

EXECUTIVE SESSION  
PERMANENT SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE,  
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

INTERVIEW OF: RICK A. DEARBORN

Wednesday, January 17, 2018

Washington, D.C.

The interview in the above matter was held in Room HVC-304, the Capitol, commencing at 11:01 a.m.

Present: Representatives Conaway, King, LoBiondo, Ros-Lehtinen, Wenstrup, Stewart of Utah, Gowdy, Stefanik, Himes, Sewell, Speier, Quigley,

Swalwell, Castro, and Heck,

Appearances:

For the PERMANENT SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE:

[REDACTED]

For RICK DEARBORN:

WILLIAM F. COFFIELD, ESQ.  
Berliner, Corcoran & Howe, LLP  
1101 Seventeenth Street, NW  
Suite 1100  
Washington D.C. 20036-4798

██████████ Good morning. This is the committee's interview of Rick Dearborn. Thank you for speaking with us today.

Just a reminder to ensure everyone has left all electronic devices outside, to include phones, iPads, Blackberries, Fitbits, anything that transmits.

For the record, my name is ██████████ I. I'm a staff member for the majority in the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. Also present today are committee staff and members who will introduce themselves as these proceedings get underway.

Before we begin, I wanted to state a few things for the record. The questioning will be conducted by committee members and staff. During the course of this interview, each side may ask questions during their allotted time period. Some of the questions may seem basic, but that is because we need to clearly understand the facts and understand the situation. Please do not assume we know any facts that you have previously disclosed as part of any other investigation or review.

This interview will be conducted at the unclassified level.

During the course of the interview, we will take any breaks that you desire. We ask that you give complete and fulsome replies to questions, based on your best recollection. If a question is unclear or you are uncertain in your response, please let us know. If you do not know the answer to a question or cannot remember, simply say so.

You are entitled to have counsel present with you during this interview, and I see that you do. At this time, if counsel could please state his name for the record.

MR. COFFIELD: Bill Coffield with Berliner Corcoran & Rowe.

██████████ Thank you.

The interview will be transcribed. As you can see, there is a reporter making a record of the proceedings so we can easily consult a written compilation of your answers. Because the reporter cannot record gestures, we ask that you answer all questions verbally. If you forget to do this, you may be reminded. You may also be asked to spell certain names or unusual phrases. Consistent with the committee's rules of procedure, you and your counsel, upon request, will have a reasonable opportunity to inspect the transcript of the interview in order to determine whether your answers were correctly transcribed.

The transcript will remain in the committee's custody. And the committee also reserves the right to request your return for additional questions should the need arise.

The process for the interview will be as follows: The minority will be given 45 minute to ask questions. Then the majority will be given 45 minutes to ask questions. Immediately thereafter, we will take a 5-minute break if you so choose, after which time the minority will be given 15 minutes to ask questions, the majority will be given 15 minutes to ask questions, and we will continue to alternate until the questions have been exhausted.

The time limit will be adhered to by all sides, and the time will be kept, with 5-minute and 1-minute warnings given, respectively.

To ensure confidentiality, we ask that you do not discuss the interview with anybody other than your attorney.

You are reminded that it is unlawful to deliberately provide false information to Members of Congress or their staffs.

Mr. Dearborn, would you please raise your right hand to be sworn. Do you swear or affirm the testimony you are about to give is the truth, the whole truth, and

nothing but the truth, so help you God?

MR. DEARBORN: I do.

██████████ Let the record reflect the witness has been sworn.

Chairman Conaway.

MR. CONAWAY: Mr. Dearborn, thank you for coming in. Do you have any opening statement or anything?

MR. DEARBORN: No, sir.

MR. CONAWAY: Mr. Schiff, anything?

MR. SCHIFF: No. Welcome, appreciate you coming in.

MR. CONAWAY: You guys are recognized for 45 minutes.

MR. SCHIFF: Mr. Swalwell.

MR. SWALWELL: Good morning, Mr. Dearborn.

MR. DEARBORN: Good morning.

MR. SWALWELL: Thanks for coming in.

Mr. Dearborn, how did you come to choose your counsel for matters pertaining to the Russia investigation?

MR. DEARBORN: Through a friend.

MR. SWALWELL: Who is that?

MR. DEARBORN: Bill McGinley, a friend of mine.

MR. SWALWELL: And, to your knowledge, is your counsel representing any other individuals connected to a congressional Russia investigation or the special counsel's investigation?

MR. DEARBORN: Not to my knowledge.

MR. SWALWELL: And, Mr. Dearborn, we did receive from you -- and we appreciate you responding to the request for discovery -- correspondence that you

had during the campaign, 123 pages of documents.

Did you ever use any personal email accounts or personal cell phones to conduct any work for the campaign?

MR. DEARBORN: It would have been reflected in the documents that I provided you.

MR. SWALWELL: And if we come across anything during our questions today, can you follow up with anything that may be relevant?

MR. DEARBORN: Absolutely. Sure.

MR. SWALWELL: Have you been interviewed by Special Counsel's Office with respect to this investigation?

MR. DEARBORN: I have.

MR. SWALWELL: When was that?

MR. COFFIELD: About 6 weeks ago.

MR. SWALWELL: And any other congressional committees?

MR. DEARBORN: The Senate Intel Committee.

MR. SWALWELL: Mr. Dearborn, how did you come to work for Senator Sessions?

MR. DEARBORN: I started with Senator Sessions in 1996, December. He hired me on his birthday, which is December 24th, and started with him on January 3rd. So I'd worked in the Senate prior, through friends had found out about an opening for a legislative director position and interviewed for it and he hired me.

MR. SWALWELL: When did you become chief of staff?

MR. DEARBORN: That was after I returned from the Department of Energy. I was his legislative director up until 2003. From 2003 to 2005, I was the Assistant Secretary for Congressional Affairs at Department of Energy underneath the Bush

administration. And the chief of staff in Senator Sessions' office was leaving at the end of 2004, and he reached out and, like many of you when you were called back to serve your boss, you go back and serve your boss.

MR. SWALWELL: So after you were called back to serve your boss, did you remain as chief of staff up until when Donald Trump was elected President?

MR. DEARBORN: I was chief of staff until 12 p.m. January 20th of 2017.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you ever do any campaign work for Senator Sessions during any of those times?

MR. DEARBORN: Sure.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Can you just briefly describe for us when that was and what it looked like?

MR. DEARBORN: His reelect in 2008. His reelect, I guess, that would have been in 2014.

MR. SWALWELL: And remind me, I don't recall, were those contested? I know 2014 --

MR. DEARBORN: That was my favorite one.

MR. SWALWELL: Yeah, no Democrat, right?

MR. DEARBORN: Yeah. I didn't do a lot of work in 2014.

MR. SWALWELL: In 2008, was that a contested?

MR. DEARBORN: It was. Vivian Figures ran against him in 2008.

MR. SWALWELL: And what was your role in the campaign then?

MR. DEARBORN: Yeah, because 2003 was Susan Parker.

MR. SWALWELL: What was your role in the 2008 race?

MR. DEARBORN: I volunteered my time. I wasn't the campaign manager or anything in 2008.



MR. SWALWELL: Okay. In -- how did you -- how did it come about that you joined the Trump campaign?

MR. DEARBORN: Senator Sessions and the then-businessman Donald Trump had met years ago, talking about the remodeling of the U.N. And it was a fun exchange for both of them. They developed kind of a relationship.

MR. SWALWELL: When was that?

MR. DEARBORN: Gosh. It was -- Sessions and Coburn were both focused on that. It was -- they were looking to rebuild the U.N. up in New York for \$1 trillion. Then Mr. Trump came to testify and said that he could build it for maybe a quarter or half the price. Gosh, I just don't remember. I think I was still legislative director. So it would have been maybe in the early 2000s.

MR. SWALWELL: Did they stay in contact throughout that period?

MR. DEARBORN: Not really. I mean, they had a great exchange. They didn't talk on any kind of regular basis. And then, I think, as Mr. Trump was engaging in the campaign, a lot of the issues that he was talking about early on, I think, sparked the interest of Senator Sessions, and so that then kind of reacquainted them and they talked a little bit more often. And then-candidate Trump would come and would visit with the Senator a couple times to talk about policy.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you remember how the first approach worked?

MR. DEARBORN: Peggy, can you get Donald Trump on the phone, I want to talk to him about immigration and trade.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. So Donald Trump is a candidate for President, and your boss, Senator Sessions, made the initial approach to talk to him?

MR. DEARBORN: I think he made the initial approach. If -- if

then-candidate Trump made the initial approach, it's possible that he did, based on Senate floor speeches and I think probably the positions that Senator Sessions had been taking at the time.

MR. SWALWELL: And when --

MR. DEARBORN: So I just want to be clear. I'm not sure if he called or -- but I think he called.

MR. SWALWELL: When did you first become involved?

MR. DEARBORN: I first became involved probably in early 2016, after the Senator endorsed candidate Trump.

MR. SWALWELL: He was the first Senator to endorse him. Is that right?

MR. DEARBORN: Correct.

MR. SWALWELL: And what did your involvement look like?

MR. DEARBORN: I was asked to join the campaign full-time. I told him I couldn't do that, I was chief of staff for a U.S. Senator, but I'd be happy to volunteer my time. So I called up the Senate Ethics Committee and kind of walked through what I needed to do and make sure I was all buttoned up on how I would do that. So lunch hours, after work, before work. I could take vacation days. So I did all of that and just made sure I did it by the book.

MR. SWALWELL: And were you ever paid by the Trump campaign?

MR. DEARBORN: I was.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. And when did that start?

MR. DEARBORN: It was the -- the payment -- I don't know if the payment came on a monthly basis or if it was one -- it may have been one lump check. But, again, I checked with the Ethics Committee to find out what was the amount of outside income I could make, and I wanted to make sure that, you know, that -- they

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

could pay me, but I wanted to make sure it was all buttoned up.

MR. SWALWELL: What was the amount?

MR. DEARBORN: Like \$26,000.

MR. SWALWELL: Yeah, I think that's about the limit.

MR. DEARBORN: It was right below the limit, yeah.

MR. SWALWELL: What did you understand your role would be in the campaign?

MR. DEARBORN: The then-candidate Trump didn't have a D.C. presence, and so they asked me to kind of help set up a Washington office; to reach out to other Members of Congress on the Republican side of the aisle, Democrats if they were interested in joining the campaign; and to go meet with House Members and Senators; and then a small policy shop. But the predominant number of people that worked there were all volunteer.

MR. SWALWELL: Where did you create that office?

MR. DEARBORN: It was in Alexandria, Virginia.

MR. SWALWELL: And was that at your initiative?

MR. DEARBORN: I was asked to do it. I think that the -- I think the office space wasn't something that I went and rented. It was kind of all arranged through the campaign.

MR. SWALWELL: And who worked out of the Virginia office?

MR. DEARBORN: I did on my volunteer time. A small number of policy team members. I can try to list as many names as you'd like me to.

MR. SWALWELL: Sure. Just who you recall.

MR. DEARBORN: John Mashburn was kind of our policy director. We had Katie Tolinto (ph). Then a lot of people just volunteered their time. They had other

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

jobs, but they would come in when they could. Let's see, [REDACTED], [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] was a young  
intern in the office. And [REDACTED], she was an assistant.

MR. SWALWELL: What was your title?

MR. DEARBORN: Just director of Washington office. I didn't -- I don't  
even think I got business cards, so I didn't really throw a title around or anything.

MR. SWALWELL: When did you first meet Donald Trump as candidate  
Trump?

MR. DEARBORN: Probably during several of the meetings that we had at  
the end of 2015. Whenever he would come to the Hill kind of towards the end of  
the -- end of 2015. September, October, November.

MR. SWALWELL: Where would those meeting be?

MR. DEARBORN: There were a couple in the Senator's hideaway inside  
the Capitol. But in the Senate office or inside the Capitol. I think there were a  
couple at both places.

MR. SWALWELL: Were they campaign meetings?

MR. DEARBORN: No. We were talking about issues.

MR. SWALWELL: And at this point, Senator Sessions had not endorsed.  
Is that right?

MR. DEARBORN: Right.

MR. SWALWELL: Would you ever speak directly with Donald Trump during  
the campaign?

MR. DEARBORN: During the campaign itself?

MR. SWALWELL: Yes.

MR. DEARBORN: Not really. I'm -- how are you, sir, nice to meet you.

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

MR. SWALWELL: How about by telephone?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Were you familiar with how individuals who did need to speak with candidate Trump would reach him if they wanted to reach him by telephone?

MR. DEARBORN: I'd be guessing.

MR. SWALWELL: If you ever needed to connect Senator Sessions to him, how would you do it?

MR. DEARBORN: Probably through Rhona, I would assume, at the time. She was in Trump Tower with him. I mean, that's how -- that's just my guess, though. I -- you know, I never did that. The Senator would probably have asked Peggi Hanrahan to connect him, and I'm -- I'm sure that she would have called Rhona at that time.

MR. SWALWELL: From your observation, was Rhona the person closest to candidate Trump who could reach him and put him in touch with whoever was trying to get a hold of him?

MR. DEARBORN: Well, she could shout from the other room.

MR. SWALWELL: They were that close?

MR. DEARBORN: Yeah, yeah.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you ever go to Trump Tower?

MR. DEARBORN: Sure. I worked there during the transition.

MR. SWALWELL: And you observed Rhona being that close?

MR. DEARBORN: I met with her several times. Questions that she had, we'd try to answer that, you know, whatever questions she had.

MR. SWALWELL: Did she occur to you to be somebody who had deep

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

knowledge of the President's decades-long business and professional and political contacts?

MR. DEARBORN: I can only assume.

MR. SWALWELL: How many phones did you use during the campaign?

MR. DEARBORN: I had a personal cell phone.

MR. SWALWELL: Would you ever make campaign -- would you ever conduct campaign correspondence with the personal cell phone?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't know if I did or not. We had phones there at the office, and normally I would just pick the phone up there and make the calls. Is it possible that I --

MR. SWALWELL: Sure.

MR. DEARBORN: -- called someone? I'm sure, but --

MR. SWALWELL: Did you have a campaign cell phone?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: So if you had to call, say, you mentioned Mr. Mashburn and you were in the car or, you know, away from the office, you would use your personal cell?

MR. DEARBORN: Yeah, probably my personal cell. But he was also like right next door. I could shout to him too.

MR. SWALWELL: And you also, I assume, would text, if necessary?

MR. DEARBORN: Yeah, if need be. I mean, I didn't -- we tried, to talk on the phone or, you know, we were all there in a small office so we could all get together and meet. It was kind of easy.

MR. SWALWELL: How about emails, did you have a campaign email address?

MR. DEARBORN: I did, yeah.

MR. SWALWELL: And how about a personal email address?

MR. DEARBORN: And I have a personal email address, too.

MR. SWALWELL: Would you ever correspond with anyone about the campaign with your personal email address?

MR. DEARBORN: I tried to limit that. I think before we got the campaign email address up, I had a personal email and so I used that. But then we tried to do everything on the -- on a campaign email, and I tried to be pretty consistent about that.

MR. SWALWELL: Have you had an opportunity to review the personal email address, to see if there were any documents relevant to our request?

MR. DEARBORN: I believe that was the request that you made and I reviewed and then provided.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay.

MR. DEARBORN: Right.

MR. SWALWELL: How about Senator Sessions, how many mobile devices was he using during the campaign?

MR. DEARBORN: During the Presidential campaign?

MR. SWALWELL: Yes.

MR. DEARBORN: He had an official phone, and he had a campaign phone. That's what most folks had.

MR. SWALWELL: And if you needed to get a hold of him by -- about the campaign, how would you contact him?

MR. DEARBORN: I'd call the campaign phone.

MR. SWALWELL: How about would he ever text message on the campaign

phone?

MR. DEARBORN: He didn't text a lot, and when he did, it was hard to read them.

MR. SWALWELL: How about email addresses, how many email addresses was Senator Sessions using during the Presidential campaign?

MR. DEARBORN: Well, he and I had a Jeff Sessions campaign account that we would talk on about campaign stuff. I may have sent him emails from the Donald Trump campaign account to that campaign account, because he didn't have a Donald Trump account, that's the only one he had. So there would be probably a handful of emails that we shot back and forth. Several. I mean, whatever the issue was, if I needed to contact by email, I'd do it.

MR. SWALWELL: Sure.

MR. DEARBORN: Normally, I'd try to talk to him if I could in person, but, you know --

MR. SWALWELL: Did he have a personal email account, noncampaign, nonwork?

MR. DEARBORN: He may have for his family, but it wouldn't be something that -- that we would normally email to.

MR. SWALWELL: When did you first meet Paul Manafort?

MR. DEARBORN: I met him by phone, I think, in March.

MR. SWALWELL: Of 2016?

MR. DEARBORN: I think that is correct.

MR. SWALWELL: And did you eventually meet him in person?

MR. DEARBORN: I did.

MR. SWALWELL: Where was that?



MR. DEARBORN: I think I came up to -- I think I went up to New York to meet with him. Right, to Trump Tower.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you understand how he came to join the campaign?

MR. DEARBORN: Just by what I read.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you interact at all with Mr. Manafort at the Republican Convention?

MR. DEARBORN: I did.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. And what did that look like?

MR. DEARBORN: So we had kind of the D.C. office, the congressional team, and the policy team. So our policy team, you know, tried to help out the RNC's team on the platform. And then I also helped out at the Rules Committee.

But my interaction with Mr. Manafort, the campaign, at the convention was very limited. He was kind of running the convention and I was on a different level, kind of running around trying to help out.

MR. SWALWELL: At any time during your work with Mr. Manafort, were you aware of his prior business contacts in Ukraine?

MR. DEARBORN: Not until it popped out in the paper. Didn't know about any of that until it actually popped in the paper.

MR. SWALWELL: Did he ever express any opinions about foreign policy positions with Russia or foreign policy positions with Russia and Ukraine?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: How about once you started -- well, when did you start going to Trump Tower more regularly?

MR. DEARBORN: Once the transition kind of kicked up. I went up. There were a couple of campaign meetings where the request was they wanted to have

everybody from the campaign come up to New York. In 2016, I would have gone up there less than a handful of times. And it was just a campaign meeting. My piece was small. Hey, we have new members that have endorsed us, that kind of thing.

MR. SWALWELL: It looks like the foreign policy team started to come together in March 2016. Does that sound about right?

MR. DEARBORN: Well, that's when a small policy team was put together.

MR. SWALWELL: Were you a part of that?

MR. DEARBORN: I was and I wasn't. I supervised the office. John was policy director. I did interact on a weekly and sometimes daily basis with J.D. and Walid.

MR. SWALWELL: When did you first meet Walid?

MR. DEARBORN: I met Walid, I guess, sometime in that March time period. He wasn't initially on board, but then came in a couple weeks after. And then he also left at some time maybe late spring, because I think it was impacting his commentary role on TV or something like that.

MR. SWALWELL: How about J.D., when did you first meet J.D.?

MR. DEARBORN: I met J.D. a long time ago, and he did work, I think, on the Huckabee campaign and was very interested in working on the Trump campaign.

MR. SWALWELL: Was Sam Clovis a part of that team?

MR. DEARBORN: Sam Clovis was the policy director for the campaign prior to this team being kind of stood up. And we would talk to Sam. I mean, Sam was kind of the encyclopedia of what the then-candidate would talk about on multiple issues. So different members of the team would talk to Sam.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you have any role in picking the team members?

MR. DEARBORN: Which team members?

MR. SWALWELL: So Senator Sessions led the foreign policy team. Is that right?

MR. DEARBORN: Senator Sessions was asked to put together a national security working group.

MR. SWALWELL: When was that?

MR. DEARBORN: Just to be clear, that's different than the foreign policy team.

MR. SWALWELL: So the foreign policy team is the --

MR. DEARBORN: In-house.

MR. SWALWELL: And the working group that you referenced, when did that get set up?

MR. DEARBORN: You'll have the dates, but I -- sometime in the -- sometime in the late spring, maybe.

MR. SWALWELL: Were you a part of picking the members for that team?

MR. DEARBORN: I did help the Senator, but mostly he would list off people he thought had really good foreign policy experience and then ask to make -- you know, I'm going to make some calls to see if these guys would like to join. And then there was another group of people that Sam had tapped that was kind of a starter kit group, and then we added more beyond that.

MR. SWALWELL: So Sam's team, did that include George Papadopoulos?

MR. DEARBORN: It did.

MR. SWALWELL: Did it include Joe Schmitz?

MR. DEARBORN: It did.

MR. SWALWELL: Did it include Carter Page?

MR. DEARBORN: It did.

MR. SWALWELL: And did it include Lieutenant General Keith Kellogg?

MR. DEARBORN: Yeah. There were four, so Kellogg may have been the fourth. I knew there was a military officer. I couldn't remember if Sessions had added Kellogg or not.

MR. SWALWELL: Did Sessions add anyone else, Senator Sessions?

MR. DEARBORN: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: Who else did he add?

MR. DEARBORN: Keith Payne, a nuclear expert. There were several generals that he was interested -- he talked to a lot of people, asking them to join. Some did and some didn't. Some said that they couldn't. He talked to Jack Keane (ph). He talked to several others. Some people had -- some people, at that point in time, had conflicts, because they were a foreign policy adviser for a different candidate, since there were 17 of them running.

MR. SWALWELL: So prior to --

MR. DEARBORN: And there's a list. I'm sure one of the emails has a list of, like, names of people that were contacted.

MR. SWALWELL: So prior to Lieutenant General Kellogg, for example, being put on the team, is he somebody that Senator Sessions knew of?

MR. DEARBORN: Kellogg?

MR. SWALWELL: Yes.

MR. DEARBORN: Yeah, I think he knew Kellogg in his prior role.

MR. SWALWELL: How about Joe Schmitz, was he aware of who Joe Schmitz was?

MR. DEARBORN: I think he knew Joe Schmitz. I think he knew who Joe Schmitz was.

MR. SWALWELL: And Sam Clovis, did he know who Sam Clovis was?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't think either of us knew Sam until --

MR. SWALWELL: The campaign.

MR. DEARBORN: -- the campaign.

MR. SWALWELL: How about Carter Page? Was Carter Page an individual prior to being put on that team, advisory team, was he someone that Senator Sessions knew?

MR. DEARBORN: No, we never heard of him.

MR. SWALWELL: How about George Papadopoulos?

MR. DEARBORN: Never heard of him.

MR. SWALWELL: So is it fair to say that the three individuals that you had never heard of were Sam Clovis, Carter Page, and George Papadopoulos?

MR. DEARBORN: Before the campaign?

MR. SWALWELL: Right.

MR. DEARBORN: I think that's fair.

MR. SWALWELL: Did Senator Sessions contact any of the individuals once they were named on the foreign policy team?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't think he and Page -- I don't remember him and Page ever speaking.

MR. SWALWELL: I mean, you know, just sort of like a congratulatory call, welcome to the team?

MR. DEARBORN: The ones that he would have placed on, yeah, but he would have kind of done that as he was recruiting them on. The ones that you've

talked about, I would think that whatever interaction he had with them would have been very limited.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you contact Carter Page prior to -- or once he was announced to have been on the team?

MR. DEARBORN: I mean, not to -- I don't think I contacted him to congratulate him, and I --

MR. SWALWELL: How about to put him to work?

MR. DEARBORN: No. I don't really remember having any correspondence with Carter Page. If there is some, it would have been -- I don't even know what it would have been.

MR. SWALWELL: How about George Papadopoulos? Did you reach out to him once he was put on the team?

MR. DEARBORN: I didn't -- not to congratulate him, but he -- he kept inquiring of people on the campaign. He wanted to go on a lot of trips, and we didn't have the budget. So my responses to him were normally we don't have a budget for that. But Sam normally talked to those guys, because we saw them as his guys. He knew them.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you understand Sam, Sam Clovis, to be the person who put those individuals on the team?

MR. DEARBORN: Uh-huh.

MR. SWALWELL: Is that yes? I'm sorry, just for the reporter.

MR. DEARBORN: Yes. I'm sorry, yes.

MR. SWALWELL: Once the team was assembled, how often did you or Senator Sessions correspond with them?

MR. DEARBORN: Correspond?

MR. SWALWELL: Or, I guess, update them, set an agenda, get their feedback.

MR. DEARBORN: There was an agenda, and there was a meeting that was conducted at the Trump Hotel.

MR. SWALWELL: What prep work went into that Trump Hotel meeting that you were part of?

MR. DEARBORN: There was -- it would have been a loose agenda. Probably introductions. I'm sure a go-around, everyone introduce themselves. And then, as I understand it, it probably would have opened up for people to have conversations.

MR. SWALWELL: Were there any pre-Trump Hotel meetings that occurred or like predinners prior to that?

MR. DEARBORN: There were some dinners and events that J.D. Gordon put together with different members of the working group, but I never attended those, and I don't know if it was the full group or different subsets, but that was kind of his -- he kind of managed that.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you know whether Carter Page ever attended any of those predinners?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you know whether George Papadopoulos ever attended any of those predinners?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't know if he did or not.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you know where those predinners were held?

MR. DEARBORN: Restaurants, probably around town.

MR. SWALWELL: Did Senator Sessions ever attend any of those

predinners?

MR. DEARBORN: I think Sessions went to a couple of events, but I'm not sure if he went to those specific dinners. But I know that he went to some events with J.D.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you know if any of those dinners that Senator Sessions went to included George Papadopoulos?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't believe that they did, but, again, I wasn't at the dinners.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you know if any of those dinners that Senator Sessions went to included Carter Page?

MR. DEARBORN: Again, same thing, I wouldn't know.

MR. SWALWELL: Prior to the Trump Hotel meeting, was there any discussion about how Russia would factor into the campaign's foreign policy views?

MR. DEARBORN: I'm sorry, can you say that again?

MR. DEARBORN: Prior to the Trump Hotel meeting with the team, was there any discussion about how Russia would factor into the candidate's views on foreign policy?

MR. DEARBORN: No. The best way to answer that is, other than just an around-the-world discussion of different hot spots and Russia happens to be on the globe so, you know, we'd cover that too. But not a -- not like a Russia-specific conversation.

MR. SWALWELL: What was your understanding of candidate Trump's views toward Russia prior to that first meeting?

MR. DEARBORN: I think he was -- the only thing I know is what I read and the things that he was saying, which was he was hopeful he could -- you know, as a



country, we could find ways to work with Russia.

MR. SWALWELL: And how would you characterize Senator Sessions' views on Russia prior to that first meeting?

MR. DEARBORN: I think Sessions was hopeful that that would be possible as well, but he was pretty much a realist about Russia.

MR. SWALWELL: Would you say that candidate Trump and Senator Sessions, at least at that point in time, that their views were aligned on Russia?

MR. DEARBORN: They were probably pretty close. I'm sure there some -- there were probably some differences. But I -- we didn't go down -- I never went down any kind of a checklist on that with him.

MR. SWALWELL: Sure. Now, that meeting occurred on March 31, 2016, and you said that was at the Trump Hotel. Is that right?

MR. DEARBORN: Yes, sir.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you attend the meeting?

MR. DEARBORN: I did and I didn't.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. What do you mean by that?

MR. DEARBORN: So I helped arrange it. J.D. kind of was responsible for that team.

MR. SWALWELL: What did you do to help arrange it?

MR. DEARBORN: J.D., can you call these guys and get them to this meeting. We need to have a national security working group meeting.

So he asked them all to join. I put together the list, a very simple and basic agenda like the one I just kind of walked through. Kind of a walk-around, everyone introduce themselves and talk about issues of interest.

On the heels of that meeting in the same room, right after, it was a meeting

with a lot of different, kind of association and industry leaders here in town that have never met with the then-candidate, just so they could have a chance to talk and meet.

So I arranged it. I know I popped in the room to make sure that the meeting was going on, but I came out pretty quick, because I was welcoming all of those folks into kind of a separate room, and kind of hung there and waited for them. And then as the first meeting broke up, kind of ushered them in and then spent -- I think I was in for the entire second meeting. I was in and out for the first one, but mostly just to kind of check and see how things were going.

MR. SWALWELL: Was there an agenda for that meeting?

MR. DEARBORN: For the second meeting?

MR. SWALWELL: I'm sorry, for the first meeting. Was an agenda distributed to the members?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't know that we had an agenda. If you see something in an, email that says there was one, then that's fine. It would have been a one-sheeter that had maybe the names. But I -- and I think we just kind of went around, if I remember right. I don't remember us having like specified topics that were listed.

MR. SWALWELL: I want to show you a photo of the meeting just to kind of set the table for you. Does that look like an accurate depiction of the March 31st meeting?

MR. DEARBORN: It's definitely the one I've seen on TV.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. And if it's okay with the chairman, I'll mark it as exhibit 1.

[Dearborn Exhibit No. 1

was marked for identification.]

MR. SWALWELL: Now, the room is bigger than this picture.

MR. DEARBORN: Not much. Pretty tiny room.

MR. SWALWELL: Are there individuals who are not pictured in the --

MR. DEARBORN: Yeah, there probably --

MR. SWALWELL: Who are in the room, but not pictured in the --

MR. DEARBORN: Yes, there would have been some people probably standing against this wall, like a small number against this wall. And it would have been probably the different entourage individuals that were with the then-candidate.

MR. SWALWELL: Was Corey Lewandowski in that meeting?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't remember if Corey was in there for the whole thing. I'm trying to remember who from the campaign was there.

MR. SWALWELL: But was Corey Lewandowski there at some point?

MR. DEARBORN: I'm guessing that he was. I have to always try to figure out like --

MR. SWALWELL: Mr. Dearborn, I don't want you to guess. If you don't recall --

MR. DEARBORN: I don't remember, but only because I can't remember when Corey left and Manafort came on kind of thing. But in -- it was end of March?

MR. SWALWELL: March 31st.

MR. DEARBORN: Yeah, so I'm assuming that he was.

MR. SWALWELL: How about Hope Hicks, was she in the room?

MR. DEARBORN: Gosh, it's really tapping my memory. I hadn't been asked this. I don't -- I don't recall Hope being there, but she could have been. Like I said, he had an entourage of people. And a lot of people were kind of coming in

and out.

MR. SWALWELL: How about Keith Schiller?

MR. DEARBORN: Keith would have been somewhere close by.

MR. SWALWELL: And that's just your observation of where Keith always would be --

MR. DEARBORN: Yeah.

MR. SWALWELL: -- around candidate Trump?

MR. DEARBORN: Yes, sir.

MR. SWALWELL: Was Stephen Miller in the room?

MR. DEARBORN: I can't remember if Stephen came down for this. For a policy discussion, he normally would be there.

MR. SWALWELL: How about Sam Clovis?

MR. DEARBORN: I think Sam was in the room. I think so. Just so you know, there was another room right here, and there were a group of, like, entourage or staff for him in there that were making phone calls and really weren't part of this meeting.

MR. SWALWELL: For the candidate Trump?

MR. DEARBORN: Right. Yeah.

MR. SWALWELL: George Papadopoulos said in his plea agreement that during the meeting, he relayed that he had, quote, "connections that could arrange a meeting between then-candidate Trump and President Putin," end quote. Do you recall this being stated by Mr. Papadopoulos?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't. I wasn't there for that comment.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Did Senator Sessions talk to you at all after the meeting about Mr. Papadopoulos' comment?

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you ever learn of Mr. Papadopoulos' offer any time throughout the campaign?

MR. DEARBORN: I didn't. I only heard about it when all this news broke on it.

MR. SWALWELL: As you know, Senator Sessions recently has testified to Congress that he responded, or shot down Mr. Papadopoulos' offer when he made it at that meeting. Did you talk at all with Attorney General Sessions about press reporting of that meeting?

MR. DEARBORN: I think we may have had one conversation, and I think -- yeah, I think we had one conversation.

MR. SWALWELL: When was that?

MR. DEARBORN: Oh, that would have been --

MR. SWALWELL: Contemporaneous with Mr. Papadopoulos' guilty plea?

MR. DEARBORN: Yeah, about -- like when all this stuff popped, I think.

MR. SWALWELL: And what did Attorney General Sessions say to you about the meeting?

MR. DEARBORN: I think all he said was, you know, I remember -- I remember I pushed back on that when he raised that.

MR. SWALWELL: Anything else that you recall?

MR. DEARBORN: No. It was a very brief comment.

MR. SWALWELL: Did Attorney General Sessions in that call contemporaneous to the Papadopoulos plea, did he say anything else about Russia?

MR. DEARBORN: That was in person with him. That wasn't --

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

MR. SWALWELL: Okay, sorry.

MR. DEARBORN: Yeah.

MR. SWALWELL: Was that at the White House?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't think it was at the White House.

MR. SWALWELL: Was it at the DOJ?

MR. DEARBORN: No. I think it was out -- it may have been outside the DOJ, but not inside the building. I don't remember.

MR. SWALWELL: Any other Russia-related conversations in that interaction?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: I'm going to show you just a piece of correspondence, but I want you to review it.

MR. DEARBORN: Yes, sir.

MR. SWALWELL: And just for our record, Bates stamp 107 is a memo drafted by Mr. Dearborn after the RNC -- prior to the RNC.

MR. DEARBORN: Okay.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you recognize that document, Mr. Dearborn?

MR. DEARBORN: I do.

MR. SWALWELL: And, Mr. Chairman, we'll mark that as exhibit 2, if that's all right.

MR. CONAWAY: Without objection.

[Dearborn Exhibit No. 2  
was marked for identification.]

MR. SWALWELL: The third bullet states: "Based upon foreign policy discussions in D.C." -- the third Monday, July 11 bullet states: "Based upon foreign

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

policy discussions in D.C. with the nominee in March regarding support to Ukraine, lethal assistance was a geopolitical concern raised in this discussion."

Were you referring to the March 31st meeting that you had at Trump Hotel?

MR. DEARBORN: I didn't write this document. I did compile it, but I didn't write it.

MR. SWALWELL: So the top -- at the top of the document says "memo from Rick Dearborn." Is that right?

MR. DEARBORN: It does.

MR. SWALWELL: So who did compile it?

MR. DEARBORN: J.D. Gordon.

MR. SWALWELL: So J.D. sent this to you?

MR. DEARBORN: Uh-huh.

MR. SWALWELL: And was that to your campaign email?

MR. DEARBORN: Yes, it should have been, would have been.

MR. SWALWELL: And how did it make its way into this document?

MR. DEARBORN: What, this bullet?

MR. SWALWELL: Yes.

MR. DEARBORN: Because this would have been the sequence of events and his recollection of this amendment at the RNC convention.

MR. SWALWELL: So what was the purpose of sending out this memo?

MR. DEARBORN: So this memo came out in -- is this right, in August, or --

MR. SWALWELL: The top of the document says August 1, 2016, after the RNC.

MR. DEARBORN: Right. Yes, August 1. Probably as a response, again, to events in the news. And what was the -- I think the request was what was -- what

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

was the recollection of what happened at the convention on this particular issue.

MR. SWALWELL: So what was your knowledge of the foreign policy discussions in D.C. with the nominee in March regarding support to Ukraine?

MR. DEARBORN: So, like I told you, I wasn't in the room, so my knowledge is limited. It would have been secondhand.

MR. SWALWELL: Did J.D. share with you discussions about lethal assistance to Ukraine?

MR. DEARBORN: The only time I remember that would have been probably at the convention when this issue came up.

MR. SWALWELL: We'll get to the convention in a few moments, but -- so this was from J.D. to you. You put it into the memo, because there were questions about --

MR. DEARBORN: Yeah.

MR. SWALWELL: -- what happened with the Ukraine amendment?

MR. DEARBORN: Right.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you hear candidate Trump at all during the time you were in that March 31 meeting discuss his views toward Russia or Ukraine?

MR. DEARBORN: No. Like I said, I really wasn't in the meeting for any period of time.

MR. SWALWELL: Were notes of the meeting memorialized in any way?

MR. DEARBORN: None that I was made aware of or I was provided.

MR. SWALWELL: Were there any recordings at the meeting?

MR. DEARBORN: None that I was aware of.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you meet George Papadopoulos at the meeting?

MR. DEARBORN: I did not. Well, I mean --



MR. SWALWELL: Well, he was at the meeting.

MR. DEARBORN: Maybe I saw him across, but I don't -- I don't remember going up and saying hi to all these guys. Remember, I was getting people in a room. They were sitting down. J.D. was there with Senator Sessions and the then-candidate. They were having their discussion. I'm popping off to go do the next meeting.

MR. SWALWELL: Had you ever met George Papadopoulos before the meeting?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: And just so we're clear, Carter Page was not at the meeting. Is that right?

MR. DEARBORN: Not to my knowledge.

MR. SWALWELL: When did you first meet Carter Page?

MR. DEARBORN: I've never met Carter Page.

MR. SWALWELL: Have you ever talked to him on the phone?

MR. DEARBORN: I have not.

MR. SWALWELL: Have you ever emailed back and forth with him?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't believe I have, but if you produce something that shows I have then maybe I did, but I can't remember.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you know whether Senator Sessions had ever met Carter Page?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't believe he did. There is a reference that I've seen in the news that suggests they had a passing incident, but I don't remember that either.

MR. SWALWELL: Senator Sessions has testified a couple times now

that -- Attorney General Sessions has testified a couple times now that there was an interaction in June 2016 at the Capitol Hill Club where Carter Page referenced an upcoming trip to Russia. Did Senator Sessions ever discuss that with you on the campaign?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you ever talk with -- well, then are you familiar with Carter Page testifying to this committee?

MR. DEARBORN: I'm -- yeah, he's testified. I'm familiar with that, and I think he's testified in front of several folks, but I haven't really tracked it close.

MR. SWALWELL: And his testimony was made public, and that's where it became publicly reported that he told Attorney General Sessions, then-Senator Sessions about going to Russia. Did you ever talk to Attorney General Sessions about this claim by Carter Page?

MR. DEARBORN: Huh-uh.

MR. SWALWELL: That a no?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: When you were working for the campaign, did you become aware that Carter Page had traveled over to Russia?

MR. DEARBORN: I didn't know him.

MR. SWALWELL: But -- I understand you didn't know him, but it was publicly reported before the election that --

MR. DEARBORN: I would have been made aware as reports came out. Prior to that, no.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you make any effort once it was publicly reported that Carter Page had gone to Russia to contact anyone on the campaign about

what's going on?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't know if I contacted anyone on the campaign. There probably were -- if anyone was linked to the campaign and something came up about any issue, there usually were some emails that were sent around, Hey, do we know this guy? What is he doing? That kind of thing.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you recall if any of those emails were sent around with respect to Carter Page?

MR. DEARBORN: I know that there were some with Papadopoulos wanting to travel and asking the campaign to pay for it. The Carter Page stuff, all I recall is interviews that he gave was a concern and trying to make representations about his role with the campaign. Not necessarily keyed in on travel per se, but --

MR. SWALWELL: And did you talk to any of the senior principals on the campaign about Carter Page's interviews?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you ever meet George Papadopoulos face-to-face?

MR. DEARBORN: I did in Cleveland.

MR. SWALWELL: At the convention?

MR. DEARBORN: I did, yes, sir.

MR. SWALWELL: Where did you meet him at Cleveland, which part of the convention?

MR. DEARBORN: It was at a -- it was like during a break in the action at a roundtable. It was more kind of a social hi, I'm George Pap -- oh, how are you doing?

MR. SWALWELL: What type of roundtable was that?

MR. DEARBORN: I mean, literally, a roundtable.

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

MR. SWALWELL: No, I mean like -- oh, it wasn't a discussion or a meeting?

MR. DEARBORN: No, it was a staff meeting room at a round table.

MR. SWALWELL: Teak?

MR. DEARBORN: Oak, I think. Sorry, I should have phrased that better.

MR. SWALWELL: How would you describe his role on that foreign policy advisory team?

MR. DEARBORN: How would I describe his role? He was a member of a national security working group.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you believe that he was qualified?

MR. DEARBORN: I didn't really review his qualifications. He came in through Sam Clovis.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you have, throughout the campaign, Mr. Papadopoulos' cell phone number?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't -- look, I -- we probably did have a list of, like, cell numbers and email addresses.

MR. SWALWELL: Was it in your phone?

MR. DEARBORN: No, I don't think it would have been in my phone. It would have been on a list that I could access.

MR. SWALWELL: Have you talked to Mr. Papadopoulos since the end of the campaign?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: How about since the inauguration?

MR. DEARBORN: Hold on. Hold on. I want to make sure I get this right. Papadopoulos. I don't believe that I did. I can't remember if he had a role in the transition. At the time, I was executive director and there were hundreds and

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

hundreds of people, so I just -- could I have seen him there? Maybe, but I can't remember if he was even part of the transition or not. If you tell me he was, I wouldn't deny it, but --

MR. SWALWELL: How about since the inauguration, have you seen Mr. Papadopoulos?

MR. DEARBORN: Not that I can recall.

██████████ Five minutes, sir.

MR. SWALWELL: Tell me about the travel requests that Mr. Papadopoulos was making to you?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't know if he made -- I can't remember if he made it direct to me. He may have. He made it probably through J.D., or even through John Mashburn. But he was inquiring whether or not he could travel and speak on behalf of the campaign, and if the campaign could pay for it. And our answer on a couple of -- on how many other -- how many -- how many occasions it was always no, we don't have the budget for that.

MR. SWALWELL: Where was he seeking to travel?

MR. DEARBORN: It's probably listed. If you show me the document, I'd agree with you. I can't remember right off the top of my head. I can't remember if it was -- I just -- I can't remember. Greece or something. I can't remember.

MR. SWALWELL: Was Mr. Papadopoulos traveling on his own dime and reporting back any of the meetings that he was taking?

MR. DEARBORN: If he was, he would have reported back to J.D. Gordon. I don't know.

MR. SWALWELL: Was J.D. Gordon reporting to you about any travel of Mr. Papadopoulos?

MR. DEARBORN: Only when he requested to have the travel paid for by the campaign.

MR. SWALWELL: And your recollection is that that was denied?

MR. DEARBORN: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you recall if he ever requested to travel to Russia?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't recall that.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you recall whether Mr. Papadopoulos ever made any in-writing or phone requests to connect candidate Trump to Vladimir Putin?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't remember that, but, again, if there's anything in email you show me, I'll take a look at it. I just don't recall that.

MR. SWALWELL: Witnesses have informed the committee that Mr. Papadopoulos was involved in organizing candidate Trump's September 19, 2016, meeting with Egyptian President ElSisi on the margins of the U.N. General Assembly. Do you recall that?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't.

MR. SWALWELL: Were you involved in that at all?

MR. DEARBORN: I wasn't.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you go to New York when that meeting occurred? Were you in New York when that meeting occurred?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't believe so.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you have any knowledge of how candidate Trump's meeting with al-Sisi was organized?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't.

MR. SWALWELL: The British Government has acknowledged a working-level meeting with Mr. Papadopoulos in his role as a campaign

representative about 2 months before the election. Were you aware of this meeting?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't believe I was, unless it was one of the ones that he said he was going to have on a trip he was going to take. And then I would only be aware of the trip, probably.

██████████ One minute, sir.

MR. DEARBORN: If you listed out they had meetings, fine, but I don't remember that.

MR. SWALWELL: A committee witness has testified that Mr. Papadopoulos was directed by the campaign to engage in outreach to orthodox Christian constituencies across the U.S. as part of the campaign's get-out-the-vote effort prior to Election Day. Were you aware of any efforts like this?

MR. DEARBORN: He may have worked with Beau Densynek, who was doing coalitions.

MR. SWALWELL: What's the last name?

MR. DEARBORN: Densynek.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you mind spelling that?

MR. DEARBORN: It starts with a D and ends with a K and in the middle is ensynek. D-e-n-s-y-n-e-k, something like that.

MR. SWALWELL: I yield.

MR. CONAWAY: Mr. Stewart, 45.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: I was going to say before you attempted to spell that, you are under oath, right, so you don't want to mess that up.

MR. DEARBORN: I'm sure I misspelled that.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Mr. Dearborn, thank you for being with us, Bill,

as well, thank you both.

We do have some questions. The good news is I don't anticipate this is going to take 8 or 9 hours like with some of our meetings and, in fact, may be a relatively short amount of time.

I would like to begin with some of the issues that Mr. Swalwell has brought up. And, you know, if you were -- in reflecting back on this investigation and some of the direction and people that have become well-known for -- or through this process, I think you would have to include Mr. Carter Page and George Papadopoulos in that. And so, we would like to understand better you and Mr. Sessions' and, by extension, Mr. Trump's relationship with them.

So, although you've described it a little bit, would you just review your familiarity with Mr. Page, when you first got to meet him, how often you interacted with him, your knowledge of his background. And then there's more, but I'll let you start there.

MR. DEARBORN: Don't know him, never met him, don't believe I ever really -- I don't believe I interacted with him. If, in any way, I -- I remember some email about his references of his view on policy and representing himself being with the campaign. And I did alert individuals to say, look, I don't know what this guy is saying, but I don't think he should be representing the candidate's position, because I don't believe that he has the right to do that. That's not his role. But I don't believe there is a relationship. I don't believe Jeff Sessions had a relationship with him either.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Okay. And we're going to help, I think, refresh your memory is we'd like to provide you with some emails. In fact, much of my questioning is going to be referencing emails and interactions that you've had



through that.

MR. DEARBORN: Okay.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: And this one, which is the first one there, should be labeled RD000114, and I believe that's right, if you see it on the top right-hand corner there.

MR. DEARBORN: Right.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: And you've expressed, Mr. Dearborn -- I'm going to characterize it and tell me if you think I'm wrong.

MR. DEARBORN: Okay.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: As I understand it, you had some concerns with Mr. Page's apparent history of making statements to the media, and sometimes reflecting that those were the official positions of the campaign, and you had concerns or issues with that. Is that --

MR. DEARBORN: That is correct.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: So, looking at this email that I've provided with you there, the back part of it is apparently a list of questions from a Washington Post reporter provided to Mr. Page, and he went through a long, long series of answers to them and then wanted to, I guess, kind of vet that back through the campaign or through officials there.

MR. DEARBORN: Right.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: And at one point there, it's looping in Rick Dearborn on this, so at that point you became involved.

MR. DEARBORN: Right.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: And highlighting some of your comments: "Carter has had to be reined in before." Could you elaborate on that? Is there

anything that you would add to that to help us have context to that comment?

MR. DEARBORN: And I think I say it right -- the second point right after that statement. Carter has been reined in before. Remember he took a poke at the Prime Minister on the candidate's behalf. And I guess this was my assumption, it was out of loyalty, but he shouldn't have said anything. In other words, he wasn't authorized to say anything.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Okay. If you flip the page over, there's another -- another portion there. Midway down, it says: "Bottom line -- Carter Page can't make news on DJT" -- and I'm assuming DJT is Donald J. Trump.

MR. DEARBORN: Yes.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: "On Donald J. Trump's behalf." Do you see that comment there?

MR. DEARBORN: Is it on 8 -- 118? Where is it?

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: These aren't numbered. It would be the third page, if you count from --

MR. CONAWAY: At the top. The numbers are at the top.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Yeah. Okay, it would be on 16.

MR. DEARBORN: Sixteen, all right.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: And towards the lower third: "Bottom line -- Carter Page can't make news on DJT's behalf."

MR. DEARBORN: Yes. I'm sorry, the question was?

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Again, would you elaborate on that? Was there a reason why you had --

MR. DEARBORN: Sure. He wasn't authorized on behalf of the campaign to make statements for the candidate.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: And did he, to your knowledge, present himself to the press as a spokesman or as someone who was authorized to make comments such as that?

MR. DEARBORN: Well, I think --

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Did he exaggerate or expand on his role in the campaign, or his importance to the campaign?

MR. DEARBORN: I think that's the reason why I'm answering the way I am, because I felt like he was.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Okay. And if you flip the page over to the second page now, page 115, at the bottom there, there's a highlighted "do not" -- "don't touch it."

MR. DEARBORN: Don't touch it. From John Mashburn?

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Yes.

MR. DEARBORN: Uh-huh.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: And would you have concurred with that?

MR. DEARBORN: Yes. And I did.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Yeah. All right.

Is there anything else that you would tell us that you could add to the Carter Page relationship with the campaign that we haven't -- we haven't questioned you about at this point?

MR. DEARBORN: No. I honestly think this was the extent of his relationship with the campaign, from my vantage point.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Okay. The other individual we mentioned was George Papadopoulos, who --

MR. DEARBORN: Right.

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: And we have, again, a series of emails we'd like to --

MR. DEARBORN: Yes, sir.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: -- present to you and talk through them, if we could. Before doing that, could you describe your relationship with Mr. Papadopoulos?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't believe I had one.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Have you met him?

MR. DEARBORN: I met him in Cleveland.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: But not previous to that?

MR. DEARBORN: Not to my knowledge.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: You had one interaction in Cleveland. Did you have any personal face-to-face interactions with him after that?

MR. DEARBORN: Cleveland is the only time I remember having a conver -- any kind of a brief -- it was a brief conversation with him. Is it possible that I had kind of a brief hallway interaction with him? Yes, it is. But I don't believe I had any meetings with Papadopoulos.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Okay.

MR. DEARBORN: I had some email exchanges, again, based on his request to travel and have the campaign pay for it.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: And we'll take a look at those here in a moment. So, just so I understand, you had one brief interaction with him face-to-face in Cleveland, none before, and none since?

MR. DEARBORN: Correct.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Would you describe some of your concerns

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

related to Mr. Papadopoulos' involvement with the campaign, if you had any?

MR. DEARBORN: So like Carter, he was brought in by Sam. I didn't know the guy. He kept saying he wanted to do all this travel and represent the campaign. We didn't have the budget for it. To me, it was a simple kind of open-and-shut case. We don't have the money to send you, that's not your role. Sorry, I'm not going to approve it.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: I believe you have an email before you that is labeled a long list of numbers. I'm not going to read them for you.

MR. DEARBORN: That's fine.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: But I think we have the same one before us.

MR. DEARBORN: Okay. Yes, sir.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: And this is where he requested, number one, in reading the body of his text: "If the campaign can reimburse my travel expenses/accommodations to D.C. for a high-level meeting with the director of Israel National Security Council request to meet with me next week when he is in town." And then your response to him is?

MR. DEARBORN: My response to him?

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Yes. "Let's discuss" --

MR. DEARBORN: I think I sent that to John Mashburn.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Yes, that's right.

MR. DEARBORN: So I didn't respond to Papadopoulos. I just said -- I said to John, who ran the policy shop where J.D. kind of reported up through, I said -- and I just told him I wasn't inclined to approve any of that.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Okay. And, again, could you describe why you wouldn't have been inclined to approve that?

MR. DEARBORN: Well, we didn't have the budget for it. I didn't think it was the guy's role and he wasn't authorized.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Okay. Let's turn to one more, if we could.

MR. DEARBORN: Sure.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: This is -- the last five numbers are 18843.

MR. DEARBORN: Okay.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: I'm sorry, 22918.

MR. DEARBORN: Right. Got it.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Just glancing over this, I'll give you a moment to look at it, if you could. Could you give us background on this email?

MR. DEARBORN: It looks -- so this now looks as if I've discussed it with John from the prior email and then responded directly back to George, letting him know that I'm happy if he wants to talk to somebody as a private citizen, but he's not authorized by the campaign, nor is he going to be reimbursed by the campaign.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Okay. Are you aware of any time after this email exchange where that relationship between Mr. Papadopoulos and the campaign changed?

MR. DEARBORN: No, I think it was consistent. There may be more emails where he was asking to travel and have the campaign pay for it, and we just kept telling him no.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Are you aware of any time that you reimbursed him for his travel?

MR. DEARBORN: Not a one.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Did he ever come on and become a paid consultant or adviser on the campaign?

MR. DEARBORN: No. As a matter of fact, I say, we're not looking to bring members of our external working group in-house. So I made that clear to him.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: And that didn't change?

MR. DEARBORN: Not to my knowledge, no.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: How would you describe his role in the campaign? If he wasn't paid, he wasn't reimbursed for expenses, key people had very little interactions with him to no personal interactions with him, how would you describe his relationship with the campaign then?

MR. DEARBORN: A volunteer that attended one meeting that wanted to travel and had no access to the candidate other than the one meeting.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: And were there other people like this as you came across in your -- throughout the interactions of the campaign?

[11:59 a.m.]

MR. DEARBORN: I would say the national security working group, the bulk of them could fit the same definition.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Yeah.

So most of us in the room have had -- you know, we've had our own campaigns or managed campaigns, and you meet lots of people.

MR. DEARBORN: Of course.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: And a lot of people would like to be involved with the campaign, but for various reasons you don't bring all of them on. You bring a few of them on.

MR. DEARBORN: Right.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Where would you put Mr. Papadopoulos on that scale of someone that you wanted to have representing the campaign or being involved with the campaign?

MR. DEARBORN: An interested party that J.D. Gordon would talk to from time to time.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Okay.

I'd like to turn your attention to one more email, if we could. And I think this will probably wrap up some of our interactions with Mr. Papadopoulos, as far as I know. This is labeled, the last four digits again, 18843.

MR. DEARBORN: Yes, sir.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: I'll give you a chance to review that, if you could. And while you do, I'm going to highlight one portion, if we could.

MR. DEARBORN: Okay.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: This is from Mr. Papadopoulos. He asks, if you



go back to the last page there: "Was told by a couple folks in the campaign, Rick Dearborn, Sam Clovis, that I was effectively now off the campaign because I gave an interview on U.S. policy in the Middle East/towards Russia."

And then over on page -- and you'll have to forgive me.

MR. DEARBORN: That's fine.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Some of my pages are cut off. It's the second page from the top. And I believe this is from you, Mr. Dearborn. You said, "I've met him once. He has a Carter Page problem. He goes and meets with folks, expresses his views, and then is tagged by the press as our guy. He's been told several times to cease and desist, as I understand it."

Would you elaborate and give some context to this exchange?

MR. DEARBORN: Yeah. So it looks like he's saying he was authorized to speak for the campaign. I didn't believe that he was. I never believed that he was. Carter Page had the same problem. And they both went and met with folks, expressed their views, said that they were somehow connected to the campaign. And we had to tell them on several occasions that that's not their role and they should stop because they weren't authorized to do so.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: So when he says I was told I was effectively now off the campaign, what is his understanding of that, do you think? Did he view himself as being on the campaign, or do you know?

MR. DEARBORN: You'd have to ask him that. I mean, I really don't know.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Uh-huh.

And then, finally, on the first page, "He's been told several times to steer clear of representing the campaign. If need be" --

MR. DEARBORN: Yes.

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: -- "I can communicate with him these issues."

MR. DEARBORN: Right.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Okay. Any context or elaboration on that?

MR. DEARBORN: No. Just that, if you can see, I said, "Sam, you know him, yes?" Because he was one of Sam's guys.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Yeah.

MR. DEARBORN: So we would turn to Sam so that hopefully Sam could talk to the guy.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Okay. And how did he take that? Do you know?

MR. DEARBORN: Sam would know.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Okay.

MR. DEARBORN: I wouldn't really know.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: And did you have any interactions with Mr. Papadopoulos after these email exchanges here -- or, I know you haven't had direct interactions with him, but are you aware of any other email exchanges? Or did that seem to terminate his relationship with the campaign?

MR. DEARBORN: Not other than the ones that I provided or that you may have through the campaign account. And I think they were all pretty much the same thing, tied to travel and wanting to do things and speak and -- yeah.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Okay.

One of the other concerns that, you know, have arisen from our questioning in the course of this investigation is this proposed Kremlin back channel between members of the campaign or some of those surrounding the President, or the candidate at the time. And, again, we're going to provide you with some emails that

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

will give some of this a little bit of context.

Can you describe by telling us do you know Paul Erikson and your relationship with him, if there is one?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't have a relationship with him. I have met him in person and then had several email exchanges with him, predominantly about his desire to join the transition. That's how I first met him.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: You didn't have interactions with him in the campaign portion?

MR. DEARBORN: It may have been during the campaign and prior to the transition that he asked to be part of the transition, but I don't believe from a campaign standpoint. I think he was more interested in the transition, if I remember right.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Okay. Have you met Paul Erickson?

MR. DEARBORN: I met him one time. He came to Senator Sessions' office to introduce himself.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: And do you recall when?

MR. DEARBORN: It seemed early on. It could have been February, March, April.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Okay. Did you sit in on that meeting where he introduced himself to Senator Sessions?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't remember that, no.

MR. COFFIELD: I'm sorry, Congressman. Can I just clarify?

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Yes.

MR. COFFIELD: Are you saying that he came to introduce himself to you or to introduce himself to Senator Sessions?

MR. DEARBORN: He came into the Sessions office to introduce himself to me.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Okay. Okay. Thank you.

MR. DEARBORN: I'm so sorry. Yeah.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: I misunderstood. All right.

MR. DEARBORN: And I said hello to him. He talked about how important a transition is and how he knew everything there was to know about transitions. I thanked him for that. He left some chart, organizational chart, about how a transition would work. And that was that.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: And how long, about, did that meeting last?

MR. DEARBORN: It was like a standup meeting.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Okay. A few minutes?

MR. DEARBORN: I didn't really know what he was coming to talk about. I was just -- as chief of staff, if someone wanted to see me, I was always accessible. "Hey, there's a fellow up here that wants to see you. Can you come up front?" "Sure."

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Okay.

So, if you could, I'd like to reference another email, 00078.

MR. DEARBORN: Okay.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: And I'll give you a chance to review it, if you could.

MR. DEARBORN: Okay. And this appears to be from Mr. Erickson to you.

MR. DEARBORN: Right. Right.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Is this email familiar to you?

MR. DEARBORN: I may have seen it before, I'm sure, when I've gone

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

through searches to find and provide the information and, I'm sure, when I first received it.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Okay. Can you give us the context of this email?

MR. DEARBORN: Let me see here.

Yeah, I think it's straightforward. It looks like he's trying to connect and build a relationship between Putin and Trump, and he's letting me know about it.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Okay. And do you recall if you did reply to Mr. Erickson at this point?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't remember ever responding to it.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Okay. Because, from what we can tell from emails we've received, we don't have a record of you responding.

MR. DEARBORN: Yeah. I don't think I would've responded to it.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Why would you not have responded to this?

MR. DEARBORN: Because I got all kinds of email requests from a myriad of different people about every issue under the sun --

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Okay.

MR. DEARBORN: -- and I didn't necessarily respond to those either.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Would you say you get dozens of such emails?

MR. DEARBORN: Oh, I'd say more than dozens.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Hundreds?

MR. DEARBORN: Yes.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Maybe more?

MR. DEARBORN: Maybe. I mean, if they find out -- if they can find you and send you an email and think that you are connected to a Presidential campaign,

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

everybody -- good people have ideas about things, and they'd like to run them by you.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Yeah. Okay. So, again, to --

MR. DEARBORN: And some bad ideas, so --

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Yeah. To the best of your recollection, you did not reply to Mr. Dearborn, to this email?

MR. DEARBORN: To Mr. Erickson?

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Or Mr. Erickson. I'm sorry.

MR. DEARBORN: No, sir, I don't believe I did.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Okay.

A couple more, if we could.

MR. DEARBORN: Sure.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Let's look at one labeled 00035.

MR. DEARBORN: Okay.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: This is from an individual, Rick Clay. Can you describe your relationship with him or how you know him, if you do?

MR. DEARBORN: So I don't have a relationship with him, but [REDACTED]

[REDACTED], called me and said that the Senator had a constituent that was really interested in the campaign and wanted to be helpful and could I call the guy. And so I called him. And this email was the followup to that call.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Okay. And can you synopsise for us kind of the content of this email and your reply to him?

MR. DEARBORN: Yeah. He called, and he started walking through all kinds of information. And it was on a Saturday, but if I remember, I had things to

do, so I just said, "Hey, do you mind putting all this in an email and sending it to me, and let me take a look at it." So then what you see here is him doing all of that. And I think he's asking to put together a meeting with the individuals that he lists with regards to President Putin and Mr. Trump.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Okay.

I'd like to, in combination with these, so don't necessarily put that one aside, but call your attention to 0034 as well.

MR. DEARBORN: Okay.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: And are you familiar with this email?

MR. DEARBORN: Yes.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: And, once again, can you give us context of this email that he sent to you?

MR. DEARBORN: I think he was just trying to follow up. I don't believe I did anything with this. He sent me a picture of his truck. It was a good-looking truck. I let him know it was a good-looking truck.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Okay. Important issues there.

And then, finally, 00001.

MR. DEARBORN: Okay. Yep.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: And I think this -- well, I'll let you characterize --

MR. DEARBORN: Sure.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: -- reading this. And if you could, tell us the content of this email and -- with regard to Rick Clay.

MR. DEARBORN: Yeah. So it was a Senator's constituent. They had this request. I was dubious of it to begin with. I checked a box to send it up. I got the response I expected, which was, as you can see, what Jared sent back to me.

And I just responded by saying, "Thanks a lot" -- I was responding to the Senator -- and then mentioned, because we had some meetings we were setting up with Members of Congress, that it may be possible that the Senator would raise this constituent and the request or at least the email with Manafort when we met. But she didn't, so --

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Okay. And in this last exchange, you say, "For now, I think we decline such meetings." Do you see that in the first line?

MR. DEARBORN: In this one?

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: It's in 0001.

MR. DEARBORN: Yeah, that was Mr. Kushner's response to me.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Yeah. And did you concur with that?

MR. DEARBORN: I did. I was looking for him to hopefully agree with me that that's what we needed to do.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Yeah. And so you didn't press for any further meetings --

MR. DEARBORN: Absolutely not.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: -- or think that that was a good idea or necessary?

MR. DEARBORN: That's right.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Okay.

Anything else that you can tell us about Rick Clay, your relationship with him, his interactions with the campaign?

MR. DEARBORN: There are very energetic people in this country, and they're amazing. This guy emailed me -- once he got my email address, he became a constant one-way pen pal, forever.



MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Yeah. All right.

MR. DEARBORN: So he'll probably always track me down and send me interesting emails.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: And pictures of his truck.

MR. DEARBORN: And great pictures of his truck. Right.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Okay.

All right. How much time?

██████████ You have about 23 minutes, sir.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Okay.

A couple more, if we could. If you would look at 00018.

MR. DEARBORN: Okay.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: I'll give you time to look at it, if you would, please. And then, again, tell us the context of this email.

MR. DEARBORN: Okay.

So this is from our field rep in Huntsville, Alabama. It looks like one of our constituents who knows Mr. Clay had talked to him and had run this same request up through her. She let me know. And I was just giving her a short reply to let her know that, yep, I've already dealt with it, it's been handled.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Okay. And no meetings came from this? No further communications?

MR. DEARBORN: Nope. No.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Okay.

And then last one, I believe, 0029. I misspoke. We have one more after this, but --

MR. DEARBORN: That's fine.

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Again, we kind of throw these at you. I want to give you a little time to look at it and try to remember and digest it.

MR. DEARBORN: Yes, sir.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: It, you know, appears that Mr. Clay continued to push.

MR. DEARBORN: Right.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: And there's an interesting line in here where -- well, there's several interesting lines. I'd maybe highlight a few of them for you.

If you look back on page 31, I'm just going to read through a couple parts --

MR. DEARBORN: Sure.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: -- and ask you to respond to them, if you could.

"He called my good friend about Trump and Putin. My friend did not disclose any info on the overture that I sent you several months ago but was intrigued by his comments."

MR. DEARBORN: I'm sorry. You lost me. On 31?

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Yeah.

MR. DEARBORN: I'm sorry. Yes, sir. Uh-huh.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Okay.

And then turning back to page 30, "Rick, I ran this up" -- about mid-page -- "I ran this up the chain a while back, and there wasn't interest in pursuing. This hasn't changed, to my knowledge."

MR. DEARBORN: Uh-huh. Right.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: And at the top of that page, "Apologies, Rick. I'm slammed and just trying my best to juggle time commitments."

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

MR. DEARBORN: Right.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: And you could continue to read through this. I mean, it seems to me that this individual is persuasive -- or determined.

MR. DEARBORN: Persistent.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Persistent. Thank you.

MR. DEARBORN: Yes, sir.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: And determined. And yet, how did you respond to his determined efforts?

MR. DEARBORN: In the nicest possible way I could. Just to tell him: "Thanks, but this has already been handled. We have a lot of other things that we're dealing with." I didn't want to offend him. He was a Member of Congress' constituent. I'm not in the business of offending people. I just tried to, as nice as I could, just kind of let him down and say, we're moving on.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Never indicated any interest in pursuing conversations with him?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Did you take seriously his proposition that he could facilitate some type of communication or back channel?

MR. DEARBORN: I thought it was highly unlikely that, though a good man from West Virginia, that a fellow from West Virginia was going to be able to connect a Presidential candidate with the President of Russia.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Is there any reason that you would've ever believed that he was capable of doing that?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Do you still believe that now, that he was unable

to do that?

MR. DEARBORN: I still believe that.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Uh-huh. Do you know anyone who saw this exchange who took that possibility seriously?

MR. DEARBORN: No, sir.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: And then on the last one, which is 0062, it appears Mr. Dearborn attempts one more time: "Just a reminder, the back channel to Putin is still open."

MR. DEARBORN: Right.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: And, once again, anything you would elaborate on that in this last exchange?

MR. DEARBORN: I think this was probably one of or close to the last exchange that he had. I don't even know if I responded to this. I felt like I'd addressed it multiple times.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Yeah. And apparently you didn't respond to this.

So kind of in its totality, did you ever at any time see a realistic back channel by any individuals, Mr. Clay or anyone else, to facilitate a back channel between Mr. Putin and anyone associated with the campaign?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Did you ever have any meetings or phone calls regarding that?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Would you have supported such a thing, were that -- you know, you look at this one and say, well, it's not necessarily viable. But if

there were a viable option for it, would that have been something that you would have thought was a good idea and would have supported?

MR. DEARBORN: Me, personally, no. But, I mean, it should have been the candidate's -- it's the candidate's decision if he wants to do that.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Yeah. And it's not something that you encouraged?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: We've talked about this very briefly or at least in passing. Mr. Trump Jr. met with some -- at least one Russian official -- or, I'm sorry, someone associated, Alex Torshin. Are you familiar with Alex?

MR. DEARBORN: I'm not familiar with him.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Are you familiar at all with this meeting at the NRA, this interaction?

MR. DEARBORN: I'm not familiar with the meeting. It may have been reported that there were -- I can't remember what the deal was, if the meeting happened or not. I don't believe it did, but I'm not sure.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: So you didn't help to arrange that meeting?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Had no knowledge of it --

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: -- at the time or previous?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Okay.

All right. Let me ask the other members if there's any other questions from our side.

MR. CONAWAY: Peter?

MR. KING: No questions.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Chairman?

MR. CONAWAY: Nope.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: All right.

MR. CONAWAY: Do you need a break?

MR. DEARBORN: I could use the facility, yeah. Yes, sir.

MR. CONAWAY: We'll take a 5-minute break and then resume questioning.

[Recess.]

MR. SWALWELL: Back on the record.

Mr. Dearborn, I referenced earlier, which I believe is exhibit 2, a memo that you wrote on August 1st, 2016, about the GOP platform. Do you remember that one?

MR. DEARBORN: Yes, sir. This one here?

MR. SWALWELL: Yeah. And I just want to clear up, you said that the information in the memo came from J.D. Gordon --

MR. DEARBORN: Correct.

MR. SWALWELL: -- and that it was pulled from an email that J.D. Gordon had sent to you.

MR. DEARBORN: No. I don't know if I said it was pulled from an email; it may very well have been. But the request came to me. I turned to John Mashburn in our policy shop and the folks that had worked the convention, and I said, guys, can you lay out the tick-tock?

MR. SWALWELL: Okay.

MR. DEARBORN: Because John and I really weren't -- we were in the room

briefly, but J.D. was in there for the whole time, so it made sense to have J.D. put the memo together.

MR. SWALWELL: And I asked our staff to look for any documents in your production to our committee where you could have pulled this from. They didn't see it. Do you mind just going back and checking if you have an email from Mashburn or J.D. that you did pull this from?

MR. DEARBORN: On this?

MR. SWALWELL: Yeah.

MR. DEARBORN: Yeah, we can go back and look for that.

MR. COFFIELD: Sure. But if it came from the campaign, it wouldn't be anything we have access to.

MR. DEARBORN: Oh, yeah, I don't have access to that. And that would have probably been from the campaign.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay.

MR. COFFIELD: But we'll look, Congressman.

MR. SWALWELL: Sure. But this wasn't -- was this dictated to you by J.D.?

MR. DEARBORN: No, I don't believe so. If I remember right, it was just put in, like, an email form, either in a text of an email or maybe even by a document, and I just slapped my name on it because the request came to me.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Got it.

With respect to Carter Page, in the document that Mr. Stewart was referring to, Rick Dearborn production 114, that's the one where you discussed reining in Mr. Page.

MR. DEARBORN: Yes, sir.

MR. SWALWELL: So it sounds like there was a history, at least, of having to

rein in Mr. Page that you were familiar with and you referred to in your email correspondence. Is that accurate?

MR. DEARBORN: I think that's fair.

MR. SWALWELL: And just to go to the RD 117, the fourth page of this production --

MR. DEARBORN: Yes, sir.

MR. SWALWELL: -- you stated to Stephen Miller, "Carter has had to be reined in before." What were you referring to?

And there's a reference in the email, but are there -- to the Prime Minister comment.

MR. DEARBORN: So the Prime Minister comment was the one that I was referencing.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Were there any other examples that you recall?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't remember there being multiple examples. I think I was just trying to make clear that he's had to be reined in before.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay.

MR. DEARBORN: Yes, sir.

MR. SWALWELL: And that email chain also reveals that Carter was directly communicating with Hope Hicks. Is that right?

MR. DEARBORN: If that's what it reflects.

MR. SWALWELL: And, to your knowledge, was Mr. Page ever in contact with Corey Lewandowski?

MR. DEARBORN: I wouldn't know.

MR. SWALWELL: But Hope Hicks, at that time, was essentially the communications director for the campaign. Is that right?



MR. DEARBORN: Right.

MR. SWALWELL: And Mr. Page had direct access to Ms. Hicks?

MR. DEARBORN: I'm not familiar with the nature of that access.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. But you would agree that if Mr. Page is being interviewed by The Washington Post, has direct email access to Ms. Hicks, is able to fall on your radar, that he was not a low-level volunteer for the campaign?

MR. DEARBORN: No, I wouldn't agree with that.

MR. SWALWELL: You would agree with that?

MR. DEARBORN: No, I would not agree with that.

MR. SWALWELL: Well, he was on the -- he was a senior foreign policy team member, right? When Donald Trump was asked to describe to The Washington Post who was on his senior policy team, he named five individuals.

MR. DEARBORN: Right.

MR. SWALWELL: And Carter Page was one of them.

MR. DEARBORN: These are the ones -- you're talking about the ones that were originally supplied by Sam Clovis?

MR. SWALWELL: Well, supplied by Donald Trump to The Washington Post.

MR. DEARBORN: Right. But they came out in batches, correct?

MR. SWALWELL: Yes.

MR. DEARBORN: You're talking about the original four or five or the whole group?

MR. SWALWELL: In a March interview with The Washington Post, candidate Trump was asked, which people are on your foreign policy team, and Carter Page was one of five people.

MR. DEARBORN: Right.

MR. SWALWELL: And in at least this production and other production, we have seen that Mr. Page had access to the highest levels of the campaign.

And so I guess my question is --

MR. DEARBORN: Well, I don't know that, and I wouldn't necessarily agree with that.

MR. SWALWELL: Well, you at least know from this production that he's in correspondence with the communications director of the campaign, Ms. Hicks.

MR. DEARBORN: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: That's page 118 --

MR. DEARBORN: Yes, sir.

MR. SWALWELL: -- where he sends an email to Ms. Hicks, a lengthy email to Ms. Hicks.

MR. DEARBORN: Right.

MR. SWALWELL: So I guess my question is, wouldn't you agree that a, quote/unquote, "low-level volunteer" or a, you know, volunteer for the campaign would not have this type of access to the most senior people of the campaign?

MR. DEARBORN: A low-level volunteer, yes, I'd probably agree with that. But I honestly also can't tell you what kind of access he had. I mean, there's this email from him to Hope Hicks, but I don't think that that makes him some senior adviser to the campaign, from my vantage point.

MR. SWALWELL: Going back to Mr. Papadopoulos, campaign production 22918 referenced by Mr. Stewart, it's an email, June 24, from George Papadopoulos to you about travel reimbursement.

MR. DEARBORN: Yes, sir.

MR. SWALWELL: Would you agree that Mr. Papadopoulos, in this -- so it's 22918.

MR. DEARBORN: Yes, sir, I have it.

MR. SWALWELL: -- in this email, Mr. Papadopoulos is expressing two things: one, that he is traveling all over the world, and, two, that he's willing to drop his current employer to come work in closer proximity to the campaign?

MR. DEARBORN: Yes, sir, he does say he'd be willing to drop his position and come on board.

MR. SWALWELL: To your knowledge, what was his role during the transition?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't remember.

MR. SWALWELL: And you were the executive director of the transition, right?

MR. DEARBORN: I was. We had over 400-some-odd people, at some point larger than that.

MR. SWALWELL: Are there any documents about what his role may be that you could go back and review for us?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't believe I have access to the transition documents.

MR. COFFIELD: I'm sorry. Congressman, can I just clarify something?

MR. SWALWELL: Sure.

MR. COFFIELD: Do you know whether he was on the transition?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't.

MR. COFFIELD: Okay. So he may not have been on the transition.

MR. DEARBORN: Yeah, I don't really know.

MR. COFFIELD: But, Congressman, we'll check.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay.

MR. DEARBORN: Yeah. He easily could have been, but I don't know if he was.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay.

Which email were you using when you were working on the transition?

MR. DEARBORN: Transition email.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Do you have access to that today?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't believe I do.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay.

On January 20, 2017, the day of the inauguration, public reports indicate that George Papadopoulos and Reince Priebus met in Washington with Greek Defense Minister Panos Kammenos. Were you aware of that meeting?

MR. DEARBORN: No, sir.

MR. SWALWELL: Public reports indicate that on January 22, 2017, Papadopoulos met with the head of one of Israel's settlement councils, Yossi Dagan, in Washington. Were you familiar with that meeting?

MR. DEARBORN: No, sir.

MR. SWALWELL: Have you discussed anything outlined in Mr. Papadopoulos' statement of offense with Attorney General Sessions?

MR. DEARBORN: Statement of what? I'm sorry.

MR. SWALWELL: Are you familiar with Mr. Papadopoulos' statement of offense in his guilty plea?

MR. DEARBORN: Just cursory, from the papers.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Have you discussed any of that or anything about Mr. Papadopoulos' meetings with Russians or Russian cutouts with Attorney

## General Sessions?

MR. DEARBORN: No, sir, nothing other than the comment I shared earlier.

MR. SWALWELL: On January 27, 2017, Mr. Papadopoulos was interrogated by the FBI. Were you working at the White House that day?

MR. DEARBORN: January 27th?

MR. SWALWELL: Yes.

MR. DEARBORN: Yes, sir, I would have been.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Did you or anyone around you have knowledge on January 27, 2017, that Mr. Papadopoulos had been approached that day by the FBI?

MR. DEARBORN: I can only speak for myself, and no, sir, I did not.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Well, did you hear of any chatter around the White House that a campaign member had been approached by the FBI that day?

MR. DEARBORN: None.

MR. SWALWELL: On April 25th, 2016, Mr. Papadopoulos emailed a senior campaign adviser and said, "There was an open invitation by Mr. Putin for Mr. Trump to meet when he is ready." Were you that senior campaign official?

MR. DEARBORN: No, I was not.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you know who it was?

MR. DEARBORN: I do not.

MR. SWALWELL: In June, Mr. Papadopoulos asked a high-ranking campaign official about arranging a Putin-Trump meeting, stating, "I am willing to make the trip off the record if it's in the interest of Mr. Trump and the campaign to meet specific people."

Were you the person described in this statement of offense as a high-ranking

campaign official in that email?

MR. DEARBORN: No, sir.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you know who that person is?

MR. DEARBORN: I do not.

MR. SWALWELL: When did you first meet Ambassador Kislyak?

MR. DEARBORN: I've never met him.

MR. SWALWELL: Have you ever talked to him on the phone?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: When did Senator Sessions first meet Ambassador Kislyak?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't know. I mean, that would probably be in the schedule that he would have, that he would keep.

MR. SWALWELL: Well, were you familiar with the Senator's contacts with foreign representatives --

MR. DEARBORN: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: -- while you were working as chief of staff?

MR. DEARBORN: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Were you familiar that he had a relationship with Ambassador Kislyak?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't believe he has a relationship with him.

MR. SWALWELL: Well, I guess, by Senator Sessions' own testimony, they've met at least twice.

MR. DEARBORN: Okay.

MR. SWALWELL: Are you familiar with that testimony?

MR. DEARBORN: Yes.

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. One of the times that they met was in Senator Sessions' Senate office.

MR. DEARBORN: Okay.

MR. SWALWELL: Are you familiar with that meeting?

MR. DEARBORN: I'm not.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Were you in the office --

MR. DEARBORN: Other than the cursory news about it happening.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. And your testimony earlier was that you were chief of staff all the way up until noon on January 20?

MR. DEARBORN: That's right.

MR. SWALWELL: And Senator Sessions, you're aware, testified to multiple committees that in the fall prior to the election he met with Ambassador Kislyak at his Senate office?

MR. DEARBORN: Right.

MR. SWALWELL: Were you in the Senate office the day that Ambassador Kislyak came in?

MR. DEARBORN: The foreign policy would've been, not me.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. But you would've been in the office, right?

MR. DEARBORN: I may have been physically been there.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. And was it your practice to have a handle on the day-to-day schedule of the Senator?

MR. DEARBORN: Sure.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Do you recall reviewing that Ambassador Kislyak was coming to Senator Sessions' office that day?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't recall off the top of my head, but it happened.

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

MR. SWALWELL: Would you agree that at that time, in the fall of 2016, that public reports and even reports from our Intelligence Community had attributed Russia as being responsible for the hacking of Democratic emails?

MR. DEARBORN: Yeah, I was aware of all that.

██████████ Five minutes, Mr. Swalwell.

MR. SWALWELL: We're going to the 30-minute rule.

██████████ Oh, I'm sorry. My fault.

MR. SWALWELL: And so, Mr. Dearborn, just to have you think back, it would probably be pretty memorable if it's in the news and our Intelligence Community is assessing that Russia is involved in our election and then right before the campaign Russian's Ambassador to the United States is visiting your boss. Wouldn't you agree?

MR. DEARBORN: If he was the only Ambassador visiting, yes --

MR. SWALWELL: Right.

MR. DEARBORN: -- that would be memorable.

MR. SWALWELL: Who are other Ambassadors that visited in that time period?

MR. DEARBORN: Dozens.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Do you remember from which countries?

MR. DEARBORN: You could probably pick a country and they were meeting with the Senator.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay.

MR. DEARBORN: I'm not being flip about that.

MR. SWALWELL: No, I understand.

MR. DEARBORN: I just --



MR. SWALWELL: Well, let me go back to April 26, 2016. Do you remember an event at the Mayflower Hotel hosted by the Center for the National Interest?

MR. DEARBORN: I do.

MR. SWALWELL: Were you a part of the preparation for that event?

MR. DEARBORN: I was tangentially, yes, sir.

MR. SWALWELL: Who else was a part of it?

MR. DEARBORN: Dmitri Simes, who I think runs the center.

MR. SWALWELL: And did Senator Sessions know Dmitri Simes?

MR. DEARBORN: Not very well.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Were you aware of any meetings that they had before that event?

MR. DEARBORN: I'm really not aware, but if there's a document that's produced that says that they met in some year at some foreign policy conference, I wouldn't be shocked by it.

MR. SWALWELL: Right. Were you aware of any -- did Senator Sessions and Dmitri Simes communicate by phone?

MR. DEARBORN: For that event?

MR. SWALWELL: Just, prior to that event, were they ever in phone contact?

MR. DEARBORN: They may have talked, but I don't believe that the Senator was involved with the logistics of that event.

MR. SWALWELL: Was Jared Kushner involved in the logistics of that event?

MR. DEARBORN: He may have been.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Were you working with the foreign policy advisory team in preparation for that event?

MR. DEARBORN: J.D. Gordon would have been.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Did you attend that event?

MR. DEARBORN: I did.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Did you attend with Senator Sessions?

MR. DEARBORN: No. I came separate from Senator Sessions.

MR. SWALWELL: Who came with Senator Sessions?

MR. DEARBORN: Sandy Luff, our legislative director and kind of our foreign policy person.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. How do you spell that last name?

MR. DEARBORN: L-u-f-f.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Is that a man or woman?

MR. DEARBORN: It's a woman.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Was she there in part for policy but also in part to be a body man for the Senator?

MR. DEARBORN: Yeah, she was staffing him at a foreign policy event that a Member would normally attend.

MR. SWALWELL: Right. And was it typical that if you had a staffer assigned to the Senator that that staffer would remain attached throughout the event?

MR. DEARBORN: Very close by, yes, sir.

MR. SWALWELL: Right. Take notes, follow up with people the Senator met with?

MR. DEARBORN: If notes were necessary, yes, sir.

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Did you see the Senator at that event?

MR. DEARBORN: I did.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Was there any pre-event meetings or receptions?

MR. DEARBORN: There was.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. What was that?

MR. DEARBORN: There was a small reception, VIPs, Members of Congress, foreign policy experts, relatively brief, 20 minutes maybe.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Where was that?

MR. DEARBORN: It was in a room separate from the large ballroom that the speech was delivered in.

MR. SWALWELL: Was the ballroom on the first floor of the Mayflower, the entry level?

MR. DEARBORN: Seems like it was.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. And was the room also, the side room?

MR. DEARBORN: Same level, right.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Senator Sessions attended that side-room reception?

MR. DEARBORN: He attended the reception along with several Members of Congress.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Who were others that you recall being at that reception?

MR. DEARBORN: I think Mike Kelly was there, Tom Marino. I remember talking to both of them. I know that we had a list of folks who we were trying to encourage to join us. There were others, I think, that did attend. I don't have the

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

full list, but my guess is it's in notes somewhere or you know it. I don't know.

MR. SWALWELL: Well, did you at the time have a list of who was at the reception?

MR. DEARBORN: We probably had put together our -- so we had kind of a House and a Senate team, and they would've probably put together the list of individuals that they were trying to recruit to come listen to the speech. Yeah.

MR. SWALWELL: And oftentimes schedulers will prepare for their boss a list of who will be at certain meetings. Was that prepared in this case for Senator Sessions?

MR. DEARBORN: We were never really that good at that, so --

MR. SWALWELL: Was candidate Trump at that reception?

MR. DEARBORN: If I remember right, he kind of popped in and kind of waved and then popped out. He was there for no period of time really.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Was Ambassador Kislyak at that reception?

MR. DEARBORN: He may have been, but I wasn't really working the room as much. I was actually bringing Members to the room, was really kind of what I was doing, was trying to facilitate.

MR. SWALWELL: If it was prearranged for Ambassador Kislyak to be at that reception, is that something that would have been reflected in notes that you referenced earlier?

MR. DEARBORN: No, because that would have been handled probably by CNI.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Who decided who got in that room?

MR. DEARBORN: Well, CNI hosted the event, and we asked them to put together the individuals, can it be a group of, you know, foreign policy thinkers.

And so they put the group together.

We did invite our national security working group to come. Some of them attended.

MR. SWALWELL: Was Mr. Papadopoulos in that room?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't recall.

MR. SWALWELL: Did he attend the event?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't know if he attended or not. I really don't know.

MR. SWALWELL: Was Mr. Page at the event?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't believe so. We never saw Mr. Page at anything,

so --

MR. SWALWELL: Was Mr. Simes in the reception room?

MR. DEARBORN: He would have been for some period of time, yes.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Did you see any other Ambassadors in the reception room that you'd recognized?

MR. DEARBORN: So I'm not, like, an Embassy Row kind of fellow --

MR. SWALWELL: Yeah.

MR. DEARBORN: -- so I wouldn't have probably -- they could have been all around me, but I wouldn't have necessarily recognized them.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay.

Was Richard Bert involved in the planning?

MR. DEARBORN: He may have been. I recall references to him by Mr. Simes.

MR. SWALWELL: Were you involved in the drafting of the President's speech for the main event?

MR. DEARBORN: I wasn't.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you know who was?

MR. DEARBORN: It's possible that Stephen Miller was. And he may have checked in with J.D. and received information from other individuals, maybe even from the national security working group. I just don't know.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you see any drafts prior to the speech being --

MR. DEARBORN: Yeah, I saw some drafts.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Were those sent around by email?

MR. DEARBORN: Probably.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. And is that something you could go back and look for?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't have access to that email account.

MR. SWALWELL: Was that the campaign email account?

MR. DEARBORN: It would have been the campaign account, yes, sir.

MR. COFFIELD: We'll check anyway, Congressman.

MR. SWALWELL: Sure. Appreciate that.

MR. DEARBORN: Sure, sure. Happy to.

MR. SWALWELL: Now, in the main room for candidate Trump's speech, were there seating assignments, or was it open seating?

MR. DEARBORN: We put Members of Congress up front. And then behind that, it was -- they just filled it up, as far as I know. Now, Dmitri and CNI may have had a very orchestrated seating chart, but we weren't responsible for that. It wasn't our logistical responsibility.

MR. SWALWELL: Where did Senator Sessions sit?

MR. DEARBORN: I think he sat up front, along with the other Members of Congress.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Do you recall if Ambassador Kislyak attended the main event?

MR. DEARBORN: I really don't.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay.

MR. DEARBORN: Yeah.

MR. SWALWELL: Did Senator Sessions ever talk to you after the event about any interactions with Ambassador Kislyak?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Were there any events after the reception?

MR. DEARBORN: No, sir. I think the -- oh, yeah, the speech came after the reception.

MR. SWALWELL: I'm sorry. After the speech, were there any events?

MR. DEARBORN: No. After the speech was done, there were a lot of TV cameras, people were interviewing. I believe Sessions was interviewed and some Members of Congress, just reaction to the speech, that kind of thing. But then the room dispersed.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. So, up until this point, it's your testimony that you couldn't have picked Ambassador Kislyak out at pistol point?

MR. DEARBORN: Probably not.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. And, up until this point, you had never heard Senator Sessions ever mention Ambassador Kislyak?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay.

Did you go to the RNC?

MR. DEARBORN: Pardon?

MR. SWALWELL: The convention?

MR. DEARBORN: I did.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. And did you ever see Ambassador Kislyak at the convention?

MR. DEARBORN: I did not.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Were you with Senator Sessions throughout the convention?

MR. DEARBORN: I was not. I saw him sporadically.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Who was staffing Senator Sessions at the --

MR. DEARBORN: Sandy Luff.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. The same person as --

MR. DEARBORN: Yes, sir.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Did Sandy Luff, after the Mayflower event, ever mention anything to you about a meeting or an interaction between Senator Sessions and Ambassador Kislyak?

MR. DEARBORN: No, sir.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Did Sandy Luff ever express to you any meeting that Senator Sessions had with Ambassador Kislyak in Cleveland at the convention?

MR. DEARBORN: No, sir.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Did Senator Sessions ever mention to you any meeting that he had with Ambassador Kislyak at the convention?

MR. DEARBORN: No, sir.

MR. SWALWELL: Was it practice for Sandy Luff to take notes while she was staffing the Senator of who he interacted with and who followed up with --



MR. DEARBORN: Not, like, at a reception setting or at a speech normally, unless she was taking notes herself about the speech that she wanted to share with him later. But I don't know that she did that.

MR. SWALWELL: Was Senator Sessions the type of Member who would meet somebody, interact with them, and then follow up with, you know, a nice-to-see-you note or some sort of correspondence?

MR. DEARBORN: If they were his constituents, sure.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Was that his practice with foreign dignitaries?

MR. DEARBORN: Not to my knowledge.

MR. SWALWELL: Now, in the fall -- yeah, go ahead.

MR. DEARBORN: If they talked about something that really piqued his interest, would he send them a note? He might have. But I don't think that was his custom.

MR. SWALWELL: In the fall, Senator Sessions, as I referenced earlier, has testified that Ambassador Kislyak came to his office. Who would have staffed Senator Sessions for a meeting like that?

MR. DEARBORN: Probably Sandy Luff and Pete Landrum.

MR. SWALWELL: How do you spell Landrum?

MR. DEARBORN: L-a-n-d-r-u-m.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. So, at a typical meeting with an Ambassador, based on your knowledge as chief of staff, would have been those two individuals, the Senator, and whoever the Ambassador brought?

MR. DEARBORN: Right.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. And, typically, would notes be taken in a meeting like that?

MR. DEARBORN: I guess it would just depend on the nature of the conversation, but sometimes, I would assume.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Well, of all the Ambassadors in the world, you'd agree, even, as you said, not being an Embassy Row guy, that a meeting with the Russian Ambassador is a pretty important meeting?

MR. DEARBORN: About the same level as meeting with the Chinese Ambassador or the Ambassador from Great Britain, uh-huh, sure.

MR. SWALWELL: All three of them have seats on the Security Council.

MR. DEARBORN: Yeah.

MR. SWALWELL: Probably important.

MR. DEARBORN: Sure.

MR. SWALWELL: How would we find out if there were notes taken by the two individuals who staffed Senator Sessions when Ambassador Kislyak visited in the fall of 2016?

MR. DEARBORN: I guess you could ask them directly.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Were notes -- so, all the way up to the day the lights were turned off in the Senate office, as you and Senator Sessions transitioned into the administration, what happened with the office's correspondence and documents?

MR. DEARBORN: So there would have been an archivist that took care of that. But, interestingly, under the transition law that we passed, I was a detailee from the Senate to the transition. So I physically wasn't there when we shut the office down.

MR. SWALWELL: Who was responsible for shutting the office down?

MR. DEARBORN: Probably Peggi Hanrahan and whoever was hired to

come in and help us do that, the archivist.

MR. SWALWELL: And your testimony, Mr. Dearborn, is that, even all the way up to the fall meeting with Ambassador Kislyak, so from the Mayflower to Cleveland to even that meeting, you were not familiar with any meetings, those or anything in between, that Senator Sessions had with Ambassador Kislyak?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Senator Sessions, did he ever mention to you at all, all the way up until election day, any relationship or meetings he had taken with Ambassador Kislyak?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: So if someone had told you on November 8th that Senator Sessions had met two or maybe three times with Ambassador Kislyak, that would have been a complete surprise to you, that they even interacted?

MR. DEARBORN: I mean, if they gave me the context. I mean, there was a meeting with diplomats at the convention. Could he have been there at that? Sure.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay.

MR. DEARBORN: He was in the office once. So were there two meetings? Sure. So that wouldn't have surprised me.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. And your testimony is you don't know the genesis of the relationship between Ambassador Kislyak and Senator Sessions, meaning, like, the first time they met or how often they corresponded?

MR. DEARBORN: No, I don't know the history of it at all.

██████████ Five minutes, sir.

MR. SWALWELL: Were you familiar, in your capacity on the campaign or

even the transition, with any meetings that Jared Kushner had taken with Ambassador Kislyak?

MR. DEARBORN: No, I wasn't familiar with that.

MR. SWALWELL: How about any meetings that General Flynn had taken with Ambassador Kislyak?

MR. DEARBORN: I wouldn't be familiar with that either.

MR. SWALWELL: So who was the Senator's [REDACTED] at the time?

MR. DEARBORN: [REDACTED].

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. And if any Ambassadors wanted to meet with the Senator, is that who they would typically go through?

MR. DEARBORN: Usually they'd go through their embassy and connect with our scheduler, and she would probably talk to our foreign policy team: What do they want to talk about? Issues relating to their country and foreign policy. Okay, bring them in.

MR. SWALWELL: Once Donald Trump was elected President, were you familiar with any requests by the Ambassador or his staff to meet with Senator Sessions?

MR. DEARBORN: Kislyak?

MR. SWALWELL: Yes, post-election --

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: -- if Kislyak requested a meeting with Sessions.

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: All the way up to as you sit here now, have you ever discussed with Senator Sessions or Attorney General Sessions any contacts he had with Ambassador Kislyak?

MR. DEARBORN: We had one conversation about whether or not he actually ever met him at Mayflower. Neither one of us believed that he did.

MR. SWALWELL: When did that occur?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't remember when that occurred, to be honest. Probably about the same time that stuff came out, is my guess. And it would have been mostly in passing.

MR. SWALWELL: Was that a face-to-face interaction?

MR. DEARBORN: Probably, yeah.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you remember?

MR. DEARBORN: I think so. I think it was at a Sessions alumni event at one of the hotels nearby or something.

MR. SWALWELL: And what did he say to you?

MR. DEARBORN: He said, do you remember me meeting with that fellow? And I said, I don't. He says, yeah, I don't either.

Now, that, I'm not talking about anything that would happen in the Senate office, but any kind of separate meeting at the Mayflower, neither one of us remembered anything like that.

MR. SWALWELL: How much time?

██████████ About 3 minutes.

MR. SWALWELL: I want to go to the email correspondence between you and Mr. Clay.

MR. DEARBORN: Yes, sir.

MR. SWALWELL: Help me understand, who was Mr. Clay to you?

MR. DEARBORN: Mr. Clay was a fellow American to me.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. So you had never met him face-to-face?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: To your knowledge, had Senator Sessions ever met him face-to-face?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: What does he mean by "switching hats"? Or, I'm sorry. That was Mr. Erickson.

So how about Paul Erickson? Had you ever met him face-to-face?

MR. DEARBORN: I did one time when he came into announce himself and wanted to see the chief of staff in our Senate office.

MR. SWALWELL: So he came in uninvited?

MR. DEARBORN: Yep.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Did you come out and meet him?

MR. DEARBORN: I did. I come out and meet all kinds of people.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you have any inkling of who he was when he came in unsolicited, uninvited?

MR. DEARBORN: No clue.

MR. SWALWELL: Now, that's an interesting practice, only because, you know, in a Senate office with -- how many people in Alabama? How many people live in Alabama?

MR. DEARBORN: 4.7 million? Is that right?

MR. SWALWELL: So --

MR. DEARBORN: Anyone that stepped in that door from the State of Alabama I would meet with.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay.

MR. DEARBORN: Every single person.

MR. SWALWELL: And he was from the State of Alabama?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't believe he was.

MR. SWALWELL: So it sounds like you would meet with just any person who would step in and say, "I want to see the chief of staff."

MR. DEARBORN: I'm sure he probably stepped in with some air of authority to young staffers that are at the reception desk, saying, this gentleman says he has to talk to the chief of staff and it's about, I don't know, transition or Trump or whatever.

MR. SWALWELL: Yeah.

MR. DEARBORN: And so we try to be very clear, I was the designee in the office, all right, I'll go out and talk. You know, every congressional Senate office has a political designee.

MR. SWALWELL: What month was that?

MR. DEARBORN: I honestly can't remember. I can't remember if it was before or after the -- I don't know if it was before or after the convention, but I want to think it was after, but I'm just not sure.

██████████ One minute, sir.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. So the email titled "Kremlin connection," Paul Erickson to you, that was on May 10th, 2016. Is that right?

MR. DEARBORN: Okay. If you say it was.

MR. SWALWELL: I'm just asking, just to refresh your recollection.

MR. DEARBORN: Okay.

MR. SWALWELL: So when he sent the email and said, "Hi, Rick" --

MR. COFFIELD: Can you get us the Bates stamp number for that, please?

██████████ I believe it was handed out earlier.

██████████ 78.

MR. DEARBORN: Oh, here it is.

MR. COFFIELD: Thank you.

MR. DEARBORN: May 10th, right?

MR. SWALWELL: Was this email sent after he had come unannounced, uninvited to the office?

MR. DEARBORN: That's a great question, and I really don't know. I don't know the timing sequence of that. But I didn't -- I don't know if I would have put two and two together on that.

██████████ That's time, Mr. Swalwell.

MR. SWALWELL: Thanks.

MR. CONAWAY: Chris, do you have questions?

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Just, I think, very briefly.

A lot of the conversations -- and I think there's a bit of confusion. I'd like to just clarify with your general experience, if we could --

MR. DEARBORN: Yes.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: -- about what we would consider a meeting. And, again, there is no right/wrong answer on this. I'm just trying to get your feel for it and whether you could reflect on what Mr. Sessions' feel for that is.

And that is, you and I had a conversation here in the break, and we chatted briefly about a mutual friend.

MR. DEARBORN: Right.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Would you have considered that a meeting?

MR. DEARBORN: Absolutely not.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Would you consider a passing at a hotel, such



as has been described here, as a meeting?

MR. DEARBORN: Absolutely not.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: And I think that's important to note, because, I mean, generally when I think we think of a meeting, it's come into my office, shut the door, we'll sit down and we'll talk for a few minutes.

Do you feel it's unfair to characterize some of the interactions that Mr. Sessions had with the Ambassador from Russia as a meeting, when you, as we've just described right here, wouldn't have characterized them that way? Is that a true statement?

MR. DEARBORN: Yeah, I would agree. Unless prearranged and scheduled and logistics worked out, I just -- I don't think I'd considered it a meeting at all.

MR. DEARBORN: Okay.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: And to the email you have before us, once again, that Mr. Swalwell was referring to before he turned the time over to me, 0078 --

MR. DEARBORN: Right.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: -- once again, this was someone that we described at not having -- you know, the subject, "Kremlin connection," do you believe that's a credible description of Mr. Dearborn's ability to facilitate a meeting with Vladimir Putin?

MR. DEARBORN: Mr. Erickson?

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: I'm sorry. Mr. Erickson, yes. I've done that twice now. I apologize.

MR. DEARBORN: That's fine. No, sir, I don't.

MR. STEWART OF UTAH: Okay. All right.

Mr. Chairman.

MR. CONAWAY: All right.

Eric, 30 minutes.

MR. SWALWELL: Thank you.

And thanks, Mr. Dearborn. Just let us know if you need a break --

MR. DEARBORN: I'm good for now.

MR. SWALWELL: -- or you need food, water.

MR. DEARBORN: I've tried to limit that a bit.

MR. SWALWELL: So, in this "Kremlin connection" email, I mean, you would agree that's a provocative subject line, right? It's eye-catching?

MR. DEARBORN: Sure, eye-catching, yes, sir.

MR. SWALWELL: And you would agree that Russia, at least at this time, is a foreign adversary of the United States or --

MR. DEARBORN: I'm sorry?

MR. SWALWELL: I said, at this time, May 10th, 2016, Russia is a foreign adversary of the United States, or, more generously, at least not an ally?

MR. DEARBORN: That's a fair characterization, yes, sir.

MR. SWALWELL: Who is the emissary referred to who has placed Mr. Erickson in a position of having a back channel?

MR. DEARBORN: Can you point out where you're --

MR. SWALWELL: Well, it says, "Happenstance and sometimes international reach of the NRA placed me in a position to begin cultivating a back channel."

Do you know who his back channel is?

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

MR. DEARBORN: I would have absolutely no idea.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you ever tell Senator Sessions about this email?

MR. DEARBORN: It would be very unlikely that I did.

MR. SWALWELL: Why do you say that?

MR. DEARBORN: Because I don't believe I took it seriously.

MR. SWALWELL: Did this approach concern you at all?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't think I responded to it.

MR. SWALWELL: I know, but did it concern you?

MR. DEARBORN: No. I think if it would've concerned me, I probably would've talked to the Senator or somebody else or maybe even responded to it in some way, but I don't believe I did.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you tell the FBI about this back-channel approach?

MR. DEARBORN: No, because I'm sure I read it in a cursory fashion. And at the time of May 2016, I just -- it didn't, in my brain, rise to the level of, oh, gosh, I need to get Paul in touch with the FBI over this whole "Kremlin connection" issue. To just say it in the nicest way possible, I thought he was a crank. So I don't know how to say that -- I'd like to say that in a nice way. I don't know how to say it in a nice way.

MR. SWALWELL: But, again, you're not able to tell us whether or not this was before or after you had met him?

MR. SCHIFF: Chairman, if I could just mention, Mr. Dearborn, we have another witness at the same time, so some of us are going to be bouncing back and forth.

MR. DEARBORN: Oh, sure. I understand. I am not offended at all.

MR. SCHIFF: We don't mean to distract you, and we don't mean to be rude,

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

but we will be in and out.

MR. COFFIELD: You can all go if you want.

MR. DEARBORN: Can you give me 1 second --

MR. SWALWELL: Yeah, of course.

MR. DEARBORN: -- because I think we saw something that might be helpful.

So we have emails that go back to March 14th of 2016 where he was reaching out. So I'm guessing that he may have come in the office, I met him then, he took a card, he starts interacting with me.

MR. SWALWELL: Sure.

MR. DEARBORN: But he starts sending me all kinds of stuff --

MR. SWALWELL: What was he reaching out about in March?

MR. DEARBORN: Gold-plated foreign policy reinforcements.

MR. SWALWELL: Did that reach-out reference Russia at all?

MR. DEARBORN: He lists a bunch of foreign policy experts --

MR. COFFIELD: Congressman, it was in our production, and it's RD00084.

MR. DEARBORN: And 85.

MR. SWALWELL: Can you get that for me? 0084 and 85.

MR. DEARBORN: He talks a lot about himself, how he was the architect of Romney's transition team -- a lot of stuff.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay.

MR. DEARBORN: And you'll see it in that document.

MR. COFFIELD: Again, it's RD00084.

██████████ Yeah. We've got it right here.

MR. COFFIELD: Thank you.

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

MR. SWALWELL: Do you know whether the gift that he references was ever given to Mrs. Trump?

MR. DEARBORN: I'm looking. Where is that? Let's see. "Presentation of a gift." No, I'd have no clue about that.

MR. SWALWELL: In Dearborn production 84, he references the long conversation he had with Senator Sessions at Horowitz weekend in Palm Beach over a year ago, which would have been 2015.

MR. DEARBORN: Okay.

MR. SWALWELL: What's Horowitz weekend?

MR. DEARBORN: David Horowitz, a former liberal, now more conservative author of many books. I think he's out in California.

MR. SWALWELL: Did Senator Sessions attend that weekend?

MR. DEARBORN: Yeah. Horowitz has had these weekends for several years, and I think that the Senator has gone to several of them.

MR. SWALWELL: Were you familiar at all with Senator Sessions meeting Mr. Erickson at that weekend?

MR. DEARBORN: Not really until this reference here.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Did you go to the Horowitz weekend?

MR. DEARBORN: No, I did not.

MR. SWALWELL: When these emails were being sent to you, did you know whether or not Senator Sessions knew Mr. Erickson?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Have you ever talked, all the way up till today, to Senator Sessions about Paul Erickson?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't recall. Maybe in passing, but no real

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

conversation I can think of.

MR. SWALWELL: So, in March 2016, in the Bates-stamped 84 email, he references KT McFarland. Is that right?

MR. DEARBORN: Right.

MR. SWALWELL: Monica Crowley?

MR. DEARBORN: Right.

MR. SWALWELL: General Mike Flynn?

MR. DEARBORN: Okay.

MR. SWALWELL: And General Jim Mattis, right?

MR. DEARBORN: Correct.

MR. SWALWELL: He couldn't be that much of a crack. I mean, in March 2016, he has just referenced four individuals who made their way into the administration, right?

MR. DEARBORN: Those four did work and some still do work in the administration.

I think cranks take on all shapes and sizes and forms.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Has Senator Sessions met with or engaged with him since Senator Sessions joined the campaign? Do you know?

MR. DEARBORN: Not to my knowledge.

MR. SWALWELL: How about since he's become Attorney General?

MR. DEARBORN: Not to my knowledge.

MR. SWALWELL: Did Senator Sessions attend a dinner at The Monocle in the spring of 2016 hosted by Dana Rohrabacher?

MR. DEARBORN: He could have.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. How would we find out if he did?

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

MR. DEARBORN: It would be on the Senator's schedule.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. And that would be in the archives?

MR. DEARBORN: Yes, sir.

MR. SWALWELL: Were you aware of any friendship or relationship or professional relationship that Senator Sessions had with Dana Rohrabacher?

MR. DEARBORN: Oh, yeah, he knew Rohrabacher. They'd met a couple of times.

MR. SWALWELL: And did you know whether or not they'd gone to dinner before or any events that Rohrabacher had hosted?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't know that he went to any events. He could have easily gone to dinner with him a couple of times. He went to dinner with a lot of Members of the House and a lot of Members of the Senate.

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

[1:05 p.m.]

MR. SWALWELL: Did Senator Sessions ever mention to you anything about a dinner he had with Dana Rohrabacher, Paul Erickson, and Sam Clovis in March/April time of 2016?

MR. DEARBORN: It doesn't sound familiar to me.

MR. SWALWELL: Did Paul Erickson ever mention anything about that dinner to you?

MR. DEARBORN: Not unless he put it in an email to me.

MR. SWALWELL: Were you aware that at that dinner Paul Erickson had offered the same Kremlin connection to Sam Clovis?

MR. DEARBORN: No, I wasn't aware of that.

MR. SWALWELL: Did Senator Sessions ever mention to you anything about a Kremlin connection being made at a dinner --

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: -- a Kremlin connection offer being made at the dinner that he attended with Dana Rohrabacher?

MR. DEARBORN: No, sir.

MR. SWALWELL: So Mr. Clay is someone you said you'd never met before.

MR. DEARBORN: Correct.

MR. SWALWELL: Ever talk to him on the phone?

MR. DEARBORN: That Saturday, as listed in the email.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay.

So now we're moving to Dearborn production 00035. That's the correspondence with Mr. Clay.



MR. SWALWELL: Okay.

██████████ Has that been introduced?

MR. SWALWELL: Yeah. Mr. Stewart introduced it.

MR. COFFIELD: We've got it.

MR. DEARBORN: Okay.

MR. SWALWELL: And this is in May 2016. Is that right?

MR. DEARBORN: Yes, sir.

MR. SWALWELL: And Mr. Erickson's email with you is also May 2016. Is that right?

MR. DEARBORN: Yes. It says May 10th.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you have any reason to believe that Mr. Erickson and Mr. Clay are connected?

MR. DEARBORN: None. No.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you find it unusual that within 6 days two different people that you had never really met before or interacted with before are offering Russian connections?

MR. DEARBORN: I think if I'd had a small volume of emails, it may have been something that I'd be, like, God, that's kind of unusual. But I had such a heavy volume of email, I would never have connected the two.

MR. SWALWELL: Because the subject line on the Clay email is "Russian backdoor overture and dinner invite," right?

MR. DEARBORN: Uh-huh.

MR. SWALWELL: And that sounds pretty similar to "Kremlin connection," right?

MR. DEARBORN: It doesn't sound similar at all, other than Kremlin and

Russia.

MR. SWALWELL: But "backdoor" and "connection," and then when you read the text of the Erickson email, it seems like they're offering somewhat of the same thing. Wouldn't you agree?

MR. DEARBORN: I think -- are they both talking about this event in Kentucky?

MR. SWALWELL: Well, they're both talking about connecting President Putin to Donald Trump.

MR. DEARBORN: Right, but I think they're also both talking about this event in Kentucky. So that's --

MR. SWALWELL: That's right. You're right about that.

MR. DEARBORN: That seems similar to me.

MR. SWALWELL: They're both referencing the NRA event in Kentucky.

MR. DEARBORN: So that, to me, seems similar, right. Looking at it side by side, yeah, that looks very similar.

MR. SWALWELL: So you forward along, on May 17th, 2016, in Dearborn production 9, Mr. Clay's offer to Paul Manafort, Rick Gates, and Jared Kushner. Is that right?

MR. DEARBORN: Yes, sir.

MR. SWALWELL: Why did you choose those three individuals?

MR. DEARBORN: Because they were the head of the campaign, and the request came in from a United States Senator through -- the request came in from a constituent from a United States Senator, and I wanted to be able to check the box. If a Congressman had sent this to me from any congressional district, I would have done the same thing.

MR. SWALWELL: So Mr. Clay was a constituent?

MR. DEARBORN: Of Shelley Moore Capito.

MR. SWALWELL: Not of your boss?

MR. DEARBORN: No. He's from West Virginia.

MR. SWALWELL: Right.

Have you ever met Rick Gates before?

MR. DEARBORN: Sure.

MR. SWALWELL: When did you first interact with Mr. Gates?

MR. DEARBORN: When he came on the campaign, whatever that date was. It wouldn't have been that particular date, but at some point during one of the meetings we would have met.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay.

How about Jared Kushner?

MR. DEARBORN: I'm sure I met Jared early on.

MR. SWALWELL: Where did you meet him?

MR. DEARBORN: I met him at -- I believe I met him at Jones Day law firm.

MR. SWALWELL: So he references Mr. Clay speaking with you, he says, yesterday, so that would be May 15th. Did he at all, when you spoke with him on the phone, mention any backdoor overture with Russia?

MR. DEARBORN: He just talked about putting together a meeting. And he started talking about a lot of different individuals and what he wanted to do. And I listened to him and then basically just said, would you mind, like, capturing all that and just send it to me so I can take a look at it and talk to folks about it.

MR. SWALWELL: Did he tell you whether he had ever traveled over to Russia?

MR. DEARBORN: No. Well, not that I recall.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you know whether or not -- well, let me rephrase that. Did he tell you whether he'd ever met with any Russian nationals in the United States or any foreign lands abroad?

MR. DEARBORN: Well, he laid that out in his email. I think he talked about an Alexander Torshin.

MR. SWALWELL: And in his email, he references individuals that he thinks you should -- that he knows, including Alexander Torshin and Maria Butina. Is that right?

MR. DEARBORN: Yes, he does in the email. That is correct.

MR. SWALWELL: Did he reference them also on the phone call?

MR. DEARBORN: You know, he may very well have done that. I was kind of in listen mode and working through a bunch of other emails at the time, knowing that at the end I was going to let him send me all the information.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you ever check with Senator Capito or her staff as to whether Mr. Clay was legitimate?

MR. DEARBORN: Well, they told me up front that they felt that he was and asked me to reach out to him. That was the request.

MR. SWALWELL: They asked -- they asked you --

MR. DEARBORN: The only reason why I talked to this guy is because the Senator's chief of staff said, would you mind calling and talking to Rick Clay? He's --

MR. SWALWELL: Did you understand that Mr. Clay had reached out to Senator Capito first or the other way around, to just kind of put this in motion?

MR. DEARBORN: Yeah. It struck me as a constituent request to speak to

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

somebody on the Trump campaign. I talked to [REDACTED] the chief of staff. We're buddies, as chiefs. He said, would you mind calling this guy? I said, sure, I'd be happy to do it.

MR. SWALWELL: Who's [REDACTED] last name?

MR. DEARBORN: [REDACTED] No, no. Is that right? I think that's right.

[REDACTED]  
MR. SWALWELL: [REDACTED]

MR. DEARBORN: I think. Boy, if I botched that, he'd --

MR. SWALWELL: Some poor guy named [REDACTED] --

MR. DEARBORN: -- say, what kind of friend are you?

MR. CONAWAY: Hopefully he won't see this transcript.

MR. DEARBORN: That'd be good. But he's a good guy.

MR. CONAWAY: Mr. Swalwell, we've got votes at --

MR. SWALWELL: That's what's going on now?

MR. CONAWAY: Yeah. So --

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Want to let Mr. Dearborn take lunch?

MR. CONAWAY: Yeah, let's take lunch.

[Recess.]

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

[2:06 p.m.]

MR. CONAWAY: Back on the record.

Eric?

MR. SWALWELL: Mr. Dearborn, when we last were chatting, I had asked you how the Clay arrangement was -- or the Clay conversation was set in motion, and you mentioned that the chief of staff of Senator Capito had contacted you.

MR. DEARBORN: Right.

MR. SWALWELL: And you don't know whether they contacted Clay or if it was a constituent thing with Clay.

Did you ever dial back to Senator Capito's chief of staff to just follow up, close the loop on your interactions with Mr. Clay?

MR. DEARBORN: No, I didn't. I didn't feel like it was necessary. Basically, as I looked at it, he was trying to ask for a meeting in Kentucky. I had run it up the chain. We weren't going to do it. And I think, as far as the Senator's office was concerned, I'd checked the box for them. There was no real reason for me to circle back.

MR. SWALWELL: And then it's fair to characterize Mr. Clay's followup as he again tried to reach out to you, it looks like, in July, with the subject line "Harrison Wellford." Is that right?

MR. COFFIELD: Do you have a --

MR. DEARBORN: What's the number?

MR. SWALWELL: 30. 29, 30 and 31.

MR. COFFIELD: Thank you, sir.

MR. DEARBORN: Let's see.

MR. SWALWELL: I'm just asking if that was the followup, nothing in

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

particular.

MR. DEARBORN: Yeah, this is just the followup to the same thing, correct.

MR. SWALWELL: And then the next correspondence is the September 1, 2016, email, subject line "channel," again, just saying: "Just a reminder, the back channel to Putin is still open." Is that right? That's number 62.

MR. DEARBORN: Sixty-two? Right. Yes, that's his persistent followup.

MR. SWALWELL: Did he ever send you any emails after September 1? That's not a trick question. We just -- I don't see any after September 1, but --

MR. DEARBORN: Oh, he's a -- yeah, he's a -- he's a one-sided pen pal, if you know what I mean. But on, like, all kinds of various stuff. Nothing on this, just --

MR. SWALWELL: Nothing on Russia?

MR. DEARBORN: No. Just things he watches on the news, stuff he's interested in. I haven't really responded. I haven't responded to any of it, so --

MR. SWALWELL: Did you attend the NRA event in Kentucky?

MR. DEARBORN: I did not.

MR. SWALWELL: Did Senator Sessions?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't know if Sessions went or not.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you know if, indeed, Mr. Clay went?

MR. DEARBORN: Oh, I'd have no way of knowing if he went or not.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you know if Mr. Erickson went?

MR. DEARBORN: I'd have no way of knowing if he went or not.

MR. SWALWELL: And your testimony earlier was that you've never met or communicated in any manner with Mr. Alexander Torshin. Is that correct?

MR. DEARBORN: That's correct.

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

MR. SWALWELL: And you've never met or communicated in any way with Ms. Maria Butina. Is that right?

MR. DEARBORN: Yeah, that's correct.

MR. SWALWELL: Were you aware that Donald Trump Jr. met with Alexander Torshin at that NRA event?

MR. DEARBORN: No, I wouldn't be aware of that.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Donald Trump Jr. has never mentioned that to you?

MR. DEARBORN: He has not.

MR. SWALWELL: I'm going to turn you to Bates-stamped campaign production 21793, and our staff will give you and the chair a copy. And just give me a heads-up once you're familiar with the document.

MR. DEARBORN: Okay.

MR. SWALWELL: Are you familiar with this document?

MR. DEARBORN: In a cursory way, sure. Yes, sir.

MR. SWALWELL: Is it fair to say that it's email correspondence between you and members of the campaign, including Donald Trump Jr., Eric Kushner, Eric Trump, and Paul Manafort, about the NRA event in May?

MR. DEARBORN: Correct.

MR. SWALWELL: Did Senator Sessions go to the NRA event?

MR. DEARBORN: Like I said, I'm not sure, but it would be on his schedule.

MR. SWALWELL: And it looks like -- sorry, are you reading it still?

MR. CONAWAY: Just to be clear, there was an NRA annual meeting.

MR. DEARBORN: That's what I'm talking about.

MR. CONAWAY: This is something else, right? This is May 25th in D.C.



UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

MR. DEARBORN: Yeah, this -- right.

MR. SWALWELL: Sorry. And earlier -- if you go farther back in the email, you'll see --

MR. CONAWAY: The annual meeting?

MR. SWALWELL: You'll see reference -- if you go to page 97, ending in 97, you'll see reference to Louisville.

MR. DEARBORN: So it -- yeah, I can see this.

MR. SWALWELL: So it references, email from you to Donald Trump Jr.: "Perfect, your efforts all help me down here. FYI, Sessions speaking 1-2 speakers after DJT in Louisville, around 2:15."

MR. DEARBORN: There you go. So I probably had checked with the schedule and he spoke.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. And so -- and he would have spoke --

MR. DEARBORN: I just didn't -- I didn't remember that, but that seems perfectly -- that seems --

MR. SWALWELL: And just having refreshed your recollection, do you recall Senator Sessions going to Louisville for the NRA conference?

MR. DEARBORN: Well, I'm just assuming, based on this, that if we had him down as a speaker that he went.

MR. SWALWELL: Is "DJT" candidate Trump? Is that how you referred to him?

MR. DEARBORN: Candidate Trump, yes, sir.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay.

Did you ever, either in email communication or phone communication, pass on to Jared Kushner, Eric Trump, Paul Manafort, or Donald Trump Jr. any of the

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

overtures made by Paul Erickson?

MR. DEARBORN: Paul Erickson, no. I passed the Rick Clay on to the three that are listed here.

MR. SWALWELL: So Mr. Kushner, Manafort --

MR. DEARBORN: There were two others. I think Gates and Manafort.

MR. SWALWELL: And that's what Mr. Stewart went through, right? That's the line of questioning Mr. Stewart went through?

MR. DEARBORN: Yes, sir, that's correct.

MR. SWALWELL: And so I guess just to be clear, do you know or did you follow up with Donald Trump Jr. about whether or not he met with Mr. Clay in Louisville?

MR. DEARBORN: No. This would've been all about the then-candidate going, I guess Sessions speaking. I probably had talked to the NRA about whether it was possible and doable. And my guess is, based on this, that the Senator did go. But he did a lot of different things, so I'm --

MR. SWALWELL: And if the Senator did, indeed, meet with Mr. Erickson or Mr. Clay, would that have been memorialized in any way, just based on the practices of the office or the campaign?

MR. DEARBORN: I guess it's possible it could have been memorialized by the people that were on the ground.

MR. SWALWELL: Or how about a calendar?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't know that we had any kind of, like, unified calendar that we used. It was an Outlook product, the campaigns, and normally you would just fill it with the different events that you had for your day.

MR. SWALWELL: Right.

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

MR. DEARBORN: I mean, you would list if, okay, so "DJT going to speak at NRA" or something like that.

MR. SWALWELL: Sure.

As executive director of the transition, were you aware of the high-level meetings that were taking place by incoming administration officials?

MR. DEARBORN: Incoming administration officials? That's relatively vague. I don't know what that means.

MR. SWALWELL: Yeah, I'll clarify. General Flynn was the National Security Advisor designee, is that right, during the transition?

MR. DEARBORN: At some point, he became the National Security Advisor designee, that's correct.

MR. SWALWELL: Right. And Jared Kushner was, I believe as soon as Donald Trump was elected, was also announced to be somebody who would not only be a part of the transition but also the incoming administration. Is that right?

MR. DEARBORN: It was anticipated he would join the administration in some fashion. That's correct.

MR. SWALWELL: So, as executive director, were you aware of meetings that individuals like Jared Kushner or General Flynn were taking on behalf of the transition?

MR. DEARBORN: Not specific meetings. I mean, tangentially, I would be aware. I was in Trump Tower for some chunk of time. The way it was organized, when you came in, there was a big conference room, and my office was kind of completely around the corner. So I know all kinds of people were in and out for different various reasons, but I didn't track their meetings, no.

MR. SWALWELL: Were you familiar with a December 2016 meeting during

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

the transition time between Jared Kushner and VEB Chairman Sergey Gorkov?

MR. DEARBORN: I wouldn't be aware of that.

MR. SWALWELL: Anyone ever discuss that meeting with you?

MR. DEARBORN: No, sir.

MR. SWALWELL: Were you aware of any December 2016 transition meetings involving Jared Kushner, General Flynn, and Steve Bannon with UAE officials at Trump Tower, United Arab Emirates officials at Trump Tower?

MR. DEARBORN: I wouldn't be aware, really, of anything that transpired in the meetings. If you're telling me they happened, then I take you at your word.

MR. SWALWELL: Have you read press accounts of the meeting?

MR. DEARBORN: Right. Like, there's accounts --

MR. SWALWELL: Did anyone ever talk about those meetings?

MR. DEARBORN: When?

MR. SWALWELL: Prior to the press accounts.

MR. DEARBORN: Not to my -- not to me.

MR. SWALWELL: When individuals were taking meetings on behalf of the transition, was there a process for a readout to occur or for some sort of, I guess, master digest to be received so that the team was on the same page?

MR. DEARBORN: The easiest way to answer that is that a transition is kind of an amazingly time-consuming exercise, and there's different component parts. So whatever readout of those meetings occurred probably would have been readouts that were handled by and the property of the group that was doing the national security meetings. There was no forum where they were reading out what happened at these meetings to some larger group or to me.

MR. SWALWELL: Also during December 2016, according to General

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

Flynn's statement of offense in his guilty plea in the special counsel's investigation, he stated that throughout late December he was in contact with Russian Ambassador Kislyak about pending votes in front of the United Nations Security Council and also U.S. Government response to Russian-imposed sanctions.

Were you aware of any of the conversations that General Flynn was having with Ambassador Kislyak?

MR. DEARBORN: No, sir.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you hear through third parties other than General Flynn about efforts to work with the Russians around U.N. Security Council resolutions on Israel or sanctions against Russia?

MR. DEARBORN: No, sir. At that time, I had a lot of moving parts of the transition to deal with.

MR. SWALWELL: Did any of those parts involve how to respond or embrace the Obama administration's December 28 sanctions put in place against Russia?

MR. DEARBORN: So, again, that would have been kind of the national security team.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay.

Were you ever at Mar-a-Lago during the transition?

MR. DEARBORN: I've never been to Mar-a-Lago.

MR. SWALWELL: Are you familiar with who was at Mar-a-Lago over the time period of December 28th, 29th, and 30th on the transition team?

MR. DEARBORN: Short of whatever may have come out in stories that listed who was there, probably not.

MR. SWALWELL: Was that something that would have come under your

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

duties as executive director, to just at least organize or account for whereabouts of transition team members during days leading up to the transition?

MR. DEARBORN: I guess it would depend upon who the transition member was.

MR. SWALWELL: How about General Flynn?

MR. DEARBORN: I didn't keep track of General Flynn's activities.

MR. SWALWELL: How about Jared Kushner?

MR. DEARBORN: I didn't keep track of Jared's activities either.

MR. SWALWELL: How about Reince Priebus?

MR. DEARBORN: Reince and I met on different occasions about a lot of different things, but he was kind of working on a separate issue, which was kind of the White House organization, and that was kind of his piece of the transition, so no.

MR. SWALWELL: How about Stephen Miller during the transition?

MR. DEARBORN: Yeah, during the transition, Miller was very active, working on speeches and work product. So, yeah, he was right around the corner from me, so I saw him a lot.

MR. SWALWELL: Are you familiar as to whether he was at Mar-a-Lago at the end of December?

MR. DEARBORN: I'm not, but if you say he was there, I wouldn't be surprised. If the candidate was preparing for a speech or something, that would make sense.

MR. SWALWELL: How about KT McFarland?

MR. DEARBORN: Again, that would be kind of in the Flynn national security bucket.

MR. SWALWELL: Would that be the same for Keith Kellogg?

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

MR. DEARBORN: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: As executive director during the transition, were you aware of any efforts by the Russian Government, Vladimir Putin, Russia's Ambassador to the United States, to reach out in a formal way to the transition?

MR. DEARBORN: To the transition? No. But if they were reaching out, they probably would have gone through maybe the policy team, is my guess.

MR. SWALWELL: Who would that have been?

MR. DEARBORN: So Otto Machida was the head of kind of the policy team.

MR. SWALWELL: How do you spell that?

MR. DEARBORN: I think it's M-a-c-h-i-d-a.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay.

MR. DEARBORN: And foreign policy and domestic policy would have been handled there. So if there were overtures, possibly.

We also had an Office of Public Engagement that Ken Hagian (ph) and Dan Murphy -- so entities that wanted to come in and get an audience with different people would come in. And we had a little auditorium, and so we had some meetings. But, to be honest, most of our meetings were kind of all around town at different places.

MR. SWALWELL: Were you familiar with a trip on January 11, 2017, during the transition that Erik Prince took to the Seychelles?

MR. DEARBORN: Only by accounts in the papers.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Did you know Erik Prince prior to this trip?

MR. DEARBORN: No, sir.

MR. SWALWELL: Did anyone on the campaign or transition talk about upcoming trips or post-trip readouts of Erik Prince's travels to the Seychelles?

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

MR. DEARBORN: Not to my knowledge.

MR. SWALWELL: To your knowledge, did anyone in the White House ever discuss, either directly to you or around you, a desire to remove or weaken sanctions against Russia based on agreements reached before the inauguration or during the transition?

MR. DEARBORN: Can you repeat that question?

MR. SWALWELL: Yeah. Did anyone, around you or to you, at the White House or in the transition team discuss a desire to remove or weaken sanctions against Russia, based on U.S. sanctions put in place after the election?

MR. DEARBORN: No, not with me.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you hear about this?

MR. DEARBORN: If anything was reported on it, I probably would have read something.

MR. SWALWELL: Were you aware of any efforts by -- now we're talking about the Trump administration -- by the Trump administration to direct U.S. Government agencies to review U.S.-Russia policy to facilitate a change in relations?

MR. DEARBORN: Can you say that again? I'm so sorry.

MR. SWALWELL: Are you aware of any efforts by the administration to direct U.S. Government agencies to review U.S.-Russia policy to facilitate a change in U.S.-Russia relations?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: So January 20, 2017, you become deputy chief of staff. Is that right?

MR. DEARBORN: Correct.



UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

MR. SWALWELL: What were your responsibilities?

MR. DEARBORN: Cabinet affairs --

MR. SWALWELL: What are your responsibilities?

MR. DEARBORN: They still remain the same, although I gained two additional ones after Chief of Staff Kelly came on board. So, on January 20th, my responsibilities were legislative affairs, Cabinet affairs, and intergovernmental.

I also have political affairs and the Office of Public Liaison, but I haven't had those since -- I've had those since Kelly came on, about 2 or 3 weeks after he came on board.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you have a seat on the Deputies Committee for the National Security Council?

MR. DEARBORN: I do not.

MR. SWALWELL: To your knowledge, has it been past practice that deputy chiefs of staff would have a seat on that council?

MR. DEARBORN: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: Why not?

MR. DEARBORN: Because there's another deputy chief of staff.

MR. SWALWELL: Who is that?

MR. DEARBORN: Joe Hagan.

MR. SWALWELL: Does Joe have a seat on that?

MR. DEARBORN: I believe he does, but as the chief's deputy, right?

MR. SWALWELL: Right.

Have you ever been involved at the White House in discussing U.S.-Russia relations?

MR. DEARBORN: U.S.-Russia relations? Not in any depth.

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

MR. SWALWELL: What has been discussed that you've been involved in?

MR. DEARBORN: On U.S.-Russia relations?

MR. SWALWELL: Yes.

MR. DEARBORN: I've been in meetings when there's been an overview of the things that we're doing, kind of a windshield tour around the world: This is what's going on this week, here's what we're working on.

I'm sure that at some point in time there was probably some discussion of "we're doing this with this country" -- China, Russia, whatever -- but nothing specific to Russia.

MR. SWALWELL: To your knowledge, who has been involved in the conversations about U.S.-Russia relations?

MR. DEARBORN: In the administration?

MR. SWALWELL: If you know.

MR. DEARBORN: The National Security Council predominantly, Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense. I would assume -- I mean, that would be their domain. But I want to be clear, I'm not answering that they are talking about X.

MR. SWALWELL: Sure.

MR. DEARBORN: I'm just saying, if you're asking who would do it, that's who would do it.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay.

February 2017, it's been reported that General Flynn received Michael Cohen, Paul Manafort, Felix Sater, and Ukrainian politician Andrey Artemenko at the White House. Were you familiar with this meeting?

MR. DEARBORN: No, sir.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you know who Michael Cohen is?

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

MR. DEARBORN: You mean The Trump Organization lawyer Michael Cohen?

MR. SWALWELL: Yes.

MR. DEARBORN: I know who he is.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Did you meet him while you were working on the campaign?

MR. DEARBORN: I did meet him in Trump Tower at one point.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. How many times have you interacted with him?

MR. DEARBORN: I mean, maybe once or twice. The first time was, "Hey, it's nice to meet you," kind of a "how ya doing?" I've only met him -- I met him to say hello and maybe on two other occasions just kind of in passing

MR. SWALWELL: When did you start working out of Trump Tower?

MR. DEARBORN: I went up, along with a small group from the Washington office, about a week and a half prior to the election. But I went up on weekends.

MR. SWALWELL: And did you stay there throughout the transition?

MR. DEARBORN: Once the transition happened, then my status changed as a Senate staffer to be detailed to the transition. I was tapped executive director several days after the election, and pretty much stayed there until about 1-1/2 to 2 weeks before the inauguration.

MR. SWALWELL: What did you observe Michael Cohen's role to be in the campaign?

MR. DEARBORN: I didn't see a real role, to be honest. I never interacted with him. Like I said, I met him a couple of times. He was a nice guy. But I had no interaction with him.

MR. SWALWELL: Were you aware that Michael Cohen was in contact with

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

Felix Sater throughout the campaign in efforts to arrange to, one, build a Trump Tower in Moscow, but to, two, get Vladimir Putin and Donald Trump together?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't even know who Felix Sater is.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. So you're not familiar with that effort?

MR. DEARBORN: Nope.

MR. SWALWELL: Were you familiar with efforts by Michael Cohen to arrange visas for Donald Trump to travel to an economic summit in Russia in summer of 2016?

MR. DEARBORN: No, I wasn't familiar with that.

MR. SWALWELL: How about Paul Manafort? Did you ever see him at the White House once you were working there?

MR. DEARBORN: No, because he'd been let go before the end of the campaign. I didn't see him at the White House that I can remember.

MR. SWALWELL: But did he stay in contact with Mr. Trump or any of the senior principals of the campaign?

MR. DEARBORN: That would be a great question for them, but I don't know.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. To your knowledge, the answer is no?

MR. DEARBORN: Yeah, I'm sorry. No, sir.

MR. SWALWELL: Were you working at the White House on May 9th, 2017, still part of the team?

MR. DEARBORN: Should be. Should've been.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you have any foreknowledge of President Trump's firing of James Comey?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

MR. SWALWELL: Would any part of that decision come under -- was any part of that decision -- would any part of that decision come under your responsibilities?

MR. DEARBORN: Absolutely not.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Were you aware that it was about to happen?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Up until May 9th, 2017 -- so think about the first time that you joined the campaign up until May 9th of 2017 -- did you ever hear candidate Trump or President-elect Trump or President Trump express any opinion about James Comey?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: During the transition period, did you discuss the future of any of the prior administration officials who would be held over, like the National Security Advisor, the FBI Director, individuals like that who had long-term appointments?

MR. DEARBORN: Not them per se, but, yes, we of course talked about holdovers in terms of continuity of government. That was part of the transition. You had to identify who were key individuals for certain positions. And a whole slate were asked if they could stay on board for an interim period.

MR. SWALWELL: And that included, of individuals asked to stay on board, James Comey. Is that right?

MR. DEARBORN: Yeah, it may have. But it was government-wide, so it was combing kind of all the agencies.

MR. SWALWELL: And for sign-off on that, did you have to go to the President-elect?

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

MR. DEARBORN: I don't know if -- I'll be really honest with you. I don't know if he ultimately signed off. He very well could have. I think we put a list together, and then, you know, Reince was tapped as chief of staff, and so we would take kind of final decisions like that to him. He would ask us questions about it. Why do these people need to be tapped? Well, here's the reason why. You know, FAA, all these different things. Things have to keep, you know, working.

But I don't recall that that list would necessarily have to have the President sign off. It was a necessary continuity function of government.

MR. SWALWELL: Have you ever heard Jared Kushner express an opinion -- campaign, transition, White House -- on James Comey?

MR. DEARBORN: I have not.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you hear, anytime during your part of the campaign, transition, or at the White House, any individual advocate for the firing of James Comey?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Were you shocked when he was fired?

MR. DEARBORN: Surprised, like anyone else.

MR. SWALWELL: Why were you surprised?

MR. DEARBORN: I think any time a high-profile individual is fired, it's probably a surprising event.

MR. SWALWELL: As deputy chief of staff, were you aware of who would come in and out of the Oval Office?

MR. DEARBORN: That was Oval Office operations that fell underneath Joe Hagan. I was not in charge of Oval Office operations.

MR. SWALWELL: And did Keith Schiller fall under Joe Hagan's

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

responsibilities?

MR. DEARBORN: He did.

MR. SWALWELL: Is your office over in OEOB, or are you at the West Wing?

MR. DEARBORN: Second floor of the West Wing.

MR. SWALWELL: It's pretty good real estate.

MR. DEARBORN: It's not bad.

MR. SWALWELL: Yeah.

Are you familiar with a May 10 meeting at the White House where Russian Ambassador Sergey Kislyak and Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov met with President Trump at the Oval Office?

MR. DEARBORN: Only the news reports, I think maybe the day or two after it happened.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you see them at the White House?

MR. DEARBORN: I didn't.

MR. SWALWELL: Did Donald Trump ever talk to you after that meeting about what occurred?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you talk with anyone who was in the meeting after it occurred?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: On January 27, the same day as George Papadopoulos was first approached by the FBI, but later that day, Donald Trump calls James Comey and invites him over to the White House for a private dinner.

MR. DEARBORN: Okay.

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

MR. SWALWELL: Were you at the White House that day?

MR. DEARBORN: I'm sure I was.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you see James Comey come over for dinner?

MR. DEARBORN: I did not.

MR. SWALWELL: Are you aware of who was in that dinner with the President, if anyone else?

MR. DEARBORN: I wouldn't have known. It would have been listed on the schedule probably.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you ever talk to the President after that January 27th dinner with James Comey?

MR. DEARBORN: I did not.

MR. SWALWELL: On February 14th --

MR. COFFIELD: Just for purposes of the record, I just want to clarify. He's absolutely spoken to the President since that dinner, but not about this.

MR. DEARBORN: Oh, yes. I'm sorry. I thought that was implied.

MR. COFFIELD: I just didn't want the record to imply that he hadn't talked to the President since that day.

MR. SWALWELL: Yeah. It's good to make that clear.

MR. DEARBORN: I am not going to apologize for being a nonlawyer, I'm telling you that now. But that's what I meant.

MR. COFFIELD: I just didn't want this transcript to look --

MR. SWALWELL: February 14th -- are you familiar with what has now been testified to in Congress and reported by the press of a February 14 meeting with Reince Priebus, Attorney General Sessions, James Comey, Jared Kushner, and Donald Trump in the Oval Office?



UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

MR. DEARBORN: Press reports. Sure.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. You were at the White House that day?

MR. DEARBORN: Yes, sir.

MR. SWALWELL: Were you aware that that meeting was to occur?

MR. DEARBORN: It may have been on the schedule.

MR. SWALWELL: And did you look at the schedule day after day?

MR. DEARBORN: Everybody there looks at the schedule every day, yes, sir. But to be clear, the schedule, you know, "Meeting with X." It doesn't tell you a lot.

MR. SWALWELL: Did President Trump ever tell you anything about that February 14th meeting?

MR. DEARBORN: No, he did not.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you talk to any of the participants of that meeting about what occurred that day?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't believe so.

MR. SWALWELL: On March 30th, it's been testified to by James Comey and acknowledged by President Trump that there was a phone call between President Trump and then-FBI Director James Comey.

Did you ever get a readout from President Trump about his phone call with James Comey on March 30th?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you ever talk to anyone else who was familiar with the call about that call?

MR. DEARBORN: Not to my knowledge.

MR. SWALWELL: The same question for April 11th, testified to by James

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

Comey, acknowledged by Donald Trump, a telephone call. Did you ever talk to Donald Trump about that telephone call?

MR. DEARBORN: No, sir.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you ever talk to anyone who was familiar with the call?

MR. DEARBORN: Not to my knowledge.

MR. SWALWELL: On March 20, 2017, Director Comey appeared before our committee in an open hearing and confirmed for the first time that the FBI had an active criminal and counterintelligence investigation. Do you remember that day?

MR. DEARBORN: Yes, sir.

MR. SWALWELL: Were you with the President when that testimony occurred?

MR. DEARBORN: When Comey's actual testimony occurred?

MR. SWALWELL: Yeah.

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Or do you know if he watched it?

MR. DEARBORN: I wouldn't know.

MR. SWALWELL: Did he ever say anything to you that day or in the days after about James Comey's testimony?

MR. DEARBORN: He did not.

MR. SWALWELL: Did anyone familiar with the President's feelings say anything about how the President reacted to James Comey's testimony that day?

MR. DEARBORN: Not to my knowledge.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you ever talk to Attorney General Sessions about James Comey?

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Even all the way up to today?

MR. DEARBORN: I mean, he always liked Comey. We've talked about that. But I have no date stamp on that, so --

MR. SWALWELL: Attorney General Sessions, if you recall, recused himself from the Russia investigation. Prior to Attorney General Sessions making that decision, did you talk with Attorney General Sessions about making that decision?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't -- so there's a Mukasey memo that we're told about up front. The answer is no, but it's because of the Mukasey memo. And Don McGhan was pretty clear, "I deal with the Attorney General," unless it was some policy on the Hill.

MR. SWALWELL: Wait, can you say that again? That Don McGhan deals with the Attorney General, not you?

MR. DEARBORN: Yeah, that's the details of the Mukasey memo, which kind of applies to all of us in the West Wing.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. So your testimony is that, prior to Attorney General Sessions' decision to recuse, you did not talk to him about that decision?

MR. DEARBORN: No, we didn't discuss that. No.

MR. SWALWELL: Post-recusal, have you ever talked to Attorney General Sessions about his recusal?

MR. DEARBORN: I'm sure that I have, but I'm sure it was light. It wasn't, like, in depth.

MR. SWALWELL: Like, how light? What was said?

MR. DEARBORN: Probably something to the effect of, if the lawyers gave you the advice, you did the right thing, kind of deal.

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

MR. SWALWELL: Do you think he did the right thing?

MR. DEARBORN: I think the Attorney General always follows the law.

MR. SWALWELL: Recently, a book was published by Michael Wolff called "Fire and Fury," where there's an account of a meeting between Attorney General Sessions and Deputy Attorney General Rob Rosenstein during the first week of May of 2017.

According to the book, the President had a ranting meeting with Sessions and his deputy, Rosenstein. It was a humiliating meeting, according to the book, for both men, with Donald Trump insisting they couldn't control their own people and pushing them to find a reason to fire Comey. In effect, he blamed them, the book said, for not having come up with that reason months ago.

Were you aware that this meeting took place?

MR. DEARBORN: I'm certain the meeting took place.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Why are you certain?

MR. DEARBORN: Well, if it was on the schedule. I'm not certain. I'm not aware that it took place. You were saying that it did. Then it probably did.

MR. SWALWELL: Yeah, I'm giving you, sorry, the account of the book.

The book alleges --

MR. DEARBORN: I didn't read that passage.

MR. COFFIELD: That's not the question. The question is, were you aware of the meeting that was described in the book?

MR. DEARBORN: Just by accounts, yeah.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. By accounts in the book or the press?

MR. DEARBORN: By press.

MR. SWALWELL: Did anyone in the White House discuss this meeting?

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

MR. DEARBORN: Not in any detail.

MR. SWALWELL: What was discussed?

MR. DEARBORN: I think the only thing I heard may have been that there was a tense meeting with the Attorney General.

MR. SWALWELL: What did you hear about Donald Trump's feelings about the Attorney General being able to find a reason to fire Comey?

MR. DEARBORN: What do you mean?

MR. SWALWELL: Did you ever hear anything about that?

MR. DEARBORN: Well, I think everybody had an opinion about it, but, I mean, no one --

MR. COFFIELD: The question is, did you hear anything about the President's --

MR. DEARBORN: No. No.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you learn why individuals around you believed it was a tense meeting?

MR. DEARBORN: Did I learn why?

MR. SWALWELL: Like, what made it tense?

MR. DEARBORN: I think it was just people's opinion based on accounts that they would've received but I didn't receive firsthand.

MR. SWALWELL: Who had expressed this to you?

MR. DEARBORN: Everybody that knew that I worked for Jeff Sessions, probably.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Who do you recall expressing that to you?

MR. DEARBORN: I mean, probably a myriad of different people.

MR. SWALWELL: Right. And just to your recollection, which individuals?

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

MR. DEARBORN: Not really the senior staff. I mean, people that were maybe assistants to the President. But, you know, just hearing in passing. More so when accounts come out in the press, right?

MR. SWALWELL: Right.

Did -- let me back up. President Trump knew that you had worked for Senator Sessions. Is that right?

MR. DEARBORN: I'm certain he was aware of that.

MR. SWALWELL: Has he ever acknowledged that to you?

MR. DEARBORN: Directly?

MR. SWALWELL: Like, you know, "Hey, you're Sessions' guy," or in some way acknowledging that he knows that you were linked to Sessions.

MR. DEARBORN: I don't know if he's ever called me Sessions' guy.

MR. SWALWELL: And I don't mean like that. I mean, like, did he ever acknowledge in some way that, you know, you were on the Sessions team or you came from Sessions, like, some way for you to know that he knows --

MR. DEARBORN: Maybe really early on, but he never really said, you're a Sessions guy.

MR. SWALWELL: Has he ever expressed to you any opinions about Attorney General Sessions, President Trump?

MR. DEARBORN: Yeah, but they've always been positive.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay.

Has President Trump ever expressed to you any opinions about or any thoughts about the Russia investigation?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Has President Trump ever expressed to you any

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

opinions or thoughts about Bob Mueller's investigation?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: On page 212 of the "Fire and Fury" book, there's a passage about another discussion at the White House, same week. The book says, in quotes: "There was a meeting that included the President, Jared and Ivanka, Bannon, Priebus, and White House Counsel Don McGhan. It was closed door, widely noted because it was unusual for the Oval Office door ever to be closed."

Does this meeting ring a bell?

MR. DEARBORN: Nope.

MR. SWALWELL: Have you ever talked to the President about the Russia investigation?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Have you ever talked to Jared Kushner about the Russia investigation?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Have you ever talked with Ivanka Trump about the Russia investigation?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Have you ever talked with Don McGhan about the Russia investigation?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Have you talked to anyone at the White House about your testimony today?

MR. DEARBORN: White House counsel.

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

MR. SWALWELL: And what did you express to White House counsel?

MR. DEARBORN: I'm going to go testify before the House Intel Committee.

MR. SWALWELL: Are you under any direction from the White House to refrain from answering any questions from this committee?

MR. DEARBORN: None whatsoever.

MR. SWALWELL: On June 7th, 2016, which is 2 days before the widely known Trump Tower meeting with Don Jr., candidate Trump announced at a campaign event, "I'm going to give a major speech probably Monday of next week, and we're going to be discussing all the things that have been taking place with the Clintons. I think you're going to find it very informative and very interesting."

Do you recall candidate Trump making that statement, kind of teasing a release of information on Hillary Clinton?

MR. DEARBORN: Yeah, vaguely.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Did you know what he was referring to?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you know whether Stephen Miller wrote that speech or if it was the President speaking ad hoc?

MR. DEARBORN: I wouldn't know for sure, no.

MR. SWALWELL: On June 9th, 2016, Donald Trump Jr., Paul Manafort, and Jared Kushner met with individuals from Russia and who had arranged the meeting at Trump Tower. Were you aware that that meeting took place?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: When did you first become aware of that meeting?

MR. DEARBORN: Reports in the press.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you ever talk to anyone at the White House after



UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

reports in the press about that meeting?

MR. DEARBORN: No, not really.

MR. SWALWELL: Were you a part of any response that was being drafted for that meeting?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Are you familiar with efforts to draft a response for that meeting?

MR. DEARBORN: Just by what I've seen reported.

MR. SWALWELL: But you don't have firsthand knowledge of who was responsible for drafting that response?

MR. DEARBORN: No. That's not my responsibility.

MR. SWALWELL: If I wanted to know where Donald Trump was when that June 9th meeting took place, how would I find that out, just based on your knowledge of the campaign?

MR. DEARBORN: I'm not sure. Maybe through Rhona would be my best guess.

MR. SWALWELL: Because she keeps the calendar?

MR. DEARBORN: I'm guessing that she does. I mean, she did his entire life, so that would be -- but now I'm making an assumption. So I don't know.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay.

On July 8th, 2017, The New York Times broke the first news about the June 9, 2016, meeting. Do you know how The New York Times got that information?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't.

MR. SWALWELL: On June 9, 2016, about the same time the meeting in Trump Tower was taking place, candidate Trump at 4:40 p.m. tweeted, "How long

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

did it take your staff of 823 people to think that up, and where are your 33,000 emails that you deleted?" It was a tweet in response to Secretary Clinton.

Were you with candidate Trump when he made that tweet?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you remember that tweet?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't know how many thousands of tweets he's done, but I'll have to be honest with you and tell you that I'll just have to take your word for it that he sent that out.

MR. SWALWELL: Were you aware of any efforts among the campaign to try and procure the 33,000 deleted tweets?

MR. DEARBORN: Deleted tweets?

MR. SWALWELL: I'm sorry. Deleted emails?

MR. DEARBORN: Not to my knowledge.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. And you're familiar that there was discussion throughout the campaign about 33,000 missing emails of Secretary Clinton?

MR. DEARBORN: It was a constant theme, sure.

MR. SWALWELL: And I guess my question, just to clarify, was it discussed among any individuals that you were working with, you know, that it would be great to have or know what are in these 33,000 emails?

MR. DEARBORN: I'm sure people would love to have known, but if you're asking if there was an effort that I'm aware of, I'm not.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay.

What was your role at the Republican National Convention?

MR. DEARBORN: Originally, it was to try to work with Republican Members and just kind of stay connected, but then I also had the small policy shop. So the

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

RNC and the campaign got together and, you know, they just wanted to make sure that as they went through the platform, that the then-candidate and hopefully soon to be nominee, that his -- his views would be reflected in, you know, the platform, to be just consistent.

MR. SWALWELL: Who was responsible for making sure that the nominee's views would be reflected in the platform?

MR. DEARBORN: I guess ultimately I had that responsibility, but I would always -- you know, we would try to -- on any given day -- or I think it all happened on one day, if I remember right. But we tried to -- I think it was over a 2-day period, maybe 2- or 3-day period. It gets a little blurry.

But we would -- we would try to just update people. Like here's what he said in the speech and this is consistent with where he is, and depending upon what the topic was.

MR. SWALWELL: What -- yeah, for his 3 o'clock.

MR. CONAWAY: You expressed a desire to go to the Bob Dole deal at 3?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't think I'm going to make that. That's okay.

MR. SWALWELL: No, I don't want to stand in the way of that.

MR. CONAWAY: Are you through?

MR. SWALWELL: No, but I'm happy to wait for him to go. I don't have much more.

MR. DEARBORN: No, it's fine.

MR. COFFIELD: Mr. Chairman, Congressman, I think it's his desire to finish this. So he --

MR. SWALWELL: I know, but I do have about probably --

MR. COFFIELD: No, no, no, no, we understand that.

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

MR. DEARBORN: I'll make it easy on you guys. At this point, with security and everything, by the time I get over there, it's already baked and gone. So don't worry about it.

MR. COFFIELD: And, Congressman, it's not your fault. We're not looking at it that way.

MR. DEARBORN: No, look. Great American getting an award, it's about time. That's my two cents. There you go. That's on the record, too.

MR. SWALWELL: There was a Ukraine amendment at the platform committee. Do you remember that?

MR. DEARBORN: I do.

MR. SWALWELL: What did you understand the candidate's -- the nominee's position would be if there was an effort to have the Republican Party's platform express that lethal assistance should be provided to Ukraine?

MR. DEARBORN: Well, my understanding was different from what happened. So I didn't necessarily have --

MR. SWALWELL: I guess let me just back up. I'm not talking about what happened. I'm just saying the day -- let's just say the night before the first platform committee meeting, if someone said to you, Hey, Rick, what do we do if there's a proposal to provide lethal assistance to Ukraine.

MR. DEARBORN: Right.

MR. SWALWELL: What would you have believed the candidate's preference would have been?

MR. DEARBORN: So that discussion didn't happen, and I didn't have a view on it the night before.

MR. SWALWELL: Were you aware that others were corresponding about

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

what the candidate's view on Ukraine was, based on interactions with the candidate, other campaign officials?

MR. DEARBORN: You'd have to be more specific. That's too vague for me. I don't know what you mean.

MR. SWALWELL: So did you see any internal campaign emails prior to this decision point about what were redlines for Donald Trump, based on his beliefs on Ukraine and Russia?

MR. DEARBORN: There would have been some policy positions put together just as guidance in each one of the buckets as we did the different issue sets. I may have skimmed over it, but there was no, like, meeting to kind of walk through, we're going to fight for X, Y and Z. Everybody was just kind of responsible for knowing what he had said, and then kind of sizing that up against whatever was going to go on in that particular subcommittee at the convention.

MR. SWALWELL: And I guess I'm, in part, referring to this Dearborn production 107 where you, as you testified, from some source on the campaign, copied and pasted a sequence of events prior to the Ukraine amendment discussion, and under Monday, July 11, you stated, or this individual stated, "Based upon foreign policy discussions in D.C. with the nominee in March regarding support to Ukraine, lethal assistance was a geopolitical concern raised in the discussion."

So I guess if you read that, it would suggest that at least some individuals on the campaign had knowledge of what candidate Trump's beliefs were around lethal assistance to Ukraine.

MR. DEARBORN: Oh, I'm sure many people had views on that. But this is an after-action report. This is almost 1 month later. It's a tick tock of what happened in that subcommittee, the sequence of events.

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

MR. SWALWELL: Are you familiar that J.D. Gordon believes that the candidate provided guidance at that March 2016 meeting to ease up on Ukraine? Did you understand that that was J.D. Gordon's knowledge?

MR. DEARBORN: I'm sure J.D. Gordon had a view of what the then-candidate's thoughts were on Ukraine.

MR. SWALWELL: When did you become aware of the pro-Ukraine amendment that was offered?

MR. DEARBORN: John Mashburn and I were -- I think we got a text to come into the national security room. And we -- yeah. So we went over to see J.D.

MR. SWALWELL: You got a text from J.D.?

MR. DEARBORN: It was either from J.D. or from one of the delegates saying, Hey, there's an issue and J.D. wants to talk to you about this issue.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you still have that text message?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't -- like I -- well, was it a text?

MR. SWALWELL: Because you said you used your personal phone, right?

MR. DEARBORN: Yeah. I can go back and look, but I can't remember if it was a text or if John got texted and he got me or how it worked.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Can you review?

MR. DEARBORN: Sure.

MR. SWALWELL: And provide if you find it.

MR. DEARBORN: Sure.

MR. COFFIELD: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: What was discussed once J.D. alerted you and John that there was an issue?

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

MR. DEARBORN: So he's sitting at a side table.

MR. SWALWELL: Who's "he"?

MR. DEARBORN: J.D. Gordon is sitting at a side table, and the delegates are all kind of in a square discussing. And John and I went in, and he explained that there was an upcoming amendment on Ukraine and he wanted to make sure that that amendment was in line with what he felt the candidate's position was.

MR. SWALWELL: And what did J.D. express to you about the candidate's position was?

MR. DEARBORN: Appropriate assistance, I believe, versus lethal assistance, I think, was the distinction he was trying to make.

MR. SWALWELL: What do you believe Senator Sessions' position was on that issue?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't know if we talked about it much. I don't think we had a discussion about it.

MR. SWALWELL: Prior to talking to J.D., what did you believe candidate Trump's position was on that issue?

MR. DEARBORN: Well, I didn't talk to him about that either. So short of it being referenced in a speech or discussed at a meeting, I wasn't really focused on that.

MR. SWALWELL: So why change the language?

MR. DEARBORN: I think J.D.'s view was he wanted to make sure, in his opinion, that it was consistent with the candidate's position.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you ever discuss the Ukraine platform position with any foreign officials or foreign nationals?

MR. DEARBORN: I did not.

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

MR. SWALWELL: Are you familiar, or do you know whether J.D. did?

MR. DEARBORN: I have no idea.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you know whether Mr. Mashburn did?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't know.

MR. SWALWELL: Other than you, J.D., and Mr. Mashburn, who would have been familiar with the decision to address the Ukraine amendment?

MR. DEARBORN: Matt Miller was also there with J.D. Gordon.

MR. SWALWELL: What was his role?

MR. DEARBORN: Matt was a volunteer. He handled -- J.D. was doing kind of foreign policy and defense. Matt had kind of a -- a specialty in Veterans Affairs, because they would -- that subcommittee would deal with veterans' issues too.

MR. SWALWELL: On July 14, 2016, Carter Page emailed J.D. Gordon, other foreign policy team members, and said: "As for the Ukraine amendment, excellent work. Based on everything I've heard from the Clinton gang in recent days, I know they have exactly those kinds of tactics which were redlined in Cleveland."

Were you familiar with this Carter Page email?

MR. DEARBORN: I wasn't.

MR. SWALWELL: Did anyone ever talk about that email around you?

MR. DEARBORN: I learned about it after the fact by accounts.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you go to the Global Partners in Diplomacy conference on July 20 in Cleveland?



UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

[2:57 p.m.]

MR. DEARBORN: No. Was that the meeting with the diplomats?

MR. SWALWELL: Yes.

MR. DEARBORN: No, I didn't go to that.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you know if Senator Sessions attended that?

MR. DEARBORN: I think he did.

MR. SWALWELL: And who on staff would have assisted Senator Sessions?

MR. DEARBORN: Sandy Luff.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. During the campaign, how often did foreign officials meet with members of the campaign or the candidate?

MR. DEARBORN: There were all kinds of series of meetings that were arranged through the embassies. That was usually handled by J.D. Gordon and Tera Dahl; Whalid for some period, until Whalid left. And any -- and there may have been other meetings set up, but those are the only ones that I'm really aware of. Is that helpful?

MR. SWALWELL: Yeah.

MR. DEARBORN: Okay.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you know of Donald Trump Jr.'s October 2016 trip to Paris?

MR. DEARBORN: Did I what about it?

MR. SWALWELL: Did you know about it?

MR. DEARBORN: No. There would be no reason for me to know about it, short of it being reported, if it had been.

MR. SWALWELL: Did he ever talk to you about it when he got back?

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you know who Peter Smith is?

MR. DEARBORN: I know a lot of Peter Smiths, so --

MR. SWALWELL: It's a common name.

MR. DEARBORN: Yeah.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you know a Peter Smith who has been reported about -- a deceased Peter Smith who has been reported about in The Wall Street Journal as a GOP operative who claimed he was working with Michael Flynn to obtain Hillary Clinton's 33,000 missing emails?

MR. DEARBORN: No. I mean, short of maybe reading about it, I don't -- I wouldn't know him.

MR. SWALWELL: Did General Flynn ever mention Peter Smith to you?

MR. DEARBORN: Not to my knowledge. I've had way too much water. Is it possible --

MR. SWALWELL: Yeah. Yeah.

MR. DEARBORN: But stay right here. I'll be fast.

MR. SWALWELL: Yeah, go ahead.

MR. DEARBORN: Thank you very much.

MR. SWALWELL: Yeah, no problem.

[Recess.]

MR. SWALWELL: Just going back to the Comey -- back on the record. Going back to the Comey firing, it was reported that when that occurred that the President -- prior to the May 9 firing, that the President was in Bedminster, New Jersey, with Jared, Ivanka, and Stephen Miller. Were you aware of that?

MR. DEARBORN: By accounts, by the reports, yes.

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

MR. SWALWELL: Were you aware of that by any individuals in the White House?

MR. DEARBORN: It probably would have been on the trip book too. And you skim it; I don't know if I -- I don't think I burned it to memory, but it would have been on the trip book, right.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. And that would include who was traveling with the President?

MR. DEARBORN: Sure.

MR. SWALWELL: Or visiting with the President?

MR. DEARBORN: Just traveling.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you know if -- independently of press if Jared and Ivanka were with the President?

MR. DEARBORN: Just by what I've seen that was on the account and a trip book, I'm assuming that they were.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Have you seen the trip book for that date?

MR. DEARBORN: For that particular date?

MR. SWALWELL: Yeah.

MR. DEARBORN: I've seen 1,000 trip books, so I may have seen it, but like I said, I can't really recall. I couldn't sit here and tell you that all these people were on it or not.

MR. SWALWELL: Was Stephen Miller with the President that weekend?

MR. DEARBORN: I think it was reported but -- and it would have probably been in the trip book as well.

MR. SWALWELL: Have you talked to Stephen about that weekend?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

MR. SWALWELL: Have you talked to Stephen Miller about the firing of James Comey?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Has he ever expressed an opinion to you about the Russia investigation, Mr. Miller?

MR. DEARBORN: No, he's not.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you know if Hope Hicks was with the President in Bedminster that weekend?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't.

MR. SWALWELL: According to that same book referenced earlier, that weekend at Bedminster, the President --

MR. DEARBORN: Which book was this?

MR. SWALWELL: Fire and Fury.

MR. COFFIELD: Is there another book out?

MR. DEARBORN: That's the one I was talking about.

MR. SWALWELL: Hopefully not, right, for Mr. Dearborn's sake.

The book says, "That weekend at Bedminster, the President, listening to the deep dismay of his daughter and son-in-law, built up another head of steam with Jared and Ivanka. Stephen Miller with also along for the weekend."

And it goes onto say that the President worked with Jared Kushner -- worked with Jared, Ivanka, and Stephen Miller on why the FBI Director should be fired and asked him to draft a letter that could set out the basis for immediate dismissal. Were you aware of any of this?

MR. DEARBORN: I have no insight on any of that.

MR. SWALWELL: And I just want to make sure I understand. I've never

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

worked at the White House, but it's not that many people working in the West Wing, right?

MR. DEARBORN: So there are people with offices in the West Wing, and there are a lot of other people who worked in the West Wing even though they don't have offices. You'd be surprised how many people are in and buzzing around the West Wing.

MR. SWALWELL: And --

MR. DEARBORN: And just so you have a sense of it, so with the EEOB right next door, some people's responsibilities may be centered around a lot of things in the West Wing. And they physically may have a desk over in EEOB, but they may spend half the day, or three-quarters of the day in the West Wing.

MR. SWALWELL: But to hear you describe the West Wing or at least your role, it sounds like it's so compartmentalized that you don't even pick up chatter, scuttle, gossip, or reactions to, like, what's going on contemporaneously.

MR. DEARBORN: Oh, I pick this stuff up every moment of the day, but no one had real interest in any of this stuff.

MR. SWALWELL: So your testimony is there was no talk that you picked up about the decision among the President's son-in-law, Stephen Miller, Hope Hicks, to fire James Comey?

MR. DEARBORN: No. I mean, just -- it wasn't -- if you're asking me was it water cooler discussion, it just -- it wasn't.

MR. SWALWELL: The letter that they drafted, according to the book, from -- by Miller and Hicks from Kushner's directions, or instructions directly coming from the President, was an off-the-wall mishmash containing Comey's handling of the Hillary Clinton investigation, the assertion from Kushner that the FBI itself had

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

turned against Comey, and the President's key obsession, the fact that Comey wouldn't publicly acknowledge that the President wasn't under investigation that would form the Trump family's case for firing Comey. That is everything but the fact that Comey's FBI was investigating the President.

The passage goes onto say that the White House counsels quashed sending the letter, but that it was passed to Sessions and Rosenstein, who quickly began drafting their own version of what Kushner and the President obviously wanted.

Does any of that sound familiar to your personal knowledge or what you've heard from others?

MR. DEARBORN: Not my personal knowledge, and, you know, other than whatever has come out in reports that's been assumed. But, you know -- so the book and different press reports come out and make assumptions about things. I've seen those accounts.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you know Roger Stone?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't know Roger Stone.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you ever see Roger Stone interact with the President during the campaign?

MR. DEARBORN: Never saw it.

MR. SWALWELL: Have you seen Roger Stone at the White House?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't want to say I haven't seen him there. He may have been there.

MR. SWALWELL: Have you ever seen him in the logs of visitors?

MR. DEARBORN: I never review the logs. That's the domain of Joe Hagan. It's not my responsibility.

MR. SWALWELL: Are you aware of any phone calls during the campaign

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

transition or presidency between Roger Stone and Donald Trump?

MR. DEARBORN: I'd have no knowledge of that.

MR. SWALWELL: Were you aware when you were working with the campaign of Donald Trump Jr.'s communications with WikiLeaks?

MR. DEARBORN: No. I mean, just, again, things that are out reported in the press.

MR. SWALWELL: Were you aware of anyone on the campaign attempting to reach out to WikiLeaks during the campaign?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: What would you advise -- what would you have advised if you learned that that was going on, or would you not have had an opinion?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't know that I had much of an opinion about it.

MR. SWALWELL: Does the White House have a recording system in the Oval Office?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't know.

MR. SWALWELL: Who would know?

MR. DEARBORN: Joe Hagan.

MR. SWALWELL: Have you ever heard any individual talk about a recording system?

MR. DEARBORN: In the movies.

MR. SWALWELL: No, but, I mean, in your job now?

MR. DEARBORN: No, sir. Again, I wasn't trying to be flippant. I just --

MR. SWALWELL: No. I understand.

MR. DEARBORN: That seemed like an easy softball. I had to take at least one swing.

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

MR. SWALWELL: Yeah. And prior administration at least, one prior administration.

MR. DEARBORN: Right. Exactly.

MR. SWALWELL: You're familiar with President Trump's tweet that James Comey better hope that there aren't tapes?

MR. DEARBORN: I have seen that.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Do you know what he was referring to?

MR. DEARBORN: I do not.

MR. SWALWELL: Have you ever seen Corey Lewandowski at the White House?

MR. DEARBORN: Yes.

MR. SWALWELL: How often?

MR. DEARBORN: Frequent.

MR. SWALWELL: How frequently?

MR. DEARBORN: That's tough. How would I describe it? Easily once a month, sometimes maybe twice a month, but probably more like once a month.

MR. SWALWELL: Who was he meeting with?

MR. DEARBORN: I really don't -- I mean, various individuals. When I run into him, he might tell me, hey, I'm going to come meet with this person or that person. I mean, so he has different meetings.

MR. SWALWELL: Has he ever met with the President about the Russia investigation?

MR. DEARBORN: I wouldn't know.

MR. SWALWELL: Has Mr. Lewandowski ever expressed to you any opinions about the Russia investigation?



UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

MR. DEARBORN: Yeah, in passing.

MR. SWALWELL: What has he said in passing?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't think he's a big fan of the Russia investigations, is the absolute nicest way I could put it.

MR. SWALWELL: What's the just honest, candid way you'd describe, or relay what he said?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't think he puts a lot of stock in the Russia investigations.

MR. SWALWELL: I guess, what has he said exactly?

MR. DEARBORN: That they're a load of crap --

MR. SWALWELL: Okay.

MR. DEARBORN: -- probably.

MR. SWALWELL: How much interaction did you have with Donald Trump Jr.?

MR. DEARBORN: I've had interactions with him over the course of the last 2 years, probably more so in the campaign. I haven't really -- I've seen Don Jr. maybe once, twice at the most since the Inauguration. He's -- I just haven't seen him down here that have often.

MR. SWALWELL: Have you seen him at the White House?

MR. DEARBORN: I'm literally trying to remember if I saw him for an event at the White House. I really -- I just -- I really can't recall.

MR. SWALWELL: Have you ever talked to Donald Trump Jr. about any contacts that he or his family has with Russia?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: How about Ivanka Trump? How often did you interact

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

with her during the campaign?

MR. DEARBORN: More so after the inaugural. Not as much during the campaign. A couple times during the campaign maybe.

MR. SWALWELL: And has she expressed an opinion about the Russia investigation?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: How about Eric Trump? Did you work with him during the campaign?

MR. DEARBORN: I had a couple of chances to meet with and work with Eric Trump, uh-huh.

MR. SWALWELL: Eric Trump said publicly a couple years ago that primarily the Trump Organization's financing is coming from Russia. Did you ever talk to Eric Trump about the family's business dealings with Russia?

MR. DEARBORN: No, sir, I didn't.

MR. SWALWELL: Did the President's children, during the course of the campaign, have their own staff assigned to them or body persons assigned to them?

MR. DEARBORN: Not that I ever saw. I mean, they were pretty independent. They would come in, you'd talk to them directly, or they'd show up solo or -- yeah. I mean, I never really noticed any kind of body people with them.

MR. SWALWELL: Have you ever been to Russia?

MR. DEARBORN: No.

MR. SWALWELL: Ever been to any of the Baltic or Balkan border states?

MR. DEARBORN: You'd have to list them all off, but I'm thinking no. I've been to China.

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

MR. SWALWELL: How about Ukraine?

MR. DEARBORN: Never been to Ukraine.

MR. SWALWELL: Hungary?

MR. DEARBORN: Yes, but I -- no, I'm sorry. I had to do that one. No.

MR. SWALWELL: You are hungry. It's almost lunch.

How about during the course of the campaign, did you ever travel outside the United States?

MR. DEARBORN: No, only domestic.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you know whether Michael Cohen traveled outside the United States?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't. I mean, short of reports that would say he did, but I don't remember.

MR. SWALWELL: How about during the transition, did you ever conduct any foreign travel?

MR. DEARBORN: I did not.

MR. SWALWELL: How about being on White House staff, have you conducted any foreign travel?

MR. DEARBORN: That's kind of what I meant with my answer, I've only traveled domestically with the President, so --

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Got it.

MR. DEARBORN: Yeah.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you have a security clearance?

MR. DEARBORN: I do.

MR. SWALWELL: Did you read the Intelligence Community assessment on Russian interference?

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

MR. DEARBORN: I don't know if I personally read that. The routing of different reports is an NSC domain, and just because you have a clearance doesn't mean that they just route you every report. I guess, if I wanted to see it, I guess I could have, but I've never asked to see it.

MR. SWALWELL: Have you read the unclassified version?

MR. DEARBORN: Probably not. I'll be real honest. I kind of walked through it a little earlier kind of what my responsibilities are, and that's just not one of them.

MR. SWALWELL: The Intelligence Community assessment is that Vladimir Putin, with a preference for Donald Trump, ordered his intelligence services to conduct an interference campaign in the past election.

MR. DEARBORN: Right.

MR. SWALWELL: What do you think of that assessment?

MR. DEARBORN: I think it's somebody's assessment.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you believe it?

MR. DEARBORN: I don't know what to believe.

MR. SWALWELL: I mean, it's not somebody's assessment. It's the CIA, FBI --

MR. DEARBORN: I guess, look, my answer in all that would be, I just don't know what to believe.

MR. SWALWELL: Why is that?

MR. DEARBORN: I just know -- I just don't know what to believe because there have been -- the assessments that have come out saying that this has happened and then you've got everybody else on the other side saying that it hasn't, I think everybody agrees that something did happen. So I'm not the dismissive,

UNCLASSIFIED, COMMITTEE SENSITIVE

it-didn't-happen guy. But it's kind of hard to believe -- it's kind of hard to know exactly what to believe with all the noise. Does that make sense?

MR. SWALWELL: I understand what you're saying.

MR. DEARBORN: Yeah.

MR. SWALWELL: But --

MR. DEARBORN: I'm not discrediting it. I'm not discounting it. I'm just saying, there's a basic assessment, and then there's everybody's interpretation and view of that assessment, which then kind of spins it out of control.

MR. SWALWELL: Right. And --

MR. DEARBORN: So the basic assessment, did it happen? Yes, I think everyone agrees to that. Anything beyond that, I don't know.

MR. SWALWELL: And the basic assessment, also with high confidence, is that Russia, through its cyber actors, indeed did hack emails, disseminate emails, and conduct a social media trolling campaign. Do you accept that basic assessment?

MR. DEARBORN: I think a lot of people do. I don't -- I honestly -- it's just not something I focus on. It's not -- I don't have a -- I haven't studied it in depth. It's not something that's in my wheelhouse for me to concern myself with. Does not -- I'm not trying to make light of the issue, but there are a lot of other people that will deal with that. It's not my thing to deal with.

MR. SWALWELL: Do you believe the Russians meddled in our election, the last one?

MR. DEARBORN: Yeah. By all accounts and government accounts, et cetera, the suggestion is that they did. To what degree and to -- that -- that's the piece that, I think, gets a little beyond.

MR. SWALWELL: Okay. Mr. Dearborn, I don't have anything else.

Thanks for spending your time with us this morning and this afternoon.

We'll go off the record.

[Whereupon, at 3:16 p.m., the interview was concluded.]