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## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY  
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6275

KOLAN L. DAVIS, *Chief Counsel and Staff Director*  
JENNIFER DUCK, *Democratic Chief Counsel and Staff Director*

January 25, 2018

### VIA EMAIL

Lt. Gen. Joseph Keith Kellogg, Jr. (Ret.)



Dear Lt. Gen. Kellogg:

As a member of the Trump campaign's foreign policy team, you worked alongside George Papadopoulos and Carter Page, both of whom had multiple contacts with Russian officials (or their surrogates) that they reported back to the campaign.<sup>1</sup> You also worked on the Trump transition team before joining the National Security Council and served as Chief of Staff under Lt. General Michael Flynn until his removal. Given your roles, we believe that you have information that would assist the Committee in its investigation related to Russian interference in the 2016 presidential election. Accordingly, we are writing to request documents and schedule an interview with you in February 2018.

In March 2016, George Papadopoulos, a fellow foreign policy adviser on the Trump campaign, met a London-based professor purporting to have connections to top Russian officials. In April 2016, the professor told Papadopoulos that the Russians had "dirt" on Hillary Clinton, "thousands of emails."<sup>2</sup> Mr. Papadopoulos reported to the Trump campaign's foreign policy team about his Russian contacts and sought to arrange a meeting between Russian leadership and the campaign.<sup>3</sup>

On December 1, 2017, Lt. General Flynn pleaded guilty to lying to the FBI about, among other things, conversations he had with then-Russian Ambassador

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.*, Testimony of Carter Page before the U.S. House of Representatives, Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, Nov. 2, 2017, Tr. at 17, 36, 105, 150, 203; Statement of the Offense of George Papadopoulos, 17 Cr 182, at ¶¶ 7, 11, 21 (D.D.C. Oct. 5, 2017).

<sup>2</sup> Statement of the Offense, *U.S. v. Papadopoulos*, 17-cr-00182 (Oct. 5, 2017), at ¶14

<sup>3</sup> Statement of the Offense, *U.S. v. Papadopoulos*, 17-cr-00182 (Oct. 5, 2017), at ¶¶7-15.

Sergey Kislyak about U.S. sanctions against Russia. You served as Chief of Staff on the National Security Council during the period when General Flynn lied to administration officials about his Russian contacts. It has been reported that, once the White House learned of those lies from Acting Attorney General Sally Yates, you started participating in the President's daily security briefings,<sup>4</sup> and—once General Flynn was removed—you served as the President's interim national security adviser.

The Intelligence Community has concluded that Russia interfered in the 2016 election, with the goal of undermining faith in our democratic processes and harming Secretary Clinton's candidacy.<sup>5</sup> As explained in the January 6, 2017 Intelligence Community assessment: "We further assess Putin and the Russian Government developed a clear preference for President-elect Trump."<sup>6</sup>

The Committee is investigating these matters, and we ask that you provide the following documents in advance of your interview with the Committee, covering the time period from June 15, 2015 to the present:

1. All communications to, from, or copied to you with George Papadopoulos, Carter Page, JD Gordon, Sam Clovis, Lt. General Michael Flynn, Charles Kubic, Brent Mizusawa, Joe Schmitz, Gary Harrell, Walid Phares, or other campaign advisors, concerning Joseph Mifsud, Olga Vinogradova (or any other person introduced as or believed to be the niece of Vladimir Putin), Russia, Ukraine, U.S. sanctions, or Vladimir Putin;
2. All documents concerning the selection, termination or resignation of Lt. General Michael Flynn as national security advisor, including communications regarding any statements made by the transition team or White House about Lt. General Flynn;
3. All documents concerning Lt. General Flynn's conversations or meetings with Ambassador Kislyak or other Russian government officials, associates, or representatives;

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<sup>4</sup> Julie Pace and Vivian Salama, "Trump knew Flynn misled WH weeks before ouster: official," Associated Press (Feb. 15, 2017).

<sup>5</sup> Office of the Director of National Intelligence, "Assessing Russian Activities and Intentions in Recent US Elections," ICA 2017-01D, January 6, 2017, at 2-3.

<sup>6</sup> Office of the Director of National Intelligence, "Assessing Russian Activities and Intentions in Recent US Elections," ICA 2017-01D, January 6, 2017, at 1.

4. All communications related to the investigation of Lt. General Flynn, including communications concerning his interactions with the Federal Bureau of Investigation or Department of Justice;
5. All communications related to the story written by David Ignatius that appeared in the Washington Post on January 12, 2017, titled “Why did Obama dawdle on Russia’s hacking”;
6. All communications to, from, copying, or referencing Lt. General Flynn related to US foreign policy on Russia (including sanctions or Russia’s relationship with the Ukraine), Turkey or the Turkish government, Fethullah Gulen, Sergey Kislyak, James Comey, or contacts with foreign governments officials, associates, or representatives, including any individuals who purported to act or whom were believed to be acting on behalf of or in concert with foreign government officials, associates, or representatives;
7. All communications concerning contacts between (a) you, Donald Trump, members of the Trump campaign or transition team, or associates of the Trump Organization, and (b) Russian government officials, associates, or representatives, including any individuals who purported to act or whom were believed to be acting on behalf of or in concert with Russian government officials, associates, or representatives, including any representative of Russian state-owned banks (e.g., Sberbank, Vnesheconombank, VEB, Vneshtorgbank, VTB) concerning Donald Trump or the 2016 U.S. election;
8. All communications concerning US foreign policy on Russia (including sanctions against Russia or Russia’s relationship with the Ukraine), Sergey Kislyak, or Vladimir Putin;
9. All documents concerning efforts to revise the Republican National Party Platform with regard to Russia, Ukraine, or Turkey;
10. All communications concerning Russian interference in the 2016 election, including all communications regarding emails of the Democratic National Committee, John Podesta, or Hillary Clinton;

11. All communications concerning the status, progress, or scope of the FBI's investigation of Russian interference in the 2016 election, including communications regarding press reporting on the investigation;
12. All documents concerning FBI Director Comey's interactions with Donald Trump; and
13. All documents concerning the firing of James Comey as Director of the FBI.

We appreciate your cooperation and prompt attention to this important matter and ask that you provide the requested material as soon as possible, but no later than February 7, 2018. Please contact Brian Privor on my staff at (202) 224-7703 to schedule your interview and discuss arrangements for document production.

Sincerely,



Dianne Feinstein  
United States Senator

cc: The Honorable Charles E. Grassley