?  
[7/29/19, 9:30:27 AM] Gordon Sondland: Yes  
[7/29/19, 10:56:47 AM] Kurt Volker: I gather potus is getting a Sweden briefing this afternoon — Swedes met with O'Brien, and somehow WH lawyer thinks they did not take the meeting...  
crazy..  
[7/29/19, 12:05:24 PM] Gordon Sondland: 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 Sondland: Sure  
[8/1/19, 7:05:41 AM] Gordon Sondland: 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 Sondland: 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 Sondland: ♦  
[8/9/19, 10:36:23 AM] Kurt Volker: Got a minute? Best - Kurt  
[8/9/19, 10:56:31 AM] Gordon Sondland: Missed voice call  
[8/9/19, 5:35:53 PM] Gordon Sondland: 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 Sondland: 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 Sondland: Yep  
[8/9/19, 5:48:37 PM] Gordon Sondland: 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 Sondland: 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 Sondland: 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 Sondland: 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 IDam / 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 Sondland: If that's IDam 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 Sondland: 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 Sondland: 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 Sondland: 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 Boresma?  
[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 Andreys 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, 4:25:49 AM] Kurt Volker: Rompetrol II Investigation\_Background\_September 2019 = 2 pages <attached: 0000011-Rompetrol II Investigation\_Background\_September 2019.pdf>  
[9/12/19, 4:27:15 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Gordon - just sent the background on US businessman Phil Stephenson's case. Hope Ana can get a handle on this. Best - Kurt  
[9/12/19, 6:07:41 AM] Gordon Sondland: Will take up when i see her Friday  
[9/12/19, 6:10:08 AM] Kurt Volker: Great - thanks  
[9/12/19, 12:15:24 PM] Gordon 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 - best - Kurt  
[9/25/19, 7:49:01 PM] Kurt Volker: Breakfast with Andrey at Park Hyatt at 8am??  
[9/25/19, 8:03:43 PM] Gordon Sondland: If you guys could come to the Peninsula for bkfst my treat. I have to be on a call just prior.  
[9/25/19, 8:41:14 PM] Gordon Sondland: Missed voice call  
[9/25/19, 10:08:57 PM] Gordon Sondland: Missed voice call  
[9/25/19, 11:09:33 PM] Kurt Volker: Sorry Gordon — was separated from my phone. He has an appointment immediately after at the Hyatt.... so thought best to meet there ... is it ok?  
[9/25/19, 11:36:57 PM] Kurt Volker: 57th 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



## **Rompetrol II Investigation—Background September 2019**

US citizens Phil Stephenson and Colin Hart remain under investigation by DIICOT prosecutors for transactions from 1998-2004 relating to the privatization and restructuring of Petromidia, Romania's largest refinery.

**Starting in 1998**, Phil, Colin and local partners invested in, raised money for, and helped manage The Rompetrol Group (TRG). They brought in as co-investors the World Bank's IFC, Germany's development fund DEG, and Austrian oil major OMV in what prosecutors later bizarrely described as an organized crime group. With technology and funding from the US and Europe, TRG's international management team revamped the outdated refinery and built a successful retail gas station network which continues today.

In the late 1990s investors like Phil, Colin and others bought assets at rock bottom prices as Romania, not yet in the EU or NATO, was on its knees economically with exhortations from the IMF to either privatize state owned dinosaurs immediately or lose critical funding. In response, Romanian officials had no choice but to sell assets at prices that their successors later came to regret once the Romanian economy stabilized. Though these were legal transactions at the time, the Romanian prosecutors later hoped to find flaws in them that would justify re-nationalizing the assets (in this case almost 20 years after the deal was done.)

Troubles first began in 2004 when Petromidia turned its first profit four years after Phil and Colin got involved. Local oil barons, losing out to Rompetrol in a competitive market because they lacked transparency and therefore access to financing, suggested "merging with Rompetrol" on very favorable returns – "or you will face problems". Three months after the US citizens said no, a series of government inspections, reports, and tax raids started including the opening of a criminal investigation against a dozen Rompetrol executives, including Phil and Colin (**Rompetrol I**).

Prosecutors **dropped the investigation against Colin and Phil in 2006**. Both men sold their Romanian interests in 2007 and exited Romania completely. A majority of TRG was sold to Kazakhstan's oil company (KMG) at the top of the oil price market. Prosecutors today see the difference between 2000's low buy price and 2007's high sale price as evidence that Romanian officials were somehow tricked (or forced by the IMF) into selling too low. The actual reasons for the high profit was a perfect storm of (a) improvements in the global economy, (b) expanding credit conditions, (c) record high oil prices, (d) expanding refining margins, (e) Kazakhstan's desperation to own an EU refinery (f) better management of a company that had expanded its presence to Holland, France, Spain, Bulgaria, and other countries.

Surprisingly, a new Rompetrol investigation **started in April 2016 (Rompetrol II)** after a ten-year hiatus. This second investigation justified Romania freezing the assets of the new owners of Rompetrol (KMG) when a dispute over a billion-dollar investment promise by KMG failed to materialize and soured Romania-Kazakh relations.

Colin and Phil have hired US and Romanian counsel and fully participated as required under Romanian law (without physically visiting Bucharest). While corruption remains a big problem in Romania that needs fighting, the Rompetrol case is not about corruption. No public officials are accused, and no allegations of bribery have ever been raised by anyone during the 15-year span of this Rompetrol investigation.

These accusations suffer from fatal deficiencies, including:

- Expired statute of limitations;
- Lack of evidence proving specific actions or intent of each accused; (both Rompetrol I and II have followed a Soviet-style “gang trial” approach);
- Lack of due process (missing evidence binders, procedural delays, refusal to subpoena foreign witnesses or to obtain exculpatory evidence located outside of Romania).

Letters from U.S. legislators since 2005-2019 have helped keep a spotlight on the need to adhere to due process standards. On May 13, 2019, legal counsel for Phil and Colin filed a **request for dismissal of all charges**. Legal counsel believes the current prosecutors no longer believe in the case and would like to dismiss. There are many good legal reasons for dismissal but finding someone to take responsibility for this after so much time and resources have been expended is challenging.

[11/12/17, 5:36:25 AM] Pavlo Klimkin: Messages to this chat and calls are now secured with end-to-end encryption.  
[11/12/17, 5:36:25 AM] Kurt Volker: Test -- morning Pavlo! - Kurt  
[11/12/17, 5:59:38 AM] Pavlo Klimkin: It's a good test) p  
[11/12/17, 5:59:41 AM] Pavlo Klimkin: Missed video call  
[11/12/17, 6:00:20 AM] Kurt Volker: Great -- I had a good meeting with Etienne and De Riviere yesterday. Nothing new.  
[11/12/17, 6:01:12 AM] Kurt Volker: On the "elements" paper -- I revised it to take account of input from your paper, and especially our phone call. Emphasis on geography (all of conflict zone, and conflict zone only); local policing supervision; and the border.  
[11/12/17, 6:01:36 AM] Kurt Volker: Sending here -- hope you can open it -- let me know -- would like to send to RU today before tomorrow's meeting  
[11/12/17, 6:01:47 AM] Kurt Volker: I71111 Draft parameters - after ukr input.docx <attached: 00000008-I71111 Draft parameters - after ukr input.docx>  
[11/12/17, 6:01:57 AM] Pavlo Klimkin: Great good luck for tomorrow  
[11/12/17, 8:08:05 AM] Pavlo Klimkin: I've had a look through this paper and still see a number of points which need to be properly addressed, especially the geographical scope: only territories of certain occupied areas, the border;": monitoring and control, no local security forces without reshuffling them and putting under our and/or international control. On other points some further adjustments are needed but probably less critical. Anyway the border control is key, broad security function including policing the same. And you know my point about geography and why the RU could be happy with vague formula on that. Best p  
[11/12/17, 8:21:45 AM] Kurt Volker: Thanks pavlo -- this is not specific enough on geographic area? K

"Ensure peace and security throughout its area of operations (extending from Ukrainian controlled territory along the line of contact, throughout the contested area, and to the international border with Russia) until such time as all Minsk-related steps have been completed and the territory can be fully restored to Ukrainian control."

[11/12/17, 10:08:14 AM] Pavlo Klimkin: A, I wasn't able to open it on my phone fully, but we need full consistency through the whole text. I'll try to send you more detailed impression. Important that PKO operations wouldn't extend beyond the occupied territory for reasons I told you before yesterday

[11/12/17, 10:17:30 AM] Kurt Volker: Yes -- in an eventual UNSCR, we'll need lawyers to really scrub the text. For now, these are just key elements, and I think we have the issue covered. The only thing I would say is that the PKO probably needs to operate on both sides of the ceasefire line (like SMM does) -- so maybe 25km back from line, and then throughout occupied territory

[11/12/17, 10:26:05 AM] Pavlo Klimkin: Nominal presence and verification could be considered but not operative part like disarmament and broad security etc.

[11/12/17, 10:27:41 AM] Kurt Volker: Operating in the area from which heavy weapons withdrawn?

[11/12/17, 10:28:47 AM] Pavlo Klimkin: Will not fly and will be misused further down

[11/12/17, 10:29:04 AM] Kurt Volker: Ok

[11/12/17, 10:29:47 AM] Kurt Volker: We may need to revisit, but good for where we are now

[3/7/18, 12:59:37 PM] Pavlo Klimkin: I've been asked whether you are going to meet Surkov in Brussels. It's under discussion or fake?

[3/7/18, 1:00:51 PM] Kurt Volker: Fake. No plans, and my understanding is that he refuses to travel to E.U. countries because of sanctions.

[3/7/18, 1:01:16 PM] Kurt Volker: Kortunov will be there, but not expecting anything serious from him

[3/7/18, 1:01:45 PM] Pavlo Klimkin: Ok thanks

[3/7/18, 1:02:16 PM] Kurt Volker: No prob. Who is going from Ukraine?

[3/7/18, 1:04:02 PM] Pavlo Klimkin: Ivanna Klimpush should be there. I'll skip it this time)

[3/7/18, 1:04:23 PM] Kurt Volker: Good - I'll make a point to see her

[3/7/18, 1:04:31 PM] Kurt Volker: Sorry to miss you

[3/7/18, 1:06:07 PM] Pavlo Klimkin: (((

[6/10/18, 2:09:06 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Pavlo - got a note from Surkov on the weekend - he also is claiming they are waiting for proposal from me, and will seek meeting w me in light of N4 ministerial. Am coordinating w FR and GE so we don't have multiple efforts but one coordinated position

[6/11/18, 2:19:11 AM] Pavlo Klimkin: Very important, cause see a threat of different approaches. Should we talk on Wednesday when I am back on a conf line?

[6/12/18, 8:32:31 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Pavlo -- how was yesterday / dinner?

[6/12/18, 8:56:28 AM] Pavlo Klimkin: Not good on peacekeepers, otherwise the same. What about our chat on a conf line tomorrow or aftertomorrow

[6/12/18, 9:00:23 AM] Kurt Volker: Yes -- let's do. I should be able early DC time before a flight to LA

[6/12/18, 9:04:38 AM] Pavlo Klimkin: Great

[8/14/18, 9:35:56 PM] Kurt Volker: 180730 deployment timeline REVISED ■ 2 pages <attached: 00000034-180730 deployment timeline REVISED.docx>

[8/14/18, 9:37:57 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Pavlo -- see document sent here. I want to re-engage surkov on what we discussed in January. Attached has FR and GE sign off. Have a look and let me know any thoughts. Also sending to Kostiantyn. - Kurt

[8/15/18, 3:36:15 AM] Pavlo Klimkin: Hi, very good outline of what we had discussed although some issues need further discussion, what is important though is NOT to discuss timelines without capabilities and mandate. Ready to talk whenever you can on a conf line. Also discussed it yesterday shortly with Heiko Mass. Pavlo

[8/15/18, 7:00:34 AM] Kurt Volker: Thanks Pavlo -- could on what's app this morning (DC time), or via secure video or call tomorrow morning - good on Maas, and yes -- capabilities and mandate important. Referring S back to our "parameters" paper from November

[8/15/18, 11:36:36 AM] Pavlo Klimkin: Do you need kind of feedback on that? And if yes what's the deadline? I mean if you are going to send it to S or show it to RU I any other way?

[8/15/18, 11:44:10 AM] Kurt Volker: Yes -- planning to send to S to see if that stimulates a response and if he is willing / able to meet. But do not expect anything in reality.

[8/15/18, 11:44:42 AM] Kurt Volker: If we do end up meeting, I'd like to get detailed feed back from you. But until then not sure it is necessary

[8/15/18, 11:44:43 AM] Pavlo Klimkin: )

[8/15/18, 11:44:48 AM] Kurt Volker: Will let you know

[8/15/18, 11:45:02 AM] Pavlo Klimkin: Great agree

[8/15/18, 11:45:10 AM] Kurt Volker: Ok - thanks!

[9/25/18, 4:34:18 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Pavlo - Kellari Taverna, 19 W 44th street (between 5th and 6th) - 9:30pm. Ok? Bring your wife!

[9/25/18, 4:56:51 PM] Pavlo Klimkin: I will)

[12/19/18, 3:30:30 AM] Pavlo Klimkin: Hi, Kurt, I'm at home with pneumonia so unable to meet, good luck for your meetings, you can call or write Aby time if you need smth additionally. Best p

[12/19/18, 9:38:01 AM] Kurt Volker: Thanks Pavlo -- hope you get better soon! Just arrived in Frankfurt on the way back to Washington -- good visit, though short

[12/20/18, 7:58:34 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Pavlo-- one thing I forgot to ask about in Kyiv -- can you guys support Mayr-Harting to replace Sajdik? I know him well and think he's as good as we can get and still not have Russia veto

[12/22/18, 12:06:41 PM] Pavlo Klimkin: Ok, will work on that, although he's bit of problem in his perception here, Merry Christmas!!!

[12/22/18, 12:20:23 PM] Kurt Volker: I know -- but he wasn't the one dancing, he was actually in Brussels... :). Merry Christmas to you too!! Hope you are feeling better!

[1/7/19, 11:24:22 AM] Kurt Volker: Merry Christmas Pavlo!! Wishing the best for you and your family -- and a happy, peaceful Christmas!

[1/29/19, 11:52:23 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Pavlo -- will you be in Munich? Best Kurt

[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

## **Deployment of a United Nations Peacekeeping Mission to Ukraine**

### **Key Elements of a UN Security Council Resolution**

- Reaffirmation of Ukraine’s sovereignty and territorial integrity within its internationally recognized borders;
- Underscoring the need to establish lasting peace in certain areas of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions of Ukraine, and the restoration of Ukrainian constitutional order and the rule of law in these areas;
- Reaffirmation of Security Council Resolution 2202 (2015), endorsing the “Package of measures for the Implementation of the Minsk Agreements”, expression of concern over the lack of its implementation; need for full and comprehensive implementation of Resolution 2202 (2015), including a comprehensive ceasefire as provided for therein;
- Reaffirmation of the parties’ primary responsibility to deliver on the full implementation of the Minsk agreements;
- Establishment of a UN peacekeeping operation in certain areas of the Donetsk and Luhansk regions of Ukraine, beginning as soon as practical, and extending for no longer than XX months after the certification that all Minsk-related political measures have been completed. The peacekeeping operation shall:
  - Ensure the implementation of Resolution 2202 (2015), the “Package of measures for the Implementation of the Minsk Agreements” of February 12, 2015 as well as the Minsk Memorandum of September 19, 2014 and the Minsk Protocol of September 5, 2014;
  - Support and protect the OSCE and UN missions and personnel as they carry out their mandates, including tasks under Article 3 of the “Package of Measures for Implementation of the Minsk Agreements;” and
  - Ensure peace and security throughout its area of operations (extending from Ukrainian controlled territory along the line of contact, throughout the contested area, and to the international border with Russia) until such time as all Minsk-related steps have been completed and the territory can be fully restored to Ukrainian control. .
- Establishment of a Special Representative of the Secretary General for Ukraine, who shall have overall oversight responsibility for the peacekeeping operation, and the coordination of military and civilian activities under UN auspices in certain regions in Eastern Ukraine.
- In particular, the UN peacekeeping operation shall:
  - Support and control in close coordination with the SMM and OSCE, without limiting its mandate, the efficacy of the ceasefire implemented according to Article 1 of the “Package of Measures” throughout the conflict area, including through a continuous presence in the areas adjacent to the Ukrainian side of the international border with Russia until such time as Ukrainian control can be restored;
  - Facilitate and control the efficacy of the withdrawal of Minsk-related weapons, to allow for the creation of security zones and areas free of heavy weapons and military hardware according to Article 5 of the Minsk Memorandum, Article 2 of the “Package of Measures”, and the Addendum to the “Package of Measures”, and ensure the secure storage of those weapons in designated storage sites;
  - Closely coordinate with and support the OSCE, including the Special Monitoring Mission, to fulfill tasks according to Article 3 of the “Package of Measures” and subsequent agreements agreed in the framework of the Trilateral Contact Group, and,

- if required and requested by the OSCE, ensure that OSCE personnel, including SMM monitors, can safely and securely access territories within the Peacekeeping Force area of operations;
- Consolidate the ceasefire by monitoring disengaged areas, including through technical means, after the implementation of parties' commitments under the Framework Agreement on Disengagement;
  - Ensure the demilitarization of areas around essential civilian infrastructure by establishing a presence at the most critical sites after their demilitarization by the parties and any other zones agreed to under the Framework Agreement on Disengagement;
  - Facilitate demining activities throughout the conflict area in support of the Minsk Memorandum, Trilateral Contact Group decisions on demining, and any further agreements on demining;
  - Support the safety and security at the crossing points along the line of contact to support fulfillment of point 8 of UNSCR 2202 (2015);
  - Support the implementation of the various Minsk agreements, including the "Package of Measures" in accordance with all its provisions, including Article 9 (reinstatement of full border control), Article 10 (withdrawal of foreign armed formations, military equipment, and mercenaries, and disarmament of all illegal groups);
  - Assist in providing subsequently the safety and security of local elections, foreseen in Article 12 of the "Package of Measures" including ensuring the free access of all personnel involved in local elections;
  - Provide broad area security, including the protection of civilians and maintenance of a secure environment, and the necessary security conditions for local elections in coordination with authorized local security forces during the transition under Article 11 of the "Package of Measures";
  - Establish a secure framework for the disarmament of illegal armed groups, collection of weapons, and the reintegration of former combatants;
  - Establish a framework providing international supervision of local police;
  - Ensure safe and secure access and full freedom of movement along the weapons withdrawal and disengagement areas on both sides of the line of contact and throughout certain areas of Donetsk and Luhansk regions of Ukraine up to and including the international border;
  - Be granted the right of self-defense both for itself and for the SMM;
  - Have authority to ensure area security in cooperation with relevant coordination mechanisms in a manner that protects individuals' human and civil rights, including those of national minorities and other disadvantaged groups;
  - Establish a conducive environment for the work of international organizations to address humanitarian, economic, and environmental problems caused by the conflict;
  - Be armed with the equipment necessary for self-defense and enforcement of its mandate.
- Request to the Secretary-General to start preparatory work without delay and to present as soon as possible to the Security Council for its consideration and approval detailed options for the deployment of a UN Mission.

## Annex I – Timeline for Deployment of UN Security Council-mandated Mission

*The deployment of a UN mandated mission as described below will contribute to the implementation of the Minsk agreements by the sides, with the understanding that the primary responsibility to implement in full their commitments rests squarely with the parties. During the entire duration of the UN Security Council-mandated mission, the mandate of OSCE/SMM remains fully valid, including its safe and secure access to the entire Ukrainian territory, up to the international border. The Trilateral Contact Group and its working groups will also continue to function as provided by the Minsk agreements.*

### Phase 0 – Establishment by the sides of conditions for deployment

- Effective and prolonged ceasefire
- Disengagement from the three agreed pilot areas
- Demilitarization of Donetsk Water Filtration plant
- Beginning of the withdrawal and storage of heavy weapons in a sector-based approach

### Phase 1: Day 1-30 – Point security

- Three agreed disengagement areas
- Area surrounding Donetsk Water Filtration plant
- Crossing points for civilians on the line of contact
- Line of Contact at Mariupol and international border at Novoazovsk.
- Access to International border from Stanytsia Luhanska crossing

### Phase 2: Day 30-60 – Expansion to LOC and less populated areas

- Along entire Line of Contact
- Broad, less populated areas North of Mariupol, excluding city of Donetsk
- Broad, less populated areas South of Luhansk, excluding city of Luhansk
- Securing designated storage areas for heavy weapons monitored by OSCE/SMM
- Beginning of police liaison functions

### Phase 3: Day 60-90 – Expansion to Urban centers

- Urban areas – Donetsk and Luhansk
- Beginning of disbanding and disarmament of illegal armed formations and withdrawal of foreign fighters, under UN guarantee of security for such individuals

### Phase 4: Day 90-120 and onward – Full peacekeeping deployment

- Full area access in order to contribute, by its presence, to the maintenance of peace and security
- Multiple points with full access to international border

Phase 5: Election preparation phase – 6 months

(Upon full deployment as noted in Phase 4)

- Completion of disbanding and disarmament of illegal armed formations, and withdrawal of foreign fighters, under UN guarantee of security for such individuals
- Establishment of administration and date for local elections
- Full deployment of civilian mechanisms (Police coordination, election admin)

Phase 6: Election date – E-Day

- Conduct of local elections
- Provisional implementation of special status
- Implementation of amnesty
- Begin transfer of border control to Ukrainian authorities

Phase 7: Political transition – Post-E-Day

- Permanent implementation of special status
- Begin withdrawal of UN Mission



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

[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 Zalote? 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 bilät 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, 4:34:18 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 sakharaova'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, 6:12:48 AM] Kurt Volker: Very funny — thanks — see you in a bit

[7/2/19, 6:42:54 AM] Vadym Prystaiko: yiu 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 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, 9:08:19 AM] Kurt Volker: Also — am hearing from Bartholomeo's people they are very unhappy with Filaret and concerned that the president is backing him — any thoughts on that?

Thx

[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, 10:49:54 AM] Vadym Prystaiko: do jot think it is true, but will have to check

[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 UNGA. 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 Shamshur 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 Haidi 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: :). I'll 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 became 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 then 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.



### Steps to be taken by the sides

*Bearing in mind the decisions of the October 2015 and 2016 N4 Summits, the N4 political advisors agreed on the following steps to be taken by the sides. They request the Trilateral Contact Group to implement these steps in its work.*

- Ensure the **disengagement of forces and hardware** from and demining in the three agreed pilot areas (Zolote, Petrivske, Stanytsa Luhanska). Demining and dismantling of the fortification infrastructure inside the disengagement areas. Full OSCE SMM access to these areas, monitoring and verification. If necessary, agreement in the TCG on introducing supplements to the Framework Decision of the Trilateral Contact Group on the Disengagement of Forces and Hardware.
- Agree in the Trilateral Contact Group on **additional disengagement areas**.
- Agree on the “**Harvest ceasefire**”, ensure a comprehensive respect of the ceasefire, strengthened by the implementation of all necessary ceasefire support measures.
- Grant the **OSCE SMM** safe and secure access to fully implement its mandate.
- Develop and implement a **concept of step-by-step de-escalation** envisaging the simultaneous disengagement of forces and equipment, verifiable withdrawal of heavy weapons and demining in the areas agreed by the sides in advance on the entire line of contact.
- Develop and implement an updated **demining plan** on the basis of the TCG’s Decision on demining activities of March 3, 2016.
- Conduct within one month an **exchange of a significant number of conflict related detainees** on the basis of the work of the TCG humanitarian subgroup, aiming at an “all for all” exchange. The ICRC should be given full and unconditional access to all detained persons. The coordination mechanism of interaction within the Trilateral Contact Group on the issue of missing persons should be established with the participation of the ICRC.
- Develop a **plan to resume socio-economic ties and to take concrete steps to improve the humanitarian situation**, inter alia by :
  - Demining and dismantling of the fortification infrastructure inside the Stanytsia Luhanska disengagement area,
  - Agreeing within one month in the Trilateral Contact Group, taking into account the proposal of the ICRC, on the project of the rehabilitation of the bridge in Stanytsia Luhanska and agreeing on the principles for its exploitation,
  - Beginning consultations in the Trilateral Contact Group on the prospects of launching passenger shuttle services across the line of contact when the sustainable security conditions are established on the ground,
  - Agreeing on the actions of the sides on opening additional civilian crossing points within two months in mutually agreed locations.
- Commit to **preparing the necessary legal framework**. Open questions to be addressed are: special status (including the Steinmeier formula), amnesty, local elections.

*The advisors in the Normandy format will remain seized of the matter and intend to reconvene later this summer to identify common ground for a potential meeting of the four leaders.*



## Annex I – Timeline for Deployment of UN Security Council-mandated Mission

*The deployment of a UN mandated mission as described below will contribute to the implementation of the Minsk agreements by the sides, with the understanding that the primary responsibility to implement in full their commitments rests squarely with the parties. During the entire duration of the UN Security Council-mandated mission, the mandate of OSCE/SMM remains fully valid, including its safe and secure access to the entire Ukrainian territory, up to the international border. The Trilateral Contact Group and its working groups will also continue to function as provided by the Minsk agreements.*

### Phase 0 – Establishment by the sides of conditions for deployment

- Effective and prolonged ceasefire
- Disengagement from the three agreed pilot areas
- Demilitarization of Donetsk Water Filtration plant
- Beginning of the withdrawal and storage of heavy weapons in a sector-based approach

### Phase 1: Day 1-30 – Point security

- Three agreed disengagement areas
- Area surrounding Donetsk Water Filtration plant
- Crossing points for civilians on the line of contact
- Line of Contact at Mariupol and international border at Novoazovsk.
- Access to International border from Stanytsia Luhanska crossing

### Phase 2: Day 30-60 – Expansion to LOC and less populated areas

- Along entire Line of Contact
- Broad, less populated areas North of Mariupol, excluding city of Donetsk
- Broad, less populated areas South of Luhansk, excluding city of Luhansk
- Securing designated storage areas for heavy weapons monitored by OSCE/SMM
- Beginning of police liaison functions

### Phase 3: Day 60-90 – Expansion to Urban centers

- Urban areas – Donetsk and Luhansk
- Beginning of disbanding and disarmament of illegal armed formations and withdrawal of foreign fighters, under UN guarantee of security for such individuals

### Phase 4: Day 90-120 and onward – Full peacekeeping deployment

- Full area access in order to contribute, by its presence, to the maintenance of peace and security
- Multiple points with full access to international border

Phase 5: Election preparation phase – 6 months

(Upon full deployment as noted in Phase 4)

- Completion of disbanding and disarmament of illegal armed formations, and withdrawal of foreign fighters, under UN guarantee of security for such individuals
- Establishment of administration and date for local elections
- Full deployment of civilian mechanisms (Police coordination, election admin)

Phase 6: Election date – E-Day

- Conduct of local elections
- Provisional implementation of special status
- Implementation of amnesty
- Begin transfer of border control to Ukrainian authorities

Phase 7: Political transition – Post-E-Day

- Permanent implementation of special status
- Begin withdrawal of UN Mission





