You created group "Rudy-Kurt-Gordon"
Messages to this group are now secured with end-to-end encryption.
You left.
Mr Mayor — really enjoyed breakfast this morning. As discussed, connecting you here with Andrey Yermak, who is very close to President Zelensky. I suggest we schedule a call together on Monday — maybe 10am or 11am Washington time? Kurt

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

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

Thank you very much! And I’m waiting

Call at 10 correct?

Yes

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

9/26/19, 10:34 AM

19179513862

4:48 pm

Redacted

I will leave today 3 pm
Hi Mr Mayor — hope all is well, and that things are on track to see Yermak in Madrid.

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

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

---

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

---

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

I will be near Madrid over weekend

---

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

---

I will probably be in NYC

---

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

---

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

---

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

Good idea Kurt. I am on Pacific time.

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

I will have state ops build a call.

State is calling now

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

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

This number is good for text and cell phone.

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!

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

Will be in DC this Friday

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

Ok will let you know ASAP

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

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

7/26/19, 5:55 AM

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?

Kurt,
Thanks for the support. All I need is for you to tell the truth. You called me about Yermak and I reported back to you and Sondland, eg., a
conference call on Aug. 11. Three others before. Really this is not hard just fair to affirm truth. Rudy

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

I certainly will let him know

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

Thanks for your help! Kurt

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

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

9/22/19, 6:40 PM

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

Was tweeted by NYTimes Ken Vogel at the time

STATE DEPARTMENT SPOKESPERSON STATEMENT
AUGUST 22, 2019

- The United States strongly supports Ukraine as it deepens its democracy, fights corruption, pursues economic reform, and improves its ability to defend itself against Russia's ongoing aggression.

- President Trump has invited President Zelensky to visit him at the White House, and both sides are working on the scheduling of such a meeting.

- We understand that the Ukrainian government taking shape under President Zelensky is committed to fighting corruption and other illegal activities and that investigations into such matters would be consistent 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
@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
(7/23/19, 1:06:55 PM) You created group "Alex and Dan"
(7/23/19, 1:06:55 PM) Alex and Dan: Messages to this group are now secured with end-to-end encryption.
(7/23/19, 11:04 PM) Kurt Volker: Alex — Daniel Hoffman is the friend of mine I mentioned — connecting you here via WhatsApp. He will be in Kyiv on 25th. Best - Kurt
(7/23/19, 11:04 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, 12:03 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, 5:04:44 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, 8:04:44 AM) Dan Hoffman: Я прилетел сейчас в гостинице жду вашего решения где встретимся завтра в 16:00. Всего хорошего
5/20/19 3:03 PM Alex Danylyuk Messages to this chat and calls are now secured with end-to-end encryption.

5/20/19 3:03 PM Alex Danylyuk Hi Kurt, this is Alex Danylyuk. Meeting today?

5/20/19 3:45 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 3:42:08 PM Kurt Volker: Dinner ran late — very sorry about that.

5/21/19 9:48:42 AM Kurt Volker: Anti-Traffick Reform.docx <attached: 00000006-Anti-Traffick Reform.docx>

5/22/19 1:45:08 PM Kurt Volker: Hi Alex — any thoughts today? Thanks — Kurt

5/22/19 2:23:35 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.


5/25/19 12:55:00 AM Alex Danylyuk: Excellent! Thanks!

5/25/19 12:55:28 PM Kurt Volker: We are thinking of Pompeo visit to Ukraine before election and White House visit by Zelensky after.

6/4/19 7:41:20 AM Kurt Volker: Hi Alex — hope the Brussels visit goes well.

6/4/19 7:41:58 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 4:21:03 PM Alex Danylyuk: Missed voice call

6/4/19 4:24:04 AM Alex Danylyuk: Hi Kurt, I hope you are well. I would like to update you on a recent development. Can we fix time for tomorrow?

6/14/19 4:46:42 PM Kurt Volker: Yes! Call anytime after my 8am?

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 12:27:24 AM Alex Danylyuk: Hi Kurt! Let’s talk now — Before you go to Toronto. There is one thing I would like to tell you before your meeting with Zelensky.

6/30/19 12:55:17 PM Kurt Volker: Great — thanks — I am free before 9am and between 9:30am and 10:30am. Best - Kurt

7/7/19 9:42:25 AM Alex Danylyuk: Missed voice call

7/7/19 9:42:34 AM Alex Danylyuk: Missed voice call

7/7/19 9:42:46 AM Alex Danylyuk: Can you talk now?

7/7/19 9:42:59 AM Kurt Volker: Hi Alex. 5 min?

7/7/19 9:43:07 AM Alex Danylyuk: Sure!

7/7/19 8:01:27 PM Alex Danylyuk: Hi! How was the meeting?

7/7/19 10:23:35 PM Alex Danylyuk: Missed voice call

7/8/19 1:18:24 PM Alex Danylyuk: Missed voice call

7/8/19 1:50:26 PM Alex Danylyuk: Dear Kurt! Happy Independence Day!!!

7/8/19 1:55:12 PM Kurt Volker: Thank you! Great day!!!

7/8/19 5:30:15 PM Kurt Volker: Hi Alex — are we meeting today or tomorrow at 5:30?

7/8/19 5:31:15 PM Alex Danylyuk: Tomorrow. Unless you are in London now.

7/8/19 5:31:38 PM Kurt Volker: I go! In DC and looking forward to tomorrow!

7/8/19 5:35:58 PM Alex Danylyuk: See you!

7/9/19 5:25:53 AM Kurt Volker: I’m in the lobby — 1700 H st. — take your time. Thx - kv

7/9/19 8:16:16 AM Alex Danylyuk: Good morning! Is it convenient to talk?

7/22/19 8:34:35 AM Kurt Volker: Congratulations!!! And see you this week.

7/22/19 8:42:03 AM Alex Danylyuk: Thanks! See you!!!

7/22/19 8:45:37 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 8:48:10 AM Alex Danylyuk: Thanks! Undoubtedly.

7/23/19 10:22 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.

7/22/19 10:37:35 PM Alex Danylyuk: Sure! Will be happy to. Please give him this number. See you soon!!!

7/23/19 10:38:21 PM Kurt Volker: Ok — will do!

8/24/19 8:36:14 AM Alex Danylyuk: Alex.danylyuk@gmail.com

8/28/19 7:43:34 AM Alex Danylyuk: Missed voice call

8/28/19 9:10:55 AM Alex Danylyuk: Missed voice call

8/29/19 2:55:40 AM Kurt Volker: Just went 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

8/29/19 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!!
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,

[Signature]
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
You created group “Alex, Andrey and Vadym”

Alex, Andrey and Vadym: Messages to this group are now secured with end-to-end encryption.

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.

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.

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.

Kurt Volker: Best, Kurt

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) tomorrow at Minsk. I will keep you informed about the progress.

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
Andrej Zagorodnyuk: Messages to this chat and calls are now secured with end-to-end encryption.

Kurt Volker: Hi Andrej - Kurt Volker here. Are you free for a phone call?

Andrej Zagorodnyuk: Hey

Andrej Zagorodnyuk: Can we talk in 30 min?

Kurt Volker: Yes - perfect

Andrej Zagorodnyuk: Great

Andrej Zagorodnyuk: Will call this number

Kurt Volker: Good — looking forward to your call


Andrej Zagorodnyuk: Fantastic

Andrej Zagorodnyuk: Thank you so much

Kurt Volker: Thanks — it is a good letter — and senate will keep pressure on this.

Andrej Zagorodnyuk: Hello, just to update, I have a call with Def Sec at 15:00 UA time on Friday

Kurt Volker: Outstanding!!

Kurt Volker: My suggestion: emphasis on your commitment to reform and professionalization — and really want US support

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

Andrej Zagorodnyuk: Yes, thank you. Appreciate your advice.

Andrej Zagorodnyuk: Will get back to you right after the call
You created group "Andrey and Daniel"
Andrey and Daniel: Messages to this group are now secured with end-to-end encryption.
Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — Daniel Hoffman — connected here is the person I mentioned. He will be in Kyiv on the 25th.
Kurt Volker: Daniel — Andrey is the Deputy chief of staff and will become the diplomatic adviser to the President
Dan Hoffman: Thank you for cross connecting us Kurt
Kurt Volker: Andrey, I’ll be in Kyiv from tomorrow late afternoon until Friday evening. Would very much like to arrange a short chat at your convenience
Dan Hoffman: Доброе утро Андрей я в Киеве если у вас будет возможность встретиться было бы здорово поделиться впечатлениями я улетаю рано утром послезавтра
Dan Hoffman: Всего наилучшего Данил
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, 10:05:20 PM) Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey - thanks and see you soon. Best - Kurt
(7/2/19, 10:24:22 PM) Andrey Yermak: Thank you
(7/4/19, 2:22:58 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, 4:22:11 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. Danylyuk 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, 7:03:31 PM) Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — sorry for delay. Can we meet for dinner on Tuesday? 7pm? I am meeting danlyuk 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 9:03am / 9:15am at Trump hotel.
(7/8/19, 6:14:05 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, 9:10:15 AM) Andrey Yermak: Hi Kurt. I'm 5 min.
(7/10/19, 4:07:30 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.
(7/10/19, 9:56:20 PM) Andrey Yermak: Ok, thank you
(7/11/19, 12:35:14 PM) Kurt Volker: Let’s talk Saturday after the Paris meeting.
(7/11/19, 12:38:10 PM) Kurt Volker: Dion 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.
(7/11/19, 9:32:48 AM) Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — how was Paris? Can you talk today or tomorrow? Kurt
(7/11/19, 9:35:45 AM) Andrey Yermak: Hi Kurt. You know much better than me. I think phone conversation between Presidents works. I back tonight and can call you. What time?
(7/11/19, 9:37:28 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?
(7/11/19, 9:40:32 AM) Andrey Yermak: If it’s ok for you. 11.30 pm Kyiv and 1.30 pm you?
(7/11/19, 3:36:20 PM) Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — still ok?
(7/11/19, 3:40:23 PM) Kurt Volker: I think it is late for you — let’s try tomorrow!
(7/11/19, 4:26:55 PM) Andrey Yermak: Now ok for you?
(7/11/19, 4:30:58 AM) Kurt Volker: In about 20 minutes? Just wrapping up a meeting.
(7/11/19, 4:36:26 PM) Kurt Volker: O.K.
(7/12/19, 6:56:27 AM) Kurt Volker: Thanks Andrey — good interview. Having our long anticipated breakfast today — will let you know and try to connect you directly. Good luck this weekend and see you next week. Kurt.
(7/12/19, 1:17:15 PM) Andrey Yermak: Thank you Kurt.
(7/12/19, 2:02:42 PM) Kurt Volker: Can I call you in about an hour?
(7/12/19, 3:22:42 PM) Andrey Yermak: Yes, of course.
(7/12/19, 8:32:30 AM) Kurt Volker: Also — please convey my best wishes and congratulations to the President! Great result!
(7/12/19, 8:32:50 AM) Andrey Yermak: Of course!
(7/12/19, 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?
(7/12/19, 8:36:07 AM) Kurt Volker: I will check — maybe yes.
(7/12/19, 8:38:07 AM) Andrey Yermak: It’s very good that our conversation with Mr. Mayor will be before it.
(7/12/19, 8:47:51 AM) Kurt Volker: Yes — and I checked — call will not be today but White House will call Danylyuk to reschedule it.
(7/12/19, 9:44:10 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.
(7/12/19, 11:24:54 AM) Andrey Yermak: Missed voice call.
(7/12/19, 11:25:25 AM) Andrey Yermak: When you will be in Kyiv?
(7/12/19, 11:26:23 AM) Kurt Volker: And thank you for conversation and your help!
(7/12/19, 12:08:47 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.
(7/12/19, 12:00:54 PM) Kurt Volker: Hope to meet with the President — also see you and others.
(7/12/19, 12:05:40 PM) Andrey Yermak: 
(7/12/19, 12:10:35 PM) Andrey Yermak: What about late dinner Wednesday or breakfast Thursday?
(7/12/19, 12:18:11 PM) Andrey Yermak: Sorry about Thursday. I understand, you will go to the East.
(7/12/19, 12:42:42 PM) Andrey Yermak: Breakfast possible only Friday.
(7/12/19, 12:49:19 AM) Andrey Yermak: Please let me know about Wednesday and we will decide about Friday.
(7/12/19, 12:40:05 PM) Kurt Volker: Hi — looks like midnight arrival on Wednesday, so let’s try Friday breakfast.
(7/12/19, 1:43:15 PM) Andrey Yermak: Ok, great.
(7/13/19, 1:08:39 PM) Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey. I sent this to Danylyuk. Would also be happy to connect you if you and/or Prytasia 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.”
(7/13/19, 11:44:46 PM) Andrey Yermak: Hi Kurt. Yes, please connect with me. Thank you.
[7/23/19, 11:05:05 PM] Andrey Yermak: We have breakfast and lunch with Gordon Friday?
[7/23/19, 11:05:49 PM] Kurt Volker: And phone call between Presidents Thursday?
[7/23/19, 11:06:52 PM] Kurt Volker: I am pretty sure the phone call is going forward for Thursday — will keep monitoring.
[7/23/19, 11:08:30 PM] Kurt Volker: For Friday — I could do 7:30am at the Hyatt. Alternatively, are you free Saturday morning?
[7/23/19, 11:10:39 PM] Kurt Volker: Andrey Yermak: Up to you. I'm with pleasure and Friday and Saturday. Phone call still not confirmed?
[7/23/19, 11:23:35 PM] Kurt Volker: I'm told President Z now available Thursday to meet w me, so I will rearrange schedule.
[7/24/19, 10:16:08 AM] Andrey Yermak: Phone call went well. President Trump proposed to choose any convenient dates. President Zelensky choses 20, 21, 22 September for the White House visit. Thank you again for your help! Please remind Mayor to share the Madrid’s dates.
[7/24/19, 10:16:42 AM] Kurt Volker: Great - thanks and will do.
[7/25/19, 5:26:33 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.
[7/27/19, 3:01:42 AM] Andrey Yermak: I will be in Hyatt in 7 min.
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.

Andrey: Hi Kurt. Can you talk?
Kurt: Hi Andrey. Yes — am driving for the next hour. Would it work to call you then?
Andrey: Sure, let’s talk.
Kurt: Hi Andrey. — am driving for the next hour. Would it work to call you then?
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Andrey: Yes please.
9419 957 41 AM Andrey Yermak: Thank you!
9419 958 09 AM Andrey Yermak: Call you in 30 min.
9419 958 14 AM Kurt Volker: My pleasure. Did you have a chance to put a word into Kozak about me visiting?
9419 958 29 AM Kurt Volker: In an hour would be better — going into a meeting now...
9419 958 32 PM Andrey Yermak: Missed voice call
9419 959 01 PM Andrey Yermak: Missed voice call
9419 959 05 PM Andrey Yermak: Can you talk?
817 CE 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
817 CE 52 AM Kurt Volker: Great news on the prisoner exchange. Hope it leads to progress in Donbas.
819 CE 26 AM Kurt Volker: — let me know if there is a good time to call. Can we meet for breakfast or coffee on Saturday? Best - Kurt
223 CE 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
452 CE 44 PM Andrey Yermak: Hi Kurt
452 CE 52 PM Andrey Yermak: Can call you in 40 min?
536 CE 41 PM Andrey Yermak: Missed voice call
128 CE 82 AM Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — sorry to miss you last night. Let's try later today — 9am?
144 CE 10 PM Andrey Yermak: Missed voice call
258 CE 54 PM Andrey Yermak: Missed voice call
260 CE 07 PM Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — sorry to miss your call. Just getting back from a dinner and will call
340 CE 02 PM Kurt Volker: Call in 20 min - no problem
123 CE 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
240 CE 34 AM Andrey Yermak: Hi, Kurt
240 CE 39 AM Andrey Yermak: Ok
246 CE 05 AM Kurt Volker: Ok - thanks
241 CE 34 AM Andrey Yermak: Thank you
123 CE 54 AM Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — checking schedule — ok for 8:30pm?
125 CE 51 AM Andrey Yermak: If possible 9 pm
125 CE 55 AM Andrey Yermak: ?
129 CE 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.
129 CE 55 PM Andrey Yermak: I was in YES dinner yesterday, it’s problematic to speak there. See you at Hyatt
129 CE 56 PM Kurt Volker: Ok — see you there at 9am
129 CE 56 PM Andrey Yermak: Tomorrow?
129 CE 56 PM Andrey Yermak: 9 am?
132 CE 42 PM Kurt Volker: Sorry — I meant 9pm!!
132 CE 52 PM Kurt Volker: I have a flight at 8am tomorrow
123 CE 38 PM Andrey Yermak: Ok
123 CE 44 AM Andrey Yermak: Excellent
123 CE 47 PM Kurt Volker: Ok - thank you!!
130 CE 03 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

1102 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.
1102 38 PM Andrey Yermak: Hi
1102 38 PM Andrey Yermak: Will call you
1102 47 PM Andrey Yermak: Ok - thanks
1202 52 PM Andrey Yermak: Missed voice call
1225 47 AM Andrey Yermak: https://thehill.com/opinion/white-house/462422-missing-piece-to-the-ukraine-puzzle-state-departments-overture-to-rudy
529 CE 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
1008 26 AM Andrey Yermak: Hi Kurt
1008 48 AM Andrey Yermak: And what about evening?
1009 04 AM Andrey Yermak: Gordon already here?
1009 15 AM Kurt Volker: Yes — I have a dinner at 8:30pm — but can rearrange to make time for you.
1009 22 AM Kurt Volker: Yes - he is there
1009 28 AM Kurt Volker: I arrive around 5:30pm
1009 56 AM Andrey Yermak: It will be excellent
1010 05 AM Kurt Volker: What time are you free
1010 07 AM Kurt Volker: ?
1010 28 AM Andrey Yermak: 8:30 pm
1011 19 AM Kurt Volker: Ok — I’ll skip my dinner — let’s get a dinner reservation for 8:30
1011 42 AM Andrey Yermak: Ok
1012 07 AM Kurt Volker: Is 5pm too late? 9-10:30pm?
1012 47 AM Andrey Yermak: May be Gordon will join us?
1015 02 AM Kurt Volker: I’ll ask him
1015 02 AM Kurt Volker: Do you want to invite Vadym?
Andrey Yermak: Yes

Andrey Yermak: You will make a reservation or me?

Kurt Volker: I'll get a reservation — what hotel are you staying at? will look for a steak place.

Andrey Yermak: Park Hyatt

Kurt Volker: Reservation for 4 people at The Strip House — 5pm. 15 West 44th Street

Andrey Yermak: Gordon has another dinner at 7pm and will join as soon as he can after

Kurt Volker: Will you tell Vadym?

Andrey Yermak: Ok

Andrey Yermak: Yes

Kurt Volker: Great!

Andrey Yermak: See you very soon

Andrey Yermak: I have one question

Andrey Yermak: May be you know

Kurt Volker: Yes — I think so

Kurt Volker: Don't have an answer yet and trying to get one

Andrey Yermak: Good morning

Andrey Yermak: Any news?

Kurt Volker: Spoke w Gordon - he was feeling sick last night

Kurt Volker: We are both weighing in on the issue... nothing more yet

Andrey Yermak: Will publish full or part?

Kurt Volker: I pushed for sharing w you first, then meeting, then release. But no word back

Andrey Yermak: What you think? Great that you was

Andrey Yermak: Thanks — very good meeting. Exactly what I expected. Once they can talk to each other — all good

Kurt Volker: Did you want to meet and follow up also with Gordon? Can try, though schedules are tight for all of us

Andrey Yermak: Yes

Kurt Volker: Reminder about Metropolitan Emmanuel Adamakis. Do you need his number again? Thanks

Andrey Yermak: 33 6 89 52 12 55

Kurt Volker: He is planning to be in Ukraine through tomorrow

Andrey Yermak: Waiting for you in lobby, place for breakfast

Kurt Volker: Hi Andrey — good visit. Reminder about Metropolitan Emmanuel Adamakis. Do you need his number again? Thanks — Kurt

Andrey Yermak: Thank you! Yes, please

Kurt Volker: He is planning to be in Ukraine through tomorrow

Andrey Yermak: Hi

Andrey Yermak: Hello again. I'll channel want to talk with you?

Kurt Volker: Thanks — not yet — have to do the Congress first

Andrey Yermak: Ok
You created group "Andrey/Gordon/Kurt"

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

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

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

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

Andrey Yermak: Hi Kurt

Gordon Sandland: I can talk now

Andrey Yermak: I'm in Israel

Gordon Sandland: Important. Do you have 5 mins

Andrey Yermak: I can speak in 10-15 min

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

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

Gordon Sandland: Ok, fine. Can you initiate?

Kurt Volker: Yes - will do

Andrey Yermak: Ok

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

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.
You created group "Bill and Emmanuel"

Bill and Emmanuel: Messages to this group are now secured with end-to-end encryption.

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

Emmanuel Adamakis: Thanks a lot Kurt. I'll be honored to meet Bill while in Kyiv

Bill Taylor: Glad to meet you. We have a congressional delegation in town next week, but later in the week could work?

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

Emmanuel Adamakis: OK looking forward next time
Bill Taylor: Messages to this chat and calls are now secured with end-to-end encryption.

Bill Taylor: Kurt, did you send a draft of the op-ed we discussed to Steve?

Bill Taylor: Steve hasn't received a draft yet. Still a good idea?

Kurt Volker: Yes — should have it today

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 MEMO? He made a proposal for peacekeepers last year. Minister Avakov and Gregory Nemyria are both comfortable inviting Dynkin.

Bill Taylor: Havn'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.

Bill Taylor: Good — I saw the edits — I think he will want to make the recommendations less of a "list" — but let's hear from him.

Bill Taylor: If we don't get Steve (although we should) is there someone else the WH would be impressed by?

Bill Taylor: That's a hard question. Steve is almost unique — a reasonable Republican, respected by both ends of that spectrum.

Bill Taylor: Exactly. Almost anyone else would not be respected at WH. So let's convince him!

Bill Taylor: Yup. I'm hoping he's in an airplane. He is usually very responsive. Is there a way to repackage the recommendations in a way that looks less like a laundry list?

Bill Taylor: I think just turning it into prose instead of bullets would do it.

Bill Taylor: Could be, but might make it longer. Want to take a shot? Or I can.

Bill Taylor: I can do it now — back to you in half an hour.

Bill Taylor: Just sent via email to the group kv.

Bill Taylor: I think — almost anyone else would not be respected at WH. So let's convince him.

Bill Taylor: Good — I saw the edits — I think he will. 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...

Bill Taylor: Agree. Hope it gets published before the Russians move.

Bill Taylor: Not with this Ukrainian administration he says.

Bill Taylor: Regarding the February 12 roundtable I was thinking about inviting representatives from Normandy Format embassies. I'm keeping Chaly and Oksana informed. 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...

Bill Taylor: Submitted to the NYT two days ago, no response yet. If they accept but ask that it be shortened we...

Bill Taylor: Will do.

Bill Taylor: Looking good for FP.
here right now. You have to play it right he said. The Russians are clever.

People need reassurance on this issue.

People have asked me to do this as COA. I think that is the answer. It wouldn't be that long. I don't know the issues better.

People will ask, 'Why isn't Kurt going out?' We already have a special envoy.

We need someone on the ground there.

I heard it from Mulvaney — so I think so.

I can visit for a day or two but not longer. Still have all the other commitments here.

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.

I can't remember — context.

Bill Taylor: So what's a normal world of course.

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

People will ask, 'Why isn't Kurt going out?' We already have a special envoy.

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.

I look forward to pushing it in Kyiv.

I am getting the same thing out here stifling private investment.

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

I am en route to the Ukrainian Embassy today. I for one, fully support you — as would Steve in any way we can.

I am also supporting you.

That's one of the reasons.

I am here until Sunday night. Where are you?

I am looking at this a lot.

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.

I am going to get a date for 2 visits — maybe late July — and also ask about VPOTUS visit to Kyiv. All good. Best Kurt.

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[7/28/19, 12:00:58 PM] Bill Taylor: Chris in person, right? Should I give Vadym a heads up since he will be in Toronto with Ze?
[7/28/19, 12:25:19 PM] Kurt Volker: Yes — that’s a good idea
[7/28/19, 2:01:33 PM] Bill Taylor: Are you OK with me briefing Ulrich on these conversations? Maybe you have already?
[7/28/19, 5:52:03 PM] Kurt Volker: The key thing is to tee up a phone call w potatoes and then get visit nailed down
[7/28/19, 10:00:58 PM] Bill Taylor: I agree. Ze on board with a phone call?
[7/29/19, 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 potatoes schedule...
[7/29/19, 1:40:15 AM] Bill Taylor: The three amigos are on a roll. Let me know when I can help.
[7/29/19, 2:46:13 PM] Bill Taylor: Do you have a minute to talk?
[7/29/19, 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?
[7/29/19, 3:09:30 PM] Bill Taylor: President — or with Bohdan?
[7/29/19, 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
[7/29/19, 4:32:31 PM] Kurt Volker: Spoke w Zelensky, bogdan and Prystaiko in Toronto. Have spoke w Danyliuk by phone and will see him in DC Tuesday. There do sure to be some disconnect on their side — in addition to our side! — Best - Kurt
[7/29/19, 1:21:12 PM] Bill Taylor: Yup. Can I tell the three of them — Prystaiko, Danyliuk and Bogdan — 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?
[7/29/19, 12:25 AM] Bill Taylor: Let’s talk today. I will be asking to see Bogdan (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?
[7/29/19, 12:30 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi bill — I can call around 9/30/9/40 dc time of ok
[7/29/19, 9/04:05 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...
[7/29/19, 9/00:50 AM] Bill Taylor: Live interview here 4:30 here, 9:30 there. How about 6 here, if there? Or pick a later time today.
[7/29/19, 9/01:17 AM] Kurt Volker: Great — I can do 1:30pm here / 8:30 for you — does that work?
[7/29/19, 10:00:37 AM] Bill Taylor: Perfectly
[7/29/19, 1:29:02 PM] Bill Taylor: Calling shortly
[7/29/19, 2:22:20 AM] Bill Taylor: Are you OK on MNNA for Ukraine? They are raising it a lot. Would be a win for Ze?
[7/29/19, 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...
[7/29/19, 2:26:34 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?
[7/29/19, 10:30:22 PM] Bill Taylor: Missed voice call
[7/29/19, 10:39:22 PM] Bill Taylor: Missed voice call
[7/29/19, 10:45:02 PM] Bill Taylor: Can you call now?
[7/29/19, 10:48:37 PM] Bill Taylor: Missed voice call
[7/29/19, 8:24:23 AM] Bill Taylor: When can we talk?
[7/29/19, 9:25:03 AM] Bill Taylor: Hi Bill! Can we try around 11am my time?
[7/29/19, 8:46:51 AM] Bill Taylor: Yes. I will call you then. Thanks
[7/29/19, 10:26:23 AM] Kurt Volker: I have another call at 1115 so let’s talk at 11 but then follow up again later as needed...
[7/29/19, 10:53:42 AM] Bill Taylor: I can call now if that works
[7/29/19, 10:54:41 AM] Bill Taylor: Missed voice call
[7/29/19, 10:57:51 AM] Bill Taylor: Missed voice call
[7/29/19, 1:02:19 AM] Bill Taylor: Call when you can
[7/28/19, 9:43:08 AM] Bill Taylor: Should I suggest that you join your N4 counterparts starting soon?
[7/28/19, 9:48:43 AM] Bill Taylor: And do you have dates for your (and Gordon’s) visit?
[7/28/19, 1:58:10 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.
[7/28/19, 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 Moscow...
[7/28/19, 11:30:45 AM] Bill Taylor: On your trip, Vadym asks what you want to see in the east — the bridge? the Mariupol district? The latter is of course easier to get to. He also wondered about the president’s participation.
[7/28/19, 12:24:47 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 with either S-1 or Mariupol — both have reasons to be visited, so whichever they prefer.
[7/28/19, 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.
[7/28/19, 1:59:01 PM] Bill Taylor: Excellent. I will plan to join you. Gordon coming?
[7/28/19, 2:00:42 PM] Kurt Volker: Yes — he wants to. And Prystaiko will also come
[7/28/19, 2:09:16 PM] Bill Taylor: Excellent. My folks will work with Catherine.
[7/28/19, 11:55:14 AM] Bill Taylor: Preparations for the trip are well underway. You had breakfast with RS?
[7/29/19, 10:43:10 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
[7/29/19, 12:06:45 PM] Kurt Volker: OK — will do!
[7/29/19, 3:39:05 AM] Bill Taylor: I will call you back
[7/24/19, 2:23:59 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Bill — can you talk now?
[7/3/19, 1:45:53 PM] Bill Taylor: Did Tim say how he was doing on the call?
[7/9/19, 12:57:01 PM] Bill Taylor: Is your Moscow trip on track?
[7/11/19, 1:20:06 PM] Kurt Volker: Not yet. We heard from surkov but nothing from ashokev or Kozak.
[7/9/19, 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.
[7/11/19, 2:22:00 PM] Bill Taylor: You are still planning to be here for August 24?
[7/11/19, 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?
[7/11/19, 2:26:08 PM] Bill Taylor: I asked Prytasio again Friday. He smiled and said something about a parade with no tanks. Sounds pretty vague.
[7/11/19, 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 OV's this week if we can.

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[7/1/19, 2:27:43 PM] Bill Taylor: Will do. I am sure they would love to have you here in any case.
[7/11/19, 2:37:10 PM] Kurt Volker: And the timing is easy so I'm happy to do it.
[7/11/19, 2:52:08 PM] Kurt Volker: Thank you! You don't happen to have a gym, do you?
[7/11/19, 2:52:22 PM] Kurt Volker: That's the single best thing about the Hyatt...
[7/11/19, 2:55:21 PM] Kurt Volker: I am supposed to arrive on 23rd at 615pm from Vinniuk on Ukrainian Air 178. Maybe we can plan on casual dinner if you do not have National day duties — maybe together with Vadym and Andrey Y.

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[7/13/19, 10:05:50 AM] Bill Taylor: Kurt, we are meeting with Honcharuk and Ryaboshapka 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?
[7/13/19, 10:19:18 AM] Kurt Volker: Yes — all good. Would it be possible to arrange a follow up with G7 (with or sequentially with or Ryaboshapka) on 24th?
[7/15/19, 10:36:16 AM] Bill Taylor: Hi bill — can you take a call?
[7/15/19, 12:54:11 AM] Bill Taylor: The person who asked for an official request was Yermak?
[7/15/19, 7:04:10 AM] Bill Taylor: Volker: Yes — but don't cite him.
[7/15/19, 7:04:33 AM] Bill Taylor: I won't. You are right ... this is not good. We need to stay clear.
[7/15/19, 7:05:33 AM] Kurt Volker: Were you able to discover if we have ever asked for an investigation, or what it would take to do so?
[7/15/19, 8:52:44 AM] Bill Taylor: Turns out that our legatt just left on leave. You should ask Bruce Schwartz at Justice.
[7/15/19, 8:53:34 AM] Kurt Volker: OK — will do.
[7/15/19, 10:40:27 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?
[7/15/19, 10:42:27 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?
[7/15/19, 12:23:37 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.
[7/15/19, 11:43:36 PM] Bill Taylor: Kurt Volker: Can see if Honcharuk can meet us after the president’s reception. What about a dinner with the embassy team working on de-oligarkhing?
[7/16/19, 5:03:53 AM] Kurt Volker: Yes — casual embassy dinner would be great. And Yermak after dinner or lunch Saturday — whatever is best for him.
[7/16/19, 6:13:03 AM] Bill Taylor: Got it.
[7/16/19, 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.
[7/16/19, 6:31:05 AM] Kurt Volker: Great!
[7/16/19, 4:36:55 AM] Bill Taylor: Honcharuk moved to 1630 Saturday at the residence.

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PAS is suggesting skipping the Sunday press engagements because of the G-7/8 comments and the NYT article. Thoughts?

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[7/16/19, 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 ...

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[7/16/19, 4:59:08 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi bill — is it casual or suits for dinner? Thanks! Kurt
[7/16/19, 5:00:14 AM] Bill Taylor: No ties.
[7/16/19, 5:01:30 AM] Kurt Volker: But no jeans then either — no prob!
[7/16/19, 5:25:45 AM] Bill Taylor: We are working today!
[7/16/19, 4:46:31 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Bill — thanks for a great visit!

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[7/16/19, 4:48:58 PM] Kurt Volker: Talk tomorrow if it is too late today. Best - Kurt

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[7/16/19, 11:05:35 PM] Bill Taylor: When you briefed Bolton, did you recommend he see Yermak?
[7/17/19, 7:44:57 AM] Kurt Volker: How to make the POTUS encounter a success, and what deliverables we achieve for a W6 meeting.
[7/17/19, 8:03:08 AM] Bill Taylor: Bolton is pretty sure the meeting in Warsaw will happen. Wants to judge the dynamics of that meeting first. That one will be short.
[7/17/19, 2:03:55 AM] Kurt Volker: Good. Any luck on sitting him down with Yermak?

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[7/17/19, 2:17:58 PM] Kurt Volker: He would like to meet with Bolton after the meeting with Zelensky if possible (to help coach for Warsaw).

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[7/2/19, 11:28:40 AM] Bill Taylor: Kurt, can you WhatsApp Defense Minister Zagorodyuk? We just met to discuss the pause in security assistance. He would like your advice and assistance.
(5/2/19, 11:28:58 AM) Kurt Volker: Sure — need a few min but will do!
(5/2/19, 11:29:38 AM) Bill Taylor: Many thanks. I think he is very good.
(5/2/19, 12:52:19 PM) Bill Taylor: You two connected?
(5/2/19, 3:25:47 PM) Kurt Volker: Hi bill — we are taking in half an hour. Have you got a minute to talk?
(5/2/19, 11:03:20 PM) Bill Taylor: Sorry to miss you last night. Glad you connected. Glad to talk -- when works for you?
(5/3/19, 10:44:57 AM) Kurt Volker: Hi Bill greetings from Munich — en route to Tbilisi...
(5/3/19, 10:45:00 AM) Kurt Volker: I’ll let Chris answer on who the advisor is...
(5/3/19, 10:45:12 AM) Bill Taylor: Looking forward to seeing you next week
(5/3/19, 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
(5/3/19, 10:46:05 AM) Kurt Volker: Yes — me too!
(5/3/19, 10:47:27 AM) Bill Taylor: And I agree with him on no constitutional amendment on special status. Decentralization!
(5/3/19, 8:01:57 AM) Kurt Volker: Hi bill — is there a good time to call this afternoon / eve? Best - Kurt
(5/3/19, 8:10:16 AM) Bill Taylor: Maybe around 9?
(5/3/19, 8:33:50 AM) Kurt Volker: Ok -- in 30 min?
(5/3/19, 8:33:41 AM) Bill Taylor: No, sorry -- 9 PM my time.
(5/3/19, 8:34:10 AM) Kurt Volker: Ok - 10pm here - can do
(5/13/19, 7:55:14 AM) Bill Taylor: We just had a good meeting with Zelensky, Bohdan and Zhovka (now in Yelisieiev position) and discussed Donbas and Steinmyer formula at some length. If Yermak is not available for breakfast how about Bohdan and Zhovka for breakfast?
(5/13/19, 7:55:35 AM) Kurt Volker: Sure — that would be great
(5/13/19, 8:06:14 AM) Kurt Volker: Did you ask about Privatbank?
(5/13/19, 8:08:34 AM) Bill Taylor: Yes, and Kolomoisky, NBU, Hontereva.
(5/13/19, 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.
September 3, 2019

Mick Mulvaney  
Director  
Office of Management and Budget  
725 17th 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

Richard J. Durbin
United States Senator

Richard Blumenthal
United States Senator

Rob Portman
United States Senator

Ron Johnson
United States Senator

CC: Secretary of State Michael R. Pompeo
Secretary of Defense Mark T. Esper
Call with Sondland/Volker: Messages to this group are now secured with end-to-end encryption.

Gordon Sondland created group "Call with Sondland/Volker"

Gordon Sondland added you

Gordon Sondland, Andrey, can you, Kurt and I have a call today after 3pm Eastern time?

Andrey Yermak: Yes, ok

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, 3:26:25 PM Kurt Volker: Introducing you — Bill Taylor, Chargé in Kyiv — meet Dan Hoffman — former COS is Moscow, Tallinn and Islamabad. Dan will be in Kyiv in coming days and wanted to put you in touch. Best — Kurt
   Welcome, Dan

Bill
6/23/19, 10:03:02 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 Odessa 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
6/23/19, 2:03:25 PM Dan Hoffman: Great thanks will do enjoy the rest of your Sunday
Thoughts

Advice

Know if I can get answers back from the Crimean border. Can pass on any new information.

End

Have a great 4th.

About these conversations or have you already briefed him?

taylorwb stata.gov

Have a date. I am reluctant and agree with Kurt that the chance you can turn this around. If not, I don't think a senior level call will do.

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 year, Ambassador Bolton, Secretary Pompeo can't make it. The Vice President.

Many thanks.

Bush Admin and more recently has been VP at USIP. Best, Kurt

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

Bill

Taylor As Kurt knows, the NSDC office is a ways from the president. For now, Prystaiko is physically closer, traveling with Ze to Toronto and the line of contact. Let me know if I can get answers.

This message was deleted.

I think we just keep it among ourselves to try to build a working relationship. Just get the call date for the meeting.

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

Bill

Taylor Thanks, Gordon. -- a very productive call. We are working on several of the actions and will keep you posted on progress.

Bill

Can I ask you to see if you can break through on two key issues: a date from the White House for the Ze visit and a senior lead for a delegation to Kyiv for their Independence Day parade and celebration on August 24. The date for the visit is urgent. The NSC has not been able to get a date (many are traveling, of course). Two years ago, Secretary Mattis came for Independence Day. Last year, Ambassador Bolton. Secretary Pompeo can't make it. The Vice President.

Many thanks.

Taylor I 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!

Taylor Call when u can on this line.

Taylor Gordon. 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!

Taylor 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.

Taylor Just called. Let me know what's a convenient time.

Taylor Thanks Gordon. -- a very productive call. We are working on several of the actions and will keep you posted on progress.

Bill

Can I ask you to see if you can break through on two key issues: a date from the White House for the Ze visit and a senior lead for a delegation to Kyiv for their Independence Day parade and celebration on August 24. The date for the visit is urgent. The NSC has not been able to get a date (many are traveling, of course). Two years ago, Secretary Mattis came for Independence Day. Last year, Ambassador Bolton. Secretary Pompeo can't make it. The Vice President.

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

Bill

Taylor Call if this after noon still on?

Taylor Yes, they will be calling you. Just got moved by Ukraine to 10:15-10:30 Eastern.

Taylor Thanks -- thanks.

Taylor Good call.

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

Taylor 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!

Taylor Thanks -- to you as well.

Taylor We are seeing Danyiuk in a couple of days. Better face to face with Bolton.

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Taylor We are seeing Danyiuk in a couple of days. Better face to face with Bolton.
interested in both the
just trying to get it scheduled
Not final but shooting for Friday
I am waiting to hear if Friday works for the Ukrainians
one on one twice in the
merely as an instrument in Washington domestic reelection politics
investigation — and address any specific personnel issues — if there are any
People does well
welcome

72419 25725 AM Kurt Volker

72419 25633 AM Gordon Sondland: Make any progress?

72419 47 AM Kurt Volker: Danyliuk just asked if there was any news from the WH. Any update?

72419 47 AM Gordon Sondland: I put a call in to Patrus and am waiting for a return

72419 47 AM Kurt Volker: Excellent. -- thanks, Gordon

72419 10145 AM Gordon Sondland: Off to SL

72419 10141 AM Gordon Sondland: All over it

72419 10141 AM Bill Taylor: Can we marshal our forces to get a congratulatory phone call from POTUS to Z amid to late next week, assuming the election goes well and Servant of the People does well?

72419 10130 AM Gordon Sondland: Talking to NSC tomorrow at 8:30 eastern

72419 10130 AM Kurt Volker: Yes. you've got the latest. That's good. Work thru Sasha. And great they

72419 10116 AM Gordon Sondland: 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 heard?

72419 10116 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.

72419 10116 AM Gordon Sondland: Call me Bill this

72419 10116 AM Gordon Sondland: Do we need to talk at noon Washington time?

72419 10116 AM Gordon Sondland: 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

72419 10116 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.

72419 10116 AM Gordon Sondland: So, the call tomorrow can be a positive step.

72419 10116 AM Gordon Sondland: 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.

72419 10116 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.

72419 10116 AM Bill Taylor: Very good election result for Zelensky and us. Likely a young, Western-oriented prime minister. Ze likely in coalition with Yakurchuk (with whom I have met one on one twice in the last three days).

72419 10116 AM Gordon Sondland: I'll just say to Z that he should get to Know.

72419 10116 AM Gordon Sondland: So Monday call was just rumor?

72419 10116 AM Gordon Sondland: Doesn't sound like from either side that it was actually scheduled.

72419 10116 AM Gordon Sondland: Yermak thinks Call is at 6pm Kiev today. Bill -- any idea? Should I call sitroom?

72419 10116 AM Gordon Sondland: Good idea

72419 10116 AM Bill Taylor: just told me it's not on today and I should tell Danylyuk that they will schedule it through him shortly.

72419 10116 AM Bill Taylor: I have told Sasha (and Vadym).

72419 10116 AM Bill Taylor: Don't you think we should两国 through Sasha?

72419 10116 AM Gordon Sondland: Great. Work thru Sasha. And great they will schedule thru danylyuk. Keep us posted what you hear.

72419 10116 AM Gordon Sondland: I'll tell Yermak same thing

72419 10116 AM Gordon Sondland: Excellent. Will do

72419 10116 AM Gordon Sondland: Friday.

72419 10116 AM Bill Taylor: Looking forward to seeing you here!

72419 10116 AM Bill Taylor: It's now looking at Friday for the call. Ukrainians are checking to see if that works.

72419 10116 AM Bill Taylor: Great! Sounds like this is now on track?

72419 10116 AM Gordon Sondland: By

72419 10116 AM Gordon Sondland: Vey

72419 10116 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.

72419 10116 AM Bill Taylor: I'll go east on whichever day in order to accommodate zelensky — either way

72419 10116 AM Gordon Sondland: Call me just spoke to Danylyuk. I have clarity.
Thursday conversation with Tim on Sunday did not 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. 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. Is back in Tim’s court.

Confirm reinforce Zelensky’s substantive efforts. Him then. That would however make the trip to the East more difficult.

Bill Taylor: Calling now.

Bill Taylor: Prystaiko and Danyliuk are now coordinating the call. President Zelensky is travelling on Friday.

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

Kurt Volker: Great. The call is on for.

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

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.

Bill Taylor: We should do what works for Ze on Kyiv/S-L schedule. Most imp thing is that Putin call happens no matter what day.

Bill Taylor: Still waiting on word from NCS on the phone call tomorrow. President Zelensky 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.

Gordon Sondland: My primary objective is Zelensky. Friday morning is great.

Bill Taylor: Get it. Kurt?

Kurt Volker: Gordon — can you get there in time for a Thursday meeting? I think it is important to see the conflict area and the people affected by it — and in doing, reinforce Zelensky’s substantive efforts.

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

Kurt Volker: That’s great! Why are they irritated? They are getting the date they asked for.

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

Gordon Sondland: Thanks Bill.

Bill Taylor: Looking forward to seeing you both tomorrow.

Kurt Volker: Outstanding — thanks Kurt.

Gordon Sondland: Thanks.

Kurt Volker: We are at the restaurant in 10 minutes. Sounds like the call went well. Sasha will give us a readout.


Bill Taylor: Great photo! Gordon can you get this to POTUS without intermediaries.

Gordon Sondland: Thanks.

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.

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Bill Taylor: Looking forward to seeing you both tomorrow.

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Gordon Sondland: Thanks.

Kurt Volker: We are at the restaurant in 10 minutes. Sounds like the call went well. Sasha will give us a readout.


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Bill Taylor: There is a report -- from Vasily via an irritated Sasha -- that the phone call could happen at 7 tonight evening our time. Tim Morrison is trying to confirm.
8/29/19, 3:05:02 PM Kurt Volker: Just the opposite — should open the door

8/29/19, 3:05:35 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, 5:31:44 AM Gordon Sondland: I am going. Pompeo is speaking to Potus today to see if he can go.

8/31/19, 12:08:57 PM Bill Taylor: Are we now saying that security assistance and WH meeting are conditioned on investigations?

8/31/19, 12:42:29 PM Gordon Sondland: Call me

8/3/19, 11:49:45 AM Bill Taylor: Defense Minister Zagorednyak is calling you both about security assistance. I think Kurt talked with him last night.

8/4/19, 9:55:18 AM Kurt Volker: Yes — we had a good talk — Bill — I'll call you later today

8/4/19, 10:00:05 AM Bill Taylor: Sounds good. Am heading to the airport to pick up Senators Johnson and Murphy. Messages for them?

8/4/19, 12:42:20 PM Kurt Volker: Thank you for the letter!!! And push for WH visit...

8/4/19, 12:42:44 PM Kurt Volker: Being denied visas for Russia is a badge of honor

8/4/19, 12:44:03 PM Kurt Volker: Even more convinced of our assessment after inauguration — zelensky is the real deal and he needs our support

8/4/19, 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, 12:09:13 AM Bill Taylor: Got the same message. Checking with NSC

9/12/19, 12:09:49 AM Kurt Volker: Great - thanks! Let me know what you hear!


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, 3:58:39 AM Bill Taylor: Yes
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

Thank you! Gordon! I hope, I’ll see you in the nearest future in USA. And thank you again for your support. Vlad.
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, 4:22:00 PM) Gordon Sondland: Tim is a good guy. Tell him we are in touch and synced. I want to 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, 7:54:03 AM) Gordon Sondland: Missed voice call
(7/25/19, 7:54:20 AM) Gordon Sondland: Call asap
(7/25/19, 9:53:32 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
(7/28/19, 9:29:42 AM) Gordon Sondland: Call
(7/28/19, 9:41:03 AM) Kurt Volker: When we land — still in hela — maybe another 45 min?
(7/28/19, 4:54:58 PM) Kurt Volker: Hi Gordon - we could not get a chance to call. Free for 2 min or call tomorrow? Kurt
(7/28/19, 11:23:43 PM) Gordon Sondland: In air. Dn ground after 11am Brussels time
(7/27/19, 12:43:35 AM) Kurt Volker: Dk - 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...
(7/28/19, 9:29:26 AM) Kurt Volker: Hi Gordon — can you take a call?
(7/28/19, 9:30:27 AM) Gordon Sondland: Yes
(7/28/19, 10:56:47 AM) Kurt Volker: I gather potus is getting a Sweden briefing this afternoon — Swedes met with O’Brien, and somehow Wil lawyer thinks they did not take the meeting... crazy...
(7/28/19, 12:05:24 PM) Gordon Sondland: Missed voice call
(7/28/19, 12:05:41 PM) Kurt Volker: Call you back in IS
(7/28/19, 12:05:52 PM) Gordon Sondland: Sure.
(8/1/19, 7:02:41 AM) Gordon Sondland: I am on Eastern time. Can u talk?
(8/4/19, 4:20:51 PM) Kurt Volker: Gordon — on east coast time?
(8/4/19, 4:22:48 PM) Kurt Volker: Even better — call in a few?
(8/4/19, 4:22:54 PM) Gordon Sondland: Exhibit
(8/5/19, 10:36:23 AM) Kurt Volker: Got a minute? Best - Kurt
(8/5/19, 10:58:31 AM) Gordon Sondland: Missed voice call
(8/5/19, 5:35:53 PM) Gordon Sondland: Morrison ready to get dates as soon as Yermak confirms.
(8/5/19, 5:47:34 PM) Gordon Sondland: Not sure i did. I think potus really wants the deliverable
(8/5/19, 5:48:00 PM) Kurt Volker: But does he know that?
(8/5/19, 5:48:03 PM) Gordon Sondland: Yip
(8/5/19, 5:48:37 PM) Gordon Sondland: Clearly lots of canvas going on
(8/5/19, 5:48:39 PM) Kurt Volker: Dk — then that’s good it’s coming from two separate sources
(8/5/19, 5:51:08 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 a’s a live presser they can still summarize in a brief statement. Thoughts?
(8/5/19, 5:54:42 PM) Kurt Volker: Agree!
(8/10/19, 11:58:55 AM) Gordon Sondland: Anything from Andrey?
(8/10/19, 12:23:41 PM) Kurt Volker: Not yet — will give him some time
(8/10/19, 12:23:44 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 11am / 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 to do that 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 11am 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
(8/11/19, 9:51:16 AM) Kurt Volker: He needs another 15 min. So IDIG
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.
(9/22/19, 12:03:58 PM) Kurt Volker: Landed yet? Will call
(9/22/19, 12:04:58 PM) Gordon Sondland: Yes, can you 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, 3:04:32 PM) Gordon Sondland: U dialing in?
(9/22/19, 3:06:44 PM) Gordon Sondland: At 5:45
(9/22/19, 3:58:31 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, 10:40:06 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, 10:45:48 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, 9:30:24 PM) Kurt Volker: We are here - hope you can make it
(9/24/19, 10:10:36 PM) Kurt Volker: ??
(9/25/19, 7:54:12 AM) Kurt Volker: Ok — we are taking off. Let's talk when you can
(9/25/19, 7:55:05 AM) Gordon Sondland: Missed voice call
(9/25/19, 7:54:55 AM) Gordon Sondland: Sorry about last night. Felt like shit and went to bed at 8. Didn't 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, 8:00:43 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, 8:41:44 PM) Gordon Sondland: Missed voice call
(9/25/19, 10:08:57 PM) Gordon Sondland: Missed voice call
(9/25/19, 11:08:53 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
(9/25/19, 11:59:07 AM) Gordon Sondland: Kurt, sorry cant make bkfst. Do you have a moment to chat by phone or in person after your bkfst?
(9/25/19, 5:31:44 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.
(9/25/19, 5:46:07 AM) Gordon Sondland: Cant make B but can we meet around 9:30 or 10?
(9/25/19, 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
(9/25/19, 5:44:44 AM) Gordon Sondland: Just wanted to meet with you
(9/26/19, 5:47:35 AM) Kurt Volker: Get 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
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.
**Get and still not have Russia veto**

**Mandate important** Referring S back to our "parameters" paper from November

**know any thoughts** Also sending to Kostiantyn Kurt

**ministerial** Am coordinating w FR and GE so we don’t have multiple efforts but one coordinated position

**only thing I would say is that the PKO probably needs to operate on both sides of the ceasefire border with Russia until such time as all Minsk related steps have been completed and the territory can be fully restored to Ukrainian control**

**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

**8/21 AM** Kurt Volker: Thanks pavlo -- this is not specific enough on geographic area? K

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"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 taken and the territory can be fully restored to Ukrainian control."

**8/22 AM** Kurt Volker: I wasn’t able to open it on my phone fully, but we need full consistency throughout 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

**8/23 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 from line, and then throughout occupied territory

**8/25 AM** Pavlo Klimkin: Nominal presence and verification could be considered but not operative part like disarmament and broad security etc. 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

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**9/28 AM** Pavlo Klimkin: Will not fly and will be missed further down

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**9/29 AM** Pavlo Klimkin: Ok

**9/29 AM** Kurt Volker: Ok

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**8/18 2:08 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 with me in light of N4 ministerial. Am coordinating w FR and GE so we don’t have multiple efforts but one coordinated position

**8/18 1:16 PM** Kurt Volker: Fake. No plans, and my understanding is that he refuses to travel to EU countries because of sanctions.

**8/18 12:58 PM** Pavlo Klimkin: I’ve been asked whether you are going to meet Surkov in Brussels. It’s under discussion or fake?

**8/18 10:05 PM** Kurt Volker: I don’t want to go. I’d need to travel to Brussels and get a full understanding of the situation.

**8/18 10:12 PM** Pavlo Klimkin: Ok thanks

**8/18 10:21 PM** Kurt Volker: No prob. Who is going from Ukraine?

**8/18 10:24 PM** Pavlo Klimkin: Ivanna Klimpush should be there. I’ll skip it this time.

**8/18 10:43 PM** Kurt Volker: Good - I’ll make a point to see her

**8/18 10:43 PM** Kurt Volker: Sorry to miss you

**8/18 10:07 PM** Pavlo Klimkin: Ok

**8/19 2:08 AM** Kurt Volker: Hi Pavlo - can you guys sell Mayr Harting to replace Sajdik. I know him well and think he’s as good as we can.

**8/19 10:24 AM** Pavlo Klimkin: I will.

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**8/19 12:03 AM** Pavlo Klimkin: Messages to this chat and calls are now secured with end-to-end encryption.

**8/19 7:53 AM** Pavlo Klimkin: Let you know
Of course I have to tell me when we should meet up — maybe Saturday late afternoon?

Still don’t know my schedule - will get back to you asap

Hi pavlo — any news on sajidk replacement? Mayr-Harting thoughts? Kurt

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

Thanks Pavlo — will do! Hope you are well!

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

Hi can do breakfast 7.30 or 8am tomorrow

Hi Pavlo: Ok — will check w embassy schedule and let you know

Hi Pavlo — we have a delegation meeting w Secretary Perry at 8am. Could you and I meet at 7.30 or even 7.15 at Hyatt?

Hi Pavlo: Can do 7.20am cause have a Skype interview at 7.10 in the MFA

Hi Pavlo: — that works for me

Great:

Hi Pavlo — arrived — see you in the morning - Kurt

Great:

in 2min

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
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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
Ukraine: Messages to this group are now secured with end-to-end encryption.

Gordon Sondland created group "Ukraine"

Gordon Sondland added you

Gordon Sondland: Guys, multiple convos with Ze Potus. Let's talk

Bill Taylor: Now is fine with me

Kurt Volker: Try again — could not hear

Bill Taylor: Gordon and I just spoke. I can brief you if you and Gordon don't connect

Bill Taylor: The nightmare is they give the interview and don't get the security assistance. The Russians love it. (And I quit.)

Bill Taylor: I'm not in the loop. Talk Monday?

Gordon Sondland: Call at your convenience or let me know a good time. I am in Brussels

Kurt Volker: Will do - just getting started here in Georgia — will step out and call in an hour or so a thanks!

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.

Bill Taylor: Counting on you to be right about this interview, Gordon.

Bill Taylor: I never said I was "right". I said we are where we are and believe we have identified the best pathway forward. Let's hope it works.

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

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.

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, 8:44:19 AM] Vadym Prystaiko: can you talk right now?
[5/25/19, 9:33:23 AM] Vadym Prystaiko: thank you for that. And for a good conversation. I will be in touch
[5/26/19, 12:20:34 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Vadym – now a good time to call?
[5/26/19, 3:16:38 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: Good night. what about now?
[5/26/19, 3:18:03 PM] Kurt Volker: Greetings – ok if not too late for you
[5/26/19, 3:30:05 PM] Kurt Volker: Try now?
[5/26/19, 12:53:26 PM] Kurt Volker: We are thinking of pompeo visit to ukraine before election and White House visit by Z after
[5/26/19, 12:58:19 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: thank you. good newd already reported to Pr. we have to work on timing
[5/26/19, 12:58:55 PM] Kurt Volker: Good — thanks. You should get this "officially" from the embassy, but wanted you to get it right away
[5/26/19, 4:25:26 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: )) they will be soo unhappy
[5/26/19, 4:26:16 PM] Kurt Volker: They'll get over it...

[5/19/19, 7:40:55 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Vadym — good luck with visit to Brussels! Can you talk today or tomorrow?
[5/19/19, 7:40:46 AM] Kurt Volker: Will send letter to our Russian friend tomorrow... forwarding you a draft now.
[5/19/19, 3:07:03 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: thank you. will read now and we might talk tmrw. Visit is not a time for reflections!
[5/19/19, 3:07:21 PM] Kurt Volker: Understood! Hope it is going well!
[5/19/19, 9:00:39 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Vadym- Hi good - all good? Kurt
[5/19/19, 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
[5/19/19, 9:27:14 AM] Kurt Volker: We'll back you up
[5/19/19, 12:38:42 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: thank you, Kurt, for the letter. I believe, I have to report it to Pr. Z. I fully share your belief that there is a chance we should grasp. I am ready to meet with my colleagues - forful advisors in the nearest future Surkov included. Although, I urged our deputies to meet first to assess the new reality and prepare the talks
[5/19/19, 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.
[5/19/19, 1:06:39 PM] Kurt Volker: I will let you know what response we get
[5/19/19, 1:07:06 PM] Kurt Volker: I also shared the text with the French and Germans, so feel free in discussing with them too
[5/19/19, 1:07:08 PM] Kurt Volker: Thank!
[5/19/19, 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!
[5/19/19, 2:50:11 PM] Kurt Volker: Thank you Vadym! Very kind of you! We are very happy!
[5/19/19, 1:04:33 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Vadym — hope it is going well. From what I saw, paris was good. Berlin as well?
[5/19/19, 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.
[5/19/19, 1:08:18 PM] Kurt Volker: And we should coordinate message / new "initiative"?
[5/19/19, 1:03:35 PM] Kurt Volker: Would then come to Kyiv and have meetings there before departure
[5/19/19, 1:03:33 PM] Kurt Volker: Also — I will head US dept to Toronto. Would like to arrange bilat there to discuss this, plans, WH visit, etc.
[5/19/19, 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

[5/22/19, 4:34:15 PM] Kurt Volker: That sounds good — see you in Toronto. I get in Monday eve and leave Wednesday morning
[5/22/19, 1:21:31 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: Same with us. See you there
[5/22/19, 1:55:01 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: 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
[5/22/19, 1:17:48 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Vadym. If you 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.
[5/19/19, 7:35:38 AM] Kurt Volker: Got it — thanks — see you later today and certainly at breakfast tomorrow. Best - Kurt
[5/19/19, 7:24:27 PM] Kurt Volker: Hi Vadym. At the airport heading up to Toronto. Please tell the president I was unhappy to see the media link my comments about sakharova’s claims on sailors with Klimkin’s behavior. I was responding directly to Russian MFA claims before Klimkin had said anything, and of course I did not know that Klimkin would do so in a way that undercuts Zelensky. If I can help to reframe this in any way to help Zelensky, let me know. See you later — best — Kurt
[5/19/19, 11:31:14 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: Hi, Kurt. I knew you are a good friend with Pavlo!
[5/19/19, 5:12:48 AM] Kurt Volker: Very funny — thanks — see you in a bit
[5/19/19, 6:42:54 AM] Vadym Prystaiko: you still have you sense of humor with you - good sign. see you in a bit
[5/19/19, 8:22:14 AM] Kurt Volker: Thanks for everything. What is your take on our meeting, and the visit overall?
[5/19/19, 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, 15:52:44 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 Kilo and whether he will really pursue reforms he says. I talked to him privately about Giuliani and impact on president.

[7/4/19, 15:33:31 PM] Kurt Volker: My impression is that he is sincere in wanting to press forward on everything, but doesn't have a full team yet, doesn't quite know how to do it, and knows there will be tough opposition.

[7/5/19, 10:30:39 AM] Vadym Prystaiko: Got it. Thank you will you advise us on time for telephone call?

[7/5/19, 10:14:22 AM] Kurt Volker: Yes — am hoping we can nail that down on Monday or Tuesday.


[7/4/19, 9:08:49 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Vadym — yes — still working out dates — what works for you and president? And how was Paris?

[7/4/19, 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?

[7/4/19, 10:48:22 AM] Vadym Prystaiko: Paris was OK. Will forward a final paper to you.

[7/4/19, 10:48:53 AM] Vadym Prystaiko: I have to check the dates for the Pr but am ready to accommodate your time lines.

[7/4/19, 10:49:45 AM] Vadym Prystaiko: do jot think it is true, but will have to check.

[7/4/19, 11:36:35 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?

[7/4/19, 4:45:44 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: will check tmrw. How many of you?


[7/5/19, 4:32:39 AM] Vadym Prystaiko: Board/D124 advisors steps FINAL DCC • I page <attached: 00000084-1B070D4 N advisors steps FINAL docx>

[7/7/19, 12:46:36 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: Morning. We are OK with the dates you gave me. Pr will not be able to accompany you to East but 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?


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

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

[7/7/19, 1:48:03 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: Ok — entirely your call. I just want to be as supportive as possible.

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

[7/7/19, 2:01:09 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, 8:35:54 AM] Vadym Prystaiko: thank you. I will still counting though. See you later this week.


[7/26/19, 6:7:27 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Vadym — here’s 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 them or maybe meet first and then propose something.


[7/26/19, 3:39:10 AM] Kurt Volker: Thank you for making it possible! Was a really good opportunity — very glad we did it.

[7/26/19, 4:18:30 PM] 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?


[7/21/19, 1:54:35 AM] Kurt Volker: My impression is that he is sincere in wanting to press forward on everything but doesn't quite know how to do it and knows there will be tough opposition.

[7/4/19, 11:50:35 AM] Vadym Prystaiko: is that your educated guess or you know something? could be Warsaw, BTW


[7/20/19, 10:44:08 AM] Kurt Volker: Hi Vadym — hope all is well — are you free to talk today or tomorrow? Kurt

[7/20/19, 10:54:45 AM] Vadym Prystaiko: Morning. Kurt, yes, will be glad to. In a couple of hours?

[7/20/19, 10:58:30 AM] Kurt Volker: Great — my 2:30pm?

[7/20/19, 11:20:33 AM] Vadym Prystaiko: I am in Brussels now), so it is...

[7/20/19, 11:50:05 AM] Kurt Volker: 6 hours difference — so 8:30pm your time?


[7/20/19, 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.

[7/20/19, 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.


[7/22/19, 12:01:50 PM] Vadym Prystaiko: sorry, please have a dinner first!

[7/22/19, 12:17:52 PM] Kurt Volker: Ok — are you sure? Can call now, or after 8pm Brussels.


Separately, however, on assistance side it did not become clearer regardless of the decision you have to know.

Will she do it? I'll do it anyway — you may as well get 2 for the price of 1...

I'll try to send someone like Mayr-Harting but not sure who is available or would be better that would get consensus.

He is joining late — probably 9:30

I need it. Should we send you?!

I'll do it anyway — you may as well get 2 for the price of 1.

Imagine, how creative it would sound

OK, I imagine, how creative it would sound.

OK.

True...

I will show you docs. Ge+F 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?


I was usually tough. I will show you docs. Ge+F 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?

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Dear Kurt, do I have to start worrying or they are just rumors?

You mean you weren't worried when you became foreign minister?!

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.

This is a very good observation. I am worrying now too. Your departure made me even more uncertain.

Hang in there. Ukraine needs good people.

That was my exact message to you. What now?
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,

[Signature]
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, Stanytsia 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