RECORDED INTERVIEW BETWEEN
(b) (6), (b)(7)(C) , FBI SPECIAL AGENT
(b) (6), (b)(7)(C) , FBI SPECIAL AGENT
(b)(6), (b)(f)(C) , ASSISTANT SPECIAL COUNSEL
(b) (6), (b) (7)(C) , ASSISTANT SPECIAL COUNSEL

MARK ZWONITZER, WITNESS
LOUIS EREEMAN, ATTORNEY

LEE GINSBURG, ATTORNEY

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Date: Monday, July 31, 2023

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(Start of 230731_0074.)
SA (b)(6), (b)(7)CC): The date is July 31, 2023, and the time is 9:27 a.m. and this is an interview with Mark 2wonitzer.

MR. (D) (a) (0) (FCC): All right. Good morning again, Mr. Zwonitzer. Again, I'm (b)(6),(b)(7)(C). I'm with the Special Counsel's office.

MR. (B)(B), (0)(C): And my name is (b)(6), (b)(7)(C) also with the special counsel.

SA (b)(b), (b)(7)(C): I'm (b)(6),(b)(7)(C), Special Agent with the FBI.

SA proxarixe: (b)(6),(b)(7)(C), Special Agent, FBI.
MR. FREEMAN: Lou Freeman, attorney for Mark Zwonitzer.

MR. ZWONITZER: Mark Zwonitzer.
MR. GINSBURG: Lee Ginsburg, attorney for Mark Zwonitzer.

MR. (B) (o) (FCM: Great. Well thanks a lot.
MR. ZWONITZER: Sure.
MR. RTORTVIM: Really appreciate your time here. And again, as I explained earlier, we're from the Special Counsel's office investigating potential mishandling of classified material by former Vice President Biden. Appreciate your willingness to be here this morning.

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(00:00:51)
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MR. (B)(B) (B)(T)CM: I'll reiterate what I said before. Obviously, the big rule here is you have to tell the truth, and that at any point you feel like you -- it's hard to do 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 can we take a break or ask me to reframe the questions.

It could be that I asked a terrible question. It's probably the most likely reason. But in any event it's not a problem. Okay?

MR. ZWONITZER: Got it.
MR. (B) (B) (D) (T) An : Any questions for us?
MR. ZWONITZER: NO.
MR. (B) (B) (F)CM: All right. Then we'll get going.
All right. Can you tell us just a little bit about yourself? Where are you from?

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


MR. (b) (b).(0) (V) $\quad$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
MR. ZWONITZER: (b)(5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

MR. (b)(b), (o)(r) $\quad$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

MR. ZWONITZER: (B) (5) (b) (b). (b)

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

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(00:02:23)
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MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)


MR. Morantorncy :




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


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

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MR. (B) (0) (0) (I) (x) ..... 
MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
MR. (b) (b). (b) (b)c ..... Manturay
MR. ZWONITZER: ..... (b)(6) (0) (6) (b) (7) (C) .MR. (b) (b), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

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

MR. ZWONITZER: [0)(b).(0)(6). (b)(7)(C).
MR. [B) (b) (b) (V) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
MR. ZWONITZER:



(00:07:49)
MR. ZWONITZER: (b)(5),(b)(6), (b)(7)(C)




MR. ZWONITZER: Mwn

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



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(00:10:12)
MR. ZWONITZER: -- (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)




MR. ZWONITZER: Mnitit


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

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

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MR. (D) (b). (b)(7)(C) okay.
MR. ZWONITZER: So a lot of sort of odd, creepy things have been happening since Biden was nominated president. I -- you know there -- I had received some sort of vaguely threatening emails from some right-wing anti-Biden groups that clearly had come through, like, (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) They somehow had got my name and email through that. Some very personal, private conversations that I had had (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) had been publicly put out on the internet, again by someone who I don't know who it was.

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

 possibility of being hacked. I was very concerned about the possibility of this audio spread all over the place. And the audio, my chief concern at the time -- and I'll explain the timing -- was really, was a lot of personal and emotional stuff about Beau.
(b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

 And so this was -- I simply took the audio files subfolder from both the G drive and my --

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. (D)(b). (D)(7)CC So when did you move that --
MR. ZWONITZER: Slide that --
MR. (b)(b). (b)(V)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. (D) (b). (b)(7)CT 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)(b).(b)(7)C] okay. And so that was before we (b)(3), (b)(5), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C)
(00:15:20)
MR. ZWONITZER: Correct.

to you. But after news of Biden being investigated for mishandling and having a special --

MR. ZWONITZER: I was aware.
MR. (b)(6).(b)(7)(C) okay. So I assume and I assume that that -- the fact that a special counsel had been appointed and you have all these recordings was in your mind when you slid these documents over into the trash, which is okay. I mean it's okay, but I just want to be clear --

MR. ZWONITZER: I mean I was, I was aware of the special counsel investigation when that happened.

MR. (D)(b). (D)(7)(C) Okay.
MR. ZWONITZER: I actually didn't think it would involve me. But yes, I was --

MR. (D)(6). (b)(7)C] okay.
MR. ZWONITZER: -- I was aware.
MR. [D)(b).(b)(7)C] And I'm not trying to give you a hard time but you can --

MR. ZWONITZER: No, no, no.
MR. (D) (6). (b) (f)c -- understand, you know, look, the outside observer is going to look at this and say Mark Zwonitzer, President Biden's friend, ghostwriter, collaborator learned of the special counsel's --
(00:16:14)
MR. (b)(b). (D) (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. D)(6). (b)(y)C] Okay.
MR. ZWONITZER: Yes.
MR. (D)(6).(b)(7)(C) okay. I appreciate you telling us that.

MR. ZWONITZER: Okay.
MR. [b)(6).(b)(7) 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. [D)(b). (b)(7)(C) Did anyone -- did you tell anyone you did that?

MR. ZWONITZER: Um, no.
MR. (b) (b). (b) (7)(C) You didn't tell these guys I
assume? No. But when you were doing it?
MR. ZWONITZER: Oh, when I --

MR. [D) (ठ). (D) (7)(C) When you --
MR. ZWONITZER: Oh no, no, no. This was long before. I told no one.

MR. (b) (6).(b)(T)C] Setting aside the two gentlemen sitting here, your attorneys --

MR. ZWONITZER: Right.
MR. (D) (b).(b)(7)CC -- did you tell anyone after you did it, that you had done it?

MR. ZWONITZER: I didn't.
MR. [b)(6). (b) (/)c] Okay. Did anyone -- I just have to ask you. Did anyone reach out to you on behalf of President Biden?

MR. ZWONITZER: No.
MR. (b) (6). (b)(7)Cl Obviously, him, family, friend, colleague, associate?

MR. ZWONITZER: No. I have not talked to him about the -- certainly not him since right before the inauguration and nobody has reached out to me about this.

MR. (D) (b). (b)(7)(C) Okay.
MR. ZWONITZER: I don't think anybody in his camp is aware that I am a part of this.

MR. (b) (b). (b) (7)CC
(00:17:35)


MR. ZWONITZER: एँ:

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

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

MR. [D) (b). (b) (7)C] Wiantaly
MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
MR. [b)(6). (b) (I)C] Namman
MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

MR. (b) (b).(b)(7) $\quad$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
(00:18:30)

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

MR. (ण)(0), (0) (ب) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)



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




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MR. ZWONITZER: (P) (B) (B) (0), (D) (VXC).


MR. ZWONITZER: [B)(5).(b)(b). (b) (F)

SA [b) (6). (b) (7)(C) Just for -- when you said that you -- it's your practice to delete the audio recordings?

MR. ZWONITZER: Mm-hmm.
SA (b) (6), (b)(7)(C) Generally, what timeframe does that take place, like, when do you decide now I can delete?

MR. ZWONITZER: It's not a -- like I don't have a set policy or anything but I know that when we moved from (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) , I know a lot of tapes went in to a dumpster. So there was that. Like but -- and like I noticed that I still have some audio files from some projects in 2018 and even in 2020 that I haven't yet deleted. But I don't think those are anybody that was really a public figure that I would worry about.

MR. (B)(b).(b)(T) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) $\square$ $\square$

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

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MR. [D)(大), (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) Did you have a concern that there were, kind of, hacking attempts on your computer or accounts?

MR. ZWONITZER: I was -- I knew that these folks had my email because I have -- and I also -- I was not aware of hacking attempts but I am very aware of the possibilities of cyber surveillance and hacking --

SA (b)(6), (b)(7)(C) Okay.
MR. ZWONITZER: -- as part of my, in my career.
SA (b) (6), (b)(7)(C) Yeah. I know some of the projects you've worked on concern that. Did you ever receive any --

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(00:22:42)
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SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- emails from these groups? You

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said you got kind of vaguely threatening --
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MR. ZWONITZER: I did receive an email and I immediately deleted it. (b)(5),(b)(6), (b)(7)(C)

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

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


SA [b)(6), (b)(7)(C) And do you remember who sent it to you?

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    MR. ZWONITZER: I do not. (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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    MR. ZWONITZER: -- (b)(5), (b)(b), (b)(7) (C)
    

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(00:25:05)
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    SA (b)(6), (b)(7) (C) (b)(5), (b)(6), (b) (7)(C)
    
SA (b)(b), (b)(t) (C)
MR. ZWONITZER: (b)(5), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C)



MR. [(0)(B).(b)(0)CC Okay. So quite some time ago.
MR. ZWONITZER: Yes.
MR. (D)(b).(D) (7)(C) In January of this year some
people, (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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MR. ZWONITZER: (b)(5), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C)].

MR. ZWONITZER:
(b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
(00:26:14)
MR. ZWONITZER: (b)(5), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C)


MR. (णाण),(0)(MC) (b)(5), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C)


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

SA (b)(b), (b)(f)(Cl) (b)(5), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C)

MR. ZWONITZER: [mummax
SA (b)(b).(b)(7)Cl (b)(5), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C)



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


(00:29:06)
MR. ZWONITZER: (b)(5), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C)


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

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


MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
MR. (B) (b), (o) (b) $\quad$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)


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

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


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(00:31:24)
MR. ZWONITZER: (b)(5), (b)(6),(b)(7)(C)




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

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(00:32:27)
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(00:33:31)











(00:36:11)
MR. ZWONITZER: (b)(5), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C)

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



(00:41:07)









MR. (b) (b), (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)

MR. [D) (b). (b) (7) C] [10







(b) (5), (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)
    MR. (B) (b), (b) (f)CC) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
    MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) .
    MR. (ण) (6), (b) (f)
    

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





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    MR. ZWONITER: -- (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C).
    MR. (उ) (b), (B) (x) \(\quad\) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
    MR. ZWONITZER: (b)(5), (b)(6),(b)(7)(C)
    MR. (ए)(b),(0)(T)C] (b)(5), (b)(6), (b) (7)(C)
    
MR. (D)(0) (0) (x)C $\quad$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b)(b), (b)(7)(C)

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


MR. (B)(b). (b) (t) $\quad$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
(00:47:21)



MR. (b)(b). (b)(M)C] Winnow When you were writing Promises to Keep and you sat down with Biden to go through things, did he have journals or diaries that he referred to from his days in the Senate?

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

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

MR. [D)(b). (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 lack of a better description --

MR. ZWONITZER: Mm-hmm, right.
MR. (D) (6). (b)(7)CT -- in the late '70s --
MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.
MR. (D) (D). (b)(7)CT -- when President --
MR. ZWONITZER: Going with Harriman and --
MR. [b)(G).(b) (7) Exactly, that's right. When
President Carter asked him to go and he went to Germany.
MR. ZWONITZER: Right.
MR. (D)(b).(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 --

MR. ZWONITZER: -- was fighting the Nazis.
MR. [b) (b). (b)(7)CC] And I was in Stalingrad, like yeah, that's exactly it. He tells about that chapter and that, what the, what was the theme you were getting at then?

MR. ZWONITZER: Well it was really, yeah, as you said it was about sort of learning. I mean it was -- he was incredibly fortunate as a guy who was in his early thirties who's having these experiences and learning, and not just learning by being a staff member but by literally sitting across the table from people like Gromyko. I mean the thing I remember most about that chapter, that time period just to say like -- he would say like, like who was I at that point time? He tells the story about being at -- I think it was Averell Harriman's house with a group of people. And Ted Kennedy was there and they were talking and he was saying something and he picked up this object that was on the coffee table and sort of like talking and kind of absentmindedly going like this and then Ted Kennedy said, oh crap, put it back down. He said, Joe, that's a Faberge egg. So, you know, he's saying like I'm a young guy who doesn't know a lot. I'm like, you know, like I'm a kid from Scranton, Pennsylvania and here I am. And so it's, it's like learning on the fly.

MR. [D)(b).(b)(7)(C) They're pretty vivid tales about --
(00:50:52)
MR. (D) (b). (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. (D)(b).(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)(b). (b)(7)c] okay.

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(00:52:15)
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 (00:53:08)

MR. [(0)(B) (b) (f)CCI 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. (D) (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)(b).(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) (/)CC 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.

(00:55:28)






(00:56:37)


MR. ZWONITZER: (b)(b),(b)(b), (b)(7)(C) ?

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



(00:58:34)

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


MR. ZWONTHER: (D)(ら),(D)(6),(D)(7)(C)

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

MR. ZWONITZER: Me.

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


(00:59:33)
MR. ZWONITZER: (b)(5), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C)
(01:00:51)
MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6). (b) (7)(C)











(01:02:06)

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(01:03:23)
MR. ZWONITZER: $\quad-\quad$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

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(01:06:30)
MR. (b)(b), (b)(7)(C) - (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)



(01:07:21)
MR. ZWONITZER: -- (b)(5), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C)




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

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


MR. ZWONITZER: $--\quad$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)





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(01:08:26)
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MR. ZWONITZER: NiNat.


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(01:09:19)

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


MR. (b)(b).(b)(\%)Cl (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

MR. ZWONITZER: (B)(D), (D)(0) (D) (VKC)

MR. [b)(6). (b)(7)c] Okay. Once you hit on the topics that you were going to cover can you talk just about how you went about doing the initial research before you sat down with --

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.
MR. (b)(6). (b)(7)Cl -- Biden I know I've seen some emails where you reached out to Steve Ricchetti's and others asking for to set up meetings and then, you know, the vice president pulled notes or journals; is that right?

MR. ZWONITZER: Well, I think he mentioned the --

MR. ZWONITZER: -- journals first, yeah.
MR. (b)(b).(b)(7)(C) Biden did?
MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.
MR. [b)(b).(b) (T)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 --
(01:12:00)
MR. ZWONITZER: -- himself through this this awful time.

MR. [(b)(b).(b)(7)C] Sure. Okay. I'm going to some other examples of a couple -- here's an email on September of 2016. It's Zwonitzer 7613.

MR. (b)(b).(b)(7)(C) Yeah. And this is an email that you sent to Steve Ricchetti who was I think then as chief of staff, is that right?

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.
MR. (D) (6). (b)(7)C, And then I'll follow. You read it here for a second.

MR. ZWONITZER: Okay.
MR. [b)(6).(b)(7)C] But I think basically you're asking like it might take some time on the vice president's calendar.

MR. ZWONITZER: Right.
MR. (b)(b).(b)(7)(C) So we can sit down and
start -- like is this doing the interviews that --
MR. ZWONITZER: Oh yeah, but September 2016 we were doing serious content interviews.

MR. (b) (b), (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?

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. That's right.
MR. (b)(b). (b)(7)(C) And what were you looking, what did you want, what did you have in mind when you asked that?

MR. ZWONITZER: Well again just so he would be -- again so much of this was memory and so much of this was in a really hard time so there's a little bit of fog in his --

MR. (b)(b). (b)(7)C] Sure.
MR. ZWONITZER: -- in his memory. So it would allow him to sort of like read up on and be aware of -- like refresh his recollection.
(b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

MR. [D)(b).(b)(7)C] Yeah. Make productive use of the interview time I suppose too because it was limited.

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. Because, you know, he was a busy man. So if we were going to have three hours we didn't want to -- we wanted to be efficient about it.

MR. (D)(b).(D)(T)CC You didn't want to spend it looking for journals or notes.

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.
MR. [b) (6). (b) (T) (B) (5) (0) (6), (b) (\%)
$\square$

MR. ZWONITZER:
(01:14:04)
MR. ZWONITZER: (b)(5), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C)


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

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

MR. (b)(6).(b) (7)Cl 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)

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

(01:15:07)


SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) "
MR. ZWONITZER:



(01:16:18)
MR. ZWONITZER: (b)(5), (b)(6),(b)(7)(C)

$\square$
MR. (b)(b). (b)(P)C] How many times did you go to the White House?

MR. ZWONITZER: Maybe three total and we didn't really -- the vice president and I did not do any substantive work or talk at the White House.


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


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

MR. (b)(6).(b)(7)CC Monnaty
MR. ZWONITZER: $\begin{aligned} & \text { (b) (5), (b)(6), (b) (7)(C) } \\ & \text { SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Just a -- it looks like when }\end{aligned}$
 it looks like it's carrying over from so the VP could have relevant notes/diaries et cetera with him when we talk. And then the only staff time it would require would be in making sure he has those documents in front of him when we do our substantive sessions. קञागromm had all that stuff in hand
 notes and diaries?

MR. ZWONITZER: No. Nanti only had schedules.
SA (b) (6), (b)(7)(C) okay.
MR. ZWONITZER: nmer never had notes and diaries.
And you see mana was telling me this from his memory.
SA (b) (6). (b) (7)(C) His memory. okay.
MR. [0)(b).(b)(y) You seem quite sure about that with the, with the journals and diaries.

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.
MR. (D) (b). (b) (T)C Why?
MR. ZWONITZER: Biden really never let the --

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(01:18:11)
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MR. ZWONTIZER: -- journals out of his hand. In
fact any time I ever saw them they were in his hands. MR. [b)(b). (b) (7)C] Okay. And these are -- are these
the black notebooks?
MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. They're -- I just remember they were black and had some kind of red borders or something like that.

MR. (B) (3). (B) (F)CT:
(b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

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

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

MR. (b)(3), (0) (\%) $\quad$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
MR. (b) (6). (b) (7)Cl (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
MR. (b) (b), (b)(7)(c) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
MR. (b), (0) (b)Cl: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) $\square$

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

MR. (D) (b). (b) (7)(C)

MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
MR. [D)(6). (b) (Y) (M)
MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
MR. (D) (6). (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
MR. ZWONITZER: [DT(5) (0) (0) (0)TVXC

MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
MR. (b) (6). (b)(7)CD They're more like leather-bound black?

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. And I remember them having red. So that's not -- I just don't remember having seen those.

MR. (D)(6). (b)(7)(C) I see. So you didn't have them in your hand ever, is that --

MR. ZWONITZER: No. And in fact at one point, you know, he would -- I said to him at one point, listen, we're spending a lot of time, you know, it would be very efficient 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)(b).(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. ©(6).(b)(7)C] And all he's doing is reading --
MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.
MR. (D) (b). (b)(7)CC -- 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)(y) 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. [D)(b). (D) (7)(C) He flowed --
(01:21:02)
MR. ZWONITZER: This is back, this is background.
MR. (b)(b). (b)(7)(C) okay.
MR. ZWONITZER: Not like let me tell you about one thing, you know, like the, you know, PD-1 experimental treatment is whatever and about that.

MR. [b)(b). (b)(7)(C) I could say listen to the recording it seemed like some sessions were devoted to just basically reading his journal to you and others were more back and forth conversational.

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.
MR. (b)(b). (b)(\%)Cl I assume the latter were more interesting. Okay. So you said he wouldn't -- he said, no, you can't look at these journals.

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.
MR. [b)(b).(b)()C] You can't photocopy them?
MR. ZWONITZER: No, no. He did at one
point -- like I know there were -- no. I mean and I did, I should say like, man, we are on a deadline. You know, this takes time. It's your time and it would be lot more efficient and it just --

MR. [b)(6). (b)(T) 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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(01:21:56)
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MR. (b) (ठ). (b) (7)(C) Do you know where he kept those journals?

MR. ZWONITZER: I do not.
MR. (D) (6).(b)(\%)C Okay. During some of your
early -- your earlier meetings were at the Naval
Observatory, is that right, in your earlier interviews?
MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. That's right.
MR. (b)(b). (b)(7)(C) Where would you meet at the Naval
Observatory?
MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)


MR. [b)(6). (b)(/)c] Okay. During one of the recorded sessions at the Naval Observatory, one of the early ones, Biden is talking about his journals and notebooks and some of the material. And he says, I just found them upstairs.

MR. ZWONITZER: I just found?

MR. (b) (b). (b)(7)C] Them, these materials upstairs.

MR. (b)(b). (b) (T) CC $\quad$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

MR. ZWONITZER: [b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F) not sure.

MR. (D) (6). (b)(7)(C) Did he -- did Biden talk to you about his efforts to gather these journals and notebooks and other materials?

MR. ZWONITZER: I don't remember him talking about that. I mean -- no. And I wasn't really aware of where 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. It was always like one specific diary for a specific session. (b)(5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

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

(01:25:37)
SA (b)(6). (b)(7)(Cl

MR. ZWONITZER: (B) (5) (i)


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

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



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






(01:28:18)
MR. ZWONITZER: (b)(5),(b)(6), (b)(7)(C) ■

MR. zWONITZER:


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



$\square$
MR. ZWONITZER:





MR. ZWONITZER: Шाशस


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

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

MR. ZWONITZER: (b)(5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
MR. (D)(b).(b)(7)C] Okay. Okay. Right
after -- shortly after Biden's vice presidential term ended there was a meeting at his residence on Chain Bridge Road in Mclean.

MR. ZWONITZER: Okay.
MR. (D)(0).(b)(7)C] On February 16th of 2017.
MR. ZWONITZER: Right.
MR. (D)(6). (D) (V) And there was a -- this -- I understand it was a big meeting and part of the purpose of that meeting was to finalize the proposal to publishing companies. Is that right? Do you recall that meeting?

MR. ZWONITZER: Well I wouldn't have but I do now.
MR. [b)(6).(b) (Y) You do now.
MR. ZWONITZER: Recently, you know, I've been through that. That date sticks in my head.

MR. (b)(0).(b)(7)C] okay. Why --
MR. ZWONITZER: It wouldn't have otherwise.
(01:30:08)
MR. (b) (b). (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).(b)(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) 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) And you guys were doing an interview at that point?

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.
MR. (D) (G). (D) (7)(C) Okay. And where you in checking --

MR. [b)(6).(b)(7)(C) -- the property?
MR. ZWONITZER: Well I don't remember this but of having read that transcript I think he says something about downstairs. So we must have been in the main -- on the main floor of the Chain Bridge house.

MR. (b)(6).(b)(7)(C) Would you guys meet like at the living room or dining room or something?

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. I mean there was a, there was a very nice kind of room off the dining room, which we were -- it was kind of between a hallway and a library you'd call it. But it was just a nice place with a couple of seats to sit and talk.

MR. (b)(b). (b)(7)(C) Okay.
MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. A lot of
the -- that's -- but again I don't remember that but having read that --

MR. (D) (b). (b)(7)C) Sure.
MR. ZWONITZER: -- this is downstairs.
MR. [D)(b), (b)(7)(C) Okay. You don't remember that it -- you said downstairs until you read it?

MR. ZWONITZER: I mean I only -- yeah.
MR. (b)(b). (b)(7)(C) Yeah.
MR. ZWONITZER: I don't, I didn't remember the conversation I had until --
(01:32:06)


MR. ZWONITZER:





MR. ZWONITZER: PNRMWMay
MR. (b) (6). (b) (7) $\quad$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
$\square$
MR. (D)(6). (b)(y)Cl Manumy


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


(01:33:05)

MR. ZWONITZER: NITI.
MR. (अ)(ब),(b)(t)CI (b)(5), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C)
MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

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

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

(01:35:18)
MR. ZWONITZER: (b)(5), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C)

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


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


MR. ZWONITZER: Ewnown


(01:36:37)

(01:37:44)
MR. ZWONITZER: -- (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)


MR. ZWONITZER: Mimand.
MR. (b) (6). (b)(l)C] -- (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
MR. ZWONITZER: Mr.
MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) $\quad--\quad$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)


(01:39:08)
MR. ZWONITZER: -- (b)(5), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C)



(01:40:25)



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


(01:41:40)
MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
■
(01:42:40)
MR. ZWONITZER: (b)(5), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C)



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


MR. (D) (6) (b) (F)Cl
(b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)



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


SA (b)(6). (b)(7)(C) And so my question about these is
how were these actually prepared? Were these -- did you write these from your audio recordings and you transcribed them or --

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- did mornano write them?
MR. ZWONITZER: No. He -- so those would have been from my recordings. He would read me the excerpts of these diaries. I would record them and then I would do the transcription. I mean these audio recordings never left my -- they're, you know, in film work and other work you might send tapes off to be transcribed by a transcription service. I did all these.

SA (b) (6). (b) (7)(C) So when it says at the top, selected excerpts from personal diary 2015 --

MR. ZWONITZER: Yep.
SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- what is the -- what is that the 2015 date refer to?

MR. ZWONITZER: That refers to -- this is January 1. 2015, January 15th, 2015, February 19th, 2015. These are the dates of the --

SA (b) (6). (b) (7)(C) So the diary or the journal covered 2015?

MR. ZWONITZER: Yes.
SA (b) (6), (b)(7)(C) Okay.
MR. ZWONITZER: I mean I'm not, I don't think 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.

SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) okay. I'm just trying to make sure --

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.
SA (b) (6). (b) (7)(C) -- that this wasn't like the date that you recorded the interview?

MR. ZWONITZER: No, no. No. I didn't -- no, that was not. that was the date of the diary entries.

SA (b) (6). (b)(7)(C) Okay. That's helpful.
MR. (b)(6).(b)(7)CC Okay. So on the 16th -- let's go back to that meeting at Chain Bridge. You think you were probably, based on the recording that you listened to recently or the transcript that you reviewed probably on the main floor in that hallway, library, den area at Chain Bridge Road. And during the conversation when you're going through material, Biden talks about how I just found the classified.

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.
MR. [D)(D).(D)(7)C] -- downstairs. And I think he's talking about Afghanistan in the decision whether to do a troop surge in --

MR. ZWONITZER: I don't remember.
MR. (b) (b). (b)(7)CD -- 2009. But when he mentioned finding classified down there what was your reaction?

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

MR. ZWONITZER: -- reaction. And so I mean I didn't even -- again I didn't remember that until I reviewed that. So to say what I thought at the time would be to backfill. Something I just don't --

MR. (b)(6). (b)(y)C] Yeah.
MR. ZWONITZER: -- I just don't remember.
MR. (b)(b).(b)(7)(C) okay. And let me just ask you a few -- we can start back on questions. I assume you don't have a security clearance -- and

MR. ZWONITZER: I do not.
MR. [b)(b). (b) (7)c] -- you don't have it.
MR. ZWONITZER: NO.

MR. (b)(b), (b)(7)C] In the course of your career as a, as a journalist, as a writer, as a documenter or film maker, have you ever dealt with classified material? I mean not unless like looking at them but events, items people that are classified or we are kind of skirting on the edges of things that are classified.

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

(01:47:48)
MR. ZWONITZER: - (b)(5), (b)(6). (b)(7)(C)


MR. (b) (6), (b)(7)C] -- (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) $\square$


MR. ZWONITZER: -
MR. [B)(b). (b)(7)C] -- how it works and how SCIEs 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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see it on, you know, this thing in the Trump world
mushrooming. But it's not something I really -- again
because anything classified material I dealt with had, was
history had long since been declassified.
MR. [())(b), (b) (f) CCI (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

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

MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
$\square$ ?
MR. ZWONITZER: mismmand?
SA (b)(b). (b) (7) (C) (b) (b). (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
$\square ?$

MR. ZWONITZER: P
(01:49:46)
$S A(b)(6),(b)(7)(C) \quad$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
MR. ZWONITZER:
(b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

I started working on Pegasus in 2021, I
think.
SA (b)(6), (b)(7)(C) Okay.
MR. ZWONITZER: The book was just published in January.

MR. (b)(b).(b)(7)(C) Okay. So you don't -- when that happened at the time you don't, you don't recall, it wasn't notable to you, you weren't concerned?

MR. ZWONITZER: It didn't flag me, you know -- no. I mean figured that at that point they were still like moving stuff around and trying to get any like -- so I didn't -- it was not a flag to me. I mean perhaps it should have been but I -- it's just not my world.

MR. (D) (6). (b) (F)C] Did Biden seem concerned when he, when he said that, that oh, like, there's classified down there. I'd better take care of that? Or did he seem nonchalant about it?

MR. ZWONITZER: Well, no, it was in a discussion of I need to be careful.

MR. (b) (b). (b) (7)(C) okay.
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. (D)(b).(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). (D) (V)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 --

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(01:52:13)
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MR. ZWONITZER: -- sure it was always a matter of, you know, the various officials had already spoken to this stuff in congressional hearings or in the press or, you know, I was always able to find -- it was always stuff that was in the public domain I felt like.

MR. (b)(6).(b)(7)(C) Okay.
MR. ZWONITZER: There was nothing in my notes that ever gave me pause, like oh I shouldn't have this.

MR. (b) (6). (b) (7)CC Go ahead.
SA (b)(6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)




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



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


MR. ZWONITZER: [Bा(B) (B) (J) (D) (VCC]
(01:53:25)

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

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


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

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

MR. ZWONITZER:

MR. (b)(b). (b) (f)cl [b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)?
MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)


MR. (b)(b). (b)(7)(C) $\quad$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) .

MR. (b)(6). (b)(y)c] okay. There was -- listening to the recordings, there was also some occasions where Biden would ask you to turn off the recorder because he was going to cover something that was sensitive or I -- for various reasons. Do you, do you recall that? Or why --
(01:54:24)
MR. [b)(6).(b)(7)(C) -- would he ask you to turn off the
recorder?
MR. ZWONITZER: I sure don't. I don't recall
that. (b)(5), (b)(6), (b) (7)(C)


MR. 『ण(0) (b) (b) (b) (5), (b)(6), (b) (7)(C)


$\square$
(01:55:41)
MR. (D) (b). (b) (7) C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)



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




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

MR. ZWONITZER:

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

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

MR. (b) (b). (b) (/)CT P1
MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

MR. (b) (b), (b) (7) (C) Mant.
$\begin{array}{ll}\text { MR. ZWONITZER: }\end{array}$
MR. (b)(6). (b) (/)cc Okay. So February 16th, you have the meeting where he talks about finding the classified. Did you see any of the -- did he show any classified during any of the interviews?

MR. ZWONITZER: No, no. He never showed me anything like that.

MR. (b) (6). (b)(\%)Cl Okay. And in terms of the diaries I know that he kind of had them literally close.

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.
MR. [D)(b).(b)(7)C] He would hold on to them, again they were personal.

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. Right.
MR. (b)(b).(b)(7)(C) There's at least a couple of times
where he kind of asked you help him read?
MR. ZWONITZER: Yes. Yeah. Can you make out --
(01:57:23)
MR. ZWONITZER: -- this word? That I remember. MR. (b)(b).(b)(7)(C) okay.

MR. ZWONITZER: But that's the only time I saw the inside of that.

MR. [b)(b). (b) (V) Okay. All right. Was that -- it must have been a little frustrating. Didn't you want to read them?

MR. ZWONITZER: I did and I didn't, you know, because I mean I felt like everything he was comfortable with he was, he was telling me. He was, you know -- so I don't -- I mean I can't remember ever thinking like I really want to get my eyes on those documents.

MR. (D)(b).(b)(7)CI Okay. Okay.
MR. ZWONITZER: Except for efficiency and speed reasons.

MR. (b) (6).(b)(7)C] Sure. Well on that note --
SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Can I follow up on --
MR. (D)(b).(b)(7)C] Go please. Please, please.
SA (b) (6). (b) (7)(C) -- on February 16th. Do you
remember who else was there at the time?
MR. ZWONITZER: I thought it was just the two of us.

MR. FREEMAN: Are we talking about February the

SA (b) (6), (b)(7)(C) The February 16, 2017.
MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. It's -- I think it's been pointed out to me to that Val was invited to the meeting. I don't remember her. She may have been there but I just don't remember her being there.

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 voice --

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.
SA (b)(6). (b)(7)(C) -- would that make you think that she was there?

MR. ZWONITZER: Oh well she was definitely there. Yeah.

SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay.
MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.
SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And then do you remember anyone else who was there?

MR. ZWONITZER: On the 16 th?
SA (b) (6). (b) (7)(C) On February 16th?
MR. ZWONITZER: I do not.
SA (b)(6), (b)(7)(C) Okay. So I can understand when you're in the moment with the vice president or former vice president and he mentioned something like, oh this part is classified or I found all these classified things --
(01:59:00)
SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- downstairs, maybe you don't want to discuss it then or maybe it doesn't register for you at the time, but when you're relistening to the audio and transcribing it and typing up words like classified at that point did it raise any flags for you or have any impact?

MR. ZWONITZER: I guess it did not.
SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) okay.
MR. (b)(b).(b)(7)C] To follow up on that, did
you -- were you, were you typing in real time as he spoke?
MR. ZWONITZER: No, no, no.
MR. [b)(6). (b)(7)c] or were you recording --
MR. ZWONITZER: Recording and --
MR. (D)(b).(b)(7)CD -- and transcribing later?
MR. ZWONITZER: -- transcribing, yeah.
MR. (D)(6).(D)(Y) It's painstaking. You did that -- you did all the transcribing yourself?

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. It's not my favorite job.
SA (b)(6), (b)(7)(C) And did you mention anything about him mentioning classified to anyone else?

MR. ZWONITZER: No.
SA (b) (6), (b)(7)(C) To like your publishers, the
editor?
MR. ZWONITZER: NO.
SA (b) (6). (b) (7)(C) okay.

MR. (0)(D), (0)(TxC] (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)



MR. (b)(b).(b) (7)cc $\quad$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

MR. ZWONITZER: بimas
 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. [D)(b).(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)(b).(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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(02:02:27)
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MR. (D)(大).(D)(7)(C) And did you have a discussion with Biden about that, the need to make sure you were getting everything and we don't want to -- there's really great stuff in these journals.

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.
MR. (b) (G). (b)(7)(C) We want to make sure we're not missing some of them?

MR. ZWONITZER: Probably I did, but I don't, you know, I don't recall about that. And again he was -- I mean he kept those journals, those diaries pretty locked down.

MR. (b)(6).(b) (7) oky . Did you get the sense that other people, maybe had access to them or if they, you know, couldn't find them?

MR. ZWONITZER: No. I didn't have any sense of that either, I don't think.

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


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(02:03:20)
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    SA (b) (6), (b)(7)(C) Okay. The time is 11:45 and we're
    back on.
MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

MR. ZWONITZER: Mexit
MR. (B)(0),(b)(T)Cl (b)(5), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C)




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

(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)(6), (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) and $\square$ on April 27th of 2017. And pramang was the body man? MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. At that point.
 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) (b), (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)
MR. ZWONITZER: -- the official notes.

MR. [b)(b).(b)(7)(C) For the, for the -- for researching the book?

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. Just to -- it was more a question of fact checking, making sure, okay, yeah, this is, this is correct. This is the correct date. Yeah. That's the -- so that was I'm pretty sure the reason for that.

MR. (b)(b). (b)(7)C] Okay. And it looks like you actually forwarded this email later on May 11 to


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

MR. (D)(b). (b)(7)CC) Yeah, that's his, that's his personal email account at the time.

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. One of his accounts, yes.
MR. (D) (6).(b)(F)(C) And that was so he could take that list with him to the Archives to find what he could. okay. okay. And did -- you didn't go to the Archives with him though?

MR. ZWONITZER: I did not. I didn't even know I was allowed to.



(00:04:52)


MR. ZWONITZER: Menna


MR. ZWONITZER: Memer




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



(00:06:01)
MR. ZWONITZER:
(b) (5). (b) (6). (b) (7)(C)


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

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.
MR. (b)(6). (b)(\%) 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. (D)(6). (b)(7)(C) Sure, sure. Taking down --
(00:08:16)
MR. [D)(0), (B)(7)C] -- important things or very
personal things and moving. Yeah, did you ask him multiple times like are you sure I can't just photocopy some of these?

MR. ZWONITZER: My memory is that I might have asked him twice.

MR. (D)(b).(b)(7)(C) okay.
MR. ZWONITZER: But I got a very clear, you
know -- I mean it wasn't --
MR. (b)(6).(b)(f)C] It's the vice president.
MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. You don't push too hard.
MR. (b)(6).(b)(7)(C) Got you. okay.
SA (b) (6). (b) (7)(C) Apart from kind of the diary
entries were you shown any of the official write ups that came after these POTUS lunches?

MR. ZWONITZER: No. I never saw those.
SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) okay.
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.
MR. [b)(b).(b)(7)(C) While vice president and he is
still President Biden kind of famously had these lapel --
(00:09:09)
MR. (b) (b). (b)(7)C] -- cards, these note cards he'd keep in his jacket pocket. Are you familiar with those? MR. ZWONITZER: Yes.

MR. (D) (6).(b)(F)C Did you see any of those or look -- were you able to review any of those while you like wrote the book or researched the book?

MR. ZWONITZER: I did see some of those just in terms of the help like they were essentially, it was a schedule for him. And so it was again and it's not -- it was basically the same thing his private schedule would be which is this is the public schedule, added to it would be things like, makoranore got a volleyball game tonight. You know, it's mmanmogbirthday or it was that kind of stuff.

So I did have some of those cards and what I remember about them specifically is that he still always kept until the vice presidency the tally of people killed and wounded in Afghanistan I think.

MR. (D)(b).(D)(7)C] Afghanistan seemed like something that was an issue of importance. He felt very strongly about Afghanistan. Is that correct?

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.
MR. (D) (b), (D) (7)(C) Is that right?
MR. ZWONITZER: He did.
MR. (D) (6).(b)(7)(C) Would he talk about that to you?
(00:10:18)
MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. He did on occasion and it was specifically about -- I mean it was already not just famous, but infamous when they had to -- when they had to -- when they chose to fire the general. Right? His name I can't --

MR. (b) (b). (b) (7)(C) McChrystal.
MR. ZWONITZER: McChrystal, right.
MR. (B) (3) (ox $)$ : Mchrystal.
MR. (D)(6).(b)(7)C] General McChrystal.
MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. So that was really a -- I think that was a clash between Biden and a lot of people at the Pentagon about just how to handle Afghanistan. So that was very much in the news.

MR. (b)(6). (b) (7)C] You know and Bob Woodward wrote a book about this, I don't know if you've read it, called Obama's Wars.

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


MR. (b)(b), (D) (I)CC): Minncmin
$\begin{array}{ll}\text { MR. ZWONITZER: } & \text { (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) }\end{array}$
MR. [b) (b). (b) (7)C] Wiancial
MR. ZWONITZER: (b)(5), (b) (6). (b) (7)(C).

MR. (b)(b).(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)
MR. ZWONITZER: So yes, without question we talked about it, I'm sure.

MR. (D)(B).(B)(7)(C) One of the sort of famous episodes of this I mean in terms of Biden's opposition is this handwritten letter he wrote to Obama over Thanksgiving and sent to him on Thanksgiving day from Nantucket, again advocating almost the last time about how this is a terrible idea. Don't do this, Mr. President. This is a mistake. MR. ZWONITZER: You mean like back in like 2009, 2010?

MR. [b)(6).(b)(7)C] Back in 2009 opposing the sending of additional troops to Afghanistan.

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.
MR. (b)(6).(b)(7)C] Did he talk to you about that? I mean have you heard this anecdote before?

MR. ZWONITZER: About the Thanksgiving?
MR. (b) (6). (b)(7)(C) Yeah.
MR. ZWONITZER: NO.
MR. (D)(b).(b)(7)C] Okay. Like him writing this long handwritten letter to Obama?

MR. ZWONITZER: I mean I do remember him saying that he wrote -- yeah, a huge number of pages about, you know, like I think you said handwritten?

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

MR. ZWONITZER: Well listen, let me tell you something, I don't think Joe Biden types. I've never seen him type.

MR. (D)(b). (D)(7)(C) Yeah. Fair enough. Okay. Did he ever show you that letter?

MR. ZWONITZER: No.
MR. (b)(6). (b) (F) Did he ever --
MR. ZWONITZER: I don't remember seeing it.







(00:17:24)

> MR. (b) (b). (D) (7) (C) -- mumwsuar

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







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



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

(00:18:30)
MR. ZWONITZER: (b)(5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)



$\square$

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


MR. ZWONITZER: (b)(5), (b)(6),(b)(7)(C)
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(00:20:45)
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MR. ZWONITZER:
(b) (5). (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

mentioned about the note cards, you know, it would have his schedules and the troops that had been killed in combat on the back.

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.
SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Where would you see those note cards?

MR. ZWONITZER: I think that (b)(5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 file, a PDF maybe that --

SA (b)(6). (b) (7)(C) They were provided to you in a PDF
file?

MR. ZWONITZER: No. I think, I think I was -- I must have been given a copy of them.

SA (b)(6). (b)(7)(C) okay. Well I guess I'm trying to figure out like were you in one of Biden's homes or like where physically were you?

MR. ZWONITZER: I think that -- I can't remember but I think it would have been from (P) would have been at the White House in August when we were gathering.

SA (b)(6). (b)(7)(C) In August of 2016?
MR. ZWONITZER: ' 16 , when we were gathering schedules.

SA (b) (6). (b)(7)(C) Okay. So when he had the schedules you think he also showed you note cards at that time?

SA Pron (orve Or gave you a copy of them?
MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
— I wouldn't call
them a note card. It's like a card that was like narrow and long.

SA (b)(6). (b)(7)(C) Yeah. Like it goes coat pocket.
MR. ZWONITZER: And but it literally just had the schedule on it. It didn't have anything more that the schedule.
$S A$ (b) (6). (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

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(00:22:50)
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actual, physical note cards?

MR. ZWONITZER: No.
MR. [b)(6).(b)(7)C] Did he email them to you or give them to you?

MR. ZWONITZER: I think I -- I think he gave me a copy of those. But I'm not -- I don't remember. I thought I -- I believe I had them in a PDF file.

SA (b)(6), (b)(7)(C) Okay.
MR. GINSBURG: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
SA PIV. (ि) Pry
MR. GINSBURG: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.
MR. FREEMAN: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)


SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) |-
MR. FREEMAN :
(b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

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(00: 23: 56)
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SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) pmanax
MR. FREEMAN : (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
 mean those look very distinctive with the schedule on them. We all know what we're talking about.

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.
MR. (D)(b).(D)(7)CD Like so he famously had them and used them a lot. They're sort of unique to him. Maybe he had a good reason to but I've never seen that form.

MR. ZWONITZER: okay. I mean that was memory.
MR. (b)(b). (b)(7)(C) okay.
MR. ZWONITZER: I thought I saw those at some point.

MR. (D)(6). (b)(7)CT Okay.
SA (b)(6), (b) (7)(C) So I guess other than the meeting
 note cards anywhere else?

MR. ZWONITZER: Well while he's vice president --
(00:25:02)
MR. ZWONITZER: -- you know, only in his hand when he referred to it.

SA (b) (6). (b) (7)(C) okay. So since he left office as vice president did you see those note cards like in his houses or --

MR. ZWONITZER: No.
MR. (D) (b). (b) (7)(C) When -- during some of the meetings while he was still vice president I think you were at the Naval Observatory, he's reading from materials that are not the notebooks. And it appears to be the types of notes that he later ended up at the Archives. Do you recall him paging through some of the more haphazardly gathered the materials that weren't a -- one of the journals or diaries?

MR. ZWONITZER: I don't.
MR. D(b). (b)(\%) Okay.
MR. ZWONITZER: But can you give me a for instance?

MR. (D)(b).(D)(7)C] Well so there's the interviews where he's essentially reading you things --

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.
MR. (b) (6). (b)(T)Cl -- 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 --

MR. (b)(b). (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)(b).(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)(b), (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)
MR. (B)(b).(b)(7)C] Okay.
MR. ZWONITZER: And I think that was around the middle --

MR. (b) (6). (b) (F)C of 2017.
MR. ZWONITZER: -- '17.
MR. (b)(b). (b) (7)(C) okay. So you think you recall that he went to the Archives, took notes on the things and then read those notes to you?

MR. ZWONITZER: That's what I -- that's my memory.
MR. (b)(6).(b)(7)C] He went back to the Archives in July of 2017 and you -- this is Bates 631. This is Zwonitzer 631 and 632 of July 9th of 2017, and you sent an email to (b)(5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) --

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.
MR. [b)(6). (b)(V)C] -- which is the Joe Biden email with the subject, Archives. And attached to it Bates at 632 is a list of POTUS lunches and that's some of the same lunches that you had -- appeared in your earlier list in April, some of which are crossed out. I assume that's because you already --

MR. ZWONITZER: Don't know how --
MR. (D) (b). (b)(7)(C) You had gotten those notes. And then this other, a list of other topics that, you know, in for potential notes including calls with Prime Minister --
$(00: 28: 23)$
MR. (D)(大). (D)(7)(C) -- Abadi of Iraq, a call with
President Poroshenko of Ukraine and some other items. What are these items that you're looking for and why?

MR. ZWONITZER: This was -- I mean these in particular where like -- these were the first days he was back after Beau's death.

MR. (b)(b).(b)(7)(C) In June of 20 --
MR. ZWONITZER: In June, so these are like what's going on in your life then.

MR. (b)(b). (b)(7)C] Okay.
MR. ZWONITZER: What I remember is that I know that we quoted from letters of condolence that he got about Beau. I don't think he did any of that.

MR. (b)(6).(b)(7)C] You don't think he got you these notes?

MR. ZWONITZER: I don't think he got any of those.
MR. (D)(6), (b)(7)(C) He did go to the Archives. So you sent this email on July 9th. He went there a day or two later.

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.
MR. [b)(6). (b) (T)C] So he did get you some stuff I take it?

MR. ZWONITZER: I think it was about Beau.
MR. (D) (G).(b)(7)(C) Okay. The condolence letters?
(00:29:28)
MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. I don't -- I just don't remember. I mean I remember having like all the official readouts of those meetings from the White House archives that was digitally available.

MR. (b)(6). (b)(7)Cl Letters re: Beau was on your list there, also need.

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. So the letters I know that we quoted from the letters in the book, I remember specifically some. I don't have any recollection of any of that material. I just thought like he never got to it.

MR. Fb)(大).(b) (F)C $\quad$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)


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(00:31:02)
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    MR. (D)(b). (b) (7) C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
    MR. ZWONITZER: Mnamanaly
    MR. (b) (6). (b) (7)Cl (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
    
$\begin{array}{lc}\text { MR. (b) (b). (b)(7)CC } & \text { (b)(5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) } \\ \text { MR. ZWONITZER: } & \text { (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) }\end{array}$




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(00:32:01)
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MR. ZWONITZER: (b)(5), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C)

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


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

MR. ZWONITZER: mmanmanua $\square$


MR. ZWONITZER: Mrawnavic

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

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(00:32:48)
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    MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
    MR. FREEMAN :
                                Max
    MR. (b)(6). (b) (\%)C] (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
    MR. EREEMAN: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
    MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
    SA Pror (owx
                            (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
    MR. ZWONITZER: [(B) (5) (B) (B) (0)
    

MR. ZWONITZER: Minm
MR. [b) (6). (b)(7)C] $\quad$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
MR. ZWONITZER:
(b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
MR. (『) (0) (b) (T) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
$\square$

$\square$
MR. ZWONITZER: ..... 
MR. [b)(b).(b) (7)(C) [b)(b), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
MR. ZWONITZER: Himwswer

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(00:33:40)
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(00:34:50)


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





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    MR. ZWONITZER: MNeme }
    MR. (D)(6).(b)(%)C] (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
    MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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(00:37:42)
MR. ZWONITZER: -- (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

MR. (b)(b). (b) (f) Cl $\quad$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) ?
MR. ZWONITZER: (b)(5),(b)(6),(b) (7)(C)

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

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(00:38:48)
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MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C).



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






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

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(00:39:51)
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MR. ZWONITZER: (Tw

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


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

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




(00:40:50)




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


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(00:41:33)
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MR. ZWONITZER: (b)(5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C).

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

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




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(00:42:27)
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    MR. ZWONITZER: -- (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C).
    SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) pranat.
    MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
    \(S A\) (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
    
SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Prinat.
MR. (b) (b). (b) (7)C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
?
MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
MR. (b)(b), (b)(7)C] [b)(5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C).
MR. ZWONITZER: -- (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
MR. (b) (b), (b)(7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

| MR. ZWONITZER: $\quad$ ? |
| :--- |

        (indiscernible 00:42:56)
            SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (b), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) —.
    
SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) $--\quad$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
MR. ZWONITZER: $\quad$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)


(00:46:06)




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



MR. ZWONITZER: -- (b)(b) (0)(b). (0) (T)XC).



MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) --
MR. (b)(b), (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) On that vein, so when you were going to -- when you were meeting with Biden at these different places, the Naval Observatory, Chain Bridge Road, the lake house and Rehoboth, was he ever pulling material from like a filing cabinet or from like a folder? Like was he prepared like that for the meetings with you?

MR. ZWONITZER: I don't remember like sitting down and him having a stack of stuff.

SA (b) (6). (b) (7)(C) Can you just kind of go over what kind of paper material he would reference? You had mentioned like he had diaries or journals with him.

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.
SA (b)(6). (b)(7)(C) Do you recall him having anything besides those at your meetings?

MR. ZWONITZER: Well I would send to him like in preparation for the meeting, I would send him like here's some schedules and I even sent him like here's some, here's some newspaper articles from, you know, a trip to $\mathrm{X}, \mathrm{Y}$, or Z that he would -- I assume he would have read that before we sat down.

SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) okay.
MR. ZWONITZER: But I don't remember him having a bunch of -- other than the diary, I don't remember him pulling from notes.

SA (b) (6), (b)(7)(C) And the reason I'm asking is because we have seen some kind of hanging filing system and 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 like that to pull stuff out?

MR. (D) (6). (b) (f)C Like, at a desk drawer or safe.
MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. I don't. I don't remember that.

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

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

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



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(00:54:01)
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(00:54:56)
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MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F)



MR. (b) (6). (b) (7)(C) $\quad$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
SA (b) (6). (b) (7)(C) (b)(3), (0) (0). (b) (rxcy okay. When you were
visiting him in Wilmington did you ever go in the garage?
MR. ZWONITZER: I think one time he showed me his
Corvette.
SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay.
MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F)


MR. ZWONITZER: All I remember is that the --

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(00:56:27)
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MR. ZWONITZER: -- Corvette was inside.

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





MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
SA (b)(b). (b) (7) (c) [b)(5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
MR. ZWONITZER: I remember seeing the car. Idon't remember seeing anything else.SA (b)((). (b) (7) (C) (b) (b), (b)(6), (b) (7)(C)
(00:57:23)
MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b)(b), (b) (7)(C)
SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) [b)(b).(b)(6) (b)(7)(C)



SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F)
$\square ?$
MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F)
SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) $\square$
MR. ZWONITZER: $\quad$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

MR. ZWONITZER: $\quad$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F)
$\square$
MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F)
$S A$ (b)(6), (b)(7)Cl (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
$\square \square \square$

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(00:59:08)
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MR. ZWONITZER: (b)(5), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C)




SA (b)(b).(b)(7)CC) (b)(5), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C)


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

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

SA (b)(b). (b)(7)(C) (b) (5), (b)(b), (b) (7)(C)


MR. ZWONITZER: (b)(5), (b) (6), (b)(7)(C)
(01:00:07)
MR. ZWONITZER:
(b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

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


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


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

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



MR. ZWONITZER: Mnsmaname
(01:00:57)
SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

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


(01:02:31)

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

SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Mrame
MR. ZWONITZER: -- (b)(5), (b)(6), (b) (7)(C) $\square$

SA (b)(6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
$\square$
$S A$ (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F)


(01:03:26)

(01:04:32)


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

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

MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
(indiscernible 01:04:59)
(b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7) (C)

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


MR. 『ाणन(0)

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

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

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(01:05:28)
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    MR. (『) (b) (()) (T) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
    MR. ZWONITZER: (b)(5), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C).
    
MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

SA (b)(b).(b)(7)(c)

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




(01:06:28)

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


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

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

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


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

MR. (ण)(0), (0) (t) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)


MR. ZWONITZER: (0)(5) (b)(6) (b) (7)C].

MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) .
MR. (b)(6), (b)(v)c] (b)(3), (b)(5), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C)

MR. ZWONITZER: [nmancm
(01:07:23)

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

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



$\square$
MR. (『) (b), (b)(T)CCl (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)


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(01:08:24)
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MR. ZWONITZER: (b)(5), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C)

MR. (णाण), (ण)(TxC:



MR. ZWONITZER: Mwnismice

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







MR. ZWONITZER: (
MR. (B)(D) (0)(t)C]: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

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(01:09:17)
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MR. (b) (b). (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) Anrand Ad 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.

SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) okay. (b)(3), (b)(5), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C)
 went through your material that, you know, was years old. Was it only -- I guess I'm trying to figure out, at what point did you come across or remember that references to classified material?

MR. ZWONITZER: It would have been after the
 files, I didn't listen to anything again. I simply slid 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 (D)

SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay.
MR. ZWONITZER: I don't remember doing that.
MR. (b) (6). (b) (7)(C) $\quad$ (b)(3), (b)(5), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C)




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

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(01:13:59)
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    MR. (b)(0), (b)(7)(C) -- (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) ?
    MR. FREEMAN: (b) (5),(b) (6), (b)(7)(C)
    SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C
    MR. (0)(6).(b)(T)CM Mamunay
    SA (b)(6),(b)(7)(C) The time is 12:59.
(End of 230731_0075).
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(Start of 230731_0076.)
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    SA (b) (6), (b)(7)(C) It is 1:05 p.m., we're back on
    record.
MR. (b)(b). (b)(7)C] So I think before the break I asked
you a question about (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
MR. ZWONITZER: Mars.
MR. [b) (b). (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C).
MR. ZWONITZER: $\quad$ (b)(3), (b)(5), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C)

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

MR. ZWONITZER: $--\quad$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

MR. (b) (b), (b) (/)cl $\quad$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
$\square$ Yep, anything else, guys? Appreciate
your time. Is there other things -- is there something we
missed today? Either I didn't specifically ask. or that
you're -- that's on mind that I -- you have a sense of --

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(00:01:22)
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    MR. [D)(\sigma).(D)(7)(C) -- what we're interested in that
you can think of?
    MR. ZWONITZER: I do -- I mean, I would like to
just say that, you know, in my experience, long experience
with him, that President Biden has always been, in my
understanding, very careful about the, you know, sensitive
information that he carries around partly in his head every
day.
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    MR. (b) (6), (b)(7)C) Yeah.
    MR. ZWONITZER: And that was always great, sense
    of him having read it.
MR. (D) (b). (b) (t)




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

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(00:02:30)
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MR. ZWONITZER: (b)(5), (b)(6), (b) (7)(C)
MR. (D)(b) (b)(t)CC (b)(5), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C)
MR. ZWONITZER: [(0)(S) (0)(G) (0)(T) (C)





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




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

SA (b) (6). (b) (7)(C) Okay. The time is 1:08 and --
(00:03:22)
SA (b) (6), (b)(7)(C) -- this concludes the interview.
(End of 230731_0076.)

## 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.

August 4, 2023 Date

August 9, 2023 Date

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

Transcriber

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.


## RECORDING

(Begin Track 240104_1313)
SA [b)(6), (b)(7)(C) It is January 4, 2024. The time is approximately 2:03 p.m. And this is the second interview of Mark Zwonitzer.

MR. (b)(b), (b) (7) Good afternoon, Mr. Zwonitzer. Thanks for being with us again.

MR. ZWONITZER: Sure. Glad to be here.
MR. [(b)(b). (b)(7)(C) Again, my name is (b)(6).(b) (7)(C) with the Special Counsel's office. And this is our second time interviewing you as part of our investigation into potential mishandling of documents related to former Vice President Biden's Administration -- the Obama-Biden Administration.

Before we get started, we're going to record this, so we'll go around the room and all introduce ourselves so we can put names to voices, okay? So, again, I'm
(B)(b), (B)(f)KC from the Special Counsel's office.

MR. (b)(b), (b)(7)(C) [b)(6), (b) (7)(C), Special Counsel's office.

MR. (PNOF(0)VKCC [b) (6), (b) (7)(C) from the Special Counsel's office.

MR. (b)(b), (b) (b)C (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), Paralegal with the Special Counsel's Office.


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(00:01:06)
SA (b) (6), (b)(7)(C) -- the FBI. Nice to meet you, Mr. Zwonitzer.

MR. GINSBERG: And on our side, we have Lou
Ereemen representing Mr. Zwonitzer; Mr. Zwonitzer; and
Mr. Lee Ginsberg of Freemen, Nooter, and Ginsberg, also representing Mr. Zwonitzer.

MR. (D)(b).(b)(7)(C) Great. Thanks. Well,



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




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

MR. ZWONITZER: (0)(5).(0)(6).(0)(7)(C)
MR. (b)(b). (b) (7) C] (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
MR. ZWONITZER: Mn.
MR. (b)(6).(b)(Y) And last time, we showed you a couple emails that you had sent in September and October of 2016, where you reached out to (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

MR. ZWONITZER: Okay.
MR. (b) (6). (b)(7)Cl -- Vice President Biden's Chief of Staff, in advance to book -- set up interviews with Vice President Biden as part of the book, but also to get some help in pulling certain documents - schedules, diaries, notes - that might be related to your conversations to help aide in your conversations. Do you remember that?

MR. ZWONITZER: I mean, I don't remember it in particular, but that sounds accurate.

MR. (b) (b). (b)(7)(C) okay. $\quad$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
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MR. (D) (b). (D) (7)(C) -- President Biden? The process of obtaining documents that you could have used to help guide those interviews as you talked through the time period that was covered in the book or going to be covered in the book?

MR. ZWONITZER: Well, I just -- all I got were -from his office, I believe, were schedules.

MR. (D)(b).(b)(7)C] okay.
MR. ZWONITZER: That was the main thing I was getting so I could -- it was -- in the beginning, it was just, like, figuring out the chronology.

MR. [b)(6). (b)(7)C] Gotcha.
MR. ZWONITZER: They may have, in particular instances, sent me, you know, notes or something else, but I -- the schedules are what I generally, generally remember.

MR. (D)(6). (b) (7)C] [0)(b). (b)(6). (0)(7)C]
MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(c) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)



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

MR. (B)(B).(b)(7)CC) Okay. When you ended up sitting down with Biden, he had certain notebooks you've talked --
(00:04:25)
MR. (b)(0).(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)(b).(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)(b).(b)(7)C] Okay. And do you know why that was?

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

MR. (b)(6).(b)(7)(C) We have a transcript. I'11 try to scroll along with it as I play it, okay?

MR. GINSBERG: okay. One second. We want to get into the right --

MR. [b)(b). (b)(y)c] Oh, yeah. Sure for -- yep.
MR. FREEMEN: I don't think I have that. Oh, yes, I do. I'm sorry. I found that.

MR. (b)(b).(b)(7)C] Okay. You have it. Great.
Wonderful.
MR. FREEMEN: Yes, I found it.
MR. (b)(b). (b)(7)c] okay. Are you guys ready then? I'll play it.

MR. GINSBERG: Ready.
(Recording played.)
MR. GINSBERG: Can you hear us? We're not hearing anything.

MR. (D)(b). (b) (7)C) You guys can't hear it?
MR. GINSBERG: No.
MR. FREEMEN: Correct.
MR. GINSBERG: We don't hear that.
MR. [b)(6). (b) (7)c] mom, do you know how to share video or audio clips over -- I'm surprised you guys can't hear that. Or Promiveg ?

MR. FOFMOXG Yeah. I wonder if I can play it --
(00:08:11)
MR. जलिए (गणत -- just from my laptop, which is right next to the speaker here. I just got to get into the right folder.

MR. [b)(b).(b) That'd be great.
MR. PTVIT(OTVKC
MR. GINSBERG: That's why you need a 30 -year-old associate with you.

MR. (b)(b).(b)(7)CC (Laughs) This is what, this is what happens when you don't practice beforehand.

MR. GINSBERG: Yeah.
MR. PTO. (0) see if it works.

MR. (b)(b), (b)(7)C] Told you --
MR. शाना. (D) $\mathrm{C} \times \mathrm{XC}$ ) I --
MR. [b)(6).(b)(7) Told you we should have gone to New York.

MR. 『TV. (0)WC. Here, Mark, if you -- or anyone, just give a thumbs up if you can hear this once it starts playing.

MR. FREEMEN: Okay. Will do.
MR. Pinn (ovec It's not even playing for me. All
right. Well, that didn't work. That's weird.
MR. (b)(b).(b)(7)C] Valiant effort.
MR. [D)(b), (b) (7)(C) Hemiry can you try and play --
(00:09:16)
MR. (D) (6). (D) (7)(C) -- through JEFS?
MR. (
from, from SharePoint.
MR. (b) (6).(b)(\%)Cl okay.
MR. Mrar (oxac I wonder, I wonder if I just paste
this into my desktop or something, I don't know if it would go better.

MR. (B) (B) (w) Yeah. If you open it in a browser, it worked well for me yesterday.

MR. PT(F) (0)w Oh, in the Team's browser?
MR. (B)(b). (D) (FCH) Yeah. If you open up from
SharePoint into a browser, it worked well for me.
MR. P(V) (PTVKC okay.
MR. (B)(B).(b)CCI I'm going to try to connect on mine as well.

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 to play is from one of the interviews you did with vice President Biden in around October 2016.

MR. ZWONITZER: Okay.
MR. [b)(6).(b)(T)C] And I believe it was at the Naval Observatory while he was still vice President.

MR. ZWONITZER: Okay.
(Audio played $00: 10: 59$ to $00: 11: 01$.
(00:11:01)
MR. इ(B) (0)WG Is that -- let me pause it.
MR. (b) (b). (b) (7)(C) Yeah.
MR. P(0) (0xych Is that through -- okay, okay. I'm going to start back at the beginning then. Sorry.

MR. PTOTDUXG 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)(t)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.

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. P)(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)CC -- these personal diaries.
MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. I don't think anybody knew he had those.

MR. [D(6).(b)(y)c] Okay. And why do you say that?
MR. ZWONITZER: Well, because he always was very careful to keep them in his possession.

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

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(00:16:12)
MR. ZWONITZER: Right.
MR. [D)(b). (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. (D)(b). (b)(7)CC 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)(b), (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. (D)(b). (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)


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(00:18:59)


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(00:19:55)

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





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(00:21:15)
MR. ग(5) (b) [b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

MR. (b)(b). (b) (7) (C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
SA (b) (6). (b)(7)(C) Yeah. Just for the part where he says, they don't even know I have these, and your assumption was the staff; was that relevant to you in terms of collecting material? Like, I'm trying to figure out why he would make that kind of comment. And maybe it's something like you had asked the staff to collect a bunch of notes or items that would help inform the book and he's telling you, yeah, they don't even know I have these. Like, how -- I'm trying to figure out how that might've been relevant to your conversation.

MR. ZWONITZER: I actually don't -- I mean, six years ago, looking and listening, I just, I don't, I don't know.

SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay.
MR. ZWONITZER: But I mean, there was certainly staff people helping to gather information. So that's my assumption, that the staff didn't know yet.

SA (b)(6), (b)(7)(C) Okay.
MR. ZWONITZER: These were personal and private diaries.

MR. (b)(b).(b)(7)(C) Right. $\quad$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

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

MR. (D)(b).(b)(7)CD All right. Thank you.
(Audio played $00: 23: 59$ to $00: 25: 23$.)

MR. (b)(6).(b)(7)(C) okay. So we want to ask you a few about these. Mark, are these the notes -- these are the notes on his lunch meetings with President Obama; is that right?

MR. ZWONITZER: Correct.
MR. (b) (b). (b)(7)(C) That he's discussing here.
MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.
MR. (b)(b). (b)(T)CC Okay. And he said -- first off, he said, I'm told by Primpmang Is that (b)(5).(b)(6).(b)(7)(C)?

MR. (b) (6). (b) (7)C] Is that --
MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C).
MR. (D)(b).(b)(7)(C) Oh, (b)(5),(b)(6), (b)(7)(C), sorry. His, his body man?

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah, I think that's who that was.
MR. (b)(b). (b)(7) Ok, Hoy. How about McGrail? Do you
know who McGrail is?
MR. ZWONITZER: I don't, I don't know --
MR. (D)(b).(b)(7)(C) Okay.
MR. ZWONITZER: -- who McGrail is. I'm assuming
he was -- you know, I don't know.
MR. [b)(b). (b) (7)(C) okay. And then, as you heard, he's talking to $(\mathrm{B}(\mathrm{B})(\mathrm{B})(\mathrm{B})(\mathrm{B})(\mathrm{xC})$ on this, his assistant.

MR. ZWONITZER: Yep.
(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)(b).(b) (/)C] And you said they were probably something that goes to the presidential papers.

MR. ZWONITZER: Mm-hmm.
MR. (b)(b).(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. (D)(b). (b)(7)(C) Okay.

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

MR. ZWONITZER: -- basically it.
MR. [D)(b).(b)(7)(C) He said I -- when you said they're probably in your presidential records, he said, I don't think so. It was in between -- I didn't want to turn them in.

MR. ZWONITZER: Mm-hmm.
MR. [(b)(b). (b) (7)(C) Why didn't he want to turn them in?
MR. ZWONITZER: Oh, I have no idea. But -- I just
don't know.
MR. [D(6). (b) (7)C] Okay.
MR. ZWONITZER: But I know they ended up at the Archives, because that's where he accessed them.

MR. [b)(b).(b)(7)C] And that was those trips to the National Archives in the spring and summer of 2017?

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. It was more like -- yeah, that's rights.

MR. (b)(b), (b)(7)(C) okay. okay. Did you get the --
MR. ZWONITZER: Did you --
MR. (b) (6). (b) (7)(C) -- sense he was --
MR. ZWONITZER: I'm sorry. Did you say this was
January of (indiscernible 00:28:07) --
MR. (b)(b), (b)(7)(C) I, I didn't say when it was. It's after he left office. I, I --

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.
(00:28:15)
MR. (b)(b).(b)(7)C] I believe it's in the spring or early 2017 sometime.

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. Yeah. I mean, I think there was a lot of paper flying around and they were trying to figure out where, where this landed.

MR. (b) (6). (b)(7)(C) Did the Vice President, did he seem annoyed or irritated that some of those records had to be -he had to go to National Archives to look at them, especially things like his one-on-one lunches -- notes on his one-on-one lunches with President Obama.

MR. ZWONITZER: I mean, he didn't seem annoyed. He's, like, a pretty game guy. He's going to go do what he has to do. I can't -- I've seen him annoyed about things, but that was not one of them.

MR. [D(6). (b) (/)ç Okay.
MR. ZWONITZER: It was a pretty simple trip for him to make, I think.

MR. [D)(b).(D)(7)C] Okay. And did you go with him to the National Archives?

MR. ZWONITZER: I did not.
MR. [b) (6). (b) (7)CT Pr:
MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

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MR. P(0) (0) meant to you?

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

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

MR. ग(ज) (ग) OXCM 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. (ア0) (0)rch 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. PTV. (OTVKC Okay.

MR. ZWONITZER: I mean, I don't think I brought any particular understanding to that.

MR. Prok you know, when we listen to it, it sounded like you said the gray area, which sort of led us to wonder if he had spoken to 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 were handled. Does that -- do you remember any discussions with him about, about what he thought was a gray area?

MR. ZWONITZER: I don't. No.
MR. गणना (गTMC okay.
MR. ZWONITZER: I don't remember anything about that.

MR. ग(F) (D) (TxC) Okay.
MR. (b)(6).(b)(7)C] All right. Does anyone have any more follow-up on that? If not, we'll move on.
mand I think the next one that makes sense to play is the one from April 24th of 2017.
 It sort of relates to the last topic about --

MR. (D) (6). (b)(7)Cl Yeah.
MR. PTOTVITXC -- 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 --

MR. P(F) (DVKG -- might help just to hear as opposed to pulling up the transcript itself. I think --

MR. ZWONITZER: Okay.
MR. P(ज) (DTry 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 $00: 35: 39$.)
 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)
MR. ZWONITZER: -- diaries?
MR. PTV. (ovex Yeah. So man had said, you can't photocopy them. You said, no, no, he did at one point, like, I know there were, and then, no. And I was wondering, you know, even if he did not photocopy them, were you recalling, like, were there discussions about creating photocopies that you heard about that his staff were having, or anything like that?

MR. ZWONITZER: No. I -- again, I don't think the staff really knew about it, except maybe -- I may have said
 photocopying that stuff. But, again, I mean, it was kind of a -- it was a hard no from Biden on that. I mean, because I think I mentioned this, and I think I pushed a couple of times just because of the timeframe we were in, and he really was -- he was, you know, courteous about it, but he was, he was pretty adamant.



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MR. ZWONITZER:


MR. PTO. (Drych okay. लrnacy so it was April --
MR. (D) (b). (b) (7)(C) Yeah. It's --
MR. PTV. (P)VKC --24 --
MR. [b) (6). (b) (7)C] I think it's listed -- it's April
24th of 2017. It's labeled 170424, I believe, in the
folder. It's -- that's the next clip.
MR. P(ज. (D)
MR. (b)(b). (b)(7)(C) And I'll bring up the transcript for all of us to 100 k at.

(Audio played $00: 38: 16$ to $00: 38: 16$.)
MR. (b) (b)
MR. (D)(b). (D) (7)CT Go ahead. Thanks.
(Audio played $00: 38: 32$ to $00: 40: 44$.)
MR. (D)(G), (b) (TXC) All right. Thanks, Mark (verbatim). So, again, I think this is what you were referring to earlier.

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.
MR. (D)(b).(b)(7)(C) Where Biden explained to you his process for taking notes on his lunches with President --
(00:40:57)
MR. (b)(6).(b) (7)(C) -- Obama; is that right?
MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah, that's right.
MR. [B)(b).(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. (D) (b). (b) (T)CC) 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 24 th, 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 --

MR. ZWONITZER: -- this meeting, talking about the January 5th lunch. So those are the papers that he's -those are the -- the rustling papers are the papers that I had prepared and given to him.

MR. (b)(6). (b)(f)CM Okay, I understand. He goes on to confirm that he has separate, separate notes on these lunches, as we discussed earlier.

MR. ZWONITZER: Mm-hmm.
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 guess those were the diaries that were in the safe at the Observatory.

MR. [b)(b). (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. [D)(6).(b)(7)(c) Okay. You never saw him go into --

MR. (b) (b).(b)(7)C] -- a safe at the Naval Observatory?
MR. ZWONITZER: I did not.
MR. [b)(b).(b)(7)(C) Okay. Or anywhere else?
MR. ZWONITZER: I don't know that I've ever in my life seen anybody go into a safe except for in a movie.

MR. (b)(6).(b)(7)(C) (Laughs.) Okay. All right. Does anyone have any follow-up on this one? Nope?
(Phone ringing.)
MR. (b) (6). (b)(7)C] Inang I noticed two of the new ones are 590. Do you want to cover those ones now?

MR. (T)TOTVXC Yeah. We might (indiscernible $00: 44: 14)$ but, Mark, maybe I can just describe -- there's a couple instances, again, where it sounds like -- I just wanted to make sure. I think you just confirmed it, but I -- just to be sure. In April of 2017, where it sounds like you're kind of directing him to pages of things. Is that just -- and referring to it as his diary. Would you refer to, like, your transcriptions of his verbally reciting to you his diary as his diary when you would speak to him?

MR. ZWONITZER: I think I would say it was -- this is from the diary maybe. I don't remember.

MR. P(O) (OTMCS 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 --

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(00:45:17)
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MR. ZWONITZER:
(b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

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


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


There's actually two clips. And, Mark, 556 are from
February 16th of 2017. And I know we covered this --

MR. (b) (b). (b)(7)C] -- interview, this conversation last time we met.

MR. ZWONITZER: Okay.
MR. [b)(6).(b) (7)C] And this is, again, February 16 th of 2017 , at his rental property, the house on Chain Bridge Road --

MR. ZWONITZER: Okay.
MR. [b)(b). (b)(7)(C) -- in McLean, Virginia. And this is the clip. You'll recall we talked about where he, he says he just found all the classified downstairs.

MR. ZWONITZER: Okay.
MR. (b)(b).(b)(7)(C) There's a couple clips from that. They're a little lengthier and not all squarely relevant, but I want to play them for you just to see -- just so we can talk a little bit about this and see if it jogs any memories.

MR. ZWONITZER: Okay.
MR. [b)(b).(b)(7)C] Okay?
MR. ZWONITZER: Yes.
MR. © (6).(b)(V)Cl All right, excellent. And then
I'll bring up the transcript again like last time.
MR. ZWONITZER: Okay.
 whenever you have it up.

MR. [B)(B). (o) (wx) Thanks,
 little louder. Let me restart it.

MR. (b) (6). (b)(7)c) Great.
(Audio played $00: 47: 48$ to $00: 54: 21$.)
MR. (b)(0). (D)(7)C] All right. That ends that first clip. And we cut out a little bit, but to summarize, Mark, it seems he's telling you an anecdote about a debate with Edward Teller of --

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.
MR. (b) (6). (b)(7)c) -- hydrogen bomb fame. Do you recall that incident or that anecdote?

MR. ZWONITZER: It's hard to forget debating Edward Teller, right? I'm assuming -- I would assume this is -- I mean, I think this is probably in the 70 s or something.

MR. (b)(b).(b)(7)(C) Yeah. I was actually trying to find it on YouTube. I would like to see those debates.

MR. GINSBERG: Were they really 100 feet apart?
MR. (b)(6), (b)(7)C] I don't know. Interesting. And then he transitions back to his -- it looks like that one, he's just telling the story from memory.

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.
MR. [D)(G).(D) (7)(C) And then he turns back to one of --

MR. (b)(b).(D)(7)C] -- his diaries or one of his notebooks and starts talking about a meeting on the debate in Afghanistan and Iraq and other issues; is that right?

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. That's what it looks like.
MR. [b)(b). (b)(7) Okay. And he's about to talk -- to 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.

MR. P(0) (ovice All right. I think I got it, got it ready, frows so whenever you're ready.

MR. (D)(b).(b)(7)C] Excellent. Yeah. All right. Go, go ahead. This one's much shorter, Mark.
(Audio played $00: 55: 55$ to $00: 56: 51$.)
MR. (b)(b). (b)(7)CC 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.
MR. [b)(b).(b)(7)C] I mean, having gone through that, can you tell us what you recall about this and what he --

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MR. (b) ( 0 ).(b)(7)C] -- was talking about during this clip?

MR. ZWONITZER: So is that all, is that all one -from one session?

MR. (b)(b). (b) (7)C] It --
MR. ZWONITZER: And was it --
MR. (D) (b). (b) (7)(C) It is.
MR. ZWONITZER: -- like, off the back? That's all
the --
MR. [0)(6).(b)(7)C] It is. We clipped off, like, 20 seconds just because of the sensitive nature of the four points that he made. So this is all one -- it could have been one document.

MR. ZWONITZER: Okay.
MR. [b)(6).(b)(7)C] We just skipped a little clip and then we cut off --

MR. ZWONITZER: All right.
MR. [D)(b).(b)(7)(C) We didn't want to play the whole thing.

MR. ZWONITZER: Got it. Understood.
MR. (b)(6).(b)(7)C] But it's all one big, it's all one big thought.

MR. ZWONITZER: Okay. So yeah. It's hard to tell. I think it's, it's -- this is a time when he was --
(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 7 th.

MR. (b)(6). (b)(y)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)Cl -- 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)(b). (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. (D)(b),(b)(7)(C) What do you mean the McChrystal -FREE STATE REPORTING, INC. Court Reporting Transcription
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MR. (b) (6). (D) (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) 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. (D)(b), (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)(b). (b)(7)CC When you listen to this. It sounds like whatever classified stuff he found downstairs was --
(01:00:49)
MR. (b) (6). (b)(7)(C) -- on this topic; is that right? In early '09? Documents related to that timeframe, that debate.

MR. ZWONITZER: It sounds like. But, again, I have no memory and no -- I never saw -- you know, I never saw any of these things. He never said, oh, let me show you this. You know, I just saw -- I don't know what was the nature of that material.

MR. (b) (6). (b)(7)C] That hand-page -- that handwritten 40-page memo, you've -- have you heard, read about this and --

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.
MR. (D)(b).(D)(7)CD It's sort of a historical event that happened.

MR. ZWONITZER: I think that's been in the -- in many books and a lot of press and newspaper coverage.

MR. (b)(b).(b)(7)(C) And do you know whether Biden kept it or has it as a historical artifact or in his own archives?

MR. ZWONITZER: I have no idea if he kept it. I don't know.

MR. (b)(6).(b)(7)(C) He's never shown it to you, I take it.

MR. ZWONITZER: I've never seen it.

MR. (D) (6). (b)(7)(C) okay.
Does anyone have any follow-up on this one?
MR. (D)(b). (b)(7)CC Not from me, Frim

MR. Prar. (owx Just maybe a quick point of
clarification. Mark, it sounded like you said that you hadn't talked about -- with Biden about Afghanistan with regard to this book. But with regard to other books, have you spoken to him about Afghanistan at all or any other discussions about his role in that debate?

MR. ZWONITZER: Well, we talked a lot about Afghanistan in his -- in the first book that we did. But, but that predated '09. But, I mean, he was very -- like, he was the first person into Afghanistan after the war. So, yes, we had discussions about Afghanistan, but it was before this time period.

MR. गति. (P)VEG okay.
SA (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)

SA (b)(b).(b)(7)C] (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)



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




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


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



MR. (D)(b). (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 --

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MR. [b) (b). (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. (D) (b). (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. (D)(b).(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. [D)(b).(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)(b).(b)(7)C] And we talked about -- in
particular, there were several trips that he took in the --
(01:07:46)
MR. [b)(b). (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. (D)(b).(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. (D) (b). (b) (7) (C) And the Bates, for the record --
(01:09:16)
MR. (b) (b). (b)(7)CT -- 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)(/)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. (D)(6). (b) (F)CT And --
MR. ZWONITZER: I wish I had --
MR. (b) (b). (b)(7)CI Yeah.
MR. ZWONITZER: -- at the time. But, no.
MR. (b)(6).(b) (7) 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)
MR. (b) (6). (b)(7)C] -- during his trip to the Soviet Union.

MR. ZWONITZER: Yep. Nope. Never saw any of this.

MR. D(b). (b)(7)C] Okay.
MR. ZWONITZER: This is not the type of things you saw when you were writing Promises to Keep?

MR. ZWONITZER: No. It was literally, like, you know, press releases, speeches. The -- any trip information would be his official reports, you know, that went to the Senate at large, I think, or generally, you know, went to the public.

MR. (D)(b). (b)(7)CC Okay. Here's another one. This is 1B18 Itinerary Germany Redweld. It's a Redweld containing information on a trip he took to Germany in 1979. Anything like this?

MR. ZWONITZER: I never saw this, no.
MR. (D)(b).(D)(7)(C) Okay.
MR. ZWONITZER: I know we talked about that trip, but he didn't -- that's not something I got.

MR. [b)(6).(b)(7)C] Okay. You said you wished you
would have been able to see that stuff. Why is that?
MR. ZWONITZER: I mean, it makes it much more interesting to write it, you know?

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(01:11:35)
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you know, if you can wrote about those Soviet generals, you
know, that's interesting, but I never got to see that.
MR. (0)(6). (b) (V) Okay. All right. That's not the
type of stuff you saw.
(b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

MR. [b)(b). (b)(7)c] $\quad$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
MR. स्राणालगयद - (b) (5), (b) (b), (b) (7)(C)

MR. (



(01:12:43)



MR. ZWONITZER: [B)(6), (B)(6), (B) (7)(C).
MR. (P) (b) (D) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)



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(01:13:45)
MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6). (b) (7)(C)



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

$\square$
MR. (एव(), (b)(t)Cl (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
MR. ZWONITZER: (b)(5),(b)(6).,(b)(7)(C)


$\square$
MR. ZWONITZER: (b)(5). (b)(b).(b) (7)(C)


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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. (D) (b). (b)(T)(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)(b). (b)(7)C] Thanks,
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 --

SA (b) (6), (b)(7)(C) -- could discuss with you and what kind of things he couldn't? And to the similar question of when he says classified, is that -- is it your understanding that that's National Security classified, or does that mean, you know, I just want this off the record?

MR. ZWONITZER: I don't -- I mean, I don't know. I don't think I can answer that question from thinking about what was happening six years ago. I just don't have any strong memory of that.

SA (b)(6).(b)(7)(C) So you guys didn't have any discussions about what the term classified meant, or if you could be writing about it or recording it?

MR. ZWONITZER: No, we didn't have any specific discussions about that.

SA (b)(6). (b)(7)(C) Do you have any general memories about discussing that topic?

MR. ZWONITZER: I mean, it seems like I was aware that the then Vice President and the staff were having discussions about that topic but, you know, I was not privy to those and not part of those.

SA (b) (6), (b)(7)(C) Talk about that a little more. What do you mean by that, that the vice President and his staff were having discussions about it?

MR. ZWONITZER: I mean, I just -- I don't know --
(01:19:14)
MR. ZWONITZER: -- except that they were just being careful.

SA (b) (6). (b) (7)(C) So but they were being careful about what?

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

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

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

SA (b) (6). (b) (7)(C) Maybe if you could describe more 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)
MR. ZWONITZER: I'm trying to think of a specific event or something and I just -- I can't. What makes me aware of it is that, also, he would be careful as we spoke about what he could -- you know, what he had to jump over, what he could say and what he could not.

SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) okay. But any more about, kind of, the staff involvement?

MR. ZWONITZER: I don't know anything about the staff involvement of that, of the -- I don't know anything 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 - [Bा(B)(D) (Cx), 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.
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)(T)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.
(End Track 240104_1313.)
(Begin Track 240104_1447.)
SA (b) (6), (b)(7)(C) Okay. It is 3:37. We're back
from break.

SA (b)(6). (b)(7)(C) It is 3:37, and we're back from break.

So before we went on the break, we were talking about discussions that you might have had with former vice President Biden about material that you should or shouldn't include in your, in your work. And because that they were -- it was government information or it was, you know, sensitive or classified information. And I just wanted to reset --

MR. GINSBERG: I don't mean to interrupt you, but that's not what -- where we were. And I don't think that question was asked. You certainly could ask it, but it's not where with were before the break.

SA (b) (6). (b) (7)(C) So maybe this is the confusion, because that's the question that I was trying to ask. And then your response to it was that you and the Vice President didn't have specific discussions regarding the use of classified; is that correct?

MR. ZWONITZER: I don't remember any specific 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)
MR. ZWONITZER: -- provide me.
SA (b) (6), (b)(7)(C) Okay.
MR. (D)(b).(b)(7)(C) Do you say that -- Mark, there's a fairly limited amount of material that you were actually provided outside of the oral interviews that -- things that Vice President Biden said to you or read to you; is that right?

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.
MR. (b)(6). (b)(7)C] Is that what you mean, that they -it was very limited in the world of stuff that they actually gave you?

MR. ZWONITZER: Yes. I mean, you know, like, the schedules or whatever. But, yes, everything's -- I mean, yes, it was limited.

SA (b)(6). (b)(7)(C) Okay.
MR. (b)(6). (b) (7) And when you said -- when you say they're being careful, it was because they didn't give you very much. Not because they were, like, close to -- or was it because they were close to a line and there were things that were sensitive and they were debating whether or not they could give it to you?

MR. ZWONITZER: I just didn't get much material.
MR. [D)(b).(b)(7)(C) Okay.
SA (b) (6). (b)(7)(C) okay. That's helpful because --
(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. इलि).(DIVCG 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 --

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 $\mathrm{X}, \mathrm{Y}$, 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. P(0) (i)rwe 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. ( 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 --

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. ZWONITZER: I'm sure it did.
MR. P(O)rovicc 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.
 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. P(0) (ovrce 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)
 in that instance?

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

MR. Prar. (ox rxG That's what it sounded like on the recording.

MR. ZWONITZER: I just -- I don't know --
MR. Pण0)(0TVKC okay.
MR. ZWONITZER: -- what was in his head.
MR. PT(0)rox 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. (P) Formg 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. (िलित्राल 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. $\operatorname{P}(\vec{\sigma})(\operatorname{Di}(\mathrm{xC})$ 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. (D)(b). (b) (7)(C) Anything else?
MR. PTVIF(OTMCS No.
MR. (D) (6). (b) (F)Cl All right.

MR. [b)(b). (b) (7)(C) Go ahead.
MR. Pror.

MR. गणना:गणKC (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

MR. ZWONITZER:


MR. PTOR (Drych okay. There's a line -- in case it jogs your memory, there's a line where Biden says, don't write this down. I think I've got to clear it. Does that sound familiar? Do you remember him saying that to you ever, or something like that?

MR. ZWONITZER: It sounds familiar.
MR. Prormpxg okay. And he -- do you remember having any reaction to that or an understanding of what he meant when he would say, I think I've got to clear it?

MR. ZWONITZER: No, I don't know what that -- I don't know, you know, what that means exactly.

MR. PTV. Pगrxch okay. I think that's it for me.



MR. (D)(6). (b)(y) Nope.



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(00:13:36)
MR. ZWONITZER: (b)(5).(b)(6), (b)(7)(C)

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




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


MR. (b)(b). (b) (7)C] Okay. You said you were aware of our -- of the investigation, the Special Counsel 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. [D)(b). (D) (7)(C) Why didn't you delete the --
(00:16:45)

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


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(00:18:09)
MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)


MR. (D)(b). (b)(7)(C) I guess I'll just ask you. Were you trying to obstruct our investigation or prevent Special Counsel or Department of Justice investigators from getting ahold of them?

MR. ZWONITZER: No, I was not. And in fact, you know, when I got the subpoena and when I realized that I still had audio that I did not know I had on the laptop, I made sure to preserve that for this investigation.

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


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


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

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(00:19:50)
MR. ZWONITZER:
(b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7) (C)





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(00:21:03)
MR. (P) took notes, did you receive or get to look at the notes he took while he was there by any chance?

MR. ZWONITZER: Later. He read orally -- read them to me orally --

MR. ZWONITZER: -- the notes he took from the

Archives.

MR. ZWONITZER: I assume that it was. And I think
it's on -- in the materials that you have, the transcripts and that sort of thing.

MR. P(0) (0)VKC okay.
MR. ZWONITZER: I can't remember. It would have been right after the -- you know, right after his trip to the Archives.

MR. ZWONITZER: Whatever that date is.

MR. Donnex Do you remember what physical medium he used to take those notes at the Archives, at least as he read them to you?

MR. ZWONITZER: I don't.
MR. PTV. (PTVKC okay.
MR. GINSBERG: Point of clarification: the --

MR. GINSBERG: -- notes might have been typed up by ${ }^{\text {Pancmil before you saw them. I don't -- }}$

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. I'm not sure. And I don't even know if he -- I mean, I can't even say for sure that he -- I think he did, was he actually too notes of the lunches. You know, of the non-classified parts of the lunches that he had. That's my memory of that.

MR. PTV) (0TVKC okay.
MR. ZWONITZER: But I don't even -- I'm assuming he took notes of that and that's what he read to me.

MR. (b)(b). (b)(f)c] Mark, you just referred to the non-classified portions of the luncheons. What did you mean by that?

MR. ZWONITZER: Well, I think he said -- I think it's on the transcript somewhere that I read recently where he said, this is the non-classified portion of the luncheons. In other words, this is the notes I could take.

MR. [D)(b).(D)(7)C] Oh. Is that why the notes had to be held at the National Archives, because some of them were classified?

MR. ZWONITZER: I don't know.
MR. (b) (b). (b)(7)CC) okay.
MR. ZWONITZER: I thought they were just a matter of presidential, presidential records.


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(00:24:48)
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(00:30:04)
MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
$S A$ (b) (6). (b) (7)(C) (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

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

MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
$\square$
SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (5). (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
MR. PT(0). (0)wKC (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
SA [b) (6), (b) (7)(C) I also had a question. So, Mark, I wanted to ask you if during your work, was this instance the first time you felt your -- you or your work were at risk of being hacked or leaked?

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

But I was kind of hyperaware of that at the time because of the having just finished the Pegasus book, which is about the most, you know, frightful cybersurveillance tool, you know, on the market out there right now. So I had a heightened sense of awareness of what was happening and what could be done.

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

MR. P(0) (गrrch 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. P(0) (0)VKC And how come?
MR. ZWONITZER: I mean, I just -- it just does.
MR. Pronmwx 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. P(0) (owxcs Okay. All right. Thanks. That's all from me.

MR. [b)(b). (b)(7)C] (b)(5) (0) (3), (b) (VXC)
(b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

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MR. ZWONITZER: [b)(b).(b)(b).(b)(Y)(C)
MR. FREEMEN: [b)(5), (b)(6), (b) (7)(C)
MR. GINSBERG: (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

MR. ZWONITZER: $\quad$ (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
$\square$


(End Track 240104_1447.)

## 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 Date

January 17, 2024 Date

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

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.

