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| 5 | |
| 6 | RECORDED INTERVIEW BETWEEN |
| 7 | (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) , FBI SPECIAL AGENT |
| 8 | (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) , FBI SPECIAL AGENT |
| 9 | (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) , ASSISTANT SPECIAL COUNSEL |
| 10 | (b)(6),(b)(7)(C), ASSISTANT SPECIAL COUNSEL |
| 11 | MARK ZWONITZER, WITNESS |
| 12 | LOUIS FREEMAN, ATTORNEY |
| 13 | LEE GINSBURG, ATTORNEY |
| 14 | |
| 15 | |
| 16 | |
| 17 | File: 230731_0074 |
| 18 | 230731_0075 |
| 19 | 230731_0076 |
| 20 | |
| 21 | Date: Monday, July 31, 2023 |
| 22 | |
| 23 | |
| 24 | Produced by: |
| 25 | Free State Reporting, Inc. |
| | |

| T | RECORDING |
|----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | (Start of 230731_0074.) |
| 3 | SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C): The date is July 31, 2023, and the |
| 4 | time is 9:27 a.m. and this is an interview with Mark |
| 5 | Zwonitzer. |
| 6 | MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C): All right. Good morning again, |
| 7 | Mr. Zwonitzer. Again, I'm (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) . I'm with the |
| 8 | Special Counsel's Office. |
| 9 | MR. $(b)(6),(b)(7)(C)$: And my name is $(b)(6),(b)(7)(C)$ also |
| 10 | with the special counsel. |
| 11 | SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C): I'm (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) , Special |
| 12 | Agent with the FBI. |
| 13 | SA $^{(b),(6),(b),(7)(C)}$: (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), Special Agent, FBI. |
| 14 | MR. FREEMAN: Lou Freeman, attorney for Mark |
| 15 | Zwonitzer. |
| 16 | MR. ZWONITZER: Mark Zwonitzer. |
| 17 | MR. GINSBURG: Lee Ginsburg, attorney for Mark |
| 18 | Zwonitzer. |
| 19 | MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C): Great. Well thanks a lot. |
| 20 | MR. ZWONITZER: Sure. |
| 21 | MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C): Really appreciate your time here. |
| 22 | And again, as I explained earlier, we're from the Special |
| 23 | Counsel's Office investigating potential mishandling of |
| 24 | classified material by former Vice President Biden. |
| 25 | Appreciate your willingness to be here this morning. |

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(00:00:51)
 1
                MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C): I'll reiterate what I said before.
 2
 3
     Obviously, the big rule here is you have to tell the truth,
 4
     and that at any point you feel like you -- it's hard to do
 5
     that or there's a question you either don't understand or
     you need a break before you answer it by all means just say
 6
 7
      can we take a break or ask me to reframe the questions.
                 It could be that I asked a terrible question.
 8
 9
     It's probably the most likely reason. But in any event it's
10
     not a problem. Okay?
11
                MR. ZWONITZER: Got it.
12
                MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C): Any questions for us?
13
                MR. ZWONITZER: No.
14
                MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C):
                                All right. Then we'll get going.
     All right. Can you tell us just a little bit about
15
16
     yourself? Where are you from?
17
                 MR. ZWONITZER:
                                           (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
18
19
20
                 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C):
21
22
23
                                        (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
24
25
                                  (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                MR. ZWONITZER:
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(00:01:40)
 1
                     MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 2
 3
 4
                          (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 5
                     MR.
 6
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                     (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                          (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 7
                     MR.
                                               (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 8
                                           (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 9
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
                          (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
10
                     MR.
11
12
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                     (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
13
14
15
16
                                                  (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
17
                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C):
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19
                                                     (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
20
21
                          (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
22
                     MR.
                                              (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
23
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                     (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
24
                                                  (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
25
                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C):
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| 1 | (00:02:23) |
|----|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 3 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 10 | |
| 11 | MR. $^{(b)}(6), (b)(7)(C)$: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 12 | |
| 13 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 14 | |
| 15 | |
| 16 | MR. $^{(b)}(6), (b)(7)(C)$: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 17 | |
| 18 | |
| 19 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 20 | |
| 21 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 22 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 23 | |
| 24 | |
| 25 | |
| | II |

| 1 | (00:03:14) |
|----|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 3 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 4 | |
| 5 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 6 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C). |
| 7 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 8 | |
| 9 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 10 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 11 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 20 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 21 | |
| 22 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 23 | MR. $^{(b) (6), (b) (7)(C)}$: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 24 | |
| 25 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 1 | (00:04:05) |
|----|---------------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 4 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 8 | MR. $^{(b)}(6), (b)(7)(C)$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 10 | |
| 11 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 1 | (00:05:25) |
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| 2 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 3 | |
| 4 | |
| 5 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (7) |
| 6 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 15 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 16 | |
| 17 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 18 | |
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| 20 | |
| 21 | |
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| 23 | |
| 24 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 25 | |
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| 1 | (00:06:43) |
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| 2 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 6 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 7 | |
| 8 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 15 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) $^{(b)(5),(b)(6),(b)(7)(C)}$ |
| 16 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 17 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 18 | |
| 19 | |
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| 20 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 20 21 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 21 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 21 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 21 22 23 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |

| 1 | (00:07:49) |
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| 2 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 4 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 5 | |
| 6 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 7 | |
| 8 | |
| 9 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (7) |
| 10 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 11 | |
| 12 | |
| 13 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 14 | |
| 15 | MR. ZWONITZER: (DIS. (DIS. (D) IS. (D) |
| 16 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 17 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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(00:08:56)
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                                                   (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                    MR. ZWONITZER: --
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                                           (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                         (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 4
 5
                    MR. ZWONITZER:
                                              (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                          (b)
 6
                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 7
                    MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                   (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                         (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                  (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
22
                    MR. ZWONITZER:
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| 1 | (00:10:12) |
|----|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 3 | |
| 4 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 5 | |
| 6 | MR. ZWONITZER: (D)(S), (D)(G), (E) |
| 7 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 8 | |
| 9 | MR. ZWONITZER: (DIGEO GO |
| 10 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 11 | |
| 12 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 24 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) ? |
| | |
| 25 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C). |
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(00:11:22)
 1
 2
                      MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                            (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                      (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 3
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
 4
                                                  (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 5
                      MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 6
 7
 8
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
 9
                                                      (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                      MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
10
11
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                  (b)(3), (b)(5), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C)
12
                      MR.
                           (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
13
14
15
16
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
17
                           (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                (b)(3), (b)(5), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C)
18
19
20
21
22
                      MR.
                           ZWONITZER:
23
                                             (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                      MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
24
25
                                             (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
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(00:12:05)1 2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. 3 MR. ZWONITZER: So a lot of sort of odd, creepy 4 things have been happening since Biden was nominated 5 president. I -- you know there -- I had received some sort of vaguely threatening emails from some right-wing 6 7 anti-Biden groups that clearly had come through, like, They somehow had got my name 8 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 9 and email through that. Some very personal, private 10 conversations that I had had (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 11 had been publicly put out on 12 the internet, again by someone who I don't know who it was. 13 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 14 15 So I was very concerned about the 16 possibility of being hacked. I was very concerned about the 17 possibility of this audio spread all over the place. 18 the audio, my chief concern at the time -- and I'll explain 19 the timing -- was really, was a lot of personal and 20 emotional stuff about Beau. 21 22 23 24 And so this was -- I simply took the

audio files subfolder from both the G drive and my --

25

(00:14:00)

MR. ZWONITZER: -- laptop and slid them into the trash. I saved all the transcripts and getting rid of the audio is something that's not -- it's something I do as a, as a rule anyway.

(b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

And I make it a point because, again, I'm not doing gotcha journalism, I'm not going for a quote for the next day. These are personal and private conversations and I never save that audio. I generally save transcripts but I haven't over the years ever saved audios.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) So when did you move that --

MR. ZWONITZER: Slide that --

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) -- slide that folder over.

MR. ZWONITZER: So the best of my memory was it was between the end of January and the end of February.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay.

MR. ZWONITZER: I can't -- I'm not positive about that. I have the memory of (b)(5),(b)(6),(b)(7)(C) on a trip in the beginning of March and I think I did it before that trip.

MR. (b)(6), (b)(7)(C) Okay. And so that was before we (b)(3), (b)(5), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C) --

(00:15:20)1 2 MR. ZWONITZER: Correct. 3 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)4 to you. But after news of Biden being investigated for 5 mishandling and having a special --MR. ZWONITZER: I was aware. 6 7 MR. (b)(6)(b)(7)(C) Okay. So I assume and I assume that that -- the fact that a special counsel had been 8 9 appointed and you have all these recordings was in your mind 10 when you slid these documents over into the trash, which is 11 okay. I mean it's okay, but I just want to be clear --12 MR. ZWONITZER: I mean I was, I was aware of the special counsel investigation when that happened. 13 14 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. MR. ZWONITZER: I actually didn't think it would 15 16 involve me. But yes, I was --17 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. 18 MR. ZWONITZER: -- I was aware. 19 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And I'm not trying to give you a 20 hard time but you can --21 MR. ZWONITZER: No, no, no. 22 MR. (b)(6)(b)(7)(C) -- understand, you know, look, the 23 outside observer is going to look at this and say Mark 24 Zwonitzer, President Biden's friend, ghostwriter,

collaborator learned of the special counsel's --

25

1 (00:16:14)

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) -- investigation, saw this was happening and then deleted all these audio recordings. And I assume -- and it's okay, I just need the truth on this one, but there's some truth in that, that was what was going on. That was part of your motivation, at least something you were aware of when you did this?

MR. ZWONITZER: I'm not going to say how much of the percentage it was of my motivation. I was aware that there was an investigation.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay.

MR. ZWONITZER: Yes.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Okay. I appreciate you telling us that.

MR. ZWONITZER: Okay.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) So I'm going to ask you some more questions as, again, because I just want to get this over with so we can move on with the interview.

MR. ZWONITZER: Okay.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Did anyone -- did you tell anyone you did that?

MR. ZWONITZER: Um, no.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) You didn't tell these guys I assume? No. But when you were doing it?

MR. ZWONITZER: Oh, when I --

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(00:16:54)
 2
                MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                 When you --
 3
                MR. ZWONITZER: Oh no, no. This was long
 4
     before. I told no one.
 5
                MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Setting aside the two gentlemen
     sitting here, your attorneys --
 6
 7
                MR. ZWONITZER: Right.
                MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) -- did you tell anyone after you
 8
 9
     did it, that you had done it?
10
                MR. ZWONITZER: I didn't.
11
                MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. Did anyone -- I just have to
12
     ask you. Did anyone reach out to you on behalf of President
     Biden?
13
14
                MR. ZWONITZER: No.
                MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Obviously, him, family, friend,
15
16
     colleague, associate?
17
                MR. ZWONITZER: No. I have not talked to him
     about the -- certainly not him since right before the
18
19
     inauguration and nobody has reached out to me about this.
20
                MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay.
21
                MR. ZWONITZER: I don't think anybody in his camp
22
     is aware that I am a part of this.
23
                MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                       (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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        (00:17:35)
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                      MR. ZWONITZER:
                                            (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 3
                      MR.
                            (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 4
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
 5
                                            (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                      MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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 9
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
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                                                       (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                            (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                      MR.
11
                                                    (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
12
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
13
14
                            (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                      MR.
                                                  (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
15
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
16
                      MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
17
                                                      (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
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                      MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                      MR. ZWONITZER:
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                                                     (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                            (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                      MR.
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(00:18:30)
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                                               (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 2
                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                                                  (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 4
                    MR. ZWONITZER:
 5
                                                  (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 6
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 8
                                                     (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
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13
                                                 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
14
15
16
17
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                  (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
18
                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
19
20
21
22
                    MR. ZWONITZER:
23
                                                (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR.
                          (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
24
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
25
                          (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR.
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(00:19:13)
 1
 2
                    MR. ZWONITZER: -- (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 3
 4
 5
                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 6
                                                    (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                    MR. ZWONITZER:
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16
                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
17
                                          (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
18
                    MR. ZWONITZER:
                                              (b)(3), (b)(5), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C)
19
                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
20
                                           (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
21
                    MR. ZWONITZER:
22
                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                    (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
23
                    MR. ZWONITZER:
24
25
                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                        Okay.
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(00:20:05)
 1
 2
                 MR. ZWONITZER:
                                   (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 3
                     (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 4
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 7
                                   (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     ZWONITZER:
                                     (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 8
 9
                                  Just for -- when you said that
                 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
10
      you -- it's your practice to delete the audio recordings?
11
                 MR. ZWONITZER: Mm-hmm.
12
                 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Generally, what timeframe does
13
      that take place, like, when do you decide now I can delete?
14
                 MR. ZWONITZER: It's not a -- like I don't have a
15
      set policy or anything but I know that when we moved from
16
            (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), I know a lot of tapes went
17
      in to a dumpster. So there was that. Like but -- and like
      I noticed that I still have some audio files from some
18
19
      projects in 2018 and even in 2020 that I haven't yet
20
      deleted. But I don't think those are anybody that was
21
      really a public figure that I would worry about.
22
                     (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                     (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
23
24
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25 MR. ZWONITZER:

(b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

(00:21:15)1 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)3 MR. ZWONITZER: (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 4 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)5 MR. ZWONITZER: 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Did you have a concern that there 16 were, kind of, hacking attempts on your computer or 17 accounts? 18 MR. ZWONITZER: I was -- I knew that these folks had my email because I have -- and I also -- I was not aware 19 20 of hacking attempts but I am very aware of the possibilities 21 of cyber surveillance and hacking --22 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. 23 MR. ZWONITZER: -- as part of my, in my career. 24 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah. I know some of the projects 25 you've worked on concern that. Did you ever receive any --

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(00:22:42)
 1
                 SA (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) -- emails from these groups? You
 2
      said you got kind of vaguely threatening --
 3
                 MR. ZWONITZER: I did receive an email and I
 4
      immediately deleted it. (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 5
                 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 6
 7
                                        (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 8
                 MR. ZWONITZER:
 9
10
                 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
11
                                             (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                 MR. ZWONITZER:
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13
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16
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21
                 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And do you remember who sent it to
22
23
      you?
24
                 MR. ZWONITZER: I do not.
                                                 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
25
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(00:23:49)
 1
                     MR. ZWONITZER: -- (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 2
 3
 4
 5
                                    But I, but I do not recall.
 6
                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                             (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 7
 8
 9
                                           (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
10
                          (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                     (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR.
11
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                                                      (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
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16
17
                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                              (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
18
19
                                           (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
20
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
21
                                            (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
22
23
                                                     (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
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25
                                            (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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(00:25:05)
 1
                                          (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 2
                    SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                                               (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                    MR. ZWONITZER:
                    SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 6
 7
                    MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                  (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 8
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                                              (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                         (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
12
                    MR.
13
14
                                             (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
15
                         ZWONITZER:
16
                    MR.
                         (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                        Okay.
                                                 So quite some time ago.
17
                    MR. ZWONITZER:
                                         Yes.
                                        In January of this year some
18
                         (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
19
       people,
                                       (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
20
21
                                         (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) .
                         ZWONITZER:
                                                 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
22
                    MR.
                         (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
23
24
                    MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                  (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
25
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(00:26:14)
 1
 2
                    MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 3
 4
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                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                   (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                                                (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                    MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
11
                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
12
                                                  (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
13
                    MR. ZWONITZER:
14
15
                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                    SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                   (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
16
17
18
                    MR. ZWONITZER:
19
                    SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                    (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
20
21
22
                                                 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                    MR. ZWONITZER:
23
24
25
                    SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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| 1 | (00:27:29) |
|----|--------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 3 | |
| 4 | SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b),(b),(c),(c),(d) |
| 5 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 16 | |
| 17 | SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7) |
| 18 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 1 | (00:29:06) |
|----|-----------------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 3 | |
| 4 | |
| 5 | |
| 6 | |
| 7 | SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7) |
| 8 | MR. $^{(b)}(6), (b)(7)(C)$: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 9 | |
| 10 | |
| 11 | |
| 12 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 13 | MR. $^{(b)}(6), (b)(7)(C)$: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 14 | |
| 15 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 16 | MR. $^{(b)}(6), (b)(7)(C)$: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 17 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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(00:30:28)
 1
                                                 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 2
                        MR. ZWONITZER:
 3
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 5
                              (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                        MR.
 6
                             (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                        MR.
                                                           (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 7
 8
                                                 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                        MR. ZWONITZER:
 9
                                               (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
10
                              (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                        MR.
11
                                                 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                        MR. ZWONITZER:
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13
14
                              (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                        MR.
                                                             (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
15
                        MR. ZWONITZER:
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                                                     (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
18
                              (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                        MR.
19
                        MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                            (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                               (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
20
                        MR.
                              (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
21
22
                        MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                         (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
23
24
                        MR.
                              (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
25
                                                         (b)(3), (b)(5), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C)
                        MR. ZWONITZER:
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| 1 | (00:31:24) |
|-----|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 3 | |
| 4 | |
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| 6 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5) , (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 7 | |
| 8 | |
| 9 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 10 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 11 | |
| 12 | |
| 13 | |
| 14 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b)(5)(b)(6)(b)(7)(c) |
| 15 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 16 | |
| 17 | |
| 18 | |
| 19 | |
| 20 | |
| 21 | MR. ZWONITZER: (O) SE (O) |
| 22 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 23 | |
| 24 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 25 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| | |
| - 1 | |

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(00:32:27)
 1
 2
                      MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                               (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 3
                                                    (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 4
                           ZWONITZER:
 5
                      MR.
                           (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                           (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 6
                                                       (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
 7
 8
                                                   (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 9
                           (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                      MR.
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11
                                                       (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
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                                           (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
19
                      MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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21
                                             (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
22
                      MR.
                           (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                      (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
23
                                                       (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
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(00:33:31)
 1
 2
                   MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 3
 4
 5
                   MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 6
                                                 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 7
 8
                   MR. ZWONITZER:
                                             (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 9
                   MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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12
                   MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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18
19
20
                   MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
21
                   MR. ZWONITZER:
                   MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) After you got the proposal
22
      together, how did you go about writing the book?
23
24
                   MR. ZWONITZER:
25
                   MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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| 1 | (00:34:30) |
|----|------------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 3 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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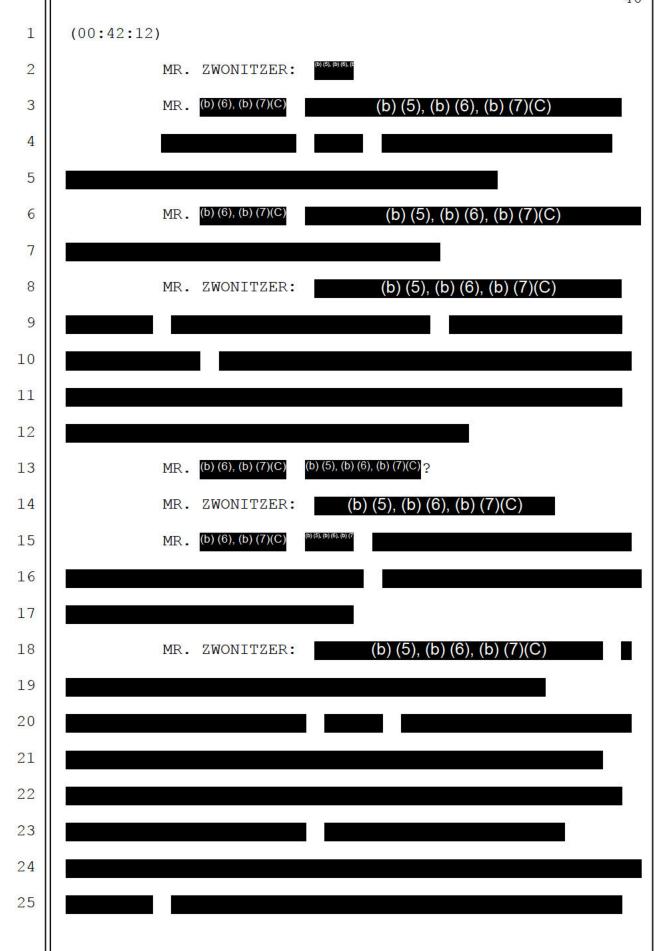
| 1 | (00:36:11) |
|----|------------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 8 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7) |
| 9 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 17 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 18 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 19 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (c), (b) (c), (b) (7) |
| | PHY. (6) (6), (6) (1),(6) |
| 20 | |
| 21 | |
| 22 | |
| 23 | MR. ZWONITZER: (0)(5),(0)(6), (1) |
| 24 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 25 | |

| 1 | (00:37:28) |
|----|---------------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 7 | MR. ZWONITZER: |
| 8 | MR. $^{(b)}(6), (b)(7)(C)$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 9 | |
| 10 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 19 | |
| 20 | MR. $^{(b)}(6), (b)(7)(C)$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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(00:38:40)
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 2
                      MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                                              (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 8
                            ZWONITZER:
 9
                                                    (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                      MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
10
11
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
                                            (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
12
                      MR.
                            (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
13
                                              (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
14
                            (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                        (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                                                       (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
18
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
19
                      MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                        (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
20
21
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                         (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
22
                      MR.
                            (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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| (00:39:28) |
|---------------------------------------------------------|
| MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| MR. $^{(b)}(6), (b)(7)(C)$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 1 | (00:41:07) |
|----|---------------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 3 | |
| 4 | MR. ZWONITZER: (DIE DIE DIE DIE DIE DIE DIE DIE DIE DIE |
| 5 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 6 | |
| 7 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 16 | |
| 17 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 18 | |
| 19 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 25 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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(00:43:35)
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                   MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                    MR. ZWONITZER:
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                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                                          (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                    MR. ZWONITZER:
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                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                    MR. ZWONITZER:
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                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                    MR. ZWONITZER:
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                                        (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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(00:44:36)
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                      MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                      MR.
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                      MR. ZWONITZER:
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                      MR.
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                      MR. ZWONITZER:
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                      MR. ZWONITZER:
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                      MR. ZWONITZER:
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                      MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                      MR. ZWONITZER:
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                      MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                      MR. ZWONITZER:
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| 1 | (00:45:09) |
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| 2 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 15 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 17 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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                     MR. ZWONITER: -- (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C).
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                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                     MR. ZWONITZER:
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                     MR.
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                     MR. ZWONITZER:
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                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                     MR. ZWONITZER:
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                     MR. ZWONITZER:
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                     MR. ZWONITZER:
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                                                  (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
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(00:47:21)1 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 2 MR. ZWONITZER: --3 4 5 6 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 7 8 9 MR. ZWONITZER: (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) . 10 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 11 MR. ZWONITZER: 12 13 14 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 15 16 MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 17 18 19 20 21 When you were writing (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Promises to Keep and you sat down with Biden to go through 22 things, did he have journals or diaries that he referred to 23 from his days in the Senate? 24 25 MR. ZWONITZER: I don't know. I don't think he -- (00:48:26)

MR. (b)(6).(b)(7)(c) Okay. We talked about the themes or sort of some of the topic and sort of the themes and vignettes that you include in that book. One of the other areas that besides, you know, his personal tragedy when he ran for senate and later violence against women and the Bork hearings is — there's a chapter or several parts that talk about sort of him earning his foreign policy chops, from

MR. ZWONITZER: -- did. I don't remember that.

MR. ZWONITZER: Mm-hmm, right.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) -- in the late '70s --

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

lack of a better description --

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- when President --

MR. ZWONITZER: Going with Harriman and --

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Exactly, that's right. When President Carter asked him to go and he went to Germany.

MR. ZWONITZER: Right.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(c) And he went to the Soviet Union and he went on these trips abroad and the theme I got out of is this is sort of where he -- he was pretty young. He was still in his thirties, he'd been in the Senate for years but still a young guy and he'd go and sit across the table from these leaders, these Soviet Union leaders or stare at them.

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. When I was your age I --

(00:49:24)

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MR. ZWONITZER: -- was fighting the Nazis.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And I was in Stalingrad, like yeah,

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that's exactly it. He tells about that chapter and that,

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5 what the, what was the theme you were getting at then?

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like learning on the fly.

MR. ZWONITZER: Well it was really, yeah, as you

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incredibly fortunate as a guy who was in his early thirties

said it was about sort of learning. I mean it was -- he was

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who's having these experiences and learning, and not just

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learning by being a staff member but by literally sitting

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across the table from people like Gromyko. I mean the thing

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I remember most about that chapter, that time period just to

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say like -- he would say like, like who was I at that point

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time? He tells the story about being at -- I think it was

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Averell Harriman's house with a group of people. And Ted

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Kennedy was there and they were talking and he was saying

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something and he picked up this object that was on the

coffee table and sort of like talking and kind of

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absentmindedly going like this and then Ted Kennedy said, oh

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crap, put it back down. He said, Joe, that's a Faberge egg.

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So, you know, he's saying like I'm a young guy who doesn't

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know a lot. I'm like, you know, like I'm a kid from

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Scranton, Pennsylvania and here I am. And so it's, it's

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MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) They're pretty vivid tales about --

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(00:50:52)

MR. (b)(6)(b)(7)(c) -- those meetings in the later '78,

'79 I think is the timeframe where he went on these trips.

Or I don't know about the first trips he went abroad but the ones in the book the sort of him learning to do this as a young, relatively young man. Did he have notes, materials, the little notebooks you talked about or scrapbook type things on those trips that he -- you guys went through?

MR. ZWONITZER: No. It was that -- all that stuff I think -- I mean I think he did maybe -- I think maybe I had some notes from the Senate about -- from his staff about like when he made certain trips, just chronologies. But again memoir, I mean most of this came from his memory.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Okay. Would he refer to things when you guys sat down? I mean would he just be leaning back, let me tell you about back in the day? Or was it like him, you know, with a notebook open or some materials in front of him that he'd refer to.

MR. ZWONITZER: In this instance it was almost never with a note. I think he had himself like read through things to remind himself about certain things that happened many years ago. But it was really, it was just like this, talking like this.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. (b) (5), (b) (6), (b)

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(00:52:15)
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                      MR. ZWONITZER:
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                      MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                      MR. ZWONITZER:
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                      MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                     MR. ZWONITZER:
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                      MR. ZWONITZER:
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                      MR.
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                                                      (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
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1 (00:53:08)

MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Sure. Sure. One other topic in that book and I forgot to mention it earlier, there's a -- and near the end of the book there's a chapter or two about Afghanistan then, you know, the sort of early days.

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) And the Bush Administration's decision to go to war in Afghanistan. Do you recall that chapter?

MR. ZWONITZER: I do. Yeah. I remember -- yeah,
I do remember that chapter.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. And what was the purpose of that or why was that included in the book?

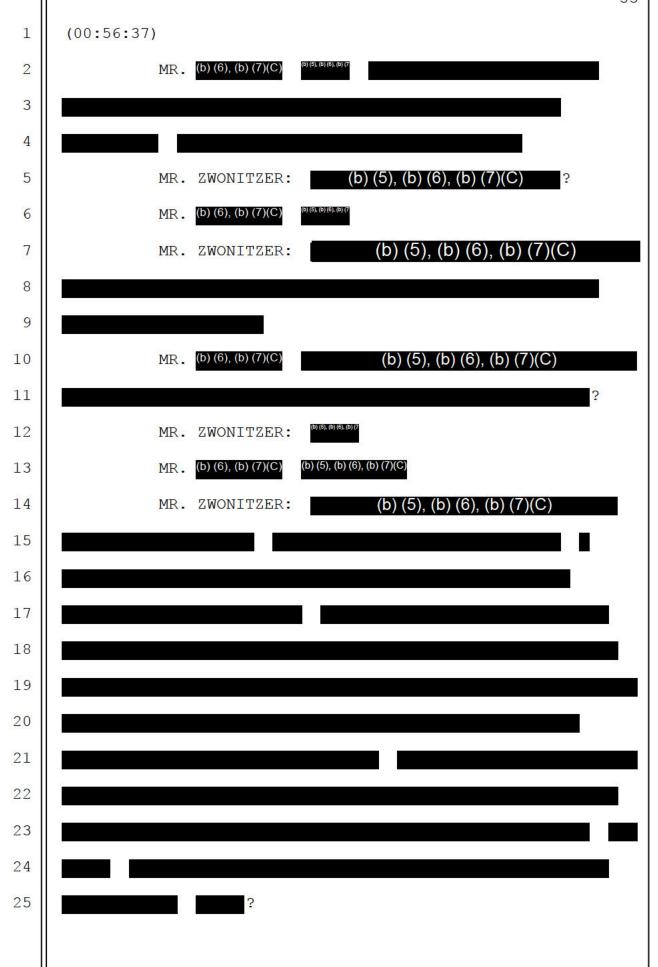
MR. ZWONITZER: In the book --

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Was there something that Biden felt strongly about?

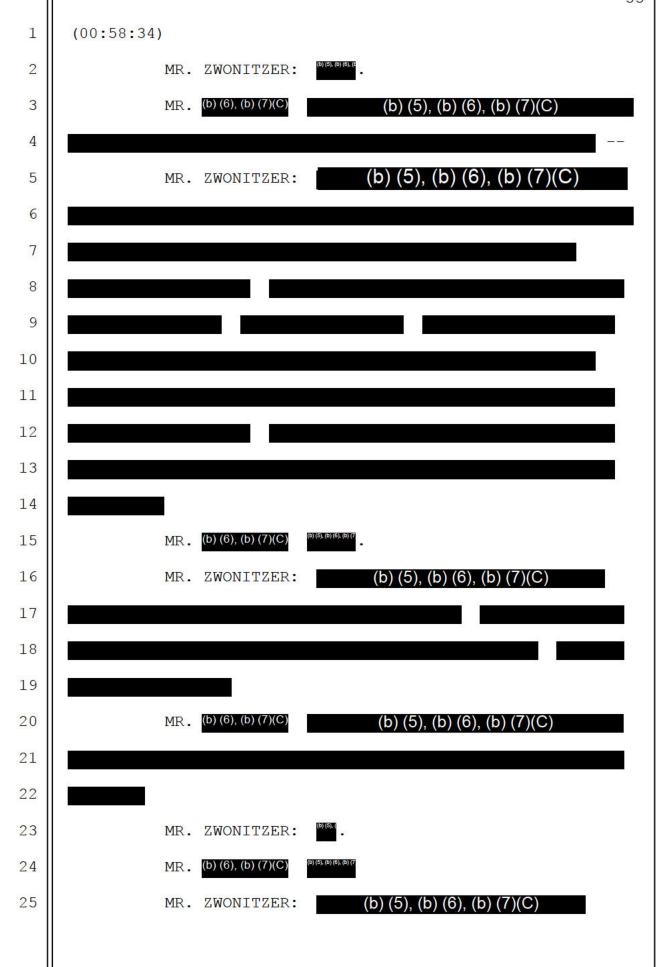
MR. ZWONITZER: It was something he felt strongly about I think, and it was a very -- you know, in 2007 it was still very present topic.

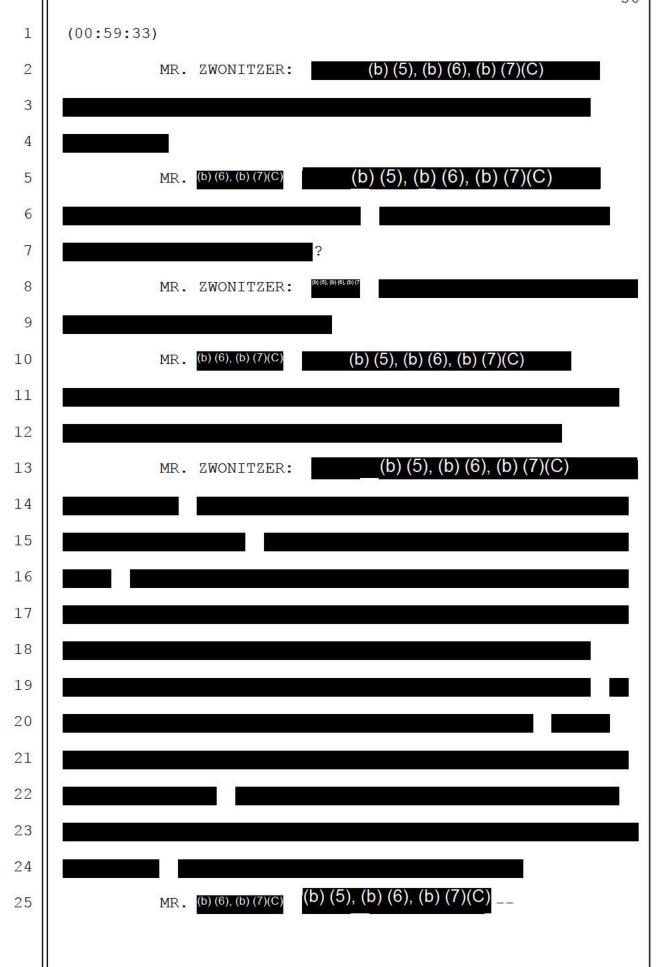
| 1 | (00:54:02) |
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| 2 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5) , (b) (6) , (b) $(7)(C)$ |
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| 12 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) $^{(b)(5),(b)(6),(6)}$. |
| 13 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 17 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (c) |
| 18 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 1 | (00:55:28) |
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| 2 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 4 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 5 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (c) (c) |
| 6 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 8 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(c) |
| 9 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 11 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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       (00:57:45)
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                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                    MR. ZWONITZER:
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                    MR. ZWONITZER:
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                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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| 1 | (01:00:51) |
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| 2 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 4 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 13 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 15 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) $^{(0)(5),(0)(6),(0)(7)}$ |
| 16 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 25 | MR. $^{(b)}(6), (b)(7)(C)$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 1 | (01:02:06) |
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| 17 | MR. ZWONITZER: OFFICIONE. |
| 18 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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                    MR. ZWONITZER:
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                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                    MR. ZWONITZER:
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| 1 | (01:07:21) |
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| 13 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 14 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) $=$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) $=$ |
| 15 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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(01:08:26)
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                     MR. ZWONITZER:
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                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                     MR. ZWONITZER: --
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                                                     (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
18
                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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21
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
22
                     MR.
                          (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                      (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                                                      (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                     MR. ZWONITZER:
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(01:09:19)1 2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)(b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 3 4 MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) MR. ZWONITZER: 15 16 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. Once you hit on the topics 17 that you were going to cover can you talk just about how you went about doing the initial research before you sat down 18 19 with --20 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. 21 -- Biden I know I've seen some MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 22 emails where you reached out to Steve Ricchetti's and others 23 asking for to set up meetings and then, you know, the vice 24 president pulled notes or journals; is that right? 25 MR. ZWONITZER: Well, I think he mentioned the --

(01:10:36)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: -- journals first, yeah.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Biden did?

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Can you tell us about that? What did he tell you about the journals?

MR. ZWONITZER: I don't remember exactly. I just remember that at some point he did, you know, he did pull them out and share stuff with me because the diaries were really what made the book possible. It gave you -- I mean it was the contemporaneous notes were -- I mean they were very raw and very immediate but it also gave you again the emotional arch of the, of the story. So those diaries were an important part of our --

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And was -- did he keep these diaries with the sense that someday he might write a book about his experiences as vice president?

MR. ZWONITZER: I think, I think it's likely he did but I don't, I don't know the reason he kept the -- I know that, you know, he did over the years I know he kept diaries but I think he was more -- it felt like once Beau got sick he was -- he took -- he did more entries. I think it was a way to like -- it was almost like therapy. It was like talking --

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Sure.

(01:12:00)1 MR. ZWONITZER: -- himself through this this awful 2 3 time. 4 MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Sure. Okay. I'm going to some 5 other examples of a couple -- here's an email on September of 2016. It's Zwonitzer 7613. 6 7 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(c) 7613? MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah. And this is an email that 8 9 you sent to Steve Ricchetti who was I think then as chief of 10 staff, is that right? 11 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. 12 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And then I'll follow. You read it here for a second. 13 14 MR. ZWONITZER: Okay. 15 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) But I think basically you're asking 16 like it might take some time on the vice president's 17 calendar. 18 MR. ZWONITZER: Right. MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) So we can sit down and 19 start -- like is this doing the interviews that --20 21 MR. ZWONITZER: Oh yeah, but September 2016 we 22 were doing serious content interviews.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Okay. And you would ask that he could pull relevant notes or journals that he had for the period. Is that right?

23

24

25

(01:13:11)1 2 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. That's right. MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And what were you looking, what did 3 4 you want, what did you have in mind when you asked that? 5 MR. ZWONITZER: Well again just so he would be -- again so much of this was memory and so much of this 6 7 was in a really hard time so there's a little bit of fog in his --8 9 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Sure. 10 MR. ZWONITZER: -- in his memory. So it would 11 allow him to sort of like read up on and be aware of -- like 12 refresh his recollection. 13 14 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah. Make productive use of the interview time I suppose too because it was limited. 15 16 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. Because, you know, he was a 17 busy man. So if we were going to have three hours we didn't 18 want to -- we wanted to be efficient about it. 19 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) You didn't want to spend it looking 20 for journals or notes. 21 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. 22 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) MR. 23 24 25 MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

(01:14:04)MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) MR. ZWONITZER: MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)MR. ZWONITZER: MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) When did you start doing the substantive interviews with Vice President Biden? MR. ZWONITZER: My guess is that it was around August, September of -- I think there was some stuff as early as August. But certainly by September I think. SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

| 1 | (01:15:07) |
|----|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 3 | SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 4 | MR. ZWONITZER: (DIST. DEC. DEC. DEC. DEC. DEC. DEC. DEC. DEC |
| 5 | SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 6 | |
| 7 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b)(5),(b)(6),(b)(7)(C)? |
| 8 | SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (c) |
| 9 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 19 | SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7) |
| 20 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 21 | |
| 22 | SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 23 | |
| 24 | |
| 25 | |
| | II |

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(01:16:18)
 1
                                       (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 2
                  MR. ZWONITZER:
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 4
 5
                  MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) How many times did you go to the
 6
 7
      White House?
 8
                  MR. ZWONITZER: Maybe three total and we didn't
      really -- the vice president and I did not do any
 9
10
      substantive work or talk at the White House.
                                           (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
11
                  MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
12
13
                  MR. ZWONITZER:
14
15
16
                  MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
17
                                             (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                  MR. ZWONITZER:
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19
                  MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
20
                  MR. ZWONITZER:
                                           (b) (5), (b) (6), (b)
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22
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24
                  SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                                        (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                  MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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71 (01:17:14)1 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 2 MR. ZWONITZER: 3 4 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)5 6 MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 7 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Just a -- it looks like when you're talking about (b)(5),(b)(6),(b)(7)(C) had all that stuff in hand, 8 it looks like it's carrying over from so the VP could have 9 relevant notes/diaries et cetera with him when we talk. And 10 11 then the only staff time it would require would be in making 12 sure he has those documents in front of him when we do our substantive sessions. (b)(5),(b)(6),(b)(7)(C) had all that stuff in hand 13 14 when I saw him in August. Do you remember if (b)(5),(b)(6),(b)(7)(C) had notes and diaries? 15 16 MR. ZWONITZER: No. only had schedules. 17 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. never had notes and diaries. 18 MR. ZWONITZER: And you see was telling me this from his memory. 19 20 SA (b) (6), (b) (7) (C) His memory. Okay. 21 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) You seem quite sure about that with 22 the, with the journals and diaries.

24 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Why?

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

23

25

MR. ZWONITZER: Biden really never let the --

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(01:18:11)
 1
                    MR. ZWONTIZER: -- journals out of his hand. In
 2
 3
       fact any time I ever saw them they were in his hands.
 4
                    MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Okay. And these are -- are these
       the black notebooks?
 5
                    MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. They're -- I just remember
 6
 7
       they were black and had some kind of red borders or
       something like that.
 8
 9
                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C):
                                                 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
10
                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                              (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
11
                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C):
12
                         (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                    MR.
                                              (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
13
14
                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C):
                                                   (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
15
                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                  (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
16
17
                                        (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                    MR. ZWONITZER:
                                               (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
18
                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
19
                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C):
                                         (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
20
                    MR. ZWONITZER:
                                             (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
21
22
                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
23
                    MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                   (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
24
25
                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                             (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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(01:19:01)
 1
                        (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                      (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 2
                   MR.
 3
 4
                   MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 5
                   SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                            (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 6
                   MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 7
                                             (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                        (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
      (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 8
 9
                   SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                       (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
10
                   MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                      (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
11
                   MR. ZWONITZER:
                                       (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
12
13
                   MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
14
                   MR. ZWONITZER:
                                               (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
15
                                      They're more like leather-bound
                   MR.
                        (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
16
      black?
17
                   MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. And I remember them having
      red. So that's not -- I just don't remember having seen
18
19
      those.
20
                   MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) I see. So you didn't have them in
21
      your hand ever, is that --
22
                   MR. ZWONITZER: No. And in fact at one point, you
23
      know, he would -- I said to him at one point, listen, we're
24
      spending a lot of time, you know, it would be very efficient
25
      if you would like, you could mark some of the passages.
```

(01:20:06)

MR. ZWONITZER: I could make photocopies and it would be a lot faster. And he was -- he declined that offer diplomatically but adamantly. I mean it was clear, you know, these were personal journals and he didn't want them out of his possession.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Okay. It's interesting because we've listened to those recordings, it's clear some of them you guys sit down for a hour and a half.

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) And all he's doing is reading --

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- sometimes relatively -- in a relatively monotone voice his journal to you. And you take it down verbatim.

MR. ZWONITZER: Exactly, yeah.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) But that's pretty painstaking.

MR. ZWONITZER: It was incredibly painstaking and not only was it -- I mean I was recording it. Right. It was not only painstaking but it was, it was emotional, you know. There were other times I think when yes, he would be reading from me but then he would -- might be reading from these to me. But then he might go off book a little bit like, oh let me tell you, you know.

MR. (b)(6), (b)(7)(C) He flowed --

(01:21:02)1 2 MR. ZWONITZER: This is back, this is background. 3 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. 4 MR. ZWONITZER: Not like let me tell you about one 5 thing, you know, like the, you know, PD-1 experimental treatment is whatever and about that. 6 7 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) I could say listen to the recording it seemed like some sessions were devoted to just basically 8 9 reading his journal to you and others were more back and 10 forth conversational. 11 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. 12 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) I assume the latter were more 13 interesting. Okay. So you said he wouldn't -- he said, no, 14 you can't look at these journals. 15 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. 16 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) You can't photocopy them? 17 MR. ZWONITZER: No, no. He did at one point -- like I know there were -- no. I mean and I did, I 18 19 should say like, man, we are on a deadline. You know, this 20 takes time. It's your time and it would be lot more 21 efficient and it just --22 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Wasn't going to happen. Yeah.

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. I mean and again he was diplomatic. It wasn't like, how the hell could you ask me

that. It was just no.

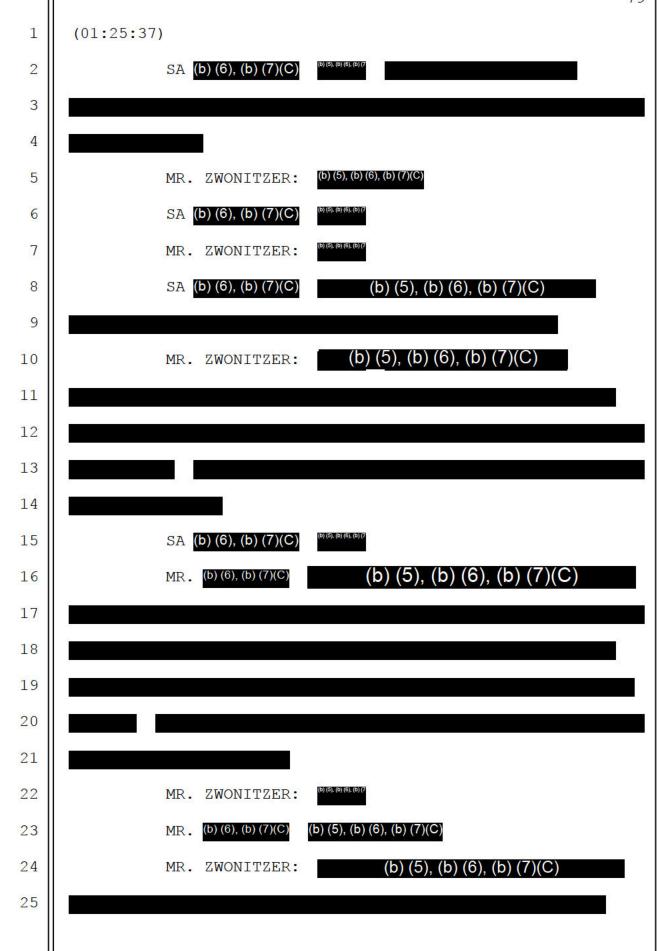
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24

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(01:21:56)
 1
                MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Do you know where he kept those
 2
 3
     journals?
                MR. ZWONITZER: I do not.
 4
 5
                MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Okay. During some of your
     early -- your earlier meetings were at the Naval
 6
 7
     Observatory, is that right, in your earlier interviews?
                MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.
                                         That's right.
 8
 9
                MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Where would you meet at the Naval
10
     Observatory?
11
                MR. ZWONITZER:
                                         (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
12
13
14
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16
17
18
19
20
21
                MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. During one of the recorded
22
     sessions at the Naval Observatory, one of the early ones,
     Biden is talking about his journals and notebooks and some
23
24
     of the material. And he says, I just found them upstairs.
25
                MR. ZWONITZER: I just found?
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(01:22:58)
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 2
                 MR.
                      (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                   Them, these materials upstairs.
                                    (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 3
                 MR. ZWONITZER:
 4
                 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                        (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 5
 6
 7
 8
 9
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11
                                                                       I'm
12
      not sure.
                 MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Did he -- did Biden talk to you
13
14
      about his efforts to gather these journals and notebooks and
      other materials?
15
16
                  MR. ZWONITZER: I don't remember him talking about
17
      that. I mean -- no. And I wasn't really aware of where
18
      they were or where he kept them. And when we would sit down
      it would not be like, oh, let me pull eight journals out.
19
20
      It was always like one specific diary for a specific
21
      session.
                                   (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
22
23
                  MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                   Okay.
                                           Okay.
24
                  SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                             (b) (5), (b) (6), (b)
25
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| 1 | (01:24:19) |
|----|---------------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | MR. $(b) (6), (b) (7)(C)$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C). |
| 3 | SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 4 | |
| 5 | |
| 6 | |
| 7 | MR. ZWONITZER: (O)(S)(O)(C) |
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| 9 | |
| 10 | |
| 11 | SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 12 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 13 | |
| 14 | SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 16 | |
| 17 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 1 | (01:26:38) |
|----|------------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 3 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 5 | |
| 6 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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(01:28:18)
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 2
                                                (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
 3
                                          (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 4
                           (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 5
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
                                              (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 6
                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 7
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                                                   (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
10
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
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                                             (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                           (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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16
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
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                           (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                     MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                  (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                                            (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
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(01:29:15)
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                                     (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                                          (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 4
                 MR. ZWONITZER:
 5
                 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                        (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 6
 7
 8
                 MR. ZWONITZER:
                                   (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 9
                 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                  Okay. Okay. Right
10
      after -- shortly after Biden's vice presidential term ended
11
      there was a meeting at his residence on Chain Bridge Road in
12
      Mclean.
13
                 MR. ZWONITZER: Okay.
14
                     (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                  On February 16th of 2017.
                 MR.
15
                 MR. ZWONITZER: Right.
16
                 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                And there was a -- this -- I
17
      understand it was a big meeting and part of the purpose of
18
      that meeting was to finalize the proposal to publishing
19
      companies. Is that right? Do you recall that meeting?
20
                 MR. ZWONITZER: Well I wouldn't have but I do now.
21
                 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                  You do now.
22
                 MR. ZWONITZER: Recently, you know, I've been
23
      through that. That date sticks in my head.
24
                 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                  Okay.
                                         Why --
25
                 MR. ZWONITZER: It wouldn't have otherwise.
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(01:30:08)

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Yeah, why does it stick in your head there? What can you tell us about that meeting?

MR. ZWONITZER: Well I just remember there was some -- I think that was the meeting where, you know, the

notion of something classified actually came up.

MR. (b)(6)(7)(C) Okay. Can you tell us about that?

MR. ZWONITZER: So what I remember is that, what I remember is that he was reading me stuff from the diary and he made a reference that he needed to be careful because he was worried that there was a possibility that, you know, some of this stuff could be classified. So there were things, you know, you know, there were things he couldn't tell me, lines he couldn't cross. And I think that was also the moment where he said, I think I found something downstairs.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) That was classified.

MR. ZWONITZER: That had classified markings on it. Yeah. And that was -- you know, so that was just after they had left the White House and they were just getting into Chain Bridge Road here.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) And you guys were doing an interview at that point?

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. And where you in checking --

(01:31:19)1 2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- the property? 3 MR. ZWONITZER: Well I don't remember this but of 4 having read that transcript I think he says something about 5 downstairs. So we must have been in the main -- on the main floor of the Chain Bridge house. 6 7 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Would you guys meet like at the living room or dining room or something? 8 9 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. I mean there was a, there 10 was a very nice kind of room off the dining room, which we 11 were -- it was kind of between a hallway and a library you'd 12 call it. But it was just a nice place with a couple of seats to sit and talk. 13 14 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. A lot of 15 16 the -- that's -- but again I don't remember that but having 17 read that --18 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Sure. MR. ZWONITZER: -- this is downstairs. 19 20 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. You don't remember that 21 it -- you said downstairs until you read it? 22 MR. ZWONITZER: I mean I only -- yeah. 23 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah. 24 MR. ZWONITZER: I don't, I didn't remember the

conversation I had until --

| 1 | (01:32:06) |
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| 2 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 4 | |
| 5 | MR. ZWONITZER: (DISTRIBUTION) |
| 6 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 7 | |
| 8 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 9 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 10 | |
| 11 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b)(5)(b)(6)(b)(7)(6) |
| 12 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 13 | |
| 14 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 16 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 18 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 1 | (01:33:05) |
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| 2 | MR. ZWONTIZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 3 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 7 | MR. ZWONITZER: |
| 8 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 11 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 18 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 19 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 20 | MR. $^{(b) (6), (b) (7)(C)}$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 22 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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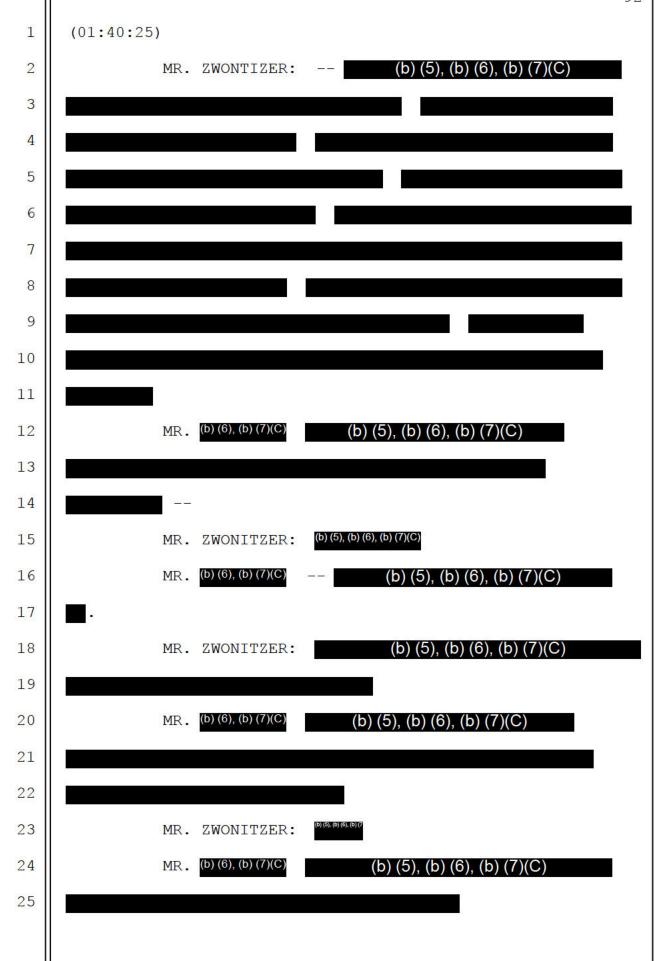
| 1 | (01:34:00) |
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| 2 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 7 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 10 | MR. ZWONITZER: DISCOUNT. |
| 11 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 13 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 25 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (0)(5), (b) (6), (t) |
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| 1 | (01:35:18) |
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| 2 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 5 | MR. $^{(b) (6), (b) (7)(C)}$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 7 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 10 | |
| 11 | MR. $^{(b)}(6), (b)(7)(C)$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 13 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 19 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 21 | MR. ZWONITZER: |
| 22 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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(01:36:37)
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                      MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                      MR. ZWONITZER:
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                      MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                      MR. ZWONITZER:
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                      MR.
                           (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                      MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                      (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                           (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)?
14
                           (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                      MR.
                                                     (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                      MR. ZWONITZER:
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                      MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                      MR. ZWONITZER:
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(01:37:44)
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                    MR. ZWONITZER: -- (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                    MR. ZWONITZER:
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                                         -- (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                    MR.
                          (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
12
                    MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                  (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                                                 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                    MR. ZWONITZER:
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(01:39:08)
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                                                (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR. ZWONITZER: --
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                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                                                   (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                                                   (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                     MR. ZWONITZER:
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                                                     (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                          (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                     MR.
                          ZWONITZER:
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                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                   (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
17
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                                           (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
20
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
                                              (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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22
                                                  (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
23
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
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(01:41:40)
 1
                                                     (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                     MR. ZWONITZER:
 3
                                            (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                                                (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 7
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
 8
 9
                                                    (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
10
11
                                            (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
                                          (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
12
                     MR.
                          (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                     MR. ZWONITZER:
                                            (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                                                    (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                           (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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24
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
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                                                   (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                           (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR.
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(01:42:40)
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 2
                    MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (c) (7)
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                                                  (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                                             (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                    MR. ZWONITZER:
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                                                (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                    MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                    (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                                             (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                    MR. ZWONITZER:
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                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                    MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                    (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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22
                                              (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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25
                                                    (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                    SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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(01:43:33)
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                                           (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                    SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                                                 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 4
                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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 6
                    SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                         (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 7
                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                          (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 8
                    SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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10
                    MR. ZWONITZER:
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                                                    (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                    SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                                          (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
13
                    MR. ZWONITZER:
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                                          (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) .
                    SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
15
                    MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
16
                    SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
17
                                          (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
18
                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
19
                    SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                          (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
20
                    MR. ZWONITZER:
21
                    SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And so my question about these is
22
       how were these actually prepared? Were these -- did you
       write these from your audio recordings and you transcribed
23
24
       them or --
25
                    MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.
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(01:44:36)

1

SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- did (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 2 write them? 3 MR. ZWONITZER: No. He -- so those would have 4 been from my recordings. He would read me the excerpts of 5 these diaries. I would record them and then I would do the transcription. I mean these audio recordings never left 6 7 my -- they're, you know, in film work and other work you might send tapes off to be transcribed by a transcription 8 9 service. I did all these. SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) So when it says at the top, 10 11 selected excerpts from personal diary 2015 --12 MR. ZWONITZER: Yep. 13 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- what is the -- what is that the 2015 date refer to? 14 15 MR. ZWONITZER: That refers to -- this is January 16 1, 2015, January 15th, 2015, February 19th, 2015. These are 17 the dates of the --SA (b) (6), (b) (7) (C) So the diary or the journal 18 19 covered 2015? 20 MR. ZWONITZER: Yes. 21 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. 22 MR. ZWONITZER: I mean I'm not, I don't think 23

there was like one journal that was 2015. But these were,
these were all dates in 2015. I'm going to just check and
make sure.

(01:45:44)1 2 SA (b) (6), (b) (7) (C) Okay. I'm just trying to make 3 sure --4 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. 5 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- that this wasn't like the date that you recorded the interview? 6 7 MR. ZWONITZER: No, no. No. I didn't -- no, that was not. that was the date of the diary entries. 8 9 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. That's helpful. MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. So on the 16th -- let's go 10 11 back to that meeting at Chain Bridge. You think you were 12 probably, based on the recording that you listened to recently or the transcript that you reviewed probably on the 13 14 main floor in that hallway, library, den area at Chain 15 Bridge Road. And during the conversation when you're going 16 through material, Biden talks about how I just found the 17 classified. 18 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- downstairs. And I think he's 19 20 talking about Afghanistan in the decision whether to do a 21 troop surge in --22 MR. ZWONITZER: I don't remember. 23 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- 2009. But when he mentioned 24 finding classified down there what was your reaction?

MR. ZWONITZER: I honestly can't remember my --

(01:46:51)1 MR. ZWONITZER: -- reaction. And so I mean I 2 didn't even -- again I didn't remember that until I reviewed 3 4 that. So to say what I thought at the time would be to 5 backfill. Something I just don't --6 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah. 7 MR. ZWONITZER: -- I just don't remember. MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. And let me just ask you a 8 9 few -- we can start back on questions. I assume you don't 10 have a security clearance -- and 11 MR. ZWONITZER: I do not. 12 MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) -- you don't have it. 13 MR. ZWONITZER: No. 14 MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) In the course of your career as a, 15 as a journalist, as a writer, as a documenter or film maker, 16 have you ever dealt with classified material? I mean not 17 unless like looking at them but events, items people that are classified or we are kind of skirting on the edges of 18 19 things that are classified. 20 MR. ZWONITZER: 21 22 23

(b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

MR. ZWONITZER:

24

(01:47:48)(b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (6), (b) (7)(C (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) MR. MR. ZWONITZER: MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- how it works and how SCIFs work. And have you followed that stuff? Are you familiar in the course of your career about just generally what it means for a document to be classified, how security clearance works, what a security clearance is? MR. ZWONITZER: I mean only in the, only in the vague -- I know more now --

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(01:48:49)
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 2
                 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                 Sure.
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                 MR. ZWONITZER: -- in the last month or so as I
 4
      see it on, you know, this thing in the Trump world
     mushrooming. But it's not something I really -- again
 5
     because anything classified material I dealt with had, was
 6
 7
      history had long since been declassified.
 8
                                        (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                                            (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                 MR. ZWONITZER:
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                 MR. ZWONITZER:
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                 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                 MR. ZWONITZER:
23
                 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
24
25
                 MR. ZWONITZER:
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(01:49:46)1 2 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 3 MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 4 I started working on Pegasus in 2021, I 5 think. 6 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. 7 MR. ZWONITZER: The book was just published in 8 January. 9 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. So you don't -- when that 10 happened at the time you don't, you don't recall, it wasn't 11 notable to you, you weren't concerned? 12 MR. ZWONITZER: It didn't flag me, you know -- no. 13 I mean figured that at that point they were still like 14 moving stuff around and trying to get any like -- so I 15 didn't -- it was not a flag to me. I mean perhaps it should 16 have been but I -- it's just not my world. 17 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Did Biden seem concerned when he, when he said that, that oh, like, there's classified down 18 19 there. I'd better take care of that? Or did he seem 20 nonchalant about it? 21 MR. ZWONITZER: Well, no, it was in a discussion 22 of I need to be careful. MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)23 Okay. 24 MR. ZWONITZER: I need to be careful with this

material. Again, I always got a sense that like there's --

(01:50:48)

MR. ZWONITZER: -- a line that he, you know,
wasn't going to cross. And I also had the sense that both
he and his staff were protective of me to make sure I didn't
end up with anything that I shouldn't. So it's not like hey
Mark, let me show you this cool document I've got
downstairs. It was just in the -- it was in the context of
I have an obligation to be careful with this material.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) There's a few other instances in those recordings where he's reading from a diary or a journal and he says, oh this next part might be classified or something like that. Do you recall those instances and did he appear to be like skipping over the classified portion?

MR. ZWONITZER: I mean I -- he appeared to be. I don't know.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Censoring or something?

MR. ZWONITZER: I suspect that he was skipping over anything. But what I do know is that I would -- not only would I prepare, you know, going into these meetings but coming out of them I would also go through the material he had talked about just as a matter of fact checking, you know, and did this happen on this day in this way? And there was never an instance where I felt like oh, I shouldn't be aware of this because, you know, anything he told me was always -- it seemed like it -- I'm pretty --

MR. ZWONITZER: -- sure it was always a matter of, 2 you know, the various officials had already spoken to this 3 4 stuff in congressional hearings or in the press or, you know, I was always able to find -- it was always stuff that 5 was in the public domain I felt like. 6 7 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. MR. ZWONITZER: There was nothing in my notes that 8 ever gave me pause, like oh I shouldn't have this. 9 10 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Go ahead. 11 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 12 13 14 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 15 MR. ZWONITZER: 16 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 17 MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 18 19 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 20 MR. ZWONITZER: 21 22 23 24 25 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) MR. ZWONITZER:

(01:52:13)

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(01:53:25)
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                                            (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 2
                  MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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 4
                  MR. ZWONITZER:
                                           (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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10
                  MR. ZWONITZER:
11
                  MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                         (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
12
13
14
                  MR. ZWONITZER:
                                              (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
15
16
                  MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                    (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)?
17
                  MR. ZWONITZER:
                                     (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
18
19
                  MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                       (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
20
                  MR. ZWONITZER:
21
                  MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Okay. There was -- listening to
      the recordings, there was also some occasions where Biden
22
23
      would ask you to turn off the recorder because he was going
24
      to cover something that was sensitive or I -- for various
25
      reasons. Do you, do you recall that? Or why --
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(01:54:24)
 1
 2
                  MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) -- would he ask you to turn off the
 3
      recorder?
 4
                  MR. ZWONITZER: I sure don't. I don't recall
 5
                                   (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
      that.
 6
 7
 8
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                  MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                                       (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                                        (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                  MR. ZWONITZER:
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                                    (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                  MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                  MR. ZWONITZER:
                                      (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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| 1 | (01:55:41) |
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| 2 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 11 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b)(5)(6)(6)(7) |
| 12 | MR. $^{(b)}(6), (b)(7)(C)$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 16 | MR. ZWONITZER: (DISEODER DIV |
| 17 | MR. $^{(b)}(6), (b)(7)(C)$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 22 | MR. ZWONITZER: (D)(S).(D)(G).(D)(7XC) |
| 23 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 25 | MR. ZWONITZER: (DISLONG, D) (7)(C) |
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                                           (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                 MR. ZWONITZER:
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                 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                 MR. ZWONITZER:
                                          (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                 MR. ZWONITZER:
                                      (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                  Okay. So February 16th, you have
      the meeting where he talks about finding the classified.
12
      Did you see any of the -- did he show any classified during
13
      any of the interviews?
14
15
                 MR. ZWONITZER: No, no. He never showed me
16
      anything like that.
17
                 MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Okay. And in terms of the diaries
      I know that he kind of had them literally close.
18
19
                 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.
                 MR. (b)(6)(b)(7)(C) He would hold on to them, again
20
21
      they were personal.
22
                 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.
                                           Right.
23
                 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) There's at least a couple of times
24
      where he kind of asked you help him read?
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MR. ZWONITZER: Yes. Yeah. Can you make out --

(01:57:23)1 2 MR. ZWONITZER: -- this word? That I remember. 3 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)Okay. 4 MR. ZWONITZER: But that's the only time I saw the 5 inside of that. MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. All right. Was that -- it 6 7 must have been a little frustrating. Didn't you want to read them? 8 9 MR. ZWONITZER: I did and I didn't, you know, 10 because I mean I felt like everything he was comfortable 11 with he was, he was telling me. He was, you know -- so I 12 don't -- I mean I can't remember ever thinking like I really 13 want to get my eyes on those documents. 14 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. Okay. MR. ZWONITZER: Except for efficiency and speed 15 16 reasons. 17 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Sure. Well on that note --18 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Can I follow up on --19 Go please. Please, please. MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)20 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- on February 16th. Do you 21 remember who else was there at the time? 22 MR. ZWONITZER: I thought it was just the two of 23 us. 24 MR. FREEMAN: Are we talking about February the 25 16th?

(01:58:16)1 2 SA (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) The February 16, 2017. 3 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. It's -- I think it's been 4 pointed out to me to that Val was invited to the meeting. I 5 don't remember her. She may have been there but I just don't remember her being there. 6 7 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. If she has kind of lines on the transcript and in the audio and you could hear her 8 voice --9 10 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- would that make you think that 11 12 she was there? 13 MR. ZWONITZER: Oh well she was definitely there. 14 Yeah. 15 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. 16 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. 17 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And then do you remember anyone else who was there? 18 19 MR. ZWONITZER: On the 16th? 20 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) On February 16th? 21 MR. ZWONITZER: I do not. 22 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. So I can understand when 23 you're in the moment with the vice president or former vice 24 president and he mentioned something like, oh this part is

classified or I found all these classified things --

(01:59:00)1 SA (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) -- downstairs, maybe you don't 2 3 want to discuss it then or maybe it doesn't register for you 4 at the time, but when you're relistening to the audio and 5 transcribing it and typing up words like classified at that point did it raise any flags for you or have any impact? 6 7 MR. ZWONITZER: I quess it did not. SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 8 Okay. 9 To follow up on that, did MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)10 you -- were you, were you typing in real time as he spoke? 11 MR. ZWONITZER: No, no, no. 12 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Or were you recording --13 MR. ZWONITZER: Recording and ---- and transcribing later? 14 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)15 MR. ZWONITZER: -- transcribing, yeah. 16 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) It's painstaking. You did 17 that -- you did all the transcribing yourself? 18 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. It's not my favorite job. 19 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And did you mention anything about 20 him mentioning classified to anyone else? 21 MR. ZWONITZER: No. 22 To like your publishers, the SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 23 editor? 24 MR. ZWONITZER: No.

Okay.

SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

(01:59:48)(b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) MR. ZWONITZER: (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) And a week later you sent (b)(6,0)(6,0)(7) an email and this is Zwonitzer 53. I was going to show it to you. It says we'll probably need about four -- you're asking for another meeting. MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Need about four hours if possible and we need to take one session to make an inventory of all the various notebooks, et cetera and put them in order and put them in one place. Can you tell us about your request from there?

MR. ZWONITZER: Well yeah, because, you know --

(02:00:58)

MR. ZWONITZER: -- by then I had realized how important those things were. And so I just wanted to make sure we didn't miss anything. But I don't remember this ever actually happening. Like because again it was left to the vice president to figure out like what notebooks mattered and what to bring --

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) And you said he never had like a stack of like here's a bookshelf full of all my journals, my diaries, my notebooks?

MR. ZWONITZER: No. I mean we would like, you know, he would come into the meeting at the Naval

Observatory or at McLean or wherever it was and it would be, you know -- what I remember is maybe one or two notebooks at any given time. It was never more than that.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Okay. Was that frustrating? I know the notebooks aren't -- it's not like he kept a diary every day if it -- this is 2009, this is 2010, this is 2011. It's a little more haphazard than that.

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. That's one of the reasons I said like I think let's like make an inventory just to make sure the -- we didn't miss anything from this tenure of a time period because they didn't seem to be -- well I didn't know if they were in any sort of order or not. I just wanted to make sure that we had everything from that time.

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MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And did you have a discussion with
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 3
      Biden about that, the need to make sure you were getting
      everything and we don't want to -- there's really great
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 5
      stuff in these journals.
                 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.
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 7
                 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) We want to make sure we're not
      missing some of them?
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 9
                 MR. ZWONITZER: Probably I did, but I don't, you
10
      know, I don't recall about that. And again he was -- I mean
11
      he kept those journals, those diaries pretty locked down.
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                 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. Did you get the sense that
      other people, maybe had access to them or if they, you
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14
      know, couldn't find them?
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                 MR. ZWONITZER: No. I didn't have any sense of
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      that either, I don't think.
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                 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                         (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                 MR. ZWONITZER:
                                              (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                            (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                 MR. ZWONITZER:
                                    (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                      (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                  (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                 MR. ZWONITZER:
                                            (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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(02:02:27)

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(02:03:20)
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                    MR. ZWONTIZER:
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                         (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                                           (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                    MR. ZWONITZER:
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                         (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                    MR.
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                    MR. FREEMAN:
                                              (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                         (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                    SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                                             (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                    MR. FReEMAN:
17
                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                   The time is 11:31 and we're
18
                    SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
19
      going on a break.
       (End of 230731 0074.)
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(Start of 230731 0075).
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                    SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. The time is 11:45 and we're
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 3
      back on.
                                                (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                    MR. ZWONITZER:
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                    SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Read what?
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 7
                                                 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                    MR. ZWONITZER:
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                                       (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                    MR. ZWONITZER:
                                             (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                         (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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14
                    MR. ZWONITZER:
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                                                  (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                         (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                                                  (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                    MR. ZWONITZER:
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| 1 | (00:00:58) |
|----|-----------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | Mr. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 20 | SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 21 | MD 7MONITED: (b) (5) (b) (6) (b) (7)(C) |
| 22 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 23 | |
| 25 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) MR. You identified a series |
| 25 | Fix. Cronster. |
| | |

(00:02:28)

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) -- of POTUS lunches that you wanted to go through in the book. Are these --

MR. ZWONITZER: Right.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- discuss and research and at various point starting in April of 2017 you said a list of POTUS lunches. I'm going to show you it's Zwonitzer 1464, which is an email you sent to (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) and on April 27th of 2017. And (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) was the body man?

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. At that point.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) And (b)(5),(b)(6),(b)(7)(C) was his assistant or secretary, let's get that right. And you asked -- well you can see the email here. But --

MR. ZWONITZER: So the reason for this is that the -- most of the personal stuff -- all the stuff about the Obama lunches were -- most of them were in his diary.

Right?

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Mm-hmm.

MR. ZWONITZER: So it came, it came from the diary. But he was not always sure about dates. So like, oh I told you, you know, this conversation happened on April 1st. I want to make sure of that. So I think I was asking him because he was going to review the notes, not from his diary but the official notes that were at the Archives. So he was going to the Archives to look at those, the notes --

(00:04:01)1 2 MR. ZWONITZER: -- the official notes. MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) For the, for the -- for researching 3 4 the book? MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. Just to -- it was more a 5 question of fact checking, making sure, okay, yeah, this is, 6 7 this is correct. This is the correct date. Yeah. That's the -- so that was I'm pretty sure the reason for that. 8 9 MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Okay. And it looks like you 10 actually forwarded this email later on May 11 to (b)(5),(b)(6),(b)(7)(C),(b)(7)(E),(b)(7)(F), and that's Biden's --11 12 MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 13 14 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah, that's his, that's his personal email account at the time. 15 16 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. One of his accounts, yes. 17 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And that was so he could take that 18 list with him to the Archives to find what he could. Okay. Okay. And did -- you didn't go to the Archives with him 19 20 though? 21 MR. ZWONITZER: I did not. I didn't even know I 22 was allowed to. 23 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 24 MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C 25 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

| 1 | (00:04:52) |
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| 2 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 5 | MR. ZWONITZER: |
| 6 | MR. $^{(b)}(6), (b)(7)(C)$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 8 | MR. ZWONITZER: (D)(S), (D)(G), (C) |
| 9 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 12 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 17 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 19 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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1 (00:06:01)

MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Did you ever ask him to make copies of the notes he had the Archives and that would obviously be somewhat easier?

MR. ZWONITZER: I did not.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. Okay. And why not?

MR. ZWONITZER: I know I just remember -- partly because, you know, what was in the diary was already there and what he was looking at was just sort of confirming what he already said.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) But you thought he already had the substance of a lot of this from the notebooks?

(00:07:14)

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah, and I mean the truth is like -- not the truth, but, you know, what's in the official transcript and what's in his memory is not going to be much different. And we were really only talking about I mean the things that really struck him, things like, you know, Joe, what do you want to do for the rest of your life. That was in this head.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) When Obama asked him that?

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. Yeah.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Certainly fascinating to hear the account of --

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. These --

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- these one on one lunches between the president and vice president.

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(c) Very personal meetings. You mentioned earlier that you had asked a few times if you could photocopy the relevant pages of the notebooks. It would be much easier. It's funny you said that because I -- as you listening to those recordings I was struck by how painstaking this process was for you and it --

MR. ZWONITZER: Gosh, it was not only painstaking timewise, it was painstaking just in terms of emotion.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7) (C) Sure, sure. Taking down --

(00:08:16)1 2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- important things or very 3 personal things and moving. Yeah, did you ask him multiple 4 times like are you sure I can't just photocopy some of 5 these? MR. ZWONITZER: My memory is that I might have 6 7 asked him twice. MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. 8 9 MR. ZWONITZER: But I got a very clear, you 10 know -- I mean it wasn't --11 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) It's the vice president. 12 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. You don't push too hard. 13 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Got you. Okay. 14 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Apart from kind of the diary entries were you shown any of the official write ups that 15 16 came after these POTUS lunches? 17 MR. ZWONITZER: No. I never saw those. 18 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. 19

MR. ZWONITZER: And I don't think they ever -- I think all he did was take notes on them. So I think they were all at the Archives. I think he had to go to a specific room in the Archives to look at those.

> SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay.

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MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) While vice president and he is still President Biden kind of famously had these lapel --

(00:09:09)1 2 MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) -- cards, these note cards he'd 3 keep in his jacket pocket. Are you familiar with those? 4 MR. ZWONITZER: Yes. 5 MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Did you see any of those or look -- were you able to review any of those while you like 6 7 wrote the book or researched the book? MR. ZWONITZER: I did see some of those just in 8 9 terms of the help like they were essentially, it was a 10 schedule for him. And so it was again and it's not -- it 11 was basically the same thing his private schedule would be 12 which is this is the public schedule, added to it would be things like, [10(6), (0)(6), (0)(7)(0) got a volleyball game tonight. You 13 know, it's birthday or it was that kind of stuff. 14 15 So I did have some of those cards and what I 16 remember about them specifically is that he still always 17 kept until the vice presidency the tally of people killed and wounded in Afghanistan I think. 18 19 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Afghanistan seemed like something 20 that was an issue of importance. He felt very strongly

about Afghanistan. Is that correct?

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

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Is that right? MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

MR. ZWONITZER: He did.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Would he talk about that to you?

(00:10:18)1 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. He did on occasion and it 2 3 was specifically about -- I mean it was already not just 4 famous, but infamous when they had to -- when they had 5 to -- when they chose to fire the general. Right? His name I can't --6 7 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) McChrystal. MR. ZWONITZER: McChrystal, right. 8 McChrystal. 9 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C): 10 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) General McChrystal. 11 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. So that was really a -- I 12 think that was a clash between Biden and a lot of people at 13 the Pentagon about just how to handle Afghanistan. So that 14 was very much in the news. 15 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) You know and Bob Woodward wrote a 16 book about this, I don't know if you've read it, called 17 Obama's Wars. MR. ZWONITZER: 18 19 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 20 MR. ZWONITZER: 21 22 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C): 23 MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 24 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 25

(b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

MR. ZWONITZER:

(00:11:18)

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(c) Yeah. That book, you know, talks about the decision to do -- to send more troops to Afghanistan in 2009, in the very early days of the Obama-Biden administration and one of the notable features is Biden was really not lone voice, you know, nearly a lone voice against it.

And very much kind of sticking in the craw of the military was on, you know, tens of thousands of troops to go -- additional troops to go into Afghanistan and Biden, you know, repeatedly says, no and advocates against it even though no one really wants to hear it.

Would he talk about that and his sort of opposition, his opposition at the time? It was obviously a tough time. It was a very new presidency. Obama didn't have military or much foreign policy experience. It's hard to stand up to the military who are already at war.

MR. ZWONITZER: Yes. I mean it's one of the most talked about things in that first term. You know, I mean it's like there's a section of it in Obama's book about that decision and what happened. And Biden was -- you're right the lone voice against that.

I mean so I'm sure that we talked about that but it wasn't -- that was never a part of the book. I don't think we ever even mentioned that in *Promise Me, Dad*.

(00:12:44)1 2 MR. ZWONITZER: So yes, without question we talked 3 about it, I'm sure. MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) One of the sort of famous episodes 4 5 of this I mean in terms of Biden's opposition is this handwritten letter he wrote to Obama over Thanksgiving and 6 7 sent to him on Thanksqiving day from Nantucket, again advocating almost the last time about how this is a terrible 8 9 idea. Don't do this, Mr. President. This is a mistake. 10 MR. ZWONITZER: You mean like back in like 2009, 11 2010? 12 MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Back in 2009 opposing the sending 13 of additional troops to Afghanistan. 14 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. 15 MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Did he talk to you about that? 16 mean have you heard this anecdote before? 17 MR. ZWONITZER: About the Thanksgiving? MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 18 Yeah. 19 MR. ZWONITZER: No. 20 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. Like him writing this long 21 handwritten letter to Obama? 22 MR. ZWONITZER: I mean I do remember him saying 23 that he wrote -- yeah, a huge number of pages about, you 24 know, like I think you said handwritten?

MR. (b)(6)(b)(7)(C) Yeah, a very long letter.

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(00:13:39)
 1
 2
                 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.
 3
                 MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) I want to say annoying long
     handwritten letter. But it was much longer than the typical
 4
 5
     handwritten letter.
                 MR. ZWONITZER: Well listen, let me tell you
 6
 7
     something, I don't think Joe Biden types. I've never seen
 8
     him type.
                                Yeah. Fair enough. Okay. Did he
 9
                 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
10
     ever show you that letter?
11
                 MR. ZWONITZER: No.
12
                 MR.
                     (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                 Did he ever --
                 MR. ZWONITZER: I don't remember seeing it.
13
14
                 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                         (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                  Okay.
15
16
17
18
19
                 MR. ZWONITZER:
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21
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| 1 | (00:14:43) |
|----|---------------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 6 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 8 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 10 | |
| 11 | MR. $^{(b)}(6), (b)(7)(C)$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 12 | ? |
| 13 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 23 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 1 | (00:16:09) |
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| 2 | MR. $(b) (6), (b) (7)(C)$ — (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 7 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 20 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 21 | ? |
| 22 | MR. ZWONITZER: (D)(S), (D)(T)(D) |
| | MR. ZWONIIZER. |
| 23 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 24 | |
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| 1 | (00:17:24) |
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| 2 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) $$ (b) (6), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) ? |
| 3 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 11 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 17 | MR. ZWONITZER: (DIST. DIST. DI |
| 18 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) $$ |
| 19 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 23 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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(00:18:30)
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                   MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                   MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                         (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                                        (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                   MR. ZWONITZER:
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                   MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                   MR. ZWONITZER:
                                         (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                                            (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
16
                   MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                                              (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                   MR. ZWONITZER:
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                                           (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                   MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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22
                   MR. ZWONITZER:
                                          (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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(00:19:33)
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                    MR. ZWONITZER: -- (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                                                (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                                             (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                    MR. ZWONITZER:
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                                             (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
15
16
                                              (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
17
                    MR. ZWONITZER:
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19
20
21
22
                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                    SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                   (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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(00:20:45)
 1
                 MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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 7
 8
                 MR. ZWONITZER:
                                      (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 9
                 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
10
11
                                           (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                 MR. ZWONITZER:
12
                 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
13
14
                             (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                                 You had
15
      mentioned about the note cards, you know, it would have his
16
      schedules and the troops that had been killed in combat on
17
      the back.
18
                 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.
                 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Where would you see those note
19
20
      cards?
21
                 MR. ZWONITZER: I think that (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
22
                                                   in the, were in a
23
      file, a PDF maybe that --
24
                 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) They were provided to you in a PDF
25
      file?
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(00:21:47)MR. ZWONITZER: No. I think, I think I was -- I 2 3 must have been given a copy of them. SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. Well I guess I'm trying to 4 5 figure out like were you in one of Biden's homes or like where physically were you? 6 7 MR. ZWONITZER: I think that -- I can't remember but I think it would have been from (b)(5),(b)(6),(b)(7)(c). 8 So that 9 would have been at the White House in August when we were 10 gathering. 11 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) In August of 2016? 12 MR. ZWONITZER: '16, when we were gathering 13 schedules. 14 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. So when he had the schedules you think he also showed you note cards at that time? 15 16 SA (b)(6)(b)(7)(C) Or gave you a copy of them? 17 MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 18 I wouldn't call 19 them a note card. It's like a card that was like narrow and 20 long. 21 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah. Like it goes coat pocket. 22 MR. ZWONITZER: And but it literally just had the 23 schedule on it. It didn't have anything more that the 24 schedule. 25 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

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(00:22:50)
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                                     (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 2
                 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 3
                                                 did you have the
 4
      actual, physical note cards?
 5
                 MR. ZWONITZER: No.
                 MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Did he email them to you or give
 6
 7
      them to you?
 8
                 MR. ZWONITZER: I think I -- I think he gave me a
      copy of those. But I'm not -- I don't remember. I thought
 9
      I -- I believe I had them in a PDF file.
10
11
                 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                   Okay.
12
                 MR. GINSBURG:
                                      (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
13
14
                                   (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                 MR. GINSBURG:
15
                 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.
16
                 MR. FREEMAN:
                                          (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
17
18
19
20
21
22
                 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
23
                 MR. FREEMAN:
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25
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(00:23:56)1 2 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 3 MR. FREEMAN: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 4 5 6 7 8 9 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 10 How sure are you that you got them? I 11 mean those look very distinctive with the schedule on them. 12 We all know what we're talking about. 13 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. 14 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Like so he famously had them and 15 used them a lot. They're sort of unique to him. Maybe he 16 had a good reason to but I've never seen that form. 17 MR. ZWONITZER: Okay. I mean that was memory. MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 18 Okay. 19 MR. ZWONITZER: I thought I saw those at some 20 point. 21 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. 22 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) So I guess other than the meeting with (b)(5),(b)(6),(b)(7)(C) in the West Wing did you see those types of 23 24 note cards anywhere else?

MR. ZWONITZER: Well while he's vice president --

(00:25:02)1 2 MR. ZWONITZER: -- you know, only in his hand when 3 he referred to it. 4 SA (b) (6), (b) (7) (C) Okay. So since he left office as 5 vice president did you see those note cards like in his houses or --6 7 MR. ZWONITZER: No. MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) When -- during some of the meetings 8 9 while he was still vice president I think you were at the 10 Naval Observatory, he's reading from materials that are not 11 the notebooks. And it appears to be the types of notes that 12 he later ended up at the Archives. Do you recall him paging 13 through some of the more haphazardly gathered the materials that weren't a -- one of the journals or diaries? 14 MR. ZWONITZER: I don't. 15 16 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. 17 MR. ZWONITZER: But can you give me a for instance? 18 19 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Well so there's the interviews 20 where he's essentially reading you things --21 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) -- from his journals and you're typing down, instead of letting you photocopy them or read them or giving them to you he's reading them so you can type them, essentially transcribe them through his voice --

22

23

24

(00:25:57)

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) -- which is a tedious process we've discussed several times here.

There's certain ones when you look at them it appears that he's not reading from his notebooks or diaries, journals. Instead he's reading from notes of meetings that he kept whether it's on lapel cards or some other gathered materials that he had and later ended up at the, at the National Archives. We know where they ended up.

MR. ZWONITZER: Okay.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) But they are not the books that we've talked about.

MR. ZWONITZER: Okay.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Do you recall him going through and reading from other types of material?

MR. ZWONITZER: I mean, I remember him reading the notes from the Obama lunches from what I thought came from the Archives, that he took notes. I do not remember other -- sorry, it's a long time ago.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) I think those were the ones I'm talking about the -- a lot of those are related to the POTUS lunches.

MR. ZWONITZER: Okay. Again, I remember here -- I thought he was reading me from notes he had taken at the Archives. That was my understanding.

(00:27:09)1 2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. 3 MR. ZWONITZER: And I think that was around the 4 middle --MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)5 Of 2017. 6 MR. ZWONITZER: -- '17. 7 Okay. So you think you recall that MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)he went to the Archives, took notes on the things and then 8 9 read those notes to you? 10 MR. ZWONITZER: That's what I -- that's my memory. 11 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) He went back to the Archives in 12 July of 2017 and you -- this is Bates 631. This is 13 Zwonitzer 631 and 632 of July 9th of 2017, and you sent an 14 email to (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 15 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. 16 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- which is the Joe Biden email 17 with the subject, Archives. And attached to it Bates at 632 18 is a list of POTUS lunches and that's some of the same 19 lunches that you had -- appeared in your earlier list in 20 April, some of which are crossed out. I assume that's 21 because you already --22 MR. ZWONITZER: Don't know how --23 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) You had gotten those notes. And 24 then this other, a list of other topics that, you know, in

for potential notes including calls with Prime Minister --

(00:28:23)1 2 MR. (b)(6)(b)(7)(C) -- Abadi of Iraq, a call with 3 President Poroshenko of Ukraine and some other items. What 4 are these items that you're looking for and why? 5 MR. ZWONITZER: This was -- I mean these in particular where like -- these were the first days he was 6 7 back after Beau's death. MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) In June of 20 --8 9 MR. ZWONITZER: In June, so these are like what's 10 going on in your life then. 11 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. 12 MR. ZWONITZER: What I remember is that I know 13 that we quoted from letters of condolence that he got about 14 I don't think he did any of that. 15 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) You don't think he got you these 16 notes? 17 MR. ZWONITZER: I don't think he got any of those. 18 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) He did go to the Archives. So you 19 sent this email on July 9th. He went there a day or two 20 later. 21 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. 22 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) So he did get you some stuff I take MR. it? 23 24 MR. ZWONITZER: I think it was about Beau. 25

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. The condolence letters?

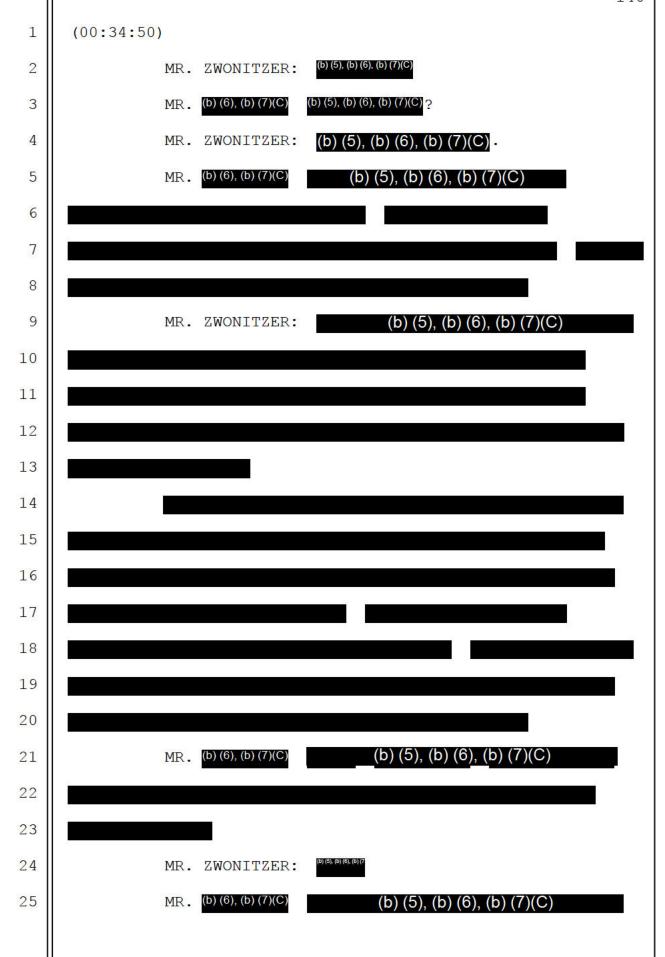
(00:29:28)1 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. I don't -- I just don't 2 3 remember. I mean I remember having like all the official 4 readouts of those meetings from the White House archives 5 that was digitally available. MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Letters re: Beau was on your list 6 7 there, also need. 8 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. So the letters I know that 9 we quoted from the letters in the book, I remember 10 specifically some. I don't have any recollection of any of 11 that material. I just thought like he never got to it. (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 12 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 13 14 MR. ZWONITZER: 15 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) MR. 16 MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25

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(00:31:02)
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                                             (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
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                                                   (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 4
                      MR.
                            (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 5
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
 6
                           (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                      (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                      MR.
 7
 8
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                      (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 9
                      MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                    (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                      MR. ZWONITZER:
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                                                       (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                            (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                                             (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
18
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
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                      MR.
                           (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                         (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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21
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
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                      MR.
                            (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                       (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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24
                                            (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                      MR. ZWONITZER:
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(00:32:01)
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                                           (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                                              (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                     MR. ZWONITZER:
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 6
                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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 8
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                       (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                                                       (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
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16
                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                      (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
17
18
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
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21
                           (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR.
                                                      (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                            (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
22
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
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                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                    (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                                           (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
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(00:32:48)
 1
                                          (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 2
                      MR. FREEMAN:
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                                                      (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 4
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
 5
                      MR. FREEMAN:
 6
                      MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                      (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 7
                      MR. FREEMAN:
                                                    (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 8
                                             (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
                      SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                                                      (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                                             (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                      MR. ZWONITZER:
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                      MR.
                            (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                      MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                  (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                            (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                      MR.
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                                                       (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                      MR. ZWONITZER:
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                                                     (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                      MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                      MR. ZWONITZER:
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                            (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                            (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                      MR. ZWONITZER:
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| 1 | (00:33:40) |
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| 2 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 3 | MR. ZWONITZER: |
| 4 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 5 | |
| 6 | MR. ZWONITZER: (INC.) (|
| 7 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 8 | |
| 9 | MR. ZWONITZER: (O)(S),(O)(S),(C) |
| 10 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 12 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 16 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 18 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 21 | |
| 22 | |
| 23 | MR. $(b) (6), (b) (7)(C)$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)? |
| 24 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 25 | |
| | |



| 1 | (00:36:29) |
|----|--------------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 3 | MR. ZWONITZER: (D)(S) (D)(G) (C) |
| 4 | |
| 5 | MR. $(b) (6), (b) (7)(C)$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 6 | |
| 7 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 19 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 21 | 3 |
| 22 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 23 | |
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| 1 | (00:37:42) |
|----|---------------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 3 | |
| 4 | MR. $(b) (6), (b) (7)(C)$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 5 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 6 | |
| 7 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 8 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 13 | MR. $^{(b)}(6), (b)(7)(C)$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 14 | ? |
| 15 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 16 | |
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| 19 | |
| 20 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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(00:38:48)
 1
                     MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C).
 2
                                                    (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 3
                      MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 4
 5
                                                      (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
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 9
10
                      SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
11
                                                      (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                      MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
12
13
                      SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                       (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C).
14
                      SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
15
                                                        (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
16
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                                                      (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                      MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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(00:39:51)
 1
                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C).
 2
 3
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
 4
                      MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                           (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) ?
 5
                                                      (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
 6
 7
                           (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                      MR.
                                                       (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 8
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
 9
10
11
                           (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
12
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                       (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
13
                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
14
                                                       (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
15
                                                    (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
16
                      MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
17
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19
                                                       (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
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21
22
                                                    (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
23
                      MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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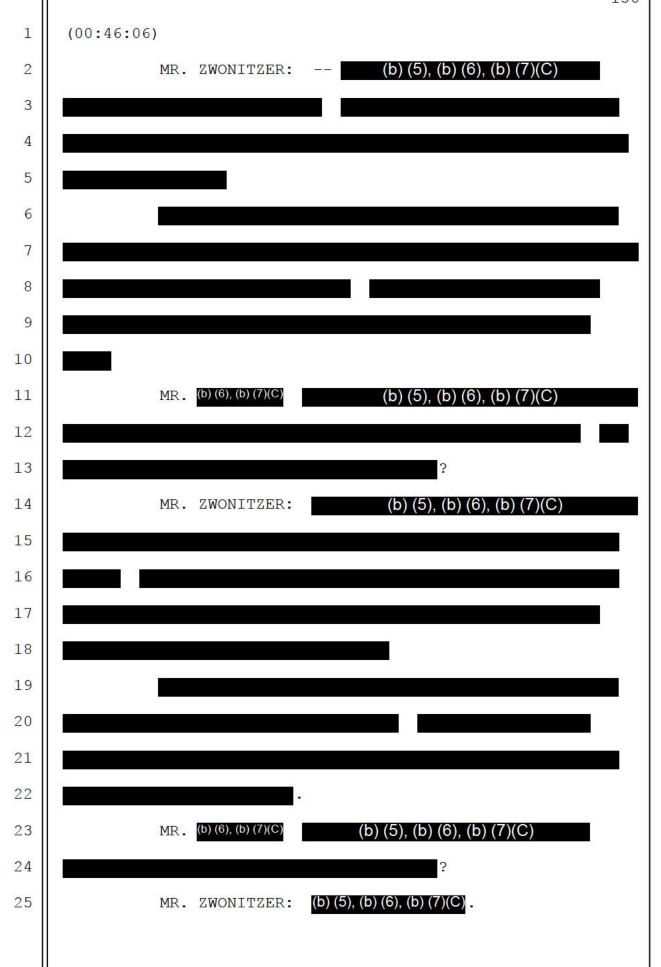
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(00:40:50)
 1
                                            (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 2
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                    (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 3
                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 4
 5
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                    (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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 7
                                                    (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                           (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 8
 9
                     MR. ZWONITZER: -- (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) --
                           (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
10
                     MR.
11
                                                 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
12
                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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14
15
                                                      (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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21
                                                    (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
22
23
                     SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)?
24
25
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                     (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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(00:41:33)
 1
 2
                    MR. ZWONITZER: -- (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 3
 4
                    SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 5
                                                     (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                    MR. ZWONITZER:
 6
                                                   (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 7
                     SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 8
 9
10
                    MR. ZWONITZER:
                                             (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
11
                     SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
12
13
                    MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                  (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
14
                                                    (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
15
                                                   (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
16
                    MR. ZWONITZER:
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18
19
                     SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                              (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
20
                    MR. ZWONITZER:
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(00:42:27)
 1
                     MR. ZWONITZER: -- (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C).
 2
 3
                     SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 4
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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 6
 7
                                                  (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 8
                     SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 9
10
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
11
                     SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
12
                           (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                   (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR.
13
14
                                                      (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
15
16
                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                           (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C).
17
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                    (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
18
                     MR. (b) (6), (b) \overline{(7)(C)}
                                                     (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
19
20
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                      (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
21
                (indiscernible 00:42:56)
22
                     SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                            (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
23
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
24
                     SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                         (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
25
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                  (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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| 1 | (00:43:01) |
|----|------------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | MS. ZWONTIZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 3 | |
| 4 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 5 | |
| 6 | ? |
| 7 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 1 | (00:44:40) |
|----|--------------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 3 | |
| 4 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 5 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7) |
| 6 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 7 | |
| 8 | |
| 9 | |
| 10 | MR. $(b) (6), (b) (7)(C)$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 11 | |
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| 14 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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1
       (00:47:24)
 2
                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                            (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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 4
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 8
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
 9
                                                   (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
10
11
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
12
                     MR.
                          (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                    (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
13
14
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
15
                           (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR.
                                                     (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
16
17
                                                    (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
18
19
                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
20
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                       (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
21
22
                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
23
                                                   (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
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(00:48:10)
 1
 2
                                                       (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                    MR. ZWONITZER: --
 3
 4
                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 5
                                           -- (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                    MR. ZWONITZER:
 6
 7
                                                    (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 8
 9
                                               (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
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                                                    (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
11
                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
12
13
14
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
15
                                              (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
16
                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
17
18
19
20
21
22
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
23
                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                         (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
24
25
                                                 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                    MR. ZWONITZER:
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(00:48:48)1 2 MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 3 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 4 5 MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 6 7 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 8 MR. ZWONITZER: 9 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) MR. 10 MR. ZWONITZER: 11 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 12 On that vein, so when you were SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 13 going to -- when you were meeting with Biden at these 14 different places, the Naval Observatory, Chain Bridge Road, 15 the lake house and Rehoboth, was he ever pulling material 16 from like a filing cabinet or from like a folder? Like was 17 he prepared like that for the meetings with you? 18 MR. ZWONITZER: I don't remember like sitting down 19 and him having a stack of stuff. 20 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Can you just kind of go over what 21 kind of paper material he would reference? You had 22 mentioned like he had diaries or journals with him. 23 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. 24 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Do you recall him having anything

25

besides those at your meetings?

(00:49:49)1 MR. ZWONITZER: Well I would send to him like in 2 3 preparation for the meeting, I would send him like here's 4 some schedules and I even sent him like here's some, here's 5 some newspaper articles from, you know, a trip to X, Y, or Z that he would -- I assume he would have read that before we 6 7 sat down. 8 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. 9 MR. ZWONITZER: But I don't remember him having a 10 bunch of -- other than the diary, I don't remember him 11 pulling from notes. 12 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And the reason I'm asking is 13 because we have seen some kind of hanging filing system and 14 it looks like a lot of it is prep for your book. And so I'm wondering if you ever saw him go into a hanging file system 15 16 like that to pull stuff out? 17 MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Like, at a desk drawer or safe. MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. I don't. I don't remember 18 19 that. 20 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. 21 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 22

23

24

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MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

(b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

| 1 | (00:50:53) |
|------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 3 | |
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| 8 | |
| 9 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F) |
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| 18 | |
| 19 | |
| 20 | |
| 21 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 22 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 1 | (00:52:15) |
|----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 3 | |
| 4 | |
| 5 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F) |
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| 16 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 17 | |
| 18 | |
| 19 | |
| 20 | |
| 21 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) $^{(b)(5),(b)(6),(b)(7)}$ |
| 22 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 23 | |
| 24 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F) |
| 25 | ? |
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(00:54:01)
 1
 2
                     MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F)
 3
 4
                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 5
 6
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                      (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 7
 8
                           (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR.
                                                       (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 9
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
10
11
                                          (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F)
                           (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
12
                     MR.
13
14
                                                   (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
15
                                          (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
16
                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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18
19
                                                       (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
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                                                   (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
22
23
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25
                                            (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
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(00:54:56)
 1
 2
                    MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F)
 3
 4
                                        (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 5
                         (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 6
                    MR. FREEMAN:
                                          (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 7
 8
 9
                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                   (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
10
11
                    SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
12
13
                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                              (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
14
                                          (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                    SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                             Okay. When you were
       visiting him in Wilmington did you ever go in the garage?
15
                    MR. ZWONITZER: I think one time he showed me his
16
17
       Corvette.
18
                    SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                        Okay.
19
                    MR. ZWONITZER:
                                         (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F)
20
21
                                            (b) (5), (b) (6), (b)
22
                    SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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24
25
                    MR. ZWONITZER: All I remember is that the --
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(00:56:27)
 1
                    MR. ZWONITZER: -- Corvette was inside.
 2
                                               (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 3
                    SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 4
                                            (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 5
                    MR. ZWONITZER:
                                        (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F)
                    SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 6
 7
 8
                    MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F)
 9
10
11
                                               (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                    SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
12
13
                    MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                   (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                                                   (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                    SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                                                  (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
19
                   MR. ZWONITZER:
20
                    SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                        (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
21
                    MR. ZWONITZER: I remember seeing the car.
22
      don't remember seeing anything else.
23
                                               (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                    SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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(00:57:23)
 1
                     MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 2
 3
                      SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                            (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 4
 5
 6
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                   (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 7
                      SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                            (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F)
 8
                     MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F)
 9
10
11
                      SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
12
13
14
                                                        (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
15
                     SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
16
17
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                       (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
18
                      SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F)
19
20
21
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
                                            (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F)
22
                                                  (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
23
                     SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
24
25
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(00:59:08)
 1
                     MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 2
 3
                     SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F)
 4
 5
 6
 7
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
 8
                     SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                     (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 9
10
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
11
                                                      (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
12
13
                                                    (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
14
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
15
                     SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
16
17
                                                      (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
18
                                                    (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
19
                     SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
20
21
                                           (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
22
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
23
                     SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
24
25
                                                  (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
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(01:00:07)
 1
 2
                                               (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
 3
                                                      (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                      SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 4
 5
 6
                                                        (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 7
                            (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                              (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 8
                      SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 9
                      MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                  (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
10
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
11
12
13
                      MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                            (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)?
14
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                        (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
15
16
17
18
19
                                                        (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                      MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
20
21
                                              (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
22
                      SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                              (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
23
24
25
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
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(01:00:57)
 1
                                            (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 2
                     SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 3
                                           (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F)
 4
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
 5
                     SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                              (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 6
 7
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 8
                     SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                   (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 9
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
10
11
12
                                                     (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
13
14
15
16
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
                                           (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F)
17
18
19
                     SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                       (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
20
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                     (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
21
22
                     SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                      (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
23
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
24
25
                                                      (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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1
        (01:02:31)
                                          (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 2
                     SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 3
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
                                            (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F)
 4
 5
                     SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
 6
                                                  (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 7
 8
                     SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 9
                                                (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
10
                                                  (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
11
                     SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
12
13
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
14
15
16
17
                                                     (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
18
                           (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
19
                       ?
20
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
21
22
23
                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
24
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
25
                     SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                      (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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(01:03:26)
 1
                                                        (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 2
                      SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 3
 4
                      MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F)
 5
 6
                                             (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F)
 7
                      SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 8
 9
10
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                       (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
11
12
13
14
                      SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
15
                                             (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F)
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
16
17
                      SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                       (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
18
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
19
                      SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
20
21
                                                  (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
22
23
                      SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
24
                      MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                      SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
25
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(01:04:32)
 1
 2
                                           (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 3
                     SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                    (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 4
                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 5
 6
                                                      (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
 7
 8
 9
                     MR.
                          (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                     (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
10
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
11
                                                      (indiscernible 01:04:59)
12
                                    (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
13
14
                          (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR.
                                             (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
15
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
16
17
                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                   (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
18
19
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                  (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
20
                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
21
                                                  (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
22
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
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(01:05:28)
 1
                                                          (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                        MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 2
 3
                        MR.
                              ZWONITZER:
                                                        (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 4
                        MR.
                              (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                             (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 5
                        MR. ZWONITZER:
 6
 7
                              (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 8
                        SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 9
                        MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
10
11
12
                        SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                              (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                              (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
13
14
15
16
17
                        MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                             (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
18
                              (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
19
20
21
22
23
                                                 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                        MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                        (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                              (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
24
25
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1
        (01:06:28)
                                            (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 2
                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 3
 4
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
                                              (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 5
                     MR.
                          (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 6
 7
                           ZWONITZER:
 8
                           (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                            (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR.
 9
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                   (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                  (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
10
                           (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR.
11
12
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                  (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
13
                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
14
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                      (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
15
                                                  (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
16
                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
17
                                            (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
18
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
19
                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
20
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
                                            (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) .
21
                           (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                    (b)(3), (b)(5), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C)
22
23
24
25
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
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1
       (01:07:23)
 2
                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                           (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 3
 4
 5
                                                  (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
 6
 7
 8
                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 9
                                                   (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
10
11
12
                                               (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
13
                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
14
15
16
17
                                           (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
18
19
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                      (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
20
                                                  (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
21
                          (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
22
23
24
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
                                             (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
25
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(01:08:24)
 1
 2
                                               (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
 3
 4
 5
                      MR.
                           (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 6
                                                         (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
 7
 8
                            (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 9
10
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
11
                           (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                            (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
12
                                                       (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
13
14
15
                      MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                            (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
16
17
18
19
20
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
21
                            (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                     (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
22
                                             (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
23
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                    (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
24
                           (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
25
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(01:09:17)
 1
 2
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
 3
                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                           (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 4
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 5
                           (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 6
 7
                                                      (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                           ZWONITZER:
 8
                           (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                      MR.
 9
10
11
                      SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                       (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
12
13
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                   (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
14
15
16
                      MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                     (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
17
                                                 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
18
                     MR. ZWONITZER:
19
                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                  (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
20
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
21
22
23
                                                      (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
24
                           (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
25
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| 1 | (01:10:00) |
|----|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) — (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 3 | |
| 4 | |
| 5 | • |
| 6 | MR. ZWONITZER: (DIST. (|
| 7 | |
| 8 | |
| 9 | MR. $(b) (6), (b) (7)(C)$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 10 | |
| 11 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 12 | |
| 13 | |
| 14 | |
| 15 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (c) |
| 16 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 17 | |
| 18 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7) |
| 19 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 20 | |
| 21 | |
| 22 | |
| | |
| 23 | |
| 24 | MD (b) (6) (b) (7)(C) (b) (5) (b) (6) |
| 25 | MR. (b) (6), (b) $(7)(C)$ (b) $(6), (6), (6), (6), (6)$ |
| | |

(01:10:57)

2 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

(b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

MR. ZWONITZER:

(b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And did that event have any kind of impact on your thinking about these events that we've discussed today? Like, did it make you think, like, oh well Biden referenced classified documents during our meetings with him?

MR. ZWONITZER: I don't remember thinking that, just because I don't remember remembering that --

SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah.

MR. ZWONITZER: -- from six years ago.

SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay.

MR. ZWONITZER: I mean, it may sound odd, but it just wasn't in my, like -- what I was thinking immediately with Biden was the personal stuff and everything else is sort of a fog.

```
(01:12:31)
 1
 2
                 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. (b)(3), (b)(5), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C)
 3
 4
                                           , and you then, kind of,
 5
     went through your material that, you know, was years old.
     Was it only -- I guess I'm trying to figure out, at what
 6
 7
     point did you come across or remember that references to
     classified material?
 8
                 MR. ZWONITZER: It would have been after the
 9
     because I -- as I said, with the, with the audio
10
11
      files, I didn't listen to anything again. I simply slid
12
     everything into the trash. And I didn't go back, I don't
     think. I can't, I can't remember going back before I
13
     (b)(3), (b)(5), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C)
14
15
                 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay.
16
                 MR. ZWONITZER: I don't remember doing that.
17
                 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                       (b)(3), (b)(5), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C)
18
19
20
21
22
                                        (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
23
                 MR. ZWONITZER:
24
25
                                   (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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1
       (01:13:59)
                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)?
 2
 3
                   MR. FREEMAN:
                                           (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 4
                   SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 5
                    MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                    SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                         The time is 12:59.
 6
       (End of 230731 0075).
 7
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(Start of 230731 0076.)
 1
                  SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) It is 1:05 p.m., we're back on
 2
 3
      record.
 4
                  MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                    So I think before the break I asked
 5
      you a question about
                                          (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 6
                  MR. ZWONITZER:
 7
                  MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                    (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C).
 8
                  MR. ZWONITZER:
                                             (b)(3), (b)(5), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C)
 9
10
11
12
13
14
                                            (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
15
16
                  MR. ZWONITZER:
                                     (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
17
                       (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
18
                  MR. ZWONITZER:
                                                (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
19
20
21
                                           (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
22
                                Yep, anything else, guys? Appreciate
      your time. Is there other things -- is there something we
23
24
      missed today? Either I didn't specifically ask. or that
25
      you're -- that's on mind that I -- you have a sense of --
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(00:01:22)
 1
                 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- what we're interested in that
 2
 3
     you can think of?
 4
                 MR. ZWONITZER: I do -- I mean, I would like to
     just say that, you know, in my experience, long experience
 5
 6
     with him, that President Biden has always been, in my
 7
     understanding, very careful about the, you know, sensitive
 8
     information that he carries around partly in his head every
 9
     day.
10
                 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                  Yeah.
11
                 MR. ZWONITZER: And that was always great, sense
12
     of him having read it.
                 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                  Okay. Appreciate that.
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24
                     ZWONITZER:
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                     (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                 MR.
                                          (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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(00:02:30)
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                                              (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                      MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                            ZWONITZER:
                                               (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 9
                      MR.
                            (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                              (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                      MR. ZWONITZER:
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11
                                                 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                      MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                      MR. ZWONITZER:
                                              (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                            (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                            (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                      MR.
                                                        (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                      MR. ZWONITZER:
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                      MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                       (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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22
                      SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                                                         (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                      MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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25
                                                        The time is 1:08 and --
                      SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay.
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(00:03:22)
 1
                SA (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) -- this concludes the interview.
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      (End of 230731_0076.)
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CERTIFICATE

I, (b)(6),(b)(7)(C), certify that the foregoing is

a true and correct transcript, to the best of my ability, of

the above pages, of the RECORDED INTERVIEW provided to me by

5 the Special Counsel's Office.

I further certify that I am neither counsel for, related to, nor employed by any of the parties to the action in which this recording was taken, and further that I am not financially nor otherwise interested in the outcome of the action.

August 4, 2023

August 9, 2023

(b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

Transcriber

(b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

Auditor

Within this transcript of proceedings, some of the names and/or technical terms are spelled phonetically, inasmuch as exhibits, files and supporting documentation were not made available to us for reference.

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| 3 | |
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| 5 | |
| 6 | RECORDED INTERVIEW BETWEEN |
| 7 | FBI SPECIAL AGENT (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 8 | FBI SPECIAL AGENT (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 9 | ASSISTANT SPECIAL COUNSEL (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 10 | ASSISTANT SPECIAL COUNSEL (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 11 | ASSISTANT SPECIAL COUNSEL (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 12 | COUNSEL LOUIS FREEMEN, COUNSEL LEE GINSBERG |
| 13 | PARALEGAL SPECIALIST (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 14 | and MARK ZWONITZER |
| 15 | |
| 16 | File: 240104_1313 and 240104_1447 |
| 17 | |
| 18 | Date: January 4, 2024 |
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1 RECORDING (Begin Track 240104 1313) 2 3 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) It is January 4, 2024. The time 4 is approximately 2:03 p.m. And this is the second interview 5 of Mark Zwonitzer. MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Good afternoon, Mr. Zwonitzer. 6 7 Thanks for being with us again. MR. ZWONITZER: Sure. Glad to be here. 8 Again, my name is (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) with 9 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)10 the Special Counsel's Office. And this is our second time 11 interviewing you as part of our investigation into potential 12 mishandling of documents related to former Vice President Biden's Administration -- the Obama-Biden Administration. 13 14 Before we get started, we're going to record this, so we'll go around the room and all introduce ourselves so 15 16 we can put names to voices, okay? So, again, I'm 17 (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) from the Special Counsel's Office. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), Special Counsel's 18 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Office. 19 20 (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) from the Special Counsel's 21 Office. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), Paralegal with the 22 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 23 Special Counsel's Office. 24 (b) (6), (b) (7) (C) with the FBI. SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 25 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

| 1 | (00:01:06) |
|-----|------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) the FBI. Nice to meet you, |
| 3 | Mr. Zwonitzer. |
| 4 | MR. GINSBERG: And on our side, we have Lou |
| 5 | Freemen representing Mr. Zwonitzer; Mr. Zwonitzer; and |
| 6 | Mr. Lee Ginsberg of Freemen, Nooter, and Ginsberg, also |
| 7 | representing Mr. Zwonitzer. |
| 8 | MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Great. Thanks. Well, |
| 9 | Mr. Zwonitzer, thanks again for being with us. (b)(5),(b)(6),(b)(7)(C) |
| LO | |
| 11 | |
| L2 | MR. ZWONITZER: |
| 13 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| L4 | |
| 15 | MR. ZWONITZER: (6).(6).(6).(6).(7)(C) |
| L 6 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| L7 | |
| L8 | |
| L9 | |
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| 21 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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(00:02:23)1 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 3 4 MR. ZWONITZER: 5 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 6 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 7 8 MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 9 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 10 MR. ZWONITZER: 11 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And last time, we showed you a 12 couple emails that you had sent in September and October of 2016, where you reached out to (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 13 14 MR. ZWONITZER: Okay. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- Vice President Biden's Chief of 15 16 Staff, in advance to book -- set up interviews with Vice 17 President Biden as part of the book, but also to get some 18 help in pulling certain documents - schedules, diaries, 19 notes - that might be related to your conversations to help 20 aide in your conversations. Do you remember that? 21 MR. ZWONITZER: I mean, I don't remember it in 22 particular, but that sounds accurate. 23 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)Okay. 24

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(00:03:18)1 2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- President Biden? The process of 3 obtaining documents that you could have used to help guide 4 those interviews as you talked through the time period that 5 was covered in the book or going to be covered in the book? MR. ZWONITZER: Well, I just -- all I got were --6 7 from his office, I believe, were schedules. 8 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)Okay. 9 MR. ZWONITZER: That was the main thing I was 10 getting so I could -- it was -- in the beginning, it was 11 just, like, figuring out the chronology. 12 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Gotcha. 13 MR. ZWONITZER: They may have, in particular 14 instances, sent me, you know, notes or something else, but I 15 -- the schedules are what I generally, generally remember. 16 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)(b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 17 MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 18 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)(b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 19 21 MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

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Okay. When you ended up sitting

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25 down with Biden, he had certain notebooks you've talked --

(00:04:25)

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) -- about; that he went through; journals, diaries that he used as part of those interviews. When did you learn that he had those?

MR. ZWONITZER: I don't remember. Probably one of the earliest times we sat down. So it was, you know, sometime in fairly -- fairly early in 2016.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Okay. And did it become clear relatively quickly that those were going to be a key source of information for the book?

MR. ZWONITZER: Yes. I mean, I think as I explained, it sort of helped. The personal interest kind of helped explain the emotional arc and narrative of the story of losing Beau.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Okay. And you talked a little bit about those -- Vice President Biden kept those -- he held those very close. He wouldn't let you look at them or share them with other people; is that right?

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. I mean, I asked -- because we were working so fast, I had asked, hey, maybe it would be easier if you gave me the notebooks. I could make some copies, and we -- and that was something he would not -- he wouldn't let those out of his hands.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Okay. And do you know why that was?

(00:05:35)

MR. ZWONITZER: I don't. But I -- my assumption at the time was a lot of the material in there was very, very personal, about Beau in particular. So that was my understanding at the time.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Okay. But because it was personal things, not -- was there concern or did you get a sense that some of it might have been classified or sensitive from a government perspective?

MR. ZWONITZER: I did not.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Okay. Okay. I want -- we shared with you a bunch of clips, and I -- so we'll just dive into them, and there's no real great way to do this.

MR. ZWONITZER: Okay.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) But the first one that I'd like to play is -- it's a clip numbered 246.

Carved 246, (b)(6),(b)(7)(C), for your records.

And I'll -- if I can do it here, I'll share my screen and put it up. Can you see that?

MR. ZWONITZER: I can't see anything.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Hold on. Let me see if I can do this here. Can you see it now?

MR. ZWONITZER: I cannot. Oh, yes, I can.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Okay. Great. Sorry, just took a second there. All right. I'll play this clip for you.

(00:06:58)1 2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) We have a transcript. I'll try to 3 scroll along with it as I play it, okay? 4 MR. GINSBERG: Okay. One second. We want to get 5 into the right --6 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)Oh, yeah. Sure for -- yep. 7 MR. FREEMEN: I don't think I have that. Oh, yes, 8 I do. I'm sorry. I found that. 9 Okay. You have it. Great. MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)10 Wonderful. 11 MR. FREEMEN: Yes, I found it. 12 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. Are you guys ready then? 13 I'll play it. 14 MR. GINSBERG: Ready. 15 (Recording played.) 16 MR. GINSBERG: Can you hear us? We're not hearing 17 anything. You guys can't hear it? 18 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 19 MR. GINSBERG: No. 20 MR. FREEMEN: Correct. 21 MR. GINSBERG: We don't hear that. 22 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)do you know how to share video 23 or audio clips over -- I'm surprised you guys can't hear 24 that. Or (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) ? 25 Yeah. I wonder if I can play it --MR.

(00:08:11)1 2 -- just from my laptop, which is MR. 3 right next to the speaker here. I just got to get into the 4 right folder. 5 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) That'd be great. MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) So this --6 MR. 7 MR. GINSBERG: That's why you need a 30-year-old 8 associate with you. 9 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (Laughs) This is what, this is what 10 happens when you don't practice beforehand. 11 MR. GINSBERG: Yeah. Here, let me give it a shot here and 12 MR. 13 see if it works. 14 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Told you --15 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) I --16 Told you we should have gone to New MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 17 York. Here, Mark, if you -- or anyone, just 18 19 give a thumbs up if you can hear this once it starts 20 playing. Okay. Will do. 21 MR. FREEMEN: 22 It's not even playing for me. MR. All 23 right. Well, that didn't work. That's weird. 24 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Valiant effort. MR.

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can you try and play --

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MR.

(b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

(00:09:16)1 2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- through JEFS? 3 Yeah. No, I was trying to play it MR. 4 from, from SharePoint. 5 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) MR. Okay. I wonder, I wonder if I just paste 6 7 this into my desktop or something, I don't know if it would 8 go better. 9 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah. If you open it in a browser, MR. 10 it worked well for me yesterday. 11 Oh, in the Team's browser? 12 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) MR. Yeah. If you open up from 13 SharePoint into a browser, it worked well for me. 14 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) MR. Okay. 15 MR. I'm going to try to connect on mine 16 as well. 17 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)While we wait for this, Mark, I'll just sort of set the scene for this. This clip we're going 18 19 to play is from one of the interviews you did with Vice 20 President Biden in around October 2016. 21 MR. ZWONITZER: Okay. 22 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And I believe it was at the Naval MR. 23 Observatory while he was still Vice President. 24 MR. ZWONITZER: Okay. 25 (Audio played 00:10:59 to 00:11:01.)

(00:11:01)

MR. (0)(6),(b)(7)(C) Is that -- let me pause it.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah.

MR. (b)(6)(b)(7)(c) Is that through -- okay, okay. I'm going to start back at the beginning then. Sorry.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Great. Thanks, (6)(6)(6)(6)(6).

MR. (b)(6)(b)(7)(C) It's not as loud as I would like, but it is what it is.

MR. FREEMEN: We can hear it fine.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Okay, good.

(Audio played 00:11:17 to 00:14:11.)

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) All right. Mark, could you hear that?

MR. ZWONITZER: Yes.

MR. (b)(6)(b)(7)(C) Okay. Great. So the first thing I want to ask you about on this recording from the fall of 2016 is, at the beginning, where I'm showing on the screen here, Vice President Biden says, I have extensive notes over this period of time. And you say, oh, you actually have those here, and he says, yeah. Now, there's a lot of other notes, too. This is my — they didn't even know I have this, but I have all this other stuff too.

We'd like to ask you a little bit about what he's talking about there, what you understood him to mean during this portion, this discussion.

(00:14:58)

MR. ZWONITZER: So I think that, I think that he's referring to -- because he says 5/19 and 6/16, probably the diary. But he -- when he says, I have a lot of other notes too, he's got a number of different diaries, I believe.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay.

MR. ZWONITZER: And I think that when he says, they don't even know I have this, it's probably his staff. I mean, these are all personal, private diaries.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) You understood him to mean that his staff didn't know he had these --

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) -- these personal diaries.

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. I don't think anybody knew he had those.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. And why do you say that?

MR. ZWONITZER: Well, because he always was very careful to keep them in his possession.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Okay. And I know he had a lot of them, and we talked last time about how, at one point, there was an email where you suggested you'd collect them all and put them in order and have them, sort of, in an organized fashion.

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

MR. (b)(6)(b)(7)(C) But that never happened.

(00:16:12)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: Right.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) And I believe you told us that he would usually bring one or maybe two of the notebooks with him to every interview you had, no more than that.

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. I think that's accurate. I think that -- because we were -- for each interview, we were covering a specific moment in time.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Okay. Okay. Did you -- you said he kept them all with him. Do you know where -- the ones that he didn't bring with him to cover with you during an interview, do you know where those were?

MR. ZWONITZER: I have no idea. But in -- I don't know. My surmise is that they were always, you know, sort of locked down at the Naval Academy -- at the Naval Observatory, which is where we were. I don't think they were traveling around.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Okay. And why, why do you say that, or what gives you that impression?

MR. ZWONITZER: Because in this time period, I don't remember ever meeting with him -- well, I guess we met in Wilmington, but I just remember seeing the diaries in this time period while he's Vice President at the Observatory.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

| 1 | (00:17:28) |
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| 7 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b)(5)(6)(6) |
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| 11 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 13 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7) |
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| 19 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 24 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 25 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 1 | (00:19:55) |
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(00:21:15)1 2 MR. (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 3 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 4 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)5 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah. Just for the part where he 6 says, they don't even know I have these, and your assumption 7 was the staff; was that relevant to you in terms of collecting material? Like, I'm trying to figure out why he 8 9 would make that kind of comment. And maybe it's something like you had asked the staff to collect a bunch of notes or 10 11 items that would help inform the book and he's telling you, 12 yeah, they don't even know I have these. Like, how -- I'm 13 trying to figure out how that might've been relevant to your 14 conversation. 15 MR. ZWONITZER: I actually don't -- I mean, six 16 years ago, looking and listening, I just, I don't, I don't 17 know. 18 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. 19 MR. ZWONITZER: But I mean, there was certainly 20 staff people helping to gather information. So that's my 21 assumption, that the staff didn't know yet. 22 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. 23 MR. ZWONITZER: These were personal and private

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(b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

Right.

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25

diaries.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

(00:22:35)

MR. (b)(6)(b)(7)(C) -- talked last time a little bit about the Presidential Records Act, and you've alluded to it here a little bit. Was the sense you got that these weren't presidential records because they were diaries or personal in nature?

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. I mean, I'm no expert on the presidential records but my understanding is that

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. I mean, I'm no expert on the presidential records, but my understanding is that anything that touches on personal and political notes from the President and Vice President is not, you know, a part of those records. But that is a layman's understanding and I really, you know -- as the President would say, above my paygrade.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Understood. Not legal advice. Did you and Mr. Biden ever talk about, about the Presidential Records Act, or how that worked, or whether some or all of his stuff was covered or not?

MR. ZWONITZER: I don't think we ever spoke directly about that. I can't remember talking about that.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Okay. Unless someone has additional questions about that one, maybe we can queue up clip 599.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) One second.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) All right. Thank you.

(Audio played 00:23:59 to 00:25:23.)

(00:25:24)1 2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. So we want to ask you a few 3 about these. Mark, are these the notes -- these are the 4 notes on his lunch meetings with President Obama; is that 5 right? 6 MR. ZWONITZER: Correct. 7 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) That he's discussing here. 8 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. 9 Okay. And he said -- first off, he said, I'm told by (b)(5),(b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Is that (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)? 10 11 No, (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 12 MR. Is that --13 MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 14 Oh, (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), sorry. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 15 his body man? 16 ZWONITZER: Yeah, I think that's who that was. 17 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. How about McGrail? Do you know who McGrail is? 18 19 MR. ZWONITZER: I don't, I don't know --20 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. MR. ZWONITZER: -- who McGrail is. I'm assuming 21 22 he was -- you know, I don't know. 23 Okay. And then, as you heard, he's

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MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

talking to (b)(5),(b)(6),(b)(7)(C) on this, his assistant.

MR. ZWONITZER: Yep.

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(00:26:11)

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And it says you were supposed to turn -- or she tells him that we were supposed to turn these notes in and that McGrail was the last person who had them.

MR. ZWONITZER: Mm-hmm.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And you said they were probably something that goes to the presidential papers.

MR. ZWONITZER: Mm-hmm.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) And Vice President Biden said, I don't think so. It was in between -- I didn't want to turn them in. And then you added that it's in the gray area.

Could you kind of discuss that exchange about whether or not these notes on his lunches with Obama were considered presidential records or, or not?

MR. ZWONITZER: Well, the, the whole discussion there was trying to figure out where those notes physically are because, yes, he had notes from his diary, but he was unsure about the dates, right? You want to be accurate about the dates, and you want to be accurate about the substance as well. So he wanted to get ahold of those official -- what I would call more official notes for those lunches. And he was trying to figure out where they ended up.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay.

MR. ZWONITZER: And apparently -- and so that's --

(00:27:25)1 2 MR. ZWONITZER: -- basically it. 3 MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) He said I -- when you said they're 4 probably in your presidential records, he said, I don't 5 think so. It was in between -- I didn't want to turn them 6 in. 7 MR. ZWONITZER: Mm-hmm. 8 Why didn't he want to turn them in? 9 MR. ZWONITZER: Oh, I have no idea. But -- I just 10 don't know. 11 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)Okay. 12 MR. ZWONITZER: But I know they ended up at the 13 Archives, because that's where he accessed them. 14 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)And that was those trips to the 15 National Archives in the spring and summer of 2017? 16 It was more like -- yeah, MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. 17 that's rights. Okay. Okay. Did you get the --18 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 19 MR. ZWONITZER: Did you --20 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)-- sense he was --21 MR. ZWONITZER: I'm sorry. Did you say this was 22 January of (indiscernible 00:28:07) --23 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) I, I didn't say when it was. It's 24 after he left office. I, I --

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MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

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| 1 | (00:28:15) |
|----|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | MR. $(b)(6),(b)(7)(C)$ I believe it's in the spring or |
| 3 | early 2017 sometime. |
| 4 | MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. Yeah. I mean, I think |
| 5 | there was a lot of paper flying around and they were trying |
| 6 | to figure out where, where this landed. |
| 7 | MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Did the Vice President, did he seem |
| 8 | annoyed or irritated that some of those records had to be |
| 9 | he had to go to National Archives to look at them, |
| 10 | especially things like his one-on-one lunches notes on |
| 11 | his one-on-one lunches with President Obama. |
| 12 | MR. ZWONITZER: I mean, he didn't seem annoyed. |
| 13 | He's, like, a pretty game guy. He's going to go do what he |
| 14 | has to do. I can't I've seen him annoyed about things, |
| 15 | but that was not one of them. |
| 16 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. |
| 17 | MR. ZWONITZER: It was a pretty simple trip for |
| 18 | him to make, I think. |
| 19 | MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Okay. And did you go with him to |
| 20 | the National Archives? |
| 21 | MR. ZWONITZER: I did not. |
| 22 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 23 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 1 | (00:29:17) |
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| 2 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 5 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 7 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 11 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7) |
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| 13 | MR. $^{(b) (6), (b) (7)(C)}$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 14 | |
| 15 | |
| 16 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 17 | |
| 18 | MR. $^{(b)(6),(b)(7)(C)}$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 19 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 20 | MR . (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 21 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 22 | |
| 23 | |
| 24 | MR. (b)(6).(b)(7)(C) Okay. And then when you used the |
| 25 | term "gray area" in that discussion, do you, like, know |
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(00:30:30)

MR. (b)(6).(b)(7)(c) -- what that meant? Like, what that meant to you?

MR. ZWONITZER: Well, I was the one who used the term "gray area," right?

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yep.

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. Well, that meant to me, like, are these personal political, or are they, you know, presidential papers.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay.

MR. ZWONITZER: That's the gray area, like, where does this fall? It sounds like they ended up pushing them into the papers in the Archives.

MR. (b)(6)(7)(c) Yeah. And how -- what led you to kind of understand that to be a -- because I think you're probably right. I mean, I'm not an expert in the PRA, but what, what led you to understand that, like, personal records versus, you know, personal and political versus other records (indiscernible 00:31:19) be a gray area?

MR. ZWONITZER: Oh, reading that -- well, I mean, I don't think I was referring to -- I don't think I had any particular understanding that -- of that at the time. I'm reacting to what he said. It was in between, so it's a gray area.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay.

(00:31:34)1 2 MR. ZWONITZER: I mean, I don't think I brought 3 any particular understanding to that. 4 MR. Okay. The way -- it sounded like --5 you know, when we listen to it, it sounded like you said the 6 gray area, which sort of led us to wonder if he had spoken to 7 you about a gray area that he had been sort of advised about or had some knowledge of being not so clear in, in how records 8 9 were handled. Does that -- do you remember any discussions 10 with him about, about what he thought was a gray area? 11 MR. ZWONITZER: I don't. No. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 12 MR. Okay. MR. ZWONITZER: I don't remember anything about 13 14 that. 15 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. 16 All right. Does anyone have any (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 17 more follow-up on that? If not, we'll move on. 18 I think the next one that makes sense to play 19 is the one from April 24th of 2017. MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 20 And MG. I actually had a question. 21 It sort of relates to the last topic about --

-- photocopying. But I -- hey, Mark, I thought it might be easier just to play this segment. It's just from your last interview real quick, and it --

Yeah.

(b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

MR.

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(00:32:54)

MR. (b)(6).(b)(7)(c) -- might help just to hear as opposed to pulling up the transcript itself. I think --

MR. ZWONITZER: Okay.

MR. (b)(6)(b)(7)(c) I think I have it pulled up, but I might have -- just give me one second to get to it. Hold on. Do not copy it over. Sorry for the pause. When I pulled up the other recording, it got me off of -- okay. Here we go. All right. I'm going to play this.

Mark, this was just a discussion last time. You were saying the same thing that you were saying before about he kind of held the journals, his notebooks closed-hold, and you know, wasn't something he let other staff really, you know, handle or you handle. But let me just play this for you real quick.

(Audio played 00:35:08 to 00:35:39.)

MR. (D)(6).(D)(7)(C) So, Mark, my question was, that last part, it sounded like you were about to say something about, you know, maybe not that he ever let you -- let anyone photocopy them or handle them, but you were saying, at one point, and you kind of cut yourself off. Do you remember what you were thinking at that point when, when you were answering that question about -- what was in your head at that moment?

MR. ZWONITZER: A question of photocopying the --

(00:36:12)

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MR. (b)(6).(b)(7)(c) Yeah. So had said, you can't photocopy them. You said, no, no, he did at one point,

5 like, I know there were, and then, no. And I was wondering,

6 you know, even if he did not photocopy them, were you

MR. ZWONITZER: -- diaries?

7 recalling, like, were there discussions about creating

photocopies that you heard about that his staff were having,

9 or anything like that?

MR. $^{(b)}(6), (b)(7)(C)$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

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22 MR. ZWO

MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

23 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(

was, he was pretty adamant.

(b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

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      (00:37:34)
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                                          (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                  MR.
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                  MR. ZWONITZER:
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                       (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                  MR.
                                      (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                  MR.
                       ZWONITZER:
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                  MR.
                                  Okay.
                                                 so it was April --
 8
                  MR.
                       (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                    Yeah.
                                             It's --
 9
                                   -- 24 --
                  MR.
                                    I think it's listed -- it's April
10
                       (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                  MR.
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      24th of 2017.
                        It's labeled 170424, I believe, in the
12
      folder.
                 It's -- that's the next clip.
                                  (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) got it here.
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                       (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                  MR.
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                       (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                    And I'll bring up the transcript
15
      for all of us to look at.
16
                       (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                    spent some time on that.
                  MR.
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                  (Audio played 00:38:16 to 00:38:16.)
18
                       (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                   Just tell me when to go ahead,
                                    Go ahead.
19
                  MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                 Thanks.
20
                  (Audio played 00:38:32 to 00:40:44.)
21
                  MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                   All right. Thanks, Mark (verbatim).
22
      So, again, I think this is what you were referring to earlier.
23
                  MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.
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                       (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                    Where Biden explained to you his
25
      process for taking notes on his lunches with President --
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(00:40:57)

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- Obama; is that right?

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah, that's right.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay.

MR. ZWONITZER: And that -- now I know what you're talking about with the card. So he had made notes in steep --

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Now --

MR. ZWONITZER: -- with President Obama.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(c) Yeah. At one point during this, he's telling you, I had those presidential notes, and you said, you know, I know you gave me this much, and you have some papers from the dairy separate from the presidential notes. What was it that he had given you? Did he give you some portion of his notes?

MR. ZWONITZER: So this is -- he would -- I think
I explained to you, he would read me parts of the diary. So
he would read me, like, notes from the presidential lunches.
I would take notes of those. In this case, about four days
before the 24th, I sent my notes and some schedules to him
through so that he would have those so that we could
-- you know, he would know what I wanted to talk about and
cover. And so the -- he gave me, orally, notes from that
diary. I had taken notes, transcribed that stuff. This is
-- I then sent it back to him so that he could prep for --

(00:42:20)1 2 MR. ZWONITZER: -- this meeting, talking about the 3 January 5th lunch. So those are the papers that he's --4 those are the -- the rustling papers are the papers that I 5 had prepared and given to him. MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay, I understand. He goes on to 6 7 confirm that he has separate, separate notes on these 8 lunches, as we discussed earlier. 9

MR. ZWONITZER: Mm-hmm.

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MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And he said, I'm trying to recall where -- you know, what happened to them, essentially. And I had all of those at the house in a safe. I don't know what they made me do with them.

Could you tell us about that portion of the transcript?

MR. ZWONITZER: I actually -- I'm assuming -well, I don't know. I don't know what that means. I mean, I quess those were the diaries that were in the safe at the Observatory.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. And he had a safe at the Naval Observatory?

MR. ZWONITZER: I don't know. I mean, I never saw it. I don't know that. But I assume at the house in a safe is what he's referring to the Observatory.

> MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)Okay. You never saw him go into --

31 (00:43:35)1 2 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- a safe at the Naval Observatory? 3 MR. ZWONITZER: I did not. MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. Or anywhere else? 4 5 MR. ZWONITZER: I don't know that I've ever in my 6 life seen anybody go into a safe except for in a movie. 7 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (Laughs.) Okay. All right. Does anyone have any follow-up on this one? Nope? 8 9 (Phone ringing.) I noticed two of the new ones MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)10 11 Do you want to cover those ones now? We might (indiscernible 12 Yeah. MR. 13 00:44:14) but, Mark, maybe I can just describe -- there's a 14 couple instances, again, where it sounds like -- I just 15 wanted to make sure. I think you just confirmed it, but I 16 -- just to be sure. In April of 2017, where it sounds like 17 you're kind of directing him to pages of things. Is that just -- and referring to it as his diary. Would you refer 18 19 to, like, your transcriptions of his verbally reciting to 20 you his diary as his diary when you would speak to him? 21 MR. ZWONITZER: I think I would say it was -- this

MR. (b)(6)(b)(7)(c) That makes sense. I just wanted to make sure. So you might say, like, this is from your diary, but you're really -- in saying that -- like, it sounds --

is from the diary maybe. I don't remember.

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(00:45:17)1 2 MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) -- like you're looking at something 3 when you're doing that, it sounds like what you were looking 4 at was just your transcription of his diary as he had 5 orally, kind of, recited it to you; is that --6 MR. ZWONITZER: That's right. (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 7 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 8 MR. 9 MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 10 11 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 12 MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 13 14 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) MR. (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) $\overline{(7)(C)}$ 15 MR. 16 17 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) MR. ZWONITZER: 18 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) MR. 19 20 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 21 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C 22 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) MR. Then I think we'll go to clip 556. 23 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 24 There's actually two clips. And, Mark, 556 are from 25 February 16th of 2017. And I know we covered this --

(00:46:14)1 2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- interview, this conversation 3 last time we met. 4 MR. ZWONITZER: Okay. 5 And this is, again, February 16th (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) of 2017, at his rental property, the house on Chain Bridge 6 7 Road --8 MR. ZWONITZER: Okay. 9 -- in McLean, Virginia. And this (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 10 is the clip. You'll recall we talked about where he, he 11 says he just found all the classified downstairs. 12 MR. ZWONITZER: Okay. There's a couple clips from that. 13 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)They're a little lengthier and not all squarely relevant, 14 but I want to play them for you just to see -- just so we 15 16 can talk a little bit about this and see if it jogs any 17 memories. MR. ZWONITZER: Okay. 18 19 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay? 20 MR. ZWONITZER: Yes. 21 All right, excellent. And then 22 I'll bring up the transcript again like last time. 23 MR. ZWONITZER: Okay. 24 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And you can go ahead, (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

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whenever you have it up.

(00:46:59)1 2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Thanks. 3 Let me -- here, mine seems to play a 4 little louder. Let me restart it. 5 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Great. (Audio played 00:47:48 to 00:54:21.) 6 7 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) All right. That ends that first clip. And we cut out a little bit, but to summarize, Mark, 8 9 it seems he's telling you an anecdote about a debate with 10 Edward Teller of --11 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. 12 MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) -- hydrogen bomb fame. Do you 13 recall that incident or that anecdote? 14 MR. ZWONITZER: It's hard to forget debating 15 Edward Teller, right? I'm assuming -- I would assume this 16 is -- I mean, I think this is probably in the '70s or 17 something. 18 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah. I was actually trying to 19 find it on YouTube. I would like to see those debates. 20 MR. GINSBERG: Were they really 100 feet apart? 21 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) I don't know. Interesting. And 22 then he transitions back to his -- it looks like that one, 23 he's just telling the story from memory.

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And then he turns back to one of --

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

(b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

MR.

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1 2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- his diaries or one of his 3 notebooks and starts talking about a meeting on the debate 4 in Afghanistan and Iraq and other issues; is that right? MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. 5 That's what it looks like. 6 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. And he's about to talk -- to 7 go into several points someone made or he had made during

debates on the Afghanistan war back in the day.

Can we queue up the second clip from this, then? We cut out a little bit about those four points, and then we have another clip here that we'll play.

All right. I think I got it, got it MR. ready, so whenever you're ready.

Excellent. Yeah. All right. Go, (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) go ahead. This one's much shorter, Mark.

(Audio played 00:55:55 to 00:56:51.)

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) All right. Mark, I want to ask you now, he's -- as he talks about the points he made about the troop surge, or the debate over the troop surge in Afghanistan, he says, I just found all the classified stuff downstairs. And I know we talked about this last time we met, but I want to ask you again just to, just to do it.

MR. ZWONITZER: Okay.

(b) (6), (b) (7)(C) I mean, having gone through that, can you tell us what you recall about this and what he --

(00:57:20)1 2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- was talking about during this 3 clip? 4 MR. ZWONITZER: So is that all, is that all one --5 from one session? It --6 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)7 MR. ZWONITZER: And was it --8 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) It is. 9 MR. ZWONITZER: -- like, off the back? That's all 10 the --11 It is. We clipped off, like, 20 12 seconds just because of the sensitive nature of the four 13 points that he made. So this is all one -- it could have 14 been one document. 15 MR. ZWONITZER: Okay. 16 We just skipped a little clip and MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)17 then we cut off --18 MR. ZWONITZER: All right. 19 We didn't want to play the whole MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)20 thing. MR. ZWONITZER: Got it. Understood. 21 22 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) But it's all one big, it's all one MR. big thought. 23

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MR. ZWONITZER: Okay. So yeah. It's hard to

I think it's, it's -- this is a time when he was --

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tell.

(00:58:11)

MR. ZWONITZER: -- talking about coming back to work in the White House after Beau's death. This is sort of his first getting back to the White House. That's what I remember about that date, July 7th.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(c) Okay. Well, when he's talking about in early '09, writing this hand-page (sic) -- 40-page memo arguing against deploying additional troops to Afghanistan --

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) -- do you recall him talking about that debate and his role in it?

MR. ZWONITZER: Not for this book and not in the -- I don't remember ever really talking about that with him particularly. I know that -- I mean, I know that this debate was -- has been much, much written about, you know? Everybody, you know, from Obama down.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah. Many, many books on it and articles, coverage. And Biden's role on that debate has been written about and remarked upon.

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. I mean, he was the -- I think he was the one guy flagging, and it became fairly famous because of the, you know -- I knew about the time just because I knew -- remembered the McChrystal event.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) What do you mean the McChrystal --

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7 found the
8 sounds lik

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- event?

MR. ZWONITZER: Well, you know, McChrystal was the general, I believe, who was fired for some pretty nasty remarks about Biden, if I remember right.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Mm-hmm. And so he's saying he just found the classified stuff downstairs, and then he -- it sounds like he's describing what he found downstairs or the nature of the stuff he found, and this handwritten 40-page memorandum.

MR. ZWONITZER: Mm-hmm.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Is that -- was that your take when you listened to this or heard it?

MR. ZWONITZER: I just -- I don't know if he was referring to the, the stuff downstairs or if he was referring to the argument I was making about Iraq at the time.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Okay. Okay. But it seems -- and I know, Mark, we talked about this. You didn't -- you don't -- you didn't have any independent recollection of this.

You were just putting yourself back in your shoes; is that right?

MR. ZWONITZER: Yes.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) When you listen to this. It sounds like whatever classified stuff he found downstairs was --

(01:00:49)1 2 MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) -- on this topic; is that right? 3 In early '09? Documents related to that timeframe, that 4 debate. 5 MR. ZWONITZER: It sounds like. But, again, I 6 have no memory and no -- I never saw -- you know, I never 7 saw any of these things. He never said, oh, let me show you 8 this. You know, I just saw -- I don't know what was the 9 nature of that material. MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) That hand-page -- that handwritten 10 11 40-page memo, you've -- have you heard, read about this 12 and --13 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. It's sort of a historical event 14 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)15 that happened. 16 MR. ZWONITZER: I think that's been in the -- in 17 many books and a lot of press and newspaper coverage. 18 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And do you know whether Biden kept it or has it as a historical artifact or in his own 19 20 archives? 21 MR. ZWONITZER: I have no idea if he kept it. 22 don't know. 23 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) He's never shown it to you, I take

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MR. ZWONITZER: I've never seen it.

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it.

(01:01:43)1 2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)Okay. 3 Does anyone have any follow-up on this one? 4 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)Not from me, 5 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Just maybe a quick point of 6 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 7 clarification. Mark, it sounded like you said that you hadn't talked about -- with Biden about Afghanistan with 8 9 regard to this book. But with regard to other books, have 10 you spoken to him about Afghanistan at all or any other discussions about his role in that debate? 11 12 MR. ZWONITZER: Well, we talked a lot about 13 Afghanistan in his -- in the first book that we did. But, 14 but that predated '09. But, I mean, he was very -- like, he 15 was the first person into Afghanistan after the war. 16 yes, we had discussions about Afghanistan, but it was before 17 this time period. 18 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. 19 20 21 22 23 24 MR. ZWONITZER: (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 25

| 1 | (01:03:18) |
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| 2 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 7 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 12 | MR. $^{(b)}(6), (b)(7)(C)$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 15 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
| 16 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 18 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 23 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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(01:04:34)(b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) MR. ZWONITZER: MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

MR. (b)(6)(b)(7)(c) Did he ever -- so if you think about Afghanistan, he was -- very famously stood up to the military in terms of arguing against sending additional troops to Afghanistan. He took, as you know -- alluded to pretty significant criticism from the military for his position on that. And, arguably, he was proven right. I --

(01:06:19)

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) -- suspect he would say he was proven right. Did he -- with respect to that issue, would he talk about that and, and wanted to make sure history recorded that he was on the right side of this issue, this very important issue?

MR. ZWONITZER: In terms of Afghanistan?

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah. Or similar issues.

MR. ZWONITZER: I don't remember him speaking about Afghanistan in this episode in particular in terms of how he would be judged. I mean, I -- this is supposition, but I think that he's, in terms of the surge, he's, he's pleased with the way he'll be seen, but that's my guesswork.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Gotcha. You mentioned the first book, which is a good, a good transition for us, because the first time, we talked a little bit, or at some length, about your work on Mr. Biden's first memoire, *Promises to Keep*, back in 2006, 2007 timeframe --

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) -- I think. And how you followed a similar process in terms of oral interviews that you would transcribe and, sort of, shape the book.

MR. ZWONITZER: Mm-hmm.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And we talked about -- in particular, there were several trips that he took in the --

(01:07:46)

MR. (b)(6)(b)(7)(c) -- late '70s while he was a young senator. And he describes in the book, or through you, describes in the book his formative experiences that really taught him how to handle foreign policy and gave him the gravitas and experience necessary, despite his youth, to move up being a senator, a young senator, to being ultimately a President -- the President of the United States, although that took several decades longer than he had hoped, perhaps, or had expected. During that, you said that his staff put together some sort of binders or scrapbook type material that you could look at that documented some of those trips; is that right?

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) I'm going to show you some photos and ask you whether these might be the scrapbooks, okay? I don't know, you know, whether or not they are.

MR. ZWONITZER: Okay.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Or whether or not you'll know, but I want to show you. Here. Okay. All right. So I'm showing you now up on the screen a Redweld that's marked -- it's a photo of a Redweld marked -- labeled Travel Itinerary.

MR. ZWONITZER: Yep.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) And the Bates, for the record --

(01:09:16)

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) -- is 1B18 CODEL Biden Travel Itinerary, starting at Bates 1. I'm just going to flip through this --

MR. ZWONITZER: Okay.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) -- a little bit. And this contains materials related to a trip that then Senator Biden took to the Soviet Union.

MR. ZWONITZER: Mm-hmm.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) There's all sorts of stuff: briefing memos, train tickets, plane tickets, schedules, itineraries. Kind of interesting, actually.

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah, no. This is nothing I've ever seen.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay.

MR. ZWONITZER: I wish I had.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And --

MR. ZWONITZER: I wish I had --

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah.

MR. ZWONITZER: -- at the time. But, no.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Here's another one. It's another Redweld. This is 1B18 CODEL Biden Info on Soviet Officials, and it's a Redweld labeled, Information on Soviet Officials. It has kind of interesting material on the people, the leaders and other individuals he'd be meeting with --

(01:10:31)1 2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- during his trip to the Soviet 3 Union. 4 MR. ZWONITZER: Yep. Nope. Never saw any of 5 this. 6 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)Okay. 7 MR. ZWONITZER: This is not the type of things you saw when you were writing Promises to Keep? 8 9 MR. ZWONITZER: No. It was literally, like, you 10 know, press releases, speeches. The -- any trip information 11 would be his official reports, you know, that went to the 12 Senate at large, I think, or generally, you know, went to 13 the public. 14 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)Okay. Here's another one. This is 15 1B18 Itinerary Germany Redweld. It's a Redweld containing 16 information on a trip he took to Germany in 1979. Anything 17 like this? 18 MR. ZWONITZER: I never saw this, no. 19 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)Okay. 20 MR. ZWONITZER: I know we talked about that trip, 21 but he didn't -- that's not something I got. 22 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. You said you wished you

MR. ZWONITZER: I mean, it makes it much more interesting to write it, you know?

would have been able to see that stuff. Why is that?

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(01:11:35)1 2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)Yeah. 3 MR. ZWONITZER: If you can write about those --4 you know, if you can wrote about those Soviet generals, you 5 know, that's interesting, but I never got to see that. MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. All right. That's not the 6 7 type of stuff you saw. (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 8 9 10 11 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) MR. 12 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C MR. (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 13 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) MR. 14 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 15 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) MR. (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 16 17 18 19 MR. ZWONITZER: 20 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 21 MR. ZWONITZER: 22 23 24 MR. 25 MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) FREE STATE REPORTING, INC.

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| 6 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 8 | MR. $^{(b)}(6), (b)(7)(C)$ $(b)(5), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C)$ |
| 9 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C). |
| 10 | MR. $^{(b),(6),(b),(7)(C)}$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 12 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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(01:14:54)

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) -- checking with somebody? Or some -- like, he was just doing his own research, or he was asking someone else to help with that?

MR. ZWONITZER: I just don't -- I don't remember. Well, I mean, if he went back and, you know, had someone on the staff see, you know, what was unclassified and what was not. I do know I also went and separately did, you know, the research to figure out, like, what, what this was about, and it was already in the papers and much reported. And it was actually also -- it was, like, almost 25 years after the fact.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay, thank you.

MR. ZWONITZER: He was -- I mean, even 25 years after the fact, he was still being careful about what he could tell me.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Thanks, (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

SA (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) When you say this William Casey-Goldwater story, he wanted to check to make sure that it was unclassified, am I thinking of it the same way -- I just want to make sure I understand what you mean by it was unclassified. Was there something --

MR. ZWONITZER: That was my language, not his.

I'm sorry. I was reading into, like, you know, what he had
to be careful about and what he had to check before he --

(01:16:11)

MR. ZWONITZER: -- told me anything.

SA (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Was it, like, from Senate

Intelligence hearing, or was it because there was internal

-- you know, an argument in the Senate, and he wanted to

make sure that this wouldn't impact someone's reputation.

Do you know what I mean? Is it about National Security, or

is it about someone's reputation?

MR. ZWONITZER: I actually don't -- I don't remember. But that story, the Goldwater-Casey-Biden story is easy to look up. It's probably from the early '80s.

SA (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Okay. So but sitting here today, is it your understanding that this might have been National Security classified and Biden went back to make sure that it wasn't currently classified?

MR. ZWONITZER: I don't think -- I don't -- I just don't know.

SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay.

MR. ZWONITZER: I mean, again, it's 20 years ago and I --

SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) So I guess that brings me to -there were a couple mentions in the transcripts where Biden
mentions this might be classified, or this is classified,
and he skips over parts of it; did you, did you have any
understanding with Biden about what kind of things he --

(01:17:38)

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| 2 | SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) could discuss with you and what |
|----|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 3 | kind of things he couldn't? And to the similar question of |
| 4 | when he says classified, is that is it your understanding |
| 5 | that that's National Security classified, or does that mean, |
| 6 | you know, I just want this off the record? |
| 7 | MR. ZWONITZER: I don't I mean, I don't know. |
| 8 | I don't think I can answer that question from thinking about |
| 9 | what was happening six years ago. I just don't have any |
| 10 | strong memory of that. |
| 11 | SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) So you guys didn't have any |
| 12 | discussions about what the term classified meant, or if you |
| 13 | could be writing about it or recording it? |
| 14 | MR. ZWONITZER: No, we didn't have any specific |
| 15 | discussions about that. |
| 16 | SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Do you have any general memories |
| 17 | about discussing that topic? |
| 18 | MR. ZWONITZER: I mean, it seems like I was aware |
| 19 | that the then Vice President and the staff were having |
| 20 | discussions about that topic but, you know, I was not privy |
| 21 | to those and not part of those. |
| 22 | SA (b) (6) , (b) (7) (C) Talk about that a little more. |
| 23 | What do you mean by that, that the Vice President and his |

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MR. ZWONITZER: I mean, I just -- I don't know --

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staff were having discussions about it?

(01:19:14)1 MR. ZWONITZER: -- except that they were just 2 3 being careful. SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) So but they were being careful 4 5 about what? 6 7

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MR. ZWONITZER: I mean, I quess they were being careful about what they could tell the world at large in this book.

And who on the staff was being SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) careful with him about it?

MR. ZWONITZER: I don't know. I -- if I -- it would be guesswork to say.

Maybe if you could describe more SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) why you were -- what makes you aware that they were concerned about that? Or any kind of additional information that let you know that they were considering it.

MR. ZWONITZER: I just -- I don't -- I can't -six years later, I wouldn't be able to give an accurate memory of what was happening, but wouldn't you take it as a matter of for granted and a matter of course that he's going to be careful about this material, what he can say.

SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) So I'm just trying to clarify because you said you were aware the Vice President and his staff were having discussions about it, and so I'm just trying to get more -- what made you aware of that?

(01:20:52)1 2 MR. ZWONITZER: I'm trying to think of a specific 3 event or something and I just -- I can't. What makes me 4 aware of it is that, also, he would be careful as we spoke 5 about what he could -- you know, what he had to jump over, what he could say and what he could not. 6 7 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. But any more about, kind 8 of, the staff involvement? 9 MR. ZWONITZER: I don't know anything about the 10 staff involvement of that, of the -- I don't know anything 11 about their internal discussions.

SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Were you, kind of, generally aware that they were having discussions?

MR. GINSBERG: You know, I think we ought to take a short break. If you're -- (b)(6),(b)(7)(C), if you need to ask more questions about this, maybe there's a way we can resolve it.

> SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Sure.

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MR. GINSBERG: I think it -- we've been going for almost an hour-and-a-half. We can take a five-minute break, and then we can go forward and it might be smoother or not. Okay?

> MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)Sounds great.

SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yep.

MR. GINSBERG: Good.

SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) It is 3:25. We're going on break.

1 (End Track 240104 1313.) (Begin Track 240104 1447.) 2 3 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. It is 3:37. We're back 4 from break. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) you're muted. 5 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)6 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) It is 3:37, and we're back from 7 break. 8 So before we went on the break, we were talking 9 about discussions that you might have had with former Vice 10 President Biden about material that you should or shouldn't 11 include in your, in your work. And because that they were 12 -- it was government information or it was, you know, 13 sensitive or classified information. And I just wanted to 14 reset --15 MR. GINSBERG: I don't mean to interrupt you, but 16 that's not what -- where we were. And I don't think that 17 question was asked. You certainly could ask it, but it's not where with were before the break. 18 19 SA (b) (6), (b) (7) (C) So maybe this is the confusion, 20 because that's the question that I was trying to ask. And 21 then your response to it was that you and the Vice President 22 didn't have specific discussions regarding the use of 23 classified; is that correct? 24 MR. ZWONITZER: I don't remember any specific 25 discussions we had. I don't remember that.

(00:01:21)

SA (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Okay. And then my understanding is that you then said you were aware the Vice President and his staff were having discussions about it and that they were being careful about the information that was being relayed to you; is that accurate?

MR. ZWONITZER: Well, I think I was aware that there was -- I had a general sense that they were being careful.

MR. GINSBERG: Now, when you say they, you mean the staff. You don't mean Biden.

MR. ZWONITZER: I mean the staff, I mean. But I didn't ever have any -- because they were also providing me with materials. But I don't remember any specific discussions I had about that with staff people.

SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay.

MR. ZWONITZER: It was, it was -- I think it was incumbent upon them, but I don't think I had -- I don't remember specific discussions about that.

SA (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Okay. And this general sense that they were being careful, was that because they were limiting things that they were providing to you, or that they were — what do you mean by that, that they were being careful?

MR. ZWONITZER: I just mean my general sense is that they were careful about the material they could --

(00:02:47)1 2 MR. ZWONITZER: -- provide me. 3 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. 4 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Do you say that -- Mark, there's a 5 fairly limited amount of material that you were actually provided outside of the oral interviews that -- things that 6 7 Vice President Biden said to you or read to you; is that 8 right? 9 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. 10 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Is that what you mean, that they --11 it was very limited in the world of stuff that they actually 12 gave you? 13 MR. ZWONITZER: Yes. I mean, you know, like, the 14 schedules or whatever. But, yes, everything's -- I mean, 15 yes, it was limited. 16 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. 17 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And when you said -- when you say 18 they're being careful, it was because they didn't give you 19 very much. Not because they were, like, close to -- or was 20 it because they were close to a line and there were things 21 that were sensitive and they were debating whether or not 22 they could give it to you? 23 MR. ZWONITZER: I just didn't get much material.

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Okay.

That's helpful because --

Okay.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

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(00:03:43)

SA (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) -- I think I was just on a different page.

And then you also said that the Vice President would be careful what he would speak to you about, and he would skip over sections if he thought that it might be classified or sensitive; is that accurate?

MR. ZWONITZER: That was my -- I mean, that's my memory of what was happening at the time.

SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay.

MR. ZWONITZER: I mean, you could hear long pauses in the discussions.

SA (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Okay. And he would also sometimes say, this part's classified, and then it would seem like he would skip over sessions -- or sections of his journal.

MR. ZWONITZER: I mean, I don't -- again, I don't remember that much.

SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay.

MR. (b)(6)(b)(7)(c) And, Mark, just going back, that general sense of being careful kind of relates to what I was asking about earlier. Do you remember any instances of, you know, you expected to get material and they, like, told you no. Or you asked for material and the staff told you no as opposed to Biden himself?

MR. ZWONITZER: You know, I don't remember that --

(00:05:02)

MR. ZWONITZER: -- I asked for a lot. So I don't think that they -- I don't remember specific instances where they said, no, you can't have this, you know? But if I would say, you know, I need the schedules from X, Y, and Z from specific dates, I would get those. You know, what they could give to me. But I always got a sense that there were things that they, you know, could not and would not.

MR. (b)(6).(b)(7)(c) Were there ever any efforts that you, like, were told about to photocopy material for you but then the photocopies were held back?

MR. ZWONITZER: No. Don't remember nothing like that.

MR. (D)(6)(D)(7)(C) Okay. And there's a couple instances, and, you know, we don't have the audio recording because they might contain sensitive material, but -- and I think you mentioned this in the first interview as, like, you know, some of the instances where he might kind of show you more a notebook. There's one recording, for example, where he's, like, trying to read his own handwriting and you're sort of helping him. Does that sound -- like, does that scenario sort of sound familiar?

MR. ZWONITZER: I think there was, like, an instance or two where he would be holding the notebook and say, oh, my God, what's this word, you know. I can't --

(00:06:25)

MR. ZWONITZER: -- believe I can't read my own handwriting. You know, that might have happened a time -- I think that happened a time or two.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah.

MR. ZWONITZER: I'm sure it did.

MR. (b)(6).(b)(7)(c) And we, let me tell you, can sympathize with trying to read the President's handwriting. It's not always easy.

MR. ZWONITZER: Well, it's pretty darn good as compared to mine.

MR. (b)(6)(b)(7)(c) There's one recording where he says to you that -- he -- it -- you kind of -- he's showing you something, and then he says that some of this may be classified, so be careful. Do you remember that instance?

MR. ZWONITZER: I don't. I don't remember that instance or reading it in the -- I just -- I don't remember that.

MR. (D)(6)(D)(7)(C) Okay. It just -- putting yourself back to what -- you know, I understand you don't have a clearance and haven't had a clearance before, but do you know what -- like, what you would have done with that information, or what expectation he would have been conveying to you as someone who's not cleared? Like, what, what were you supposed -- like, telling you to be careful --

(00:07:38)

MR. (b) (6). (b) (7)(C) -- what would that even mean to you in that instance?

MR. ZWONITZER: I don't remember him telling me to be careful. Did he tell me to be careful?

MR. (b)(6).(b)(7)(c) That's what it sounded like on the recording.

MR. ZWONITZER: I just -- I don't know --

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay.

MR. ZWONITZER: -- what was in his head.

MR. (b)(6)(b)(7)(c) If that were to happen today, for example, and -- let's, let's just say someone showed you a piece of classified information on a notebook and said, be careful, like, do you know what you would take that to mean, the be careful to mean, like, what you were supposed to be careful doing?

MR. GINSBERG: You know, I know we're not in court, but that's just an impossible question to ask how he would do it now.

MR. (b)(6).(b)(7)(c) Yeah. So maybe a different way is just I -- does that have any meaning to you? How would you have implemented be careful, if at all?

MR. ZWONITZER: Well, I didn't have to implement be careful, because they were vetting -- you know, vetting this manuscript. I wasn't the last word on any of this.

(00:09:04)

MR. (b)(6).(b)(7)(c) Okay. And what do you mean by that, they were vetting the manuscript?

MR. ZWONITZER: People were -- and you have -- you know, you have the instances where I'd send the manuscript to people on staff and they would look through it and make corrections and give me notes. I don't think any of that pertained to something that was sensitive or classified, but just accuracy more than anything.

MR. (D)(6)(D)(7)(C) Okay. So you're not saying there was, like, a classification review being conducted by his staff to make sure that there was not classified information in the manuscripts. You're saying that's not your understanding. Your understanding is they were correcting — or looking, sorry, for personal — like, personal information or things that were otherwise too sensitive.

MR. ZWONITZER: Looking for accuracy and, yeah, sensitivity. Yeah.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Anything else?

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) No.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) All right.

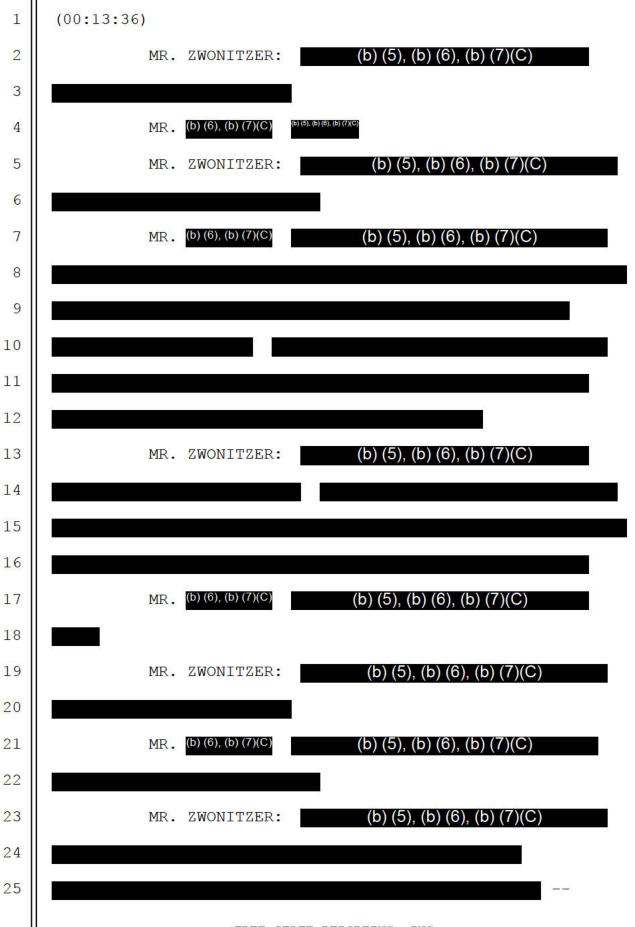
MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Well --

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Go ahead.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(c) -- maybe one thing, Mark, in case --

(00:10:20)1 2 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) MR. 3 4 5 6 MR. ZWONITZER: 7 Okay. There's a line -- in case it jogs your memory, there's a line where Biden says, don't 8 9 write this down. I think I've got to clear it. Does that 10 sound familiar? Do you remember him saying that to you 11 ever, or something like that? 12 MR. ZWONITZER: It sounds familiar. MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 13 Okay. And he -- do you remember 14 having any reaction to that or an understanding of what he 15 meant when he would say, I think I've got to clear it? 16 MR. ZWONITZER: No, I don't know what that -- I 17 don't know, you know, what that means exactly. 18 Okay. I think that's it for me. (b)(b)(r)(c), anything else? 19 MR. 20 21 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Nope. 22 MR. 23 24 25

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| 23 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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(00:15:04)

MR. ZWONITZER:

(b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

our -- of the investigation, the Special Counsel

(b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

Okay. You said you were aware of

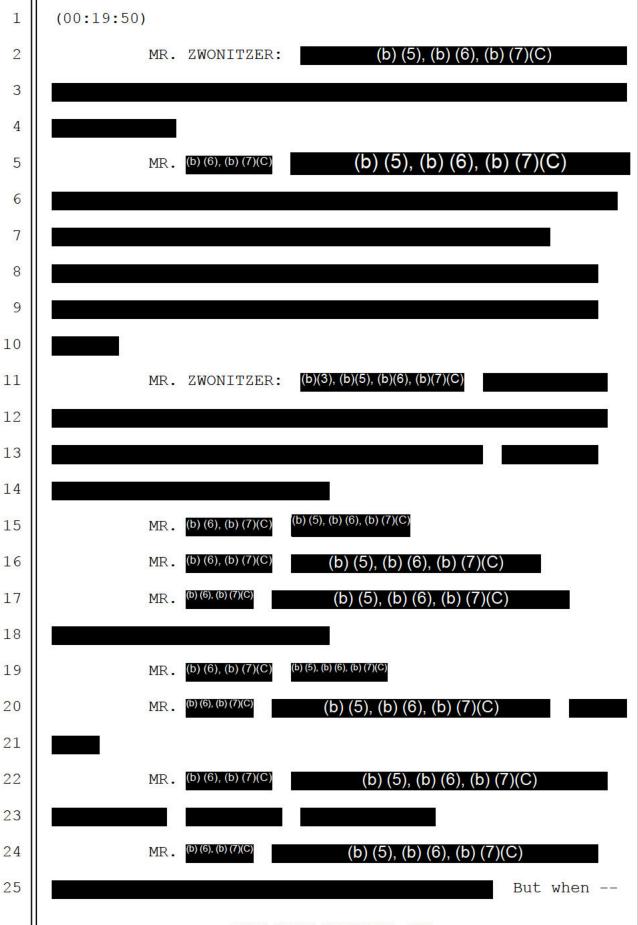
investigation into President Biden. Did -- you said before you didn't want to put a percentage on how much of that played a role in your decision, but could you just -- did it give you pause? Like, there's a Special Counsel now, I should not do this.

MR. ZWONITZER: You know, to be honest, at the time, I didn't -- I just didn't think I had any material that had anything to do with handling -- you know, mishandling classified documents. It just -- I mean, I didn't go back and listen to that stuff. It was not in my mind. What was in my mind was the family stuff; the Beau stuff; the emotional stuff; the material; him talking about other figures. And that's where I had just come off the -- you know, I had just finished the Pegasus book, so I finally had a window of time to sort my -- organize my archives and my papers and stuff.

MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) Why didn't you delete the --

| 1 | (00:16:45) |
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| 2 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 10 | MR. $^{(b)}$ $^{(6)}$, $^{(b)}$ $^{(7)}$ (C) $^{(5)}$, $^{(b)}$ $^{(6)}$, $^{(b)}$ $^{(7)}$ (C) |
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| 14 | MR. ZWONITZER: $(b)(3), (b)(5), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C)$ |
| 15 | That's |
| 16 | my memory of that. I don't remember. |
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| 9 | MR. (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) I guess I'll just ask you. Were |
| 10 | you trying to obstruct our investigation or prevent Special |
| 11 | Counsel or Department of Justice investigators from getting |
| 12 | ahold of them? |
| 13 | MR. ZWONITZER: No, I was not. And in fact, you |
| 14 | know, when I got the subpoena and when I realized that I |
| 15 | still had audio that I did not know I had on the laptop, I |
| 16 | made sure to preserve that for this investigation. |
| 17 | MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. |
| 18 | (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 20 | MR. $^{(b)}(6), ^{(b)}(7)(C)$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 24 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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(00:21:03)1 2 -- Biden went to the Archives and 3 took notes, did you receive or get to look at the notes he 4 took while he was there by any chance? 5 MR. ZWONITZER: Later. He read orally -- read 6 them to me orally --7 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) MR. Okay. 8 MR. ZWONITZER: -- the notes he took from the 9 Archives. 10 Do you know if that was recorded? MR. ZWONITZER: I assume that it was. And I think 11 it's on -- in the materials that you have, the transcripts 12 13 and that sort of thing. 14 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) MR. Okay. MR. ZWONITZER: I can't remember. It would have 15 16 been right after the -- you know, right after his trip to 17 the Archives. 18 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. MR. ZWONITZER: Whatever that date is. 19 20 Do you remember what physical medium 21 he used to take those notes at the Archives, at least as he 22 read them to you?

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MR. GINSBERG: Point of clarification: the --

MR. ZWONITZER: I don't.

Okay.

MR.

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(00:22:05)1 2 MR. GINSBERG: -- notes might have been typed up 3 before you saw them. I don't --MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. I'm not sure. And I don't 4 5 even know if he -- I mean, I can't even say for sure that he 6 -- I think he did, was he actually too notes of the lunches. 7 You know, of the non-classified parts of the lunches that he 8 had. That's my memory of that. 9 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. 10 MR. ZWONITZER: But I don't even -- I'm assuming 11 he took notes of that and that's what he read to me. MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Mark, you just referred to the 12 non-classified portions of the luncheons. What did you mean 13 14 by that? 15 MR. ZWONITZER: Well, I think he said -- I think 16 it's on the transcript somewhere that I read recently where 17 he said, this is the non-classified portion of the luncheons. In other words, this is the notes I could take. 18 19 Oh. Is that why the notes had to MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 20 be held at the National Archives, because some of them were 21 classified? 22 MR. ZWONITZER: I don't know.

MR. ZWONITZER: I thought they were just a matter of presidential, presidential records.

Okay.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

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| 12 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 6 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 9 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 11 | MR. $^{(b) (6), (b) (7)(C)}$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 13 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |
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| 16 | MR. ZWONITZER: (b)(6).(b)(7)(c) |
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(00:30:04)1 2 MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 3 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 4 5 MR. ZWONITZER: 6 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 7 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 8 MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 9 10 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 11 (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 12 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) I also had a question. So, 13 Mark, I wanted to ask you if during your work, was this 14 instance the first time you felt your -- you or your work 15 were at risk of being hacked or leaked? 16 MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 17 18 19 20 But I was kind of hyperaware of that at the time because of 21 the having just finished the Pegasus book, which is about 22 the most, you know, frightful cybersurveillance tool, you 23 know, on the market out there right now. So I had a 24 heightened sense of awareness of what was happening and what 25 could be done.

(00:31:35)

2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

(b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

MR. (D)(G)(D)(T)(C) Yeah, sorry, Mark, this is more of a wrap-up question, but just to get your reaction to this. So we've learned now from some review of the vice-presidential notebooks that were read to you that -- from members of DOD and/or the intelligence community that those notebooks contained classified information. Does -- hearing that, does that surprise you or not that the Vice President had classified information in those notes that he was reading you?

MR. ZWONITZER: It does surprise me.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And how come?

MR. ZWONITZER: I mean, I just -- it just does.

MR. (b)(6).(b)(7)(c) Yeah. I take it by the fact that you say it surprises you that -- did he ever give you the impression that it was okay for him to have classified information in his notes, or that he thought it was okay?

MR. ZWONITZER: No. He never gave me that impression.

MR. (b)(6).(b)(7)(C) Okay. All right. Thanks. That's all from me.

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

(b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

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                     MR. GINSBERG:
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                     MR. ZWONITZER:
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                                           (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                           (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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13
                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                           (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                               (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
14
                      SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
15
                      MR. GINSBERG:
                                                       (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
16
17
                           (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                           (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
18
                     MR. GINSBERG:
                                               (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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                     MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
21
                      MR. GINSBERG:
22
                                            Okay.
23
                      SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
                                                      The time is 4:11. This
24
       concludes the interview.
25
                      (End Track 240104 1447.)
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D.C. Area 301-261-1902 Balt. & Annap. 410-974-0947

CERTIFICATE

I, (b) (6), (b) (7) (C) certify that the foregoing is a true and correct transcript, to the best of my ability, of the above pages, of the RECORDED INTERVIEW provided to me by the Special Counsel's Office.

I further certify that I am neither counsel for, related to, nor employed by any of the parties to the action in which this recording was taken, and further that I am not financially nor otherwise interested in the outcome of the action.

(b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

January 13, 2024

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Transcriber

Auditor

January 17, 2024 Date

Within this transcript of proceedings, some of the names and/or technical terms are spelled phonetically, inasmuch as exhibits, files and supporting documentation

were not made available to us for reference.

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