

UNDER EMBARGO UNTIL 6 AM 11.19.

PRESIDENT TRUMP DIRECTS PRESSURE CAMPAIGN BY WITHHOLDING WHITE HOUSE MEETING AND MILITARY AID TO UKRAINE

The evidence makes clear President Trump pressed Ukraine to launch investigations that he believed would benefit his own political prospects. Acting both directly and through his agents—including Chief of Staff Mick Mulvaney, Ambassador Gordon Sondland and Rudy Giuliani—the President conditioned a White House meeting and critical military assistance to counter Russian aggression on public announcements of investigations into his political rivals.

The President has made no secret of this fact. The transcript of President Trump’s own call with President Zelensky is the best firsthand evidence of the President’s proposed transaction. Mick Mulvaney also openly admitted to this deal during a televised press conference before the nation.

The depositions conducted by the Intelligence, Oversight, and Foreign Affairs Committees provide significant additional evidence of the President’s direct involvement in, and direction of, this scheme. Many of these witnesses are scheduled to testify in public this week.

PRESIDENT TRUMP DIRECTS TOP AIDES TO PRESS UKRAINE

- In 2017, National Security Advisor H.R. McMaster and Homeland Security Advisor Tom Bossert “*spent a lot of time*” warning President Trump that “*the alternative theory*” about Ukraine interfering in the 2016 election—which was promoted by Russian President Vladimir Putin in February 2017—was false. (Hill Transcript, Page 234-235; Joint Press Conference Between President Vladimir Putin and President Viktor Orban (Feb. 2, 2017))
- In April 2019, senior State Department officials informed Ambassador Marie Yovanovitch that “*the President had made a decision*” to remove her from her post, that President Trump had wanted her removed since July 2018, and that Secretary of State Mike Pompeo “*was no longer able to*” protect her from President Trump. (Yovanovitch Transcript, Page 129, 133)
- After initially asking the Vice President to attend President Zelensky’s inauguration, on May 13, 2019, President Trump instructed Vice President Pence not to attend the event. This decision was made before the event’s date had been set and was not due to scheduling conflicts. (Williams Transcript, Page 36-39)
- During an Oval Office meeting on May 23, 2019, to discuss the U.S. delegation’s trip to President Zelensky’s inauguration, President Trump directed Ambassador Sondland, Ambassador Volker, and Secretary Perry to “*Talk to Rudy, talk to Rudy.*” (Sondland Transcript, Page 61-62) (Volker Transcript, Page 305)
- President Trump gave Ambassador Sondland “*instruction*” in the “*parallel process*” of engagement in Ukraine involving Ambassador Sondland and Rudy Giuliani, and Ambassador Sondland stated that “*he was discussing these matters with the President.*” (Morrison Transcript, Page 229-230)
- Every time NSC Senior Director Tim Morrison checked whether Ambassador Sondland had spoken with the President, he confirmed that Ambassador Sondland had done so. (Morrison Transcript, Page 229-230)

PRESIDENT TRUMP ORDERS HOLD ON SECURITY ASSISTANCE

- Multiple officials testified that on or around July 18, 2019, they were told that President Trump ordered a freeze on security assistance to Ukraine. Two months earlier, the Department of Defense had already certified that Ukraine met the anti-corruption benchmarks set by the Pentagon to make it eligible to receive security assistance. (Cooper Transcript, Page 24-27, 44-50; Morrison Transcript, Page 161-162; Taylor Transcript, Page 27-28; Kent Transcript, Page 303-304)
- Chief of Staff Mick Mulvaney confirmed during a press conference on October 17, 2019, that it was President Trump’s decision to freeze the security assistance to Ukraine because of “corruption” and the “DNC server.” (White House Press Briefing, Oct. 17, 2019)

PRESIDENT TRUMP REQUESTS INVESTIGATIONS OF BIDENS AND 2016 ELECTION ON JULY 25 CALL

- On July 25, 2019—before the planned call between President Trump and President Zelensky—Ambassador Volker sent a text message to President Zelensky’s aide, Andrey Yermak: “*Heard from White House—assuming President Z convinces trump he will investigate / ‘get to the bottom of what happened’ in 2016, we will nail down date for visit to Washington.*” (Volker Texts, Release #1) Ambassador Gordon Sondland relayed the message to Ambassador Volker. (Volker Transcript, Page 142)
- Lieutenant Colonel Vindman prepared briefing materials for President Trump’s July 25, 2019, call with President Zelensky and did not include anything about “*investigations into the 2016 election or the Bidens or Burisma.*” (Vindman Transcript, Page 42-43)
- Before President Trump’s call with President Zelensky, Ambassador Sondland emailed White House staff “*to inform us that he had spoken to the President that morning to brief him on the call.*” (Morrison Transcript, Page 30, 101) Morrison confirmed “*through the White House Sit[uation] Room and another staffer*” that Sondland had indeed spoken to the President, as Sondland had indicated. (p. 247)
- On July 25, 2019, President Trump stated during his call with President Zelensky, “*I would like you to do us a favor though because our country has been through a lot and Ukraine knows a lot about it. I would like you to find out what happened with this whole situation with Ukraine, they say Crowdstrike... Whatever you can do, it’s very important that you do it if that’s possible.*” He also stated, “*The other thing, There’s a lot of talk about Biden’s son, that Biden stopped the prosecution and a lot of people want to find out about that so whatever you can do with the Attorney Gener would be great. Biden went around bragging that he stopped the prosecution so if you can look into it... It sounds horrible to me.*” He also stated, “*Mr. Giuliani is a highly respected man. He was the mayor of New York City, a great mayor, and I would like him to call you. I will ask him to call you along with the Attorney General. Rudy very much knows what’s happening and he is a very capable guy. If you could speak to him that would be great.*” President Trump did not mention the word “corruption” on the call. (White House Memorandum of Telephone Conversation, July 25, 2019)
- On July 26, 2019, President Trump spoke with Ambassador Sondland by phone in the presence of David Holmes, an employee of U.S. Embassy Kyiv, and two other State Department staffers. Ambassador Sondland informed President Trump that President Zelensky “*loves your ass.*” President Trump then asked, “*So, he’s gonna do the investigation?*” Ambassador Sondland responded, “*he’s gonna do it.*” He added that President Zelensky would do “*anything you ask him to.*” Ambassador Sondland then informed Mr. Holmes that President Trump did not “*give a s—t about Ukraine,*” did not care about Ukraine’s war with Russia, and only cares about “*big stuff*” that benefits the President personally, namely the “*Biden investigation*” being promoted by Mr. Giuliani. (Holmes Opening Statement (Nov. 15, 2019)

PRESIDENT TRUMP PRESSES FOR PUBLIC ANNOUNCEMENT OF POLITICAL INVESTIGATIONS BY UKRAINE

- On August 9, 2019, Ambassador Sondland texted Ambassador Volker that “*potus really wants the deliverable*” and that NSC Senior Director Tim Morrison was “*ready to get dates as soon as Yermak confirms*” the draft statement. (Volker Text, Release #1)
- “*The President was not yet ready to approve the release of the assistance*” during a one-on-one meeting with Ambassador John Bolton in August. (Morrison Transcript, Page 266-268)
- On September 1, 2019, President Trump told Ambassador Sondland that “*he wants President Zelensky to state publicly that Ukraine will investigate Burisma and alleged Ukrainian interference in the 2016 U.S. election*” and that he “*wanted President Zelensky in a box by making public statement [sic] about ordering such investigations.*” Ambassador Sondland relayed this conversation to Ambassador Taylor, stating that “*everything was dependent on such an announcement, including security assistance.*” (Taylor Transcript, Page 36)
- On September 7, 2019, President Trump told Ambassador Sondland that “*President Zelensky must announce the opening of the investigations and he should want to do it.*” (Morrison Transcript, Page 185-186, 190-191)
- On October 2, 2019, President Trump stated at a press conference: “*And just so you know, we’ve been investigating, on a personal basis—through Rudy and others, lawyers—corruption in the 2016 election. We’ve been investigating corruption, because I probably will—I was going to definitely—but I probably will be bringing a lot of litigation against a lot of people having to do with the corrupt investigation, having to do with the 2016 election.*” (White House Press Conference, Oct. 2, 2019)
- On October 3, 2019, President Trump stated on the South Lawn of the White House: “*Well, I would think that, if they [the Ukrainian government] were honest about it, they’d start a major investigation into the Bidens. It’s a very simple answer. They should investigate the Bidens, because how does a company that’s newly formed—and all these companies, if you look at— And, by the way, likewise, China should start an investigation into the Bidens, because what happened in China is just about as bad as what happened with—with Ukraine. So, I would say that President Zelensky—if it were me, I would recommend that they start an investigation into the Bidens. Because nobody has any doubt that they weren’t crooked. That was a crooked deal—100 percent. He had no knowledge of energy; didn’t know the first thing about it. All of a sudden, he is getting \$50,000 a month, plus a lot of other things. Nobody has any doubt.*” (Remarks before Marine One Departure, Oct. 3, 2019)