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RECORDED INTERVIEW BETWEEN

(b) (6), (b) (7)(C), FBI SPECIAL AGENT

(b) (6), (b) (7)(C), FBI SPECIAL AGENT

(b) (6), (b) (7)(C), ASSISTANT SPECIAL COUNSEL

(b) (6), (b) (7)(C), ASSISTANT SPECIAL COUNSEL

MARK ZWONITZER, WITNESS

LOUIS FREEMAN, ATTORNEY

LEE GINSBURG, ATTORNEY

File: 230731_0074

230731_0075

230731_0076

Date: Monday, July 31, 2023

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R E C O R D I N G

(Start of 230731_0074.)

SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C): The date is July 31, 2023, and the time is 9:27 a.m. and this is an interview with Mark Zwonitzer.

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

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

SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C): (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) (6), (b) (7)(C): Great. Well thanks a lot.

MR. ZWONITZER: Sure.

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

1 (00:00:51)

2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C): I'll reiterate what I said before.
3 Obviously, the big rule here is you have to tell the truth,
4 and that at any point you feel like you -- it's hard to do
5 that or there's a question you either don't understand or
6 you need a break before you answer it by all means just say
7 can we take a break or ask me to reframe the questions.

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

11 MR. ZWONITZER: Got it.

12 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C): Any questions for us?

13 MR. ZWONITZER: No.

14 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C): All right. Then we'll get going.
15 All right. Can you tell us just a little bit about
16 yourself? Where are you from?

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

18 [REDACTED]

19 [REDACTED].

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

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

22 [REDACTED]

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

24 [REDACTED]

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

1 (00:01:40)

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

3 [REDACTED]

4 [REDACTED]

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

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

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

8 [REDACTED]

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

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

11 [REDACTED]

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

13 [REDACTED]

14 [REDACTED]

15 [REDACTED]

16 [REDACTED]

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

18 [REDACTED]

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

20 [REDACTED]

21 [REDACTED]

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

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

24 [REDACTED]

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

1 (00:02:23)

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

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

4 [REDACTED]

5 [REDACTED]

6 [REDACTED]

7 [REDACTED]

8 [REDACTED]

9 [REDACTED]

10 [REDACTED]

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

12 [REDACTED]

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

14 [REDACTED]

15 [REDACTED]

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

17 [REDACTED]

18 [REDACTED]

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

20 [REDACTED]

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

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

23 [REDACTED]

24 [REDACTED]

25 [REDACTED]

1 (00:03:14)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 (00:04:05)

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

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

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

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

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

3 [REDACTED]

4 [REDACTED]

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

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

7 [REDACTED]

8 [REDACTED]

9 [REDACTED]

10 [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

11 [REDACTED]

12 [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

13 [REDACTED]

14 [REDACTED]

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

16 [REDACTED]

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

18 [REDACTED]

19 [REDACTED]

20 [REDACTED]

21 [REDACTED]

22 [REDACTED]

23 [REDACTED]

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

25 [REDACTED]

1 (00:06:43)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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1 (00:07:49)

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

3 [REDACTED]
4 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

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

7 [REDACTED]
8 [REDACTED]
9 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

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

11 [REDACTED]
12 [REDACTED]
13 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) That's great. All right. I assume
14 that is when you first met Joe Biden; is that right?

15 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

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

17 MR. ZWONITZER: I met him very, sort of,
18 glancingly in '87. But I spent a lot of time in Scranton,
19 for instance, talking to his childhood buddies, like (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
20 [REDACTED] (ph.) and (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (ph.) and going to his house
21 on North Washington Street and sort of getting to know the
22 world of Scranton and Claymont that he, that he grew up in.
23 I spent a lot of time with folks from the judiciary staff.
24 But I didn't spend much time at all with him. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) and
25 President Biden were actually -- got to be quite close --

1 (00:08:56)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: -- but I didn't know him much at
3 that point.

4 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. Okay. You met him later?

5 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

6 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. How did that happen?

7 MR. ZWONITZER: So when he was thinking about
8 writing a memoir in -- this would have been at the end of
9 2004, (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) put him in touch with our agent, (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
10 And she helped sell that first book. She asked me, you
11 know, what do you think about it? He needs somebody, a
12 collaborator on this, and I was very busy at the time. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
13 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
14 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) but I went down and met
15 with him and talked to him about the possibility of working
16 with him. And we sort of hit it off and I thought, in spite
17 of everything else going on this is a really interesting
18 window into, not just his life but -- that I already knew,
19 but, you know, how does the Senate work, just that basic
20 thing that was --

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

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

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

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

25 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) --

1 (00:10:12)

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

3 [REDACTED].

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

5 [REDACTED]

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

7 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) You started working on the book
8 with Biden in, you know, '04, '05.

9 MR. ZWONITZER: 2004.

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

11 [REDACTED]

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

13 [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

14 [REDACTED]

15 [REDACTED]

16 [REDACTED]

17 [REDACTED]

18 [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

19 [REDACTED]

20 [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

21 [REDACTED]

22 [REDACTED]

23 [REDACTED]

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

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

1 (00:11:22)

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

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

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5 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. All right. So I want to
6 talk to you about Biden, but before I do I want to cover,
7 like I promised before, this, the -- these audio recordings.

8 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

9 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) I just want to get this out of the
10 way so we can do the rest --

11 MR. ZWONITZER: Okay. I'm listening.

12 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- of the interview so it's not
13 hanging over there. So I -- just to kind of set the table,
14 I know this spring we (b) (3), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- well (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) reached out to
15 you.

16 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

17 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And just sort of a (b) (3), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
18 and you've heard for stuff related to the books you
19 have written along with Joe Biden. And you produced some
20 stuff, and we later learned that some of these recordings
21 that you had had been -- you had --

22 MR. ZWONITZER: Right.

23 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) You had deleted them. Can you just
24 tell us what happened?

25 MR. ZWONITZER: Yes, I can.

1 (00:12:05)

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

3 MR. ZWONITZER: So a lot of sort of odd, creepy
4 things have been happening since Biden was nominated
5 president. I -- you know there -- I had received some sort
6 of vaguely threatening emails from some right-wing
7 anti-Biden groups that clearly had come through, like, the
8 Hunter Biden laptop business. They somehow had got my name
9 and email through that. Some very personal, private
10 conversations that I had had (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
11 had been publicly put out on
12 the internet, again by someone who I don't know who it was.
13 A lot of the Hunter stuff was sort of being, you know,
14 without any shame or compunction being put out, spread out
15 all over the internet. So I was very concerned about the
16 possibility of being hacked. I was very concerned about the
17 possibility of this audio spread all over the place. And
18 the audio, my chief concern at the time -- and I'll explain
19 the timing -- was really, was a lot of personal and
20 emotional stuff about Beau. There's a lot of very raw
21 discussions about other people in his circle and it
22 concerned me that the idea that that would be the --
23 immediacy of the human voice is out there on the internet
24 and spread around. And so this was -- I simply took the
25 audio files subfolder from both the G drive and my --

1 (00:14:00)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: -- laptop and slid them into the
3 trash. I saved all the transcripts and getting rid of the
4 audio is something that's not -- it's something I do as a,
5 as a rule anyway. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

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

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

15 MR. ZWONITZER: Slide that --

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

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

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

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

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

25 (b)(3), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C) --

1 (00:15:20)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: Correct.

3 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- (b)(3), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C) and (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) reached out
4 to you. But after news of Biden being investigated for
5 mishandling and having a special --

6 MR. ZWONITZER: I was aware.

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

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

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

15 MR. ZWONITZER: I actually didn't think it would
16 involve me. But yes, I was --

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

18 MR. ZWONITZER: -- I was aware.

19 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And I'm not trying to give you a
20 hard time but you can --

21 MR. ZWONITZER: No, no, no.

22 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- understand, you know, look, the
23 outside observer is going to look at this and say Mark
24 Zwonitzer, President Biden's friend, ghostwriter,
25 collaborator learned of the special counsel's --

1 (00:16:14)

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

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

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

12 MR. ZWONITZER: Yes.

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

15 MR. ZWONITZER: Okay.

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

19 MR. ZWONITZER: Okay.

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

22 MR. ZWONITZER: Um, no.

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

25 MR. ZWONITZER: Oh, when I --

1 (00:16:54)

2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) When you --

3 MR. ZWONITZER: Oh no, no, no. This was long
4 before. I told no one.

5 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Setting aside the two gentlemen
6 sitting here, your attorneys --

7 MR. ZWONITZER: Right.

8 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- did you tell anyone after you
9 did it, that you had done it?

10 MR. ZWONITZER: I didn't.

11 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. Did anyone -- I just have to
12 ask you. Did anyone reach out to you on behalf of President
13 Biden?

14 MR. ZWONITZER: No.

15 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Obviously, him, family, friend,
16 colleague, associate?

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

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

21 MR. ZWONITZER: I don't think anybody in his camp
22 is aware that I am a part of this.

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

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(00:17:35)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 (00:18:30)

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

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

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

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

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

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16 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) ?

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 (00:19:13)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: -- (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) [REDACTED]

3 [REDACTED]

4 [REDACTED]

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

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

7 [REDACTED]

8 [REDACTED]

9 [REDACTED]

10 [REDACTED]

11 [REDACTED]

12 [REDACTED]

13 [REDACTED]

14 [REDACTED]

15 [REDACTED]

16 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) [REDACTED]

17 [REDACTED]

18 MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) [REDACTED]

19 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b)(3), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C) [REDACTED]

20 [REDACTED]

21 MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) [REDACTED]

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

23 MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) [REDACTED]

24 [REDACTED]

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

1 (00:20:05)

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

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

4 [REDACTED]

5 [REDACTED]

6 [REDACTED]

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

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

9 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Just for -- when you said that

10 you -- it's your practice to delete the audio recordings?

11 MR. ZWONITZER: Mm-hmm.

12 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Generally, what timeframe does

13 that take place, like, when do you decide now I can delete?

14 MR. ZWONITZER: It's not a -- like I don't have a

15 set policy or anything but I know that when we moved from

16 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), I know a lot of tapes went

17 in to a dumpster. So there was that. Like but -- and like

18 I noticed that I still have some audio files from some

19 projects in 2018 and even in 2020 that I haven't yet

20 deleted. But I don't think those are anybody that was

21 really a public figure that I would worry about.

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

23 [REDACTED]

24 [REDACTED]

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

1 (00:21:15)

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

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

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

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

6 [REDACTED]

7 [REDACTED]

8 [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

9 [REDACTED]

10 [REDACTED]

11 [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

12 [REDACTED]

13 [REDACTED]

14 [REDACTED]

15 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Did you have a concern that there
16 were, kind of, hacking attempts on your computer or
17 accounts?

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

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

23 MR. ZWONITZER: -- as part of my, in my career.

24 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah. I know some of the projects
25 you've worked on concern that. Did you ever receive any --

1 (00:22:42)

2 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- emails from these groups? You
3 said you got kind of vaguely threatening --

4 MR. ZWONITZER: I did receive an email and I
5 immediately deleted it. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

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

7

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

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

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

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

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

25

1 (00:23:49)

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

3

4

5 But I, but I do not recall.

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

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

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

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

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

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

19

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

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

22

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

24

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

1 (00:25:05)

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

3

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

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

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

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

13

14

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

16 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. So quite some time ago.

17 MR. ZWONITZER: Yes.

18 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) In January of this year some

19 people, (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

20 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) ?

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

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

23

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

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1 (00:26:14)

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

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

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

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

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

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

16 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) You had talked about you deleted
17 the audio because of some of the sensitive nature of it.

18 MR. ZWONITZER: Mm-hmm.

19 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) What, specifically -- and you can
20 just categorize but what specifically about the audio made
21 you concerned for it's release publicly?

22 MR. ZWONITZER: Well some of the things that
23 I -- again I did not -- just so you know, I didn't go back
24 and listen to anything.

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

1 (00:27:29)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: So this was, you know, six years
3 ago and from memory.

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

5 MR. ZWONITZER: One thing I do remember, as I can
6 say this, is that the -- as you can imagine this was -- we
7 were talking within, you know, a year or two of Beau's
8 death. It could get very emotional. There were times when
9 he would, you know, literally breakdown and be in tears. So
10 that was one thing. The other thing was that, you know, he
11 would say things about let's say, you know, somebody who
12 said, hey Joe, if you run for president I'll endorse your
13 candidacy, you know. And it might be someone that you might
14 be surprised and not expect and that -- and we -- he always
15 made a point to -- you know, he would -- if he was going to
16 write about anybody in the book, he would check with them.

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

18 MR. ZWONITZER: So there were things in the book,
19 you know, if you're like a, if you're like a Republican
20 former cabinet member who had said, hey Joe, I'm for you if
21 you run in 2016. And he hadn't checked that then that was
22 the sort of thing -- it was -- that was the -- but I was
23 most concerned about the family stuff, the Beau stuff, the
24 medical stuff, the very personal. I mean there were just
25 things -- some of our sessions were almost like therapy.

1 (00:29:06)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: You know, he didn't have many
3 people to talk to about this experience in his life. And
4 so, you know, it's like feeling like a therapist giving away
5 their notes and so that's -- that was what I was thinking
6 about.

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

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

9 [REDACTED]
10 [REDACTED]
11 [REDACTED]

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

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

14 [REDACTED]

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

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

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

18 [REDACTED]

19 [REDACTED]

20 [REDACTED]

21 [REDACTED]

22 [REDACTED]

23 [REDACTED]

24 [REDACTED]

25 [REDACTED]

1 (00:30:28)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) [REDACTED]

3 [REDACTED]

4 [REDACTED]

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

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

7 [REDACTED]

8 MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) [REDACTED]

9 [REDACTED]

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

11 MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) [REDACTED]

12 [REDACTED]

13 [REDACTED]

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

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

16 [REDACTED]

17 [REDACTED]

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

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

20 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) [REDACTED]

21 [REDACTED]

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

23 [REDACTED]

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

25 MR. ZWONITZER: (b)(3), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C)

1 (00:31:24)

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

3 [REDACTED]

4 [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

5 [REDACTED]

6 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) [REDACTED]

7 [REDACTED]

8 [REDACTED]

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

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

11 [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

12 [REDACTED]

13 [REDACTED]

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

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

16 [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

17 [REDACTED]

18 [REDACTED]

19 And then I believe you said in 2004 you were approached
20 about working with then Senator Biden --

21 MR. ZWONITZER: Right.

22 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- on a memoir or book, which later
23 became Promises to Keep; is that right?

24 MR. ZWONITZER: Correct, Promises to Keep.

25 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Thank you. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

1 (00:32:27)

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

3

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

5 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) You were too busy.

6 MR. ZWONITZER: But he sort of -- you know, these
7 politicians are politicians for a reason. You know, they
8 reel you in.

9 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah. Can you tell us about the
10 reeling in process back at that -- 2004?

11 MR. ZWONITZER: You know, it was -- I remember we
12 sat with each other a number of times at the lake, at his
13 house in Wilmington and he was talking about, you know, why
14 he wanted a book, you know, what he might -- what kind of
15 book he might want to write. And the fact that I already
16 knew so much of his life up to 1990 I think made -- it just
17 made it a much more efficient process, you know, like hey,
18 if you can help me with this, like this will be great.

19 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. Yeah. All right. So you
20 agreed.

21 MR. ZWONITZER: I agreed.

22 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) When did you start working on it?

23 MR. ZWONITZER: So we started working right away.
24 I mean I'd say in early 2005 we started working on it and
25 the way the process works is you have to do, you know, a --

1 (00:33:31)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: -- proposal that goes out to
3 editors and publishers and get them excited about it and
4 then you get the advance and then go to work on the, on the
5 book itself.

6 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Were you involved in working on the
7 proposal?

8 MR. ZWONITZER: Yes.

9 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. How did you your working
10 with Senator Biden at the time was -- were there other
11 people involved?

12 MR. ZWONITZER: Mark Gitenstein was around a good
13 bit in the very beginning working on the proposal. The
14 agent (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), and I'm trying to remember -- there was a
15 man named (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) who had worked with Biden from the
16 time he was a county council who was around in the
17 beginning, working, helping us with the proposal. Jill
18 helped. I'm trying to remember who else might of -- Ted,
19 Ted Kaufman.

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

21 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

22 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) After you got the proposal
23 together, how did you go about writing the book?

24 MR. ZWONITZER: So --

25 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Or researching and writing it I --

1 (00:34:30)

2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- should say?

3 MR. ZWONITZER: Well our process was that, you
4 know, I would -- it's a memoir, right. It's not a -- it's a
5 memoir in the sense that this is from memory. I mean you
6 want to go back and check and make sure and get your facts
7 right. But, you know, it was, it was very much a memoir.
8 So I would sit with him, hop on a tape recorder and I would
9 essentially interview him, you know, and talk through his
10 life. And what we would do is we would peel off specific,
11 you know, specific times. Right? And concentrate for a
12 session on, you know, on, you know, his first term in the
13 Senate or his first senate race or the Bork hearings or the
14 campaign in 1986 or his, you know, his interest in Bosnia
15 and how he came to be involved in that. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

16 [REDACTED]

17 [REDACTED]

18 [REDACTED]

19 Biden was serious about this book being his. It was his
20 book. He worked hundreds of hours on this book. He took
21 it, you know, he took it very seriously. And so most of it,
22 in the beginning, was I would prepare -- I would have to be
23 prepared if we were going to go in and talk about a specific
24 period. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) [REDACTED]

25 [REDACTED]

1 (00:36:11)

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

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

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

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

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

19

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah. Unlike *Promise Me, Dad*,

20

which is a relatively short timeframe, *Promises to Keep*

21

covers someone who had been in public life for 30 years at

22

the time.

23

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

24

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) How did you go about -- obviously,

25

there are some things that are easy to highlight. You're --

1 (00:37:28)

2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- obviously going to highlight his
3 becoming a senator, running for senate. He had some
4 personal tragedy. His run for president in '88. But
5 there's also decades of more public life and you can't cover
6 it all. I mean it's a relatively long book but --

7 MR. ZWONITZER: It is.

8 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- how did you decide or you and
9 Biden decide what to cover in that first book?

10 MR. ZWONITZER: No, it's really a process that
11 starts from the very first interview but goes to the very
12 last period in the manuscript because you're constantly
13 changing, you know. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

14 [REDACTED]
15 [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED]
16 [REDACTED] [REDACTED]
17 [REDACTED]
18 [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

19 [REDACTED] That's the, that's the kind of --

20 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Well, if I can take stab at it,
21 because I've read the book. It seems like there's certain
22 areas that you really hit on. And they do sort of flesh out
23 some themes or maybe characters -- characteristics of his
24 personality perhaps and one is his perseverance in the face
25 of adversity. And there's really a couple of major --

1 (00:38:40)

2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- examples of that, one,
3 obviously, the death of his first wife and that tragedy
4 while he's just become a senator and that's pretty obvious,
5 you know, adversity. The other example that comes to mind
6 is the Bork hearings, that he had been running for
7 president --

8 MR. ZWONITZER: The place --

9 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- not only did he not become
10 president but he --

11 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

12 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- was kind of --

13 MR. ZWONITZER: - pariah --

14 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- humiliated might not be exactly
15 the word but definitely it wasn't a great moment for him in
16 his career. He had plenty of reasons to just go like -- you
17 know, shell up in Delaware and --

18 MR. ZWONITZER: And he almost died after that.

19 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) He had a stroke, or the aneurism,
20 right?

21 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

22 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) But he didn't do that and it seemed
23 like you used those things to kind of -- was that the idea
24 using these examples to show that aspect of his personality
25 and --

1 (00:39:28)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: Not only that aspect of his
3 personality but it's -- I mean that aspect of how, you know,
4 like this is how you as a reader can live your life. Right?
5 I mean like, yeah, you're going to get knocked on your ass
6 sometimes. But, you know, if you stick it out and
7 persevere, keep moving, you can put things behind you. And
8 so that was a big part -- that was a theme. Right? He also
9 has a way of -- it's almost like a third eye. He's very
10 interested in like, why did I do that? And he would
11 link -- sometimes I ask, why did I do that. And it was
12 really in doing the book he kind of came up with the idea of
13 like why am I so interested in Bosnia? Why I am I so
14 interested -- and it had a lot to do with his, I think, with
15 his sort of Catholic upbringing. Right?

16 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) There's a part of the book where a
17 priest or a monk tells him what's going on with Bosnia?

18 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. It was a strong moment. It
19 was his very first sort of realization about what was
20 happening in the former Yugoslavia. Yeah. And so those are
21 sort of, you know, in his -- as I say, you know, a chapter
22 that's got to have a point and there's got to be something
23 that's thematic.

24 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah. When you went through those
25 themes and you'd sit down to interview Biden, you'd cover --

1 (00:41:07)

2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- certain topics in each
3 interviews. Is that maybe --

4 MR. ZWONITZER: Yes.

5 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) What kind of research would you do
6 in advance of those interviews on a certain topic?

7 MR. ZWONITZER: Well, I would, you know, for
8 instance, on the -- like, the good news is that we were
9 talking about Scranton or if we were talking about even the
10 Bork hearing. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

11 [REDACTED]
12 [REDACTED]
13 [REDACTED]
14 [REDACTED]
15 [REDACTED]
16 [REDACTED]

17 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
18 [REDACTED]

19 MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
20 But -- and his office would also -- I mean they had
21 their -- the press office had big stacks of things that they
22 had already prepared for his, you know, like, what happened
23 in -- what did I accomplish in the first term and the second
24 term. This is my, you know, book from the Bosnia stuff.

25 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Almost like scrapbooks?

1 (00:42:12)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: Yep.

3 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And so they provided that to you?

4 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. So I would read and read
5 that material and prepare for the interviews.

6 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Who did you work with in his office
7 to obtain that material, if you recall?

8 MR. ZWONITZER: It was generally just -- I don't
9 remember. It generally came from him. I mean, that was a
10 long time ago. Mostly I was working with the schedulers to
11 just figure it out like Michele Smith who is unfortunately
12 no longer with us and (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) in his office.

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

14 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah, (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), yeah.

15 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. Did you -- obviously he had
16 been in the Senate a long time. Did you go look back in the
17 Senate archives for materials?

18 MR. ZWONITZER: I mean the -- I'm sure we did. I
19 can remember, for instance, going back through the
20 voluminous Bork hearings. Right? I also remember he did a
21 really interesting set of hearings in around 2001, 2002,
22 which is basically like okay if we end up in the Iraq war,
23 here's what could happen. And he held a long set of
24 hearings about that that I would read that entire the set of
25 hearings. I read the entire set of the -- the Violence --

1 (00:43:35)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: -- Against Women Act was very
3 important senate hearing.

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

5 MR. ZWONITZER: And so I read, you know, the
6 entire giant set of interviews that they had done in
7 preparing that bill and getting it through.

8 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And a lot of these you said were
9 provided by Senator Biden himself? He would bring -- here's
10 my stack of materials on this?

11 MR. ZWONITZER: Yes. And I think that, you know,
12 I mean hearing the -- all the hearings are printed, the
13 government printed this stuff.

14 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) When you guys sat down to interview
15 back for that first book, where you do that? At his home or
16 office?

17 MR. ZWONITZER: We met almost always I think at
18 the lake, at his, at his home. But we did occasionally meet
19 in -- not often but sometimes at his senate office.

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

21 MR. ZWONITZER: I mean I remember very well the
22 famous conference table he had in his senate office. If
23 you've read the book, you know, kind of like that.

24 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah. And then the lake house
25 being in Wilmington.

1 (00:44:36)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: In Wilmington, yeah.

3 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Then again his current residence.

4 MR. ZWONITZER: His residence in Wilmington.

5 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. Okay. And you recorded
6 those ones as well?

7 MR. ZWONITZER: I did.

8 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Did you keep those recordings or
9 did you --

10 MR. ZWONITZER: I have all, I have all the
11 transcripts.

12 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) You have all the transcripts?

13 MR. ZWONITZER: Yes.

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

15 [REDACTED]

16 [REDACTED]

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

18 [REDACTED]

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

20 [REDACTED]

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

22 [REDACTED]

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

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

25 [REDACTED]

1 (00:45:09)

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

3 [REDACTED]

4 [REDACTED]

5 [REDACTED]

6 [REDACTED]

7 [REDACTED]

8 [REDACTED]

9 [REDACTED]

10 [REDACTED]

11 [REDACTED]

12 [REDACTED]

13 [REDACTED]

14 [REDACTED]

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

16 [REDACTED]

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

18 [REDACTED]

19 [REDACTED]

20 [REDACTED]

21 [REDACTED]

22 [REDACTED]

23 [REDACTED]

24 [REDACTED]

25 [REDACTED] --

1 (00:46:30)

2 MR. ZWONITER: -- (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) .

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

4 [REDACTED]

5 [REDACTED]

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

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

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

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

10 [REDACTED]

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

12 [REDACTED]

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

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

15 [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

16 [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

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

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

19 [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

20 [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

21 [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

22 [REDACTED]

23 [REDACTED]

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

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

1 (00:47:21)

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

3 [REDACTED]

4 [REDACTED]

5 [REDACTED]

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

7 [REDACTED]

8 [REDACTED]

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

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

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

12 [REDACTED]

13 [REDACTED]

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

15 [REDACTED]

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

17 [REDACTED]

18 [REDACTED]

19 [REDACTED]

20 [REDACTED]

21 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. When you were writing
22 Promises to Keep and you sat down with Biden to go through
23 things, did he have journals or diaries that he referred to
24 from his days in the Senate?

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

1 (00:48:26)

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

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

11 MR. ZWONITZER: Mm-hmm, right.

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

13 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

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

15 MR. ZWONITZER: Going with Harriman and --

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

18 MR. ZWONITZER: Right.

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

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

1 (00:49:24)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: -- was fighting the Nazis.

3 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And I was in Stalingrad, like yeah,
4 that's exactly it. He tells about that chapter and that,
5 what the, what was the theme you were getting at then?

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

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

1 (00:50:52)

2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- those meetings in the later '78,
3 '79 I think is the timeframe where he went on these trips.
4 Or I don't know about the first trips he went abroad but the
5 ones in the book the sort of him learning to do this as a
6 young, relatively young man. Did he have notes, materials,
7 the little notebooks you talked about or scrapbook type
8 things on those trips that he -- you guys went through?

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

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

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

24 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. Okay. So you said you
25 transcribed those meetings, do you have those transcripts --

1 (00:52:15)

2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- and other materials any
3 promises --

4 MR. ZWONITZER: I do.

5 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) [REDACTED]
6 [REDACTED] [REDACTED] ?

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

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

9 MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) [REDACTED]

10 [REDACTED]

11 [REDACTED]

12 [REDACTED] .

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

14 [REDACTED]

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

16 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. All right. So that book
17 came out in '07?

18 MR. ZWONITZER: 2007.

19 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And how did it do?

20 MR. ZWONITZER: Well it was -- it had a very brief
21 and tenuous stay on the New York Times best sell list. I
22 think it was number 15 for about two weeks but it got there.

23 MR. [REDACTED] Got you.

24 MR. ZWONITZER: And it didn't get a lot of, you
25 know, it didn't get a lot of press or a lot of play. It --

1 (00:53:08)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: -- wasn't a huge commercial
3 success. But I -- he was very -- he was happy with it, you
4 know. He found it was a success. He was proud to have
5 written and completed a book. And I remember him saying
6 that, you know, it's something his grandkids would always
7 have.

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

12 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

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

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

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

20 MR. ZWONITZER: In the book --

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

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

1 (00:54:02)

2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. Okay. So after you finished
3 the book he -- obviously he ran for president and became
4 vice president. Did you have any involvement in that or
5 were you tracking that and covering it professionally?

6 MR. ZWONITZER: I wasn't covering it
7 professionally. I wasn't tracking it. He would -- I was
8 talking to him occasionally. I remember going to see him
9 the day after he dropped out of the presidential race in
10 early 2008 because those are the days when everybody goes
11 away, you know.

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

13 MR. ZWONITZER: And, you know, a guy is left there
14 to stew in his own juices. So I remember going down to
15 Wilmington to just visit him to say, hey how you doing, what
16 are you thinking, you know.

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

18 MR. ZWONITZER: And he's in -- I wasn't -- and
19 then he invited me to the convention in 2008. So I spent
20 three or four days at the convention, you know, in the
21 family box, which was a great honor and really -- it was in
22 Denver. And we were still talking about -- he's always
23 talked about doing another book and doing more books. And
24 we, you know, we continued to talk about it, the
25 possibility.

1 (00:55:28)

2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) In that timeframe what books was he
3 talking -- like what kind of books?

4 MR. ZWONITZER: There was not -- nothing.

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

6 MR. ZWONITZER: I mean, you know, it was just like
7 hey that was fun. Maybe we can do another one.

8 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Got you.

9 MR. ZWONITZER: But we never talked about the
10 specifics.

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

12 [REDACTED]
13 [REDACTED] ?

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

15 [REDACTED]
16 [REDACTED]
17 [REDACTED]
18 [REDACTED]
19 [REDACTED]
20 [REDACTED]
21 [REDACTED]
22 [REDACTED]
23 [REDACTED]
24 [REDACTED]
25 [REDACTED]

1 (00:56:37)

2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah. Back in that -- well how
3 often would you -- I mean he's president now so it's
4 different. But you'd see him from time to time?

5 MR. ZWONITZER: When he was vice president?

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

7 MR. ZWONITZER: Some. He had be down once in 2010
8 also to talk about the possibility of a book but that it
9 sort of went nowhere.

10 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) What -- can you tell us about that?
11 Who did you -- did you go down to the Naval Observatory?

12 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

13 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) What was --

14 MR. ZWONITZER: He just had me into the -- I was
15 actually down there. I was serving on an NEH panel. I
16 was -- so I was in Washington at the time and I can't
17 remember how it happened. But his office reached out and
18 asked if I would go to the Naval Observatory, which I did.
19 And we sat and we talked for a couple of hours and we caught
20 up and we talked about the possibility of another book
21 project which didn't go anywhere. A funny story about that.
22 What I, what I remember most about that is that he was, he
23 was on his way to the White House from the Observatory. And
24 I had said to his body guy (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), hey, can you -- this is
25 before Uber. Right?

1 (00:57:45)

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

3 MR. ZWONITZER: Can you maybe call and see if I
4 can get a cab up here. And Biden said, oh I can drop you at
5 your hotel. I said, no, it's -- really, it's okay. I can
6 get a cab. He said, no, I'm going right by the hotel. So I
7 go in the vice presidential motorcade and he drops me at the
8 hotel. I got very good treatment.

9 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah, I bet. I bet.

10 MR. ZWONITZER: But that's -- but nothing came
11 then.

12 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) How can I help you Mr. Zwonitzer,
13 right?

14 MR. ZWONITZER: And then I didn't hear from him
15 again, him again until the end of 2015.

16 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) In 2010, that must have been
17 exciting going to the Naval Observatory, you're sitting down
18 with the vice president.

19 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. Yeah, it was nice and it
20 was good to see him again.

21 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Sure. You said there was a
22 discussion of a book project. What was the book project?

23 MR. ZWONITZER: Kind of like what, you know, what
24 it's like to be vice president.

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

1 (00:58:34)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

3 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Were there sort of topics you guys
4 batted around in terms of the themes you might cover or --

5 MR. ZWONITZER: No. It was only a few hours and
6 it was really more about mechanics like, you know, are you,
7 you know, are you around, are you available, would be
8 interested in this? And it really kind of went -- it kind
9 of went nowhere. It's not unusual. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

10 [REDACTED]

11 [REDACTED]

12 [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

13 [REDACTED]

14 [REDACTED]

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

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

17 [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

18 [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

19 [REDACTED]

20 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) In the wake of that meeting or in
21 advance of it did you prepare any proposals or anything in
22 writing?

23 MR. ZWONITZER: No.

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

25 MR. ZWONITZER: It was really -- I wasn't --

1 (00:59:33)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: -- even -- I don't think I was
3 even entirely sure going in but, you know, he wanted to
4 discuss it.

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

6 [REDACTED]
7 [REDACTED] ?

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

9 [REDACTED]

10 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) When did the idea of writing
11 another Biden book, the book you ended up writing, Promise
12 Me Dad, when did that first possibility get floated?

13 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. His staff reached out to me
14 or somebody. I can't remember who and asked me to come to,
15 down to Washington. It was at right before the holidays of
16 2015. And essentially -- so I went there to meet with him.
17 We met in the White House at his office in the White House.
18 And I think essentially what he was doing was trying to
19 figure out like Beau had died about six months earlier. He
20 had decided he wasn't going to run for president. It was
21 likely Hillary was going to be president and would be for a
22 couple of terms. And he was trying to figure like what is
23 my life going to be after I leave office and does a book fit
24 into that? And so that was the initial meeting.

25 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. And that was --

1 (01:00:51)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: That was right before the holidays
3 of 2015.

4 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 2015, yeah. Okay. Who did you
5 meet with at those first initial discussions?

6 MR. ZWONITZER: Well I remember he was there. I
7 think Mark Gitenstein came in and I sort of vaguely remember
8 that in the very first meeting like I think Steve Ricchetti,
9 he was there and Mike Donilon.

10 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And Mark Gitenstein, what's -- he
11 seems to have some sort of counselor relationship to Biden.
12 Is that -- how would you describe that?

13 MR. ZWONITZER: Well I mean he's a -- not only is
14 he a sort of a trusted aide but they're, they're friends.

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

16 MR. ZWONITZER: Have been -- I mean Mark went to
17 work for Biden I think Mark was a staff person on the Church
18 committee maybe and then he went to work for Biden right
19 after that in the early -- middle '70s. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

20 [REDACTED]

21 [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

22 [REDACTED] He was always in his world and Mark was -- I
23 think Mark was sort of instrumental also in bringing me in
24 to the very first book also.

25 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. So up to that first --

1 (01:02:06)

2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- meeting in around the holidays
3 of 2015, what were -- I assume the decision was to move
4 forward with exploring this option?

5 MR. ZWONITZER: Exploring an option I think is a
6 good way to put it.

7 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And what were people's takes on it,
8 Ricchetti and Mike Donilon? Were they, were they concerned
9 about it or they thought this was a great idea?

10 MR. ZWONITZER: I think they thought it was a pretty
11 good idea. I can tell you Ricchetti's concern about it was
12 let's keep it a short, small book please. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

13 [REDACTED]
14 [REDACTED]
15 [REDACTED]
16 [REDACTED]
17 [REDACTED] Ricchetti was
18 terrified and like -- and we didn't -- nobody wanted to dive
19 into a big -- we were not interested in telling the history
20 of the, of the Obama-Biden administration.

21 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. Were you tasked with
22 anything like coming up with a proposal or did you discuss
23 kind of topics during that initial meeting?

24 MR. ZWONITZER: Yes. We did discuss topics. I
25 can't remember. I mean my personal feeling is always --

1 (01:03:23)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: -- that this small window of his
3 life that involved Beau's illness and death was probably the
4 book to write. Then what I did in early 2016 is I started
5 bringing in friends of mine who were editors and publishers,
6 people I trusted just to give him some advice about what
7 would the American public be interested in? What kind of
8 book would a publisher be interested in and, you know, that
9 would all fall through spring I would say of 2016.

10 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. And when and how did you hit
11 on the idea that you ended up -- for the book that ended up
12 coming to be, this like year in the life and the sort of
13 juxtaposition of him struggling with Beau's illness and
14 death versus the demands of being vice president and
15 deciding whether or not to run for president?

16 MR. ZWONITZER: So we started focusing the book I
17 would say in maybe August of 2016. We worked from August
18 2016 to like February or so of 2017, not just doing a
19 proposal but really kind of outlining what the book would be
20 and what would be the line of march as I would call it.
21 Because we knew we wanted to publish quickly. And so and it
22 wasn't enough to just have a proposal ready. We really had
23 to have the book outlined and ready to go. So that work was
24 done I'd say at that time, August of 2016 to February of
25 2017.

1 (01:05:09)

2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Coming up with that outline and
3 these are the topics we want to do?

4 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. And we had already started
5 doing a lot of interviews at that point.

6 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) So I've seen -- I know one of the
7 original proposals relatively early here. It looks like
8 May, by May of 2016 you had sort of a proposal that is
9 pretty close to what the book ended up becoming. And it
10 talks about -- and you already have certain topics that you
11 want to cover. And one of the early versions, there's a
12 list of things that -- it says the abbreviated period of
13 time is maybe the most momentous -- I'm sorry. I'm reading
14 from Zwonitzer 7400 beta. Why don't I just show it to you?
15 And Mark, I'm going to be reading you something that you
16 haven't seen.

17 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

18 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) So there's a list of sort of things
19 that the abbreviated period in time is maybe the most
20 momentous of like of the eight year administration. It
21 contains among many other things the negotiation of the
22 (indiscernible 01:06:18) deal but he could never could
23 convince congress to sign off on the pact. Management had
24 increasingly difficult relations with Prime Minister
25 Netanyahu and the Israeli government, dealing with ISIL --

1 (01:06:30)

2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- in Iraq, the draft Biden
3 campaign, other items in the book. Where did you get those
4 sort of key --

5 MR. ZWONITZER: So these actually weren't from,
6 necessarily, him or the staff.

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

8 MR. ZWONITZER: This was like -- so what I worried
9 about was this going to be a self-help book, you know, like
10 how do you deal with grief. And yes, he can do that but
11 what -- that's something similar to millions of other
12 people. What makes him different is that he was already
13 dealing with these big, big things, important things
14 happening in his life as well and how do you meet those
15 obligations while dealing with his family's suffering?

16 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Very difference in that, in that
17 self-help. I'm dealing with grief so I go and hike the
18 Appalachian Trail --

19 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

20 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- or learn to cook or he's --

21 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. It's like, you know, I
22 remember --

23 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- he's got to be vice president
24 every day.

25 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. I mean and he said to --

1 (01:07:21)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: -- Steve Ricchetti at one point
3 like keep me busy, keep me busy. Now this list of stuff
4 actually comes from like I'm looking at what is the
5 administration dealing with and I -- so I wasn't -- that
6 didn't really come from him. What came from him and his
7 staff later was -- now listen these are the things that were
8 important to us or important to me that we were working on
9 every day.

10 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. So your initial list then
11 was some -- several of these topics did not kind of make it
12 in the book for example --

13 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. Well the --

14 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- that Iran --

15 MR. ZWONITZER: -- Iran nuclear deal I mean that
16 just wasn't in their purview, you know. There was, you
17 know, John Kerry and Ben Rhodes and those folks were doing
18 that. And so that was not -- and again this wasn't a book
19 about the administration. This was a book about
20 my -- what's going on in my gut.

21 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) So it ended up being morphing from
22 these sort of lists of demands on the administration to more
23 specifically the demands and the issues that Vice President
24 Biden was specifically tasked with, the more primary
25 responsibility.

1 (01:08:26)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: Correct.

3 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. Okay. And how did you come
4 up with that list? I assume by talking to Vice President
5 Biden and his staff?

6 MR. ZWONITZER: I was talking to him and I was
7 talking to people on his, on his staff.

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

9 MR. ZWONITZER: And like, you know, for instance
10 the body man, right, the guy who's always --

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

12 MR. ZWONITZER: -- with him, right, was an
13 important person not only because these are the issues but
14 this is the kind of emotional arch of this story. Here's
15 where he was up. Here's where he was down. Here's where he
16 was -- felt like he couldn't get out of bed. Here's when
17 up, you know -- so.

18 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Looking at the emails and materials
19 that you produced it looked like one of the early things you
20 tried to obtain was the schedules, the --

21 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

22 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- sort of day to day what he was
23 working on. How did go about getting those?

24 MR. ZWONITZER: I can't remember who in the office
25 provided those to me but somebody.

1 (01:09:19)

2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And why were those important to
3 you?

4 MR. ZWONITZER: Well because like chronology is
5 everything in these stories, how does, you know, how does,
6 how do his duties and obligations as vice president bump up
7 against what he's dealing with Beau or what he's dealing
8 with -- specifically with Beau. And so, you know, he didn't
9 have everything in his memory. So I needed those to say
10 like, you know, when Beau was here doing this experimental
11 treatment, Biden was doing X, Y -- dealing with X, Y and Z.

12 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Right out of the hospital to the
13 important meeting with foreign leaders, like that?

14 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah, yeah. So that, you know, I
15 mean because of the juxtaposition of that was the story.

16 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. Once you hit on the topics
17 that you were going to cover can you talk just about how you
18 went about doing the initial research before you sat down
19 with --

20 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

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

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

1 (01:10:36)

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

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

4 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

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

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

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

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

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

1 (01:12:00)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: -- himself through this this awful
3 time.

4 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Sure. Okay. I'm going to some
5 other examples of a couple -- here's an email on September
6 of 2016. It's Zwonitzer 7613.

7 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 7613?

8 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah. And this is an email that
9 you sent to Steve Ricchetti who was I think then as chief of
10 staff, is that right?

11 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

12 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And then I'll follow. You read it
13 here for a second.

14 MR. ZWONITZER: Okay.

15 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) But I think basically you're asking
16 like it might take some time on the vice president's
17 calendar.

18 MR. ZWONITZER: Right.

19 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) So we can sit down and
20 start -- like is this doing the interviews that --

21 MR. ZWONITZER: Oh yeah, but September 2016 we
22 were doing serious content interviews.

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

1 (01:13:11)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. That's right.

3 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And what were you looking, what did
4 you want, what did you have in mind when you asked that?

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

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

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

13 [REDACTED].

14 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah. Make productive use of the
15 interview time I suppose too because it was limited.

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

19 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) You didn't want to spend it looking
20 for journals or notes.

21 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

22 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. Okay. And would Steve help
23 you? Why were you reaching out to Steve Ricchetti to
24 arrange this?

25 MR. ZWONITZER: I think -- I mean this is a --

1 (01:14:04)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: -- long time ago but when Steve
3 was the chief of staff, Steve was the guy who was, you know,
4 kept the schedule. And I think in general (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) would
5 be doing the final scheduling. But, you know, it would be
6 up to Steve to say, yeah, let's -- this is worth putting on
7 the schedule.

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

9 MR. ZWONITZER: Or, you know, like we have better
10 things to do.

11 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah. And then you guys would come
12 in and he'd have that stuff when you sat down?

13 MR. ZWONITZER: Often, yeah, or he would have read
14 it.

15 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) When did you start doing the
16 substantive interviews with Vice President Biden?

17 MR. ZWONITZER: My guess is that it was around
18 August, September of -- I think there was some stuff as
19 early as August. But certainly by September I think.

20 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Can I ask about --

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

22 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- in this email you say -- and I
23 can turn this to you. It's like one, two and like the third
24 main paragraph to (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) had all that stuff in hand when
25 I saw him in August.

1 (01:15:07)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. Those are the schedules.

3 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) The schedules?

4 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

5 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Can you describe that meeting with
6 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) a little or like what happened with --

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

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

9 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. So in August I sat down
10 with (b) (6), (b) (7)(C). And again, (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) was the -- he was the body man.
11 He was the guy who was at the vice president's side the
12 whole time. So I basically sat down with (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) and we kind
13 of went through again in almost like week by week, month by
14 month like here's what was happening. Here's what the vice
15 president's kind of emotional state was at the time. Here's
16 what, you know, here's what was important to him. So (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
17 was -- and I think (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) may have helped pull together some
18 of the schedules for me.

19 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. And where was the meeting?

20 MR. ZWONITZER: I think we actually met in the
21 White House.

22 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) In the White House? Do you
23 remember like the location? Because I know they have kind
24 of a smaller, outer office before the vice president's
25 suite.

1 (01:16:18)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: I don't remember if it was in the
3 suite or not. I just don't. I just -- I remember having, I
4 remember having a meal at the White House mess but I don't
5 remember where we sat.

6 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) How many times did you go to the
7 White House?

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

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

12

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

14

15

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

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

18

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

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

21

22

23

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

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

1 (01:17:14)

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

3

4

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

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

7 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Just a -- it looks like when
8 you're talking about (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) had all that stuff in hand,
9 it looks like it's carrying over from so the VP could have
10 relevant notes/diaries et cetera with him when we talk. And
11 then the only staff time it would require would be in making
12 sure he has those documents in front of him when we do our
13 substantive sessions. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) had all that stuff in hand
14 when I saw him in August. Do you remember if (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) had
15 notes and diaries?

16 MR. ZWONITZER: No. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) only had schedules.

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

18 MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) never had notes and diaries.
19 And you see (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) was telling me this from his memory.

20 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) His memory. Okay.

21 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) You seem quite sure about that with
22 the, with the journals and diaries.

23 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

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

25 MR. ZWONITZER: Biden really never let the --

1 (01:18:11)

2 MR. ZWONTIZER: -- journals out of his hand. In
3 fact any time I ever saw them they were in his hands.

4 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C): Okay. And these are -- are these
5 the black notebooks?

6 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. They're -- I just remember
7 they were black and had some kind of red borders or
8 something like that.

9 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C): I can show you a picture I think.

10 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C): You've got a picture of them?

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

12 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C): I think (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) got a picture. There
13 we go.

14 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C): There's a couple of other pictures.

15 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C): This is 2023-0120 FBI 132 and 133,
16 that might it be like that?

17 MR. ZWONITZER: I never saw those.

18 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C): No. Those aren't the ones you --

19 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C): Let me flip you to --

20 MR. ZWONITZER: No, not those there. No. I never
21 saw those.

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

23 MR. ZWONITZER: Again they weren't like small red
24 and black.

25 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C): You need those ones, right?

1 (01:19:01)

2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C): Yeah, yeah. I think -- this is FBI
3 156.

4 MR. ZWONITZER: Those don't look familiar to me.

5 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) I'm sorry, what'd you say?

6 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) 150.

7 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) He said those ones don't look
8 familiar.

9 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Don't look familiar.

10 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) This is FBI 0218.

11 MR. ZWONITZER: Maybe these. What I remember is
12 that -- I never saw anything with the rings.

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

14 MR. ZWONITZER: That didn't -- that doesn't --

15 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) They're more like leather-bound
16 black?

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

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

22 MR. ZWONITZER: No. And in fact at one point, you
23 know, he would -- I said to him at one point, listen, we're
24 spending a lot of time, you know, it would be very efficient
25 if you would like, you could mark some of the passages.

1 (01:20:06)

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

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

10 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

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

12 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

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

16 MR. ZWONITZER: Exactly, yeah.

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

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

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

1 (01:21:02)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: This is back, this is background.

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

4 MR. ZWONITZER: Not like let me tell you about one
5 thing, you know, like the, you know, PD-1 experimental
6 treatment is whatever and about that.

7 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) I could say listen to the recording
8 it seemed like some sessions were devoted to just basically
9 reading his journal to you and others were more back and
10 forth conversational.

11 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

12 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) I assume the latter were more
13 interesting. Okay. So you said he wouldn't -- he said, no,
14 you can't look at these journals.

15 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

16 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) You can't photocopy them?

17 MR. ZWONITZER: No, no. He did at one
18 point -- like I know there were -- no. I mean and I did, I
19 should say like, man, we are on a deadline. You know, this
20 takes time. It's your time and it would be lot more
21 efficient and it just --

22 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Wasn't going to happen. Yeah.

23 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. I mean and again he was
24 diplomatic. It wasn't like, how the hell could you ask me
25 that. It was just no.

1 (01:21:56)

2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Do you know where he kept those
3 journals?

4 MR. ZWONITZER: I do not.

5 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. During some of your
6 early -- your earlier meetings were at the Naval
7 Observatory, is that right, in your earlier interviews?

8 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. That's right.

9 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Where would you meet at the Naval
10 Observatory?

11 MR. ZWONITZER: So there's a, you know, there's a
12 little sort of private residence on the second floor. And
13 that's where -- I mean occasionally maybe we'd be
14 downstairs. And we'd have, you know, we'd have dinners
15 downstairs with the, with the granddaughters. They would
16 come over. But when we were doing our sessions it would be
17 on the second floor. There's a kind of a -- it's a very
18 small living area but there's a kind of living room with a
19 dining table also in the room. And we'd just be on the
20 couches in that room.

21 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. During one of the recorded
22 sessions at the Naval Observatory, one of the early ones,
23 Biden is talking about his journals and notebooks and some
24 of the material. And he says, I just found them upstairs.

25 MR. ZWONITZER: I just found?

1 (01:22:58)

2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Them, these materials upstairs.

3 MR. ZWONITZER: Upstairs.

4 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And I wasn't sure if he was
5 referring to when you guys were on the main floor and he
6 found them up in the private residence or --

7 MR. ZWONITZER: We must have been on the main
8 floor at that point because the only thing up above were the
9 guest rooms. The (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F) was, yeah, it was just I think
10 there were (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F) on the other floor. So
11 those must have been upstairs in the residence maybe. I'm
12 not sure.

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

16 MR. ZWONITZER: I don't remember him talking about
17 that. I mean -- no. And I wasn't really aware of where
18 they were or where he kept them. And when we would sit down
19 it would not be like, oh, let me pull eight journals out.
20 It was always like one specific diary for a specific
21 session. And again those -- especially those ring binders
22 just don't -- I just don't recognize those.

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

24 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Can I follow up on something from
25 earlier?

1 (01:24:19)

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

3 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) So the initial proposal you were
4 talking about, I think it was in early 2016, how did you
5 come up with those topics? (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

6 [REDACTED]

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

8 [REDACTED]

9 [REDACTED]

10 [REDACTED]

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

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

13 [REDACTED]

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

15 [REDACTED]

16 [REDACTED]

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

18 [REDACTED]

19 [REDACTED]

20 [REDACTED]

21 [REDACTED]

22 [REDACTED]

23 [REDACTED]

24 [REDACTED]

25 [REDACTED]

1 (01:25:37)

2 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah. Did you ever kind of
3 request like more background materials about topics you were
4 interested in?

5 MR. ZWONITZER: Later, yes.

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

7 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

8 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And that later point you were
9 saying was like August of 2016 or through February?

10 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. From like beginning
11 probably in September all the way through probably May of
12 2017, and even into July of 2017 when we were working on the
13 manuscript. That was always like, oh, it would help to know
14 more about this.

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

16 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. So here's an example. This
17 is Zwonitzer 7496, which is an email on October 25th of 2016
18 that you sent Steve Ricchetti, questions for next meeting
19 and attached to it is a document with a series of dates and
20 events. And that was -- the list like this is something you
21 would have generated --

22 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

23 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- based on --

24 MR. ZWONITZER: And generated that largely from,
25 you know, the schedules and then what I was, you know --

1 (01:26:38)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: -- reading in the news.

3 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) You would look at the schedules and
4 look at the news and see what's interesting and what
5 looks --

6 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. And at this point I mean I
7 don't know if we've -- like the POTUS lunch. You've got to
8 go tonight. That was -- Beau was doing his, the last
9 experimental treatment and I actually don't think it was
10 Vice President Biden who had alerted me to that but might
11 have been someone. It might have been (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) who said,
12 you know, he came out to that lunch and said, you know, I've
13 got to Houston tonight. I need to be with Beau. So I
14 remember that. And then most of this would have been from
15 yeah, either schedules or, you know, like there was news
16 about Lindsey Graham, his retirement ceremony. Obviously,
17 the Supreme Court rulings were in that time period. And
18 the, and the remarkable trip to Charleston. So I just
19 wanted him to be aware like these are some of the events
20 that might be important that might -- we might cover. And I
21 mean I can tell you now as I look at it, like the gay
22 marriage ended up in the book, you know, the return to lunch
23 ended up in the book. The Charleston event ended up in the
24 book. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
25 A lot of things were not, you know, they just didn't --

1 (01:28:18)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: -- track with the story. We
3 didn't tell it.

4 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Didn't make the cut.

5 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

6 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. Okay. And again
7 you're -- you said that's where Ricchetti imparts so that
8 Biden can be prepared with whatever he needs the next time
9 you guys sit down.

10 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. Because when he was the
11 vice president, I don't think I could like -- you know, I
12 couldn't just shoot him an email and say, here, you know. I
13 mean later I was able to I believe.

14 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) To email him directly? Yeah, when
15 you left?

16 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

17 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. At one point when Biden,
18 right before he left the vice presidency his vice
19 presidential records were going to be sent to the National
20 Archives. And he authorized you to be able to access them.
21 I don't know if you're aware of that?

22 MR. ZWONITZER: I was never aware of that.

23 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And you never went to the Archives?

24 MR. ZWONITZER: I did not. Wow, I wish I had
25 known. It would have made things a lot easier.

1 (01:29:15)

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

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

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

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

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

10 after -- shortly after Biden's vice presidential term ended
11 there was a meeting at his residence on Chain Bridge Road in
12 Mclean.

13 MR. ZWONITZER: Okay.

14 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) On February 16th of 2017.

15 MR. ZWONITZER: Right.

16 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And there was a -- this -- I
17 understand it was a big meeting and part of the purpose of
18 that meeting was to finalize the proposal to publishing
19 companies. Is that right? Do you recall that meeting?

20 MR. ZWONITZER: Well I wouldn't have but I do now.

21 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) You do now.

22 MR. ZWONITZER: Recently, you know, I've been
23 through that. That date sticks in my head.

24 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. Why --

25 MR. ZWONITZER: It wouldn't have otherwise.

1 (01:30:08)

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

4 MR. ZWONITZER: Well I just remember there was
5 some -- I think that was the meeting where, you know, the
6 notion of something classified actually came up.

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

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

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

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

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

24 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

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

1 (01:31:19)

2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- the property?

3 MR. ZWONITZER: Well I don't remember this but of
4 having read that transcript I think he says something about
5 downstairs. So we must have been in the main -- on the main
6 floor of the Chain Bridge house.

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

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

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

15 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. A lot of
16 the -- that's -- but again I don't remember that but having
17 read that --

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

19 MR. ZWONITZER: -- this is downstairs.

20 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. You don't remember that
21 it -- you said downstairs until you read it?

22 MR. ZWONITZER: I mean I only -- yeah.

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

24 MR. ZWONITZER: I don't, I didn't remember the
25 conversation I had until --

1 (01:32:06)

2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. In the lead up to that
3 meeting you exchanged several emails with Valerie Biden
4 Owens about the kind of the plan for that meeting.

5 MR. ZWONITZER: Okay.

6 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) It seemed like there was a couple
7 of plans.

8 MR. ZWONITZER: All right.

9 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Or sort of agenda items. Like one
10 was to finalize the proposal --

11 MR. ZWONITZER: Right.

12 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- to the publishing companies.
13 That was an important piece, is that right?

14 MR. ZWONITZER: In that timeframe that would have
15 been, yes.

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

17 [REDACTED]

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

19 [REDACTED]

20 [REDACTED]

21 [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

22 [REDACTED]

23 [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

24 [REDACTED]

25 [REDACTED].

1 (01:33:05)

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

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

4 [REDACTED]

5 [REDACTED]

6 [REDACTED]

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

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

9 [REDACTED]

10 [REDACTED]

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

12 [REDACTED]

13 [REDACTED]

14 [REDACTED]

15 [REDACTED]

16 [REDACTED]

17 [REDACTED]

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

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

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

21 [REDACTED]

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

23 [REDACTED]

24 [REDACTED]

25 [REDACTED]

1 (01:34:00)

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 (01:35:18)

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

3 [REDACTED]

4 [REDACTED]

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

6 [REDACTED]

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

8 [REDACTED]

9 [REDACTED]

10 [REDACTED]

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

12 [REDACTED]

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

14 [REDACTED]

15 [REDACTED]

16 [REDACTED]

17 [REDACTED]

18 [REDACTED]

19 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) So Joe Biden was famously the least
20 wealthy member of the senate essentially forever.

21 MR. ZWONITZER: Right.

22 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Right? I get the sense that, you
23 know, as he was nearing the end of the vice presidency, when
24 he decided not to run for president he's going to have to
25 make a living. Like he wasn't independently wealthy. He --

1 (01:36:37)

2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- hadn't amassed wealth the way
3 that some people in congress do. And this was very much
4 part of that, I need to make a living for myself and my
5 family, my kids, my grandkids. Is that, is that right? Did
6 you guys talk about that at all?

7 MR. ZWONITZER: We did some. And it was -- yes,
8 he was famously the least wealthy member of the senate and
9 it drove Jill crazy but he said that.

10 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Why did it drive her crazy?

11 MR. ZWONITZER: Huh?

12 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Why did it drive her crazy?

13 MR. ZWONITZER: Joe, you don't have to say that.

14 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) It's embarrassing?

15 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. It's like, come on. Say
16 the third least wealthy. I mean she just -- it's a way to
17 razz him.

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

19 MR. ZWONITZER: And he was very upfront with me
20 and with other folks that these are the things he wanted to
21 accomplish financially at the end of this life. I remember
22 him saying like I want to be able to pay off the mortgages
23 on the house. I want to be able to pay off the kids college
24 loans. I want to make sure, I guess it was Natalie and
25 Hunter, they're going to have a college fund --

1 (01:37:44)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: -- that I could fund. That and if
3 anything happened to me, Jill would be fine. But it wasn't
4 like -- and the other part of it was, I mean these guys would
5 go out and make half million dollars giving a speech for a
6 day. It's not something he wanted to do.

7 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah, can you talk about that?
8 Because it seems like there's lots of way he could have made
9 money and a lot of money --

10 MR. ZWONITZER: Right.

11 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- quickly and easily --

12 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

13 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- but maybe I guess since he
14 didn't want to do certain things.

15 MR. ZWONITZER: He didn't want to do certain
16 things. He's not always comfortable with rich folks. He
17 didn't want to go and, you know, make speeches for bankers.
18 He wanted also to continue to like be involved in public
19 life so the, you know, the Penn Biden Center was important
20 for that, the Delaware place is important for that, doing
21 books a way to, you know, still have a voice. But also,
22 what's also true I have to say is that by the time he
23 started -- by the time we started, you know, we got the book
24 deal and that was in place, Hillary had lost and he wasn't
25 saying, I'm going to run for president but he was also --

1 (01:39:08)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: -- thinking I want to make sure
3 I'm in a position where I can still run for president if I
4 decide to do that. So he was careful about the way he made
5 money.

6 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) He didn't want to be a lobbyist,
7 just like the Uber lobbyist I would assume?

8 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. There are other, you know,
9 vice presidents who have made a lot of money and doing stuff
10 to the good. But that was not his main goal.

11 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. So going back to February of
12 2017 in the lead up and there's a discussion about we're
13 going to put together this proposal to the publishing
14 companies to get them excited.

15 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

16 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Hopefully increase the amount of
17 the advance, which is understandable. And one of the things
18 I see -- and I can show you those if you want but is you
19 guys -- it's like some excerpted diary entries --

20 MR. ZWONITZER: Yes, yes.

21 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- for the publishers. Can you
22 talk about that and why you did that?

23 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. Actually, I was so taken
24 with some of the immediacy of the diary entries particular,
25 you know, about Beau that it had been in my head that --

1 (01:40:25)

2 MR. ZWONTIZER: -- we'll actually be able to use
3 the entries themselves in the book. And I knew that they
4 were powerful in places. I knew that publishers would be
5 interested to see those excerpts. And so I think, I think
6 Valerie helped me in this. We'd sort of decided what's the
7 universe of excerpts that we might send to publishers just
8 so they could see them. In the end I don't remember if we
9 actually sent that to publishers or not. And he was a
10 little bit I think for good reason shy about some of the
11 contents.

12 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And I saw an email where it
13 suggested mainly only to the very serious finalist
14 publishers --

15 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah, yeah.

16 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- because of the sensitivity of
17 it.

18 MR. ZWONITZER: And I'm not even sure they went to
19 the serious finalist publishers.

20 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And you said you thought the
21 publishing companies would be interested in these diary
22 entries or intrigued by them.

23 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

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

25

1 (01:41:40)

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

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

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

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

10

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 (01:42:40)

2 MR. ZWONITZER:

(b) (7)(C)

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

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

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MR. ZWONITZER:

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

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

Okay. And so that was sort of what was on the teams mind and when you met in February of 2017? Was there a discussion that day at Chain Bridge? I know you interviewed Biden.

15

MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

16

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

Was there also a meeting of sort of his inner circle to talk about the proposal?

18

MR. ZWONITZER: I don't remember that.

19

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

Okay.

20

MR. ZWONITZER: I just -- I don't, I don't recall

21

that trigger. There may well have been but I don't

22

remember.

23

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

Okay. All right. Go ahead.

24

Please.

25

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

Can you the excerpts, the email --

1 (01:43:33)

2 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- where they were talking about
3 the excerpts?

4 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah. Let's see, it's the -- do
5 you want the same one?

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

7 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) We'll trade.

8 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. Yeah. So this is Zwonitzer
9 ending 8495. And it's approved introduction and excerpts.

10 MR. ZWONITZER: Okay.

11 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And it looks to be kind of a chain
12 between (b) (5), (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), CAA, People (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) --

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

14 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- and (b) (6), (b) (7)(C).

15 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

16 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And you. And then if we flip a
17 couple of pages it shows some of the excerpts that are on --

18 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Here let me show you.

19 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- Zwonitzer 8502.

20 MR. ZWONITZER: Mm-hmm.

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

25 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

1 (01:44:36)

2 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- did Valerie write them?

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

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

12 MR. ZWONITZER: Yep.

13 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- what is the -- what is that the
14 2015 date refer to?

15 MR. ZWONITZER: That refers to -- this is January
16 1, 2015, January 15th, 2015, February 19th, 2015. These are
17 the dates of the --

18 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) So the diary or the journal
19 covered 2015?

20 MR. ZWONITZER: Yes.

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

22 MR. ZWONITZER: I mean I'm not, I don't think
23 there was like one journal that was 2015. But these were,
24 these were all dates in 2015. I'm going to just check and
25 make sure.

1 (01:45:44)

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

4 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

5 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- that this wasn't like the date
6 that you recorded the interview?

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

9 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. That's helpful.

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

18 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

19 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- downstairs. And I think he's
20 talking about Afghanistan in the decision whether to do a
21 troop surge in --

22 MR. ZWONITZER: I don't remember.

23 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- 2009. But when he mentioned
24 finding classified down there what was your reaction?

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

1 (01:46:51)

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

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

7 MR. ZWONITZER: -- I just don't remember.

8 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. And let me just ask you a
9 few -- we can start back on questions. I assume you don't
10 have a security clearance -- and

11 MR. ZWONITZER: I do not.

12 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- you don't have it.

13 MR. ZWONITZER: No.

14 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) In the course of your career as a,
15 as a journalist, as a writer, as a documenter or film maker,
16 have you ever dealt with classified material? I mean not
17 unless like looking at them but events, items people that
18 are classified or we are kind of skirting on the edges of
19 things that are classified.

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

21

22

23

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

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

1 (01:47:48)

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

3 [REDACTED]

4 [REDACTED]

5 [REDACTED]

6 [REDACTED]

7 [REDACTED]

8 [REDACTED]

9 [REDACTED]

10 [REDACTED].

11 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) [REDACTED]

12 [REDACTED]

13 [REDACTED] --

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

15 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) [REDACTED]

16 [REDACTED]

17 [REDACTED] --

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

19 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- how it works and how SCIFs work.

20 And have you followed that stuff? Are you familiar in the
21 course of your career about just generally what it means for
22 a document to be classified, how security clearance works,
23 what a security clearance is?

24 MR. ZWONITZER: I mean only in the, only in the
25 vague -- I know more now --

1 (01:48:49)

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

3 MR. ZWONITZER: -- in the last month or so as I
4 see it on, you know, this thing in the Trump world
5 mushrooming. But it's not something I really -- again
6 because anything classified material I dealt with had, was
7 history had long since been declassified.

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

9 [REDACTED]
10 [REDACTED]
11 [REDACTED]
12 [REDACTED]
13 [REDACTED]

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

15 [REDACTED]
16 [REDACTED]

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

18 [REDACTED]

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

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

21 [REDACTED] ?

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

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

24 [REDACTED] ?

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

1 (01:49:46)

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

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

4 I started working on Pegasus in 2021, I
5 think.

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

7 MR. ZWONITZER: The book was just published in
8 January.

9 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. So you don't -- when that
10 happened at the time you don't, you don't recall, it wasn't
11 notable to you, you weren't concerned?

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

17 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Did Biden seem concerned when he,
18 when he said that, that oh, like, there's classified down
19 there. I'd better take care of that? Or did he seem
20 nonchalant about it?

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

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

24 MR. ZWONITZER: I need to be careful with this
25 material. Again, I always got a sense that like there's --

1 (01:50:48)

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

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

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

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

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

1 (01:52:13)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: -- sure it was always a matter of,
3 you know, the various officials had already spoken to this
4 stuff in congressional hearings or in the press or, you
5 know, I was always able to find -- it was always stuff that
6 was in the public domain I felt like.

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

8 MR. ZWONITZER: There was nothing in my notes that
9 ever gave me pause, like oh I shouldn't have this.

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

11 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) At any point in the process of
12 this, of writing the book did you ever have to or consider
13 having all of the I guess what you were drafting approved by
14 a government agency that it was cleared for publishing --

15 MR. ZWONITZER: I don't --

16 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- like a prepublication review?

17 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah, that was not my, in my
18 purview. That was up to -- that was the Bidens.

19 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Did you ever discuss that?

20 MR. ZWONITZER: I don't remember it. I just -- I
21 don't remember discussing it.

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

23

24

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

1 (01:53:25)

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

3

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

5

6

7

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

9

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

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

12

13 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) ?

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

15

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

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

18

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

20

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

21

MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. There was -- listening to

22

the recordings, there was also some occasions where Biden

23

would ask you to turn off the recorder because he was going

24

to cover something that was sensitive or I -- for various

25

reasons. Do you, do you recall that? Or why --

1 (01:54:24)

2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- would he ask you to turn off the
3 recorder?

4 MR. ZWONITZER: I sure don't. I don't recall
5 that. I remember there was a time when he asked me to erase
6 something that was about a distant family member that he
7 wanted -- you know, I don't want that. I don't want that to
8 be known. But I don't remember him saying to turn off the
9 tape. I'm sure it happened. I just don't recall that.

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

11 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Did it come up on that specific
12 issue about erasing, did Joe Biden ever talk to you about
13 what he wanted to have happen with the recordings or was
14 there any understanding what was going to happen with them
15 after the book was written?

16 MR. ZWONITZER: I don't think, I don't think we
17 had a specific agreement or, you know. We had a very
18 minimal agreement. So my feeling was there might be down
19 the road other books for us to do but that eventually all
20 that material would end up at his presidential library at
21 this point. His -- you know, what would have been his
22 senate archives before he was president.

23 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Even the recordings?

24 MR. ZWONITZER: We never talked about the
25 recordings.

1 (01:55:41)

2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) So it's funny. I'm going to ask
3 you because when I was listening to them it occurred to me
4 that it maybe a chief of staff or someone else, maybe not
5 Biden himself would say -- would want those to be deleted
6 after you were done with them because they're -- some of
7 them he's quite engaged and doing that. With other ones
8 he's kind of reading monotone from a diary but they aren't,
9 they're certainly not the type of recordings you'd hear in
10 terms of like an oral history project or something --

11 MR. ZWONITZER: Right.

12 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- like polished and I mean you
13 guys are very, very comfortable with one another and
14 sometimes he's on, sometimes he's not on. But they aren't
15 super presentable, if that's the word.

16 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

17 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) If you know what I'm saying. And,
18 you know, obviously image is important for a politicians and
19 I can see someone saying this is for the very specific
20 purpose of the book and let's, let's delete these recordings
21 so they don't get out to the world.

22 MR. ZWONITZER: Right.

23 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Because as recordings, you know,
24 are want to do.

25 MR. ZWONITZER: Right.

1 (01:56:36)

2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) There was no discussion about that
3 or thought about that?

4 MR. ZWONITZER: I don't, I don't remember a
5 discussion about that.

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

7 MR. ZWONITZER: I just -- I mean it was always
8 pretty informal.

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

10 MR. ZWONITZER: So I don't remember a discussion.

11 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. So February 16th, you have
12 the meeting where he talks about finding the classified.
13 Did you see any of the -- did he show any classified during
14 any of the interviews?

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

17 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. And in terms of the diaries
18 I know that he kind of had them literally close.

19 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

20 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) He would hold on to them, again
21 they were personal.

22 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. Right.

23 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) There's at least a couple of times
24 where he kind of asked you help him read?

25 MR. ZWONITZER: Yes. Yeah. Can you make out --

1 (01:57:23)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: -- this word? That I remember.

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

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

6 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. All right. Was that -- it
7 must have been a little frustrating. Didn't you want to
8 read them?

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

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

15 MR. ZWONITZER: Except for efficiency and speed
16 reasons.

17 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Sure. Well on that note --

18 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Can I follow up on --

19 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Go please. Please, please.

20 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- on February 16th. Do you
21 remember who else was there at the time?

22 MR. ZWONITZER: I thought it was just the two of
23 us.

24 MR. FREEMAN: Are we talking about February the
25 16th?

1 (01:58:16)

2 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) The February 16, 2017.

3 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. It's -- I think it's been
4 pointed out to me to that Val was invited to the meeting. I
5 don't remember her. She may have been there but I just
6 don't remember her being there.

7 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. If she has kind of lines on
8 the transcript and in the audio and you could hear her
9 voice --

10 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

11 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- would that make you think that
12 she was there?

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

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

16 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

17 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And then do you remember anyone
18 else who was there?

19 MR. ZWONITZER: On the 16th?

20 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) On February 16th?

21 MR. ZWONITZER: I do not.

22 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. So I can understand when
23 you're in the moment with the vice president or former vice
24 president and he mentioned something like, oh this part is
25 classified or I found all these classified things --

1 (01:59:00)

2 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- downstairs, maybe you don't
3 want to discuss it then or maybe it doesn't register for you
4 at the time, but when you're relistening to the audio and
5 transcribing it and typing up words like classified at that
6 point did it raise any flags for you or have any impact?

7 MR. ZWONITZER: I guess it did not.

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

9 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) To follow up on that, did
10 you -- were you, were you typing in real time as he spoke?

11 MR. ZWONITZER: No, no, no.

12 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Or were you recording --

13 MR. ZWONITZER: Recording and --

14 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- and transcribing later?

15 MR. ZWONITZER: -- transcribing, yeah.

16 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) It's painstaking. You did
17 that -- you did all the transcribing yourself?

18 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. It's not my favorite job.

19 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And did you mention anything about
20 him mentioning classified to anyone else?

21 MR. ZWONITZER: No.

22 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) To like your publishers, the
23 editor?

24 MR. ZWONITZER: No.

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

1 (01:59:48)

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

3 [REDACTED]

4 [REDACTED]

5 [REDACTED] ?

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

7 [REDACTED]

8 [REDACTED]

9 [REDACTED]

10 [REDACTED]

11 [REDACTED]

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

13 [REDACTED]

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

15 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And a week later you sent (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) an
16 email and this is Zwonitzer 53. I was going to show it to
17 you. It says we'll probably need about four -- you're
18 asking for another meeting.

19 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah

20 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Need about four hours if possible
21 and we need to take one session to make an inventory of all
22 the various notebooks, et cetera and put them in order and
23 put them in one place. Can you tell us about your request
24 from there?

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

1 (02:00:58)

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

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

11 MR. ZWONITZER: No. I mean we would like, you
12 know, he would come into the meeting at the Naval
13 Observatory or at McLean or wherever it was and it would be,
14 you know -- what I remember is maybe one or two notebooks at
15 any given time. It was never more than that.

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

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

1 (02:02:27)

2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And did you have a discussion with
3 Biden about that, the need to make sure you were getting
4 everything and we don't want to -- there's really great
5 stuff in these journals.

6 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

7 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) We want to make sure we're not
8 missing some of them?

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

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

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

17 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) He and Val seemed quite close.

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

19 [REDACTED].

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

21 [REDACTED]

22 [REDACTED]

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

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

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

1 (02:03:20)

2 MR. ZWONTIZER: Yeah.

3 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) But they've stayed close through
4 the years?

5 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. I mean she ran his first
6 senate campaign. She's always been -- I mean if he really
7 wants, you know, the last piece of advice he wants is from
8 Val. She's probably not given enough credit for what she's
9 done over the years. Yeah. But they -- I'd say she is his
10 most trusted. And especially in terms of, like, not just
11 politics, but in terms of just a friend.

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

13 MR. FREEMAN: I would like to take a break.

14 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Absolutely. Perfect time.

15 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) All right. The time is --

16 MR. FREEMAN: I was waiting for the break.

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

18 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah. The time is 11:31 and we're
19 going on a break.

20 (End of 230731_0074.)

21

22

23

24

25

1 (Start of 230731_0075).

2 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. The time is 11:45 and we're
3 back on.

4 MR. ZWONITZER: I did (indiscernible 00:00:05)
5 nobody else does.

6 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Read what?

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

8

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

10

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

12 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah. Welcome back. I wanted to
13 talk to you about -- you mentioned what the POTUS lunch is.

14 MR. ZWONITZER: Yes.

15 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Which is one of the big things that
16 you guys covered in your interviews and some of those are in
17 the one, some of them were powerful moments in the book like
18 Vice President Biden recounting his one-on-one lunches with
19 President Obama in which they discussed all manner of things
20 including Beau's health and whether or not Vice President
21 Biden should run for president in 2016.

22 Can you give us a sense of why that was important
23 to the book or was that something you hit on as being
24 important or did Biden?

25 MR. ZWONITZER: I think we sort of came to that --

1 (00:00:58)

2 Mr. ZWONITZER: -- together. But the Bidens tried
3 very hard to keep Beau's illness out of the public eye. I
4 mean I think it was, it was a surprise to a lot of people
5 when Beau died because people didn't know how serious his
6 cancer was. And so they kept it and Beau wanted it kept
7 private. He didn't want, you know, people to know.

8 So the family didn't really tell many people and
9 one of the few people Biden did tell was Obama. He felt
10 like it was his duty, you know, this is the boss. If he's,
11 if he, Biden, is going to stop working at any time, you
12 know, he wanted Obama to be aware of that. And so Obama is
13 one of the few people who knew the story of Beau.

14 So he's one of the few people who Biden could talk
15 to about that he was -- what he was going through. So
16 that's why that -- those lunches were I think really -- a
17 really important piece of the book. And Obama would sort of
18 ask him interesting questions, you know, about what do you
19 want to do with the rest of your life, Joe? And --

20 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) I liked those parts of the book.
21 Like I enjoyed those parts of the book.

22 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. There's a nice, you
23 know, -- it's not -- it's a prickly relationship but it's a
24 nice one.

25 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah. You identified a series --

1 (00:02:28)

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

4 MR. ZWONITZER: Right.

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

10 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. At that point.

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

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

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

19 MR. ZWONITZER: So it came, it came from the
20 diary. But he was not always sure about dates. So like, oh
21 I told you, you know, this conversation happened on April
22 1st. I want to make sure of that. So I think I was asking
23 him because he was going to review the notes, not from his
24 diary but the official notes that were at the Archives. So
25 he was going to the Archives to look at those, the notes --

1 (00:04:01)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: -- the official notes.

3 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) For the, for the -- for researching
4 the book?

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

9 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. And it looks like you
10 actually forwarded this email later on May 11 to
11 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), and that's Biden's --

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

13

14 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah, that's his, that's his
15 personal email account at the time.

16 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. One of his accounts, yes.

17 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And that was so he could take that
18 list with him to the Archives to find what he could. Okay.
19 Okay. And did -- you didn't go to the Archives with him
20 though?

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

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

24 MR. ZWONITZER: So that --

25 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Surprise.

1 (00:04:52)

2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And then the fact you email him
3 on -- this is Zwonitzer 1406 on May 12th of 2017 and said,
4 hope all went well at the Archives.

5 MR. ZWONITZER: Yep.

6 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) So I assume you knew he had gone to
7 the Archives.

8 MR. ZWONITZER: Yes.

9 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. And then what happened after
10 he went to the Archives? Did he come back with material for
11 you to review?

12 MR. ZWONITZER: I think there was a -- I think we
13 had a session like around May 15th. And I think he went
14 back through, you know, like okay this is -- this confirmed
15 what was in my notes. I think he made notes of portions of
16 those lunches that we were interested in.

17 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) He may have took those files to the
18 Archives?

19 MR. ZWONITZER: I think he did. I'm not positive
20 of that but I'm pretty sure that he would have taken -- we
21 can check about the May 15th discussion. But I think he had
22 notes from the Archives on the personal discussions.

23 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. And did he talk to you about
24 the types of notes he took when he had lunches with
25 President Obama?

1 (00:06:01)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: I didn't remember this until going
3 back through stuff recently is that -- so he would -- I
4 think he would make the diary notes maybe, you know, in the
5 evening afterwards or a couple of days later or over the
6 weekend. But what he would do when he came out of the
7 lunches with the president, I think he told me what he would
8 do is he would download everything to (b) (6), (b) (7)(C).

9 She would make the notes. Those would be the
10 notes -- for the official notes for the meeting that would
11 then be part of the presidential records and go to the
12 Archives. So that's why he knew that, you know, they were
13 going to -- there was going to be a more detailed and full
14 record of that in the Archives. I --

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

18 MR. ZWONITZER: I did not.

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

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

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

1 (00:07:14)

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

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

10 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. Yeah.

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

13 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. These --

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

16 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

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

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

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

1 (00:08:16)

2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- important things or very
3 personal things and moving. Yeah, did you ask him multiple
4 times like are you sure I can't just photocopy some of
5 these?

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

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

9 MR. ZWONITZER: But I got a very clear, you
10 know -- I mean it wasn't --

11 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) It's the vice president.

12 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. You don't push too hard.

13 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Got you. Okay.

14 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Apart from kind of the diary
15 entries were you shown any of the official write ups that
16 came after these POTUS lunches?

17 MR. ZWONITZER: No. I never saw those.

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

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

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

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

1 (00:09:09)

2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- cards, these note cards he'd
3 keep in his jacket pocket. Are you familiar with those?

4 MR. ZWONITZER: Yes.

5 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Did you see any of those or
6 look -- were you able to review any of those while you like
7 wrote the book or researched the book?

8 MR. ZWONITZER: I did see some of those just in
9 terms of the help like they were essentially, it was a
10 schedule for him. And so it was again and it's not -- it
11 was basically the same thing his private schedule would be
12 which is this is the public schedule, added to it would be
13 things like, (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) got a volleyball game tonight. You
14 know, it's (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) birthday or it was that kind of stuff.

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

19 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Afghanistan seemed like something
20 that was an issue of importance. He felt very strongly
21 about Afghanistan. Is that correct?

22 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

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

24 MR. ZWONITZER: He did.

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

1 (00:10:18)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. He did on occasion and it
3 was specifically about -- I mean it was already not just
4 famous, but infamous when they had to -- when they had
5 to -- when they chose to fire the general. Right? His name
6 I can't --

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

8 MR. ZWONITZER: McChrystal, right.

9 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C): McChrystal.

10 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) General McChrystal.

11 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. So that was really a -- I
12 think that was a clash between Biden and a lot of people at
13 the Pentagon about just how to handle Afghanistan. So that
14 was very much in the news.

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

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

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

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

21 [REDACTED] .

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

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

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

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

1 (00:11:18)

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

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

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

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

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

1 (00:12:44)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: So yes, without question we talked
3 about it, I'm sure.

4 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) One of the sort of famous episodes
5 of this I mean in terms of Biden's opposition is this
6 handwritten letter he wrote to Obama over Thanksgiving and
7 sent to him on Thanksgiving day from Nantucket, again
8 advocating almost the last time about how this is a terrible
9 idea. Don't do this, Mr. President. This is a mistake.

10 MR. ZWONITZER: You mean like back in like 2009,
11 2010?

12 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Back in 2009 opposing the sending
13 of additional troops to Afghanistan.

14 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

15 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Did he talk to you about that? I
16 mean have you heard this anecdote before?

17 MR. ZWONITZER: About the Thanksgiving?

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

19 MR. ZWONITZER: No.

20 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. Like him writing this long
21 handwritten letter to Obama?

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

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

1 (00:13:39)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

3 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) I want to say annoying long
4 handwritten letter. But it was much longer than the typical
5 handwritten letter.

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

9 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah. Fair enough. Okay. Did he
10 ever show you that letter?

11 MR. ZWONITZER: No.

12 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Did he ever --

13 MR. ZWONITZER: I don't remember seeing it.

14 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. When -- okay. I know you
15 guys -- the book deal with Flatiron was for potential
16 multiple books by Biden, but like have you guys talked? I
17 know you've sent some emails proposing additional books that
18 he could potentially write.

19 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. We talked about what would
20 be the second book as early as 2018. But by then he was
21 really ramping up, you know, thinking about running for
22 president. I remember vividly back in 2007 Mike Donilon
23 tearing his hair out all the time Biden was spinning on the
24 book when he should have been running for president.

25 And so the -- I mean it just didn't work timewise.

1 (00:14:43)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. I said they going -- there
3 was going to be a second book. He was definitely interested
4 and I personally kind of felt like he should let *Promise Me,*
5 *Dad* stand.

6 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Did you guys talk about topics
7 or --

8 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. I'm sure we did. And
9 I -- but I can't. I do remember -- I do know that we talked
10 the possibility of what's now known as Bidenomics.

11 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) I mean how would you describe in a
12 short paragraph of Bidenomics?

13 MR. ZWONITZER: Well basically his career has been
14 a lot about economic justice, economic equality, economic
15 opportunity and we've talked about that from the time I
16 first knew him in 2004. The -- also was way nothing free
17 but economics has taken over this country and how do you,
18 how do you push that back a little bit and how do you try to
19 get some sort of equality, economic equality.

20 And that's been a very big and important part of
21 his life and career. And I thought it was something that
22 might be worth writing about.

23 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. But that didn't happen. Was
24 there ever a discussion about a foreign policy book?
25 Because I was thinking when I think of Joe Biden and his --

1 (00:16:09)

2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- career just sort of two pillars,
3 and one is middle class Joe, or whatever and the other is,
4 you know, being very engaged in foreign policy issues for
5 his whole career before he became vice president and
6 president.

7 MR. ZWONITZER: No, we didn't speak specifically
8 about it. I mean the second book was -- when you talked
9 about it it was more like hey, Mark, check out what this
10 particular general wrote. You know, it was like a little
11 150 page book like how to make your bed -- or make sure you
12 make your bed every day or something I thought was very
13 narrow.

14 And it was, you know, it was a -- it was not going
15 to be a big, hefty, the second book. It was going to be
16 something narrow and tailored and small and I don't -- I
17 mean if we talked about that in 2018 or 2019, a foreign
18 policy book, I don't quite remember and I don't think it's
19 something I was anxious to dive into.

20 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Got you. So Biden hasn't written a
21 full memoir?

22 MR. ZWONITZER: That's --

23 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Promises to Keep was a memoir I
24 suppose but since then was that a conscious choice of him
25 not to -- he's not -- I'm not done yet, I'm not ready to --

1 (00:17:24)

2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- do that?

3 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. I mean I think it was. I
4 mean I could also tell you so at the end of the very long and
5 arduous copyedit we had spent like literally a 14-hour day in
6 Rehoboth going through the manuscript line by line and I was
7 at the end of the day like this and he's walking around, he's
8 still going and we can do five or six more of these. I'm
9 getting like can be the next Jimmy Carter. He actually likes
10 doing books. I mean I think he wants to do it.

11 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Sure. Sure. There was
12 a -- listening to the recordings and reading your
13 transcripts there was a few times where Biden
14 as -- seemingly as an aside would turn to Val and say that's
15 something for the memoir, or mark that for the memoir or
16 something along --

17 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

18 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Do you remember --

19 MR. ZWONITZER: I mean I think -- I'm not
20 surprised to hear that. That makes sense but it's like more
21 like, you know, ha ha. You know, I don't think it was -- it
22 might have been serious.

23 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Was Val keeping a file for the
24 future memoir? I mean she could be. That's a totally
25 reasonable thing to --

1 (00:18:30)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. But Val's a, you know,
3 Val's keeping a file for everything. He memoir would only
4 be the M's file.

5 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Would Val -- I mean, you know,
6 she's obviously there during some number of -- quite a few
7 of your interviews it seems like. Is she just sitting on
8 the couch with you guys?

9 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. And she would weigh in on
10 occasion. But not often.

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

12 MR. ZWONITZER: But Val is like -- Val would be
13 the person to say when the cover comes in, no, I think it
14 should be a different blue, you know. She's at that level
15 of detail.

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

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

18 [REDACTED]

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

20 [REDACTED]

21 [REDACTED] --

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

23 [REDACTED]

24 [REDACTED]

25 [REDACTED] --

1 (00:19:33)

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

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9 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. But she was -- she would be
10 like sitting in, when you guys were sitting on the couch or
11 on chairs, she'd be for those interviews where she was
12 present she'd be kind of there --

13 MR. ZWONITZER: When she was there yeah.

14 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- for the whole thing? Okay.
15 Engaged and whether or not she was speaking at times, other
16 times just engaged listening and --

17 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. Or something -- I mean
18 there were times she might have been, you know, she and Jill
19 might have been in the other room talking and she came back.
20 I mean I don't remember her being, you know, like there
21 often, but when she was there she was present.

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

23 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) You had said that Val was keeping
24 a file for everything kind of as a joke but like what -- if
25 you could explain a little more what you mean by that?

1 (00:20:45)

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

3

4

5

6 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Did she like literally keep files
7 for Biden, too?

8 MR. ZWONITZER: No. I'm sorry that was
9 something -- I wasn't being flip but I --

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

11 MR. ZWONITZER: Not that I -- no, I don't think
12 she was literally keeping --

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

14 And just a follow up on something else. You had
15 mentioned about the note cards, you know, it would have his
16 schedules and the troops that had been killed in combat on
17 the back.

18 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

19 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Where would you see those note
20 cards?

21 MR. ZWONITZER: I think that (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

22 in the, were in a
23 file, a PDF maybe that --

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

1 (00:21:47)

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

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

7 MR. ZWONITZER: I think that -- I can't remember
8 but I think it would have been from (b) (6), (b) (7)(C). So that
9 would have been at the White House in August when we were
10 gathering.

11 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) In August of 2016?

12 MR. ZWONITZER: '16, when we were gathering
13 schedules.

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

16 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Or gave you a copy of them?

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

18 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) I wouldn't call
19 them a note card. It's like a card that was like narrow and
20 long.

21 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah. Like it goes coat pocket.

22 MR. ZWONITZER: And but it literally just had the
23 schedule on it. It didn't have anything more than the
24 schedule.

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

1 (00:22:50)

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

3 [REDACTED] did you have the
4 actual, physical note cards?

5 MR. ZWONITZER: No.

6 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Did he email them to you or give
7 them to you?

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

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

12 MR. GINSBURG: (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

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

14 MR. GINSBURG: (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

15 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

16 MR. FREEMAN: (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

17 [REDACTED]

18 [REDACTED]

19 [REDACTED]

20 [REDACTED]

21 [REDACTED]

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

23 MR. FREEMAN: (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

24 [REDACTED]

25 [REDACTED]

1 (00:23:56)

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

3 MR. FREEMAN: (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

4 [REDACTED]

5 [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

6 [REDACTED]

7 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

8 [REDACTED]

9 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) [REDACTED]

10 [REDACTED] How sure are you that you got them? I
11 mean those look very distinctive with the schedule on them.
12 We all know what we're talking about.

13 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

14 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Like so he famously had them and
15 used them a lot. They're sort of unique to him. Maybe he
16 had a good reason to but I've never seen that form.

17 MR. ZWONITZER: Okay. I mean that was memory.

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

19 MR. ZWONITZER: I thought I saw those at some
20 point.

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

22 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) So I guess other than the meeting
23 with (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) in the West Wing did you see those types of
24 note cards anywhere else?

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

1 (00:25:02)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: -- you know, only in his hand when
3 he referred to it.

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

7 MR. ZWONITZER: No.

8 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) When -- during some of the meetings
9 while he was still vice president I think you were at the
10 Naval Observatory, he's reading from materials that are not
11 the notebooks. And it appears to be the types of notes that
12 he later ended up at the Archives. Do you recall him paging
13 through some of the more haphazardly gathered the materials
14 that weren't a -- one of the journals or diaries?

15 MR. ZWONITZER: I don't.

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

17 MR. ZWONITZER: But can you give me a for
18 instance?

19 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Well so there's the interviews
20 where he's essentially reading you things --

21 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

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

1 (00:25:57)

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

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

10 MR. ZWONITZER: Okay.

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

13 MR. ZWONITZER: Okay.

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

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

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

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

1 (00:27:09)

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

3 MR. ZWONITZER: And I think that was around the
4 middle --

5 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Of 2017.

6 MR. ZWONITZER: -- '17.

7 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. So you think you recall that
8 he went to the Archives, took notes on the things and then
9 read those notes to you?

10 MR. ZWONITZER: That's what I -- that's my memory.

11 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) He went back to the Archives in
12 July of 2017 and you -- this is Bates 631. This is
13 Zwonitzer 631 and 632 of July 9th of 2017, and you sent an
14 email to (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) --

15 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

16 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- which is the Joe Biden email
17 with the subject, Archives. And attached to it Bates at 632
18 is a list of POTUS lunches and that's some of the same
19 lunches that you had -- appeared in your earlier list in
20 April, some of which are crossed out. I assume that's
21 because you already --

22 MR. ZWONITZER: Don't know how --

23 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) You had gotten those notes. And
24 then this other, a list of other topics that, you know, in
25 for potential notes including calls with Prime Minister --

1 (00:28:23)

2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- Abadi of Iraq, a call with
3 President Poroshenko of Ukraine and some other items. What
4 are these items that you're looking for and why?

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

8 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) In June of 20 --

9 MR. ZWONITZER: In June, so these are like what's
10 going on in your life then.

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

12 MR. ZWONITZER: What I remember is that I know
13 that we quoted from letters of condolence that he got about
14 Beau. I don't think he did any of that.

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

17 MR. ZWONITZER: I don't think he got any of those.

18 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) He did go to the Archives. So you
19 sent this email on July 9th. He went there a day or two
20 later.

21 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

22 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) So he did get you some stuff I take
23 it?

24 MR. ZWONITZER: I think it was about Beau.

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

1 (00:29:28)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. I don't -- I just don't
3 remember. I mean I remember having like all the official
4 readouts of those meetings from the White House archives
5 that was digitally available.

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

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

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

13 [REDACTED]

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

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

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

17 [REDACTED]

18 [REDACTED]

19 [REDACTED]

20 [REDACTED]

21 [REDACTED]

22 [REDACTED]

23 [REDACTED]

24 [REDACTED]

25 [REDACTED]

1 (00:31:02)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) [REDACTED]

3 [REDACTED]

4 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) [REDACTED] (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

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

6 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) [REDACTED] (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

7 [REDACTED]

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

9 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) [REDACTED] (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

10 MR. ZWONITZER: [REDACTED] (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

11 [REDACTED]

12 [REDACTED]

13 [REDACTED]

14 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. All right. You -- we talked
15 earlier. You met at Chain Bridge Road and you -- when you
16 met at the Naval Observatory and then often you'd be at the
17 personal residence on the second floor?

18 MR. ZWONITZER: Upstairs, yes.

19 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Sometimes on the main, at least the
20 one time it sounded like on the main floor --

21 MR. ZWONITZER: Right.

22 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) When you talked about finding the
23 notebooks upstairs. Then you met several times at his
24 residence in McLean on Chain Bridge Road?

25 MR. ZWONITZER: Mm-hmm. Right.

1 (00:32:01)

2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And there you would meet in
3 that -- was it the den area?

4 MR. ZWONITZER: Well we met in that area and if it
5 was a bigger group we would meet in the downstairs area.

6 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. And what was downstairs at
7 Chain Bridge Road?

8 MR. ZWONITZER: It was just like a big open office
9 kind of area, yeah. A lot of bookshelves. I remember he
10 went and bought a gigantic -- it was again a gigantic
11 conference table to put that down there so that we'd be able
12 to meet with a lot of people.

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

14 MR. ZWONITZER: We spent hours at a used furniture
15 store.

16 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) You went with him to the furniture
17 store?

18 MR. ZWONITZER: Oh yeah. It's always like hey
19 man, I've got an errand to run. We can talk on the ride.
20 I've picked up sod with the guy.

21 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Who would you meet with down there?

22 MR. ZWONITZER: Down in?

23 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) In the, in the basement at Chain
24 Bridge?

25 MR. ZWONITZER: Oh downstairs? If I think it --

1 (00:32:48)

2 MR. FREEMAN: Hold on. Did you meet in the
3 basement or on the first floor?

4 MR. ZWONITZER: On the lower floor, which is --

5 MR. FREEMAN: Okay. That's the --

6 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) The office area of the basement?

7 MR. FREEMAN: No, it's not the basement.

8 MR. ZWONITZER: Well it's the --

9 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Lowest floor, the like doors open out
10 onto the backyard?

11 MR. ZWONITZER: I think so.

12 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. With the big conference
13 table?

14 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

15 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And who did you meet with? You
16 said, if they had more people.

17 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. I think -- I know that some
18 staff people were down there in that, in that meeting.

19 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. I know you -- at one time
20 you had a, you had a meeting and I believe in April of 2017
21 with some of the foreign policy guys, Colin Kahl, Juan
22 Gonzalez, some others.

23 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

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

25 MR. ZWONITZER: Right.

1 (00:33:40)

2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Jeff Prescott?

3 MR. ZWONITZER: Yes.

4 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And that was to cover foreign
5 policy things?

6 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

7 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. And then do you also -- did
8 you also meet at the lake house in Wilmington?

9 MR. ZWONITZER: Yes.

10 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And where would you meet when you
11 were there?

12 MR. ZWONITZER: Usually in the -- on the main
13 floor there's a couple of rooms. There's a very nice
14 solarium that looks out over the lake and then there's a big
15 dining room table so we would usually set up there.

16 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And would you meet with other
17 people there or mostly just Biden?

18 MR. ZWONITZER: Mostly just him and Val might be
19 there. I don't remember on the second book if Ted ever
20 showed up there. I don't think so. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

21 [REDACTED]

22 [REDACTED]

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

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

25 [REDACTED] --

1 (00:34:50)

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

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

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

5 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) You obviously had sensitive
6 conversations, personal things. You recorded many
7 conversations and interviews with Biden and others. Did you
8 ever have any interviews that were not recorded?

9 MR. ZWONITZER: In the sense that like if we were
10 driving to the used furniture store or we were sitting
11 around, you know, trying to figure out how to make the
12 microwave work at the first night in McLean, you know, and
13 just having dinner.

14 There would occasionally be things he said to me
15 about, you know, about Beau for instance that I would, I
16 would, you know, like just from recollection type into my
17 laptop at the end of the day. So there -- but there
18 were -- most of the meetings I recorded. The ones I didn't
19 were -- I would occasionally if there was anything really
20 notable I would pop it into my notes collection.

21 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. All right. Your recorder
22 that you used -- actually, let me -- before I go there.
23 Rehoboth Beach?

24 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

25 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) You also worked there, is that --

1 (00:36:29)

2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- right?

3 MR. ZWONITZER: Yes. That was where we did most
4 of (indiscernible 00:36:32).

5 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And that was in the summer of 2017?
6 Is that --

7 MR. ZWONITZER: Essentially, we moved to Rehoboth
8 in the middle of June or so of 2017 and for six weeks almost
9 every day (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
10 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) we
11 would work five, six days a week all day long on the
12 manuscript.

13 I didn't -- we weren't really recording anything
14 then because it was really, literally, working on the
15 manuscript and notes on the manuscript. That was when the
16 bulk of the work was done. That was when the writing was
17 done. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
18 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) That's --

19 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And would did the writing work?
20 You'd be writing, handing it to him to edit, to give
21 thoughts. Would he be looking over your shoulder?

22 MR. ZWONITZER: It was sort of a looping process
23 where, you know, the initial kind of writing composing
24 really started with him and him talking. And then I would
25 revise. I would make it clearer prose, take it back to --

1 (00:37:42)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: -- him, he would put his notes and
3 emanations on it. So it was a back and forth.

4 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Did this take a long time?

5 MR. ZWONITZER: Well I'm proud to say it didn't
6 take too long. We got the book out in time -- in on time.

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

8 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. But it was, it was -- I
9 mean those were very, very long days and often, you know, we
10 were, we would work all day and I would go back at night
11 and, you know, rework the manuscript and bring it back the
12 next day.

13 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Sure. Did you record those
14 sessions?

15 MR. ZWONITZER: I didn't. I don't remember
16 recording those sessions just because we were literally
17 working on paper and on the manuscript at that point and so
18 it's no, you know, we weren't, you know, like, doing any new
19 story at that point.

20 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Got you. Your recorder device that
21 you used would automatically put a date every -- if I'm
22 understanding this correctly, this is based on my
23 discussions with (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), every time you turned it on or
24 off it, like, when we stopped here. You would have new
25 number, recording number.

1 (00:38:48)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: Right. There's a date.

3 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And there's a date on there as
4 well. Is that right?

5 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. But I do know that some of
6 the dates were wrong. I was trying to figure out -- I
7 thought it was because it -- maybe I got a new recorder. I
8 think what happened was if the batteries die, which they
9 would occasionally because of the --

10 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Oh yeah.

11 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) She's got a stack of batteries in
12 her seat here.

13 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C): You should check.

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

15 MR. ZWONITZER: You know, this man could talk, you
16 know. He could run the battery down. So when the batteries
17 died I think probably I would have to reset the date and I'm
18 just not technically interested so there were times
19 when -- I noticed there were times when a couple of dates
20 were wrong and I think it was because I hadn't reset the
21 date in the recorder

22 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) There's also certain -- I mean the
23 transcript generally we saved based on the date as well, but
24 there's certain ones where they're not saved date and it's
25 particularly -- in particular several that are saved --

1 (00:39:51)

2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- JRB-1, JRB-2, JRB-3.

3 MR. ZWONITZER: Right.

4 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Why was that?

5 MR. ZWONITZER: I think that was the -- I think
6 those all were in 2016.

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

8 MR. ZWONITZER: But those were probably while he
9 was vice president. And I'm not sure I even had a date on
10 those at that point.

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

12 MR. ZWONITZER: So that's, that's the difference.

13 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) One --

14 MR. ZWONITZER: I think the dating system started
15 either the end of 2016 or the beginning of 2017.

16 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah. One of the things we would
17 like to be able to do is match up dates to those earlier
18 recordings. Is that something you can help us with?

19 MR. ZWONITZER: I think, I think I can because I
20 think I went through and kind of tried to match the dates
21 with the scheduling things we did just so that, you know, in
22 my own head, I wanted to make sure I had everything.

23 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Great. Well, we can talk to your
24 lawyers. We have a list of every time you met with him in
25 2016 at least it may not be completely accurate but --

1 (00:40:50)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. Right.

3 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- maybe some of these didn't
4 happen but we have, you know --

5 MR. ZWONITZER: No, I think those like Biden 1
6 through 8 --

7 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Those seem like the first ones,
8 yeah.

9 MR. ZWONITZER: -- probably match up --

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

11 MR. ZWONITZER: -- with those few things.

12 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. When we -- I mean, we'll
13 talk to our lawyers about how to, how to facilitate this.
14 But that would be helpful to us since we're trying to figure
15 it out. But it's timing a little --

16 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah. In some of the transcripts
17 you write it'll say like JRB NAV Obs (ph.) and then maybe a
18 date. Do you remember like what that, that that signifies?
19 Is that when you met with him? or is that him reading from a
20 journal and that's the title of that?

21 MR. ZWONITZER: If it was at the top it would
22 be -- if it said JRB NAV Obs, date, that would be the date
23 of the meeting.

24 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Of what meeting?

25 MR. ZWONITZER: Of the meet -- he and I meeting --

1 (00:41:33)

2

3 MR. ZWONITZER: -- of he and I meeting.

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

5 MR. ZWONITZER: That could be an interview session
6 with him.

7 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. And then it also looks like
8 in some of the transcripts maybe you combined transcripts
9 together?

10 MR. ZWONITZER: Mm-hmm.

11 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Can you tell us about that
12 process, like --

13 MR. ZWONITZER: Combined transcripts together?

14 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) So like it'll have those kind of
15 titles but throughout the document.

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

17 [REDACTED]

18 [REDACTED]

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

20 MR. ZWONITZER: -- (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) [REDACTED]

21 [REDACTED]

22 [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

23 [REDACTED]

24 [REDACTED]

25 [REDACTED] --

1 (00:42:27)

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

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

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

5 [REDACTED]

6 [REDACTED]

7 [REDACTED]

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

9 [REDACTED]

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

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

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

13 [REDACTED] ?

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

15 [REDACTED] --

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

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

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

19 [REDACTED] ?

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

21 [REDACTED] (indiscernible 00:42:56)

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

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

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

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

1 (00:43:01)

2 MS. ZWONTIZER: -- (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) [REDACTED]

3 [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

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

5 [REDACTED]

6 [REDACTED] ?

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

8 [REDACTED]

9 [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

10 [REDACTED]

11 [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

12 [REDACTED]

13 [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

14 [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

15 [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

16 [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

17 [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

18 [REDACTED]

19 [REDACTED]

20 [REDACTED]

21 [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

22 [REDACTED]

23 [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

24 [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

25 [REDACTED]

1 (00:44:40)

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

3 [REDACTED] --

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

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

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

7 [REDACTED]

8 [REDACTED]

9 [REDACTED]

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

11 [REDACTED]

12 [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

13 [REDACTED]

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

15 [REDACTED]

16 [REDACTED]

17 [REDACTED]

18 [REDACTED]

19 [REDACTED]

20 [REDACTED]

21 [REDACTED]

22 [REDACTED]

23 [REDACTED]

24 [REDACTED]

25 [REDACTED]

1 (00:46:06)

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

3 [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

4 [REDACTED]

5 [REDACTED]

6 [REDACTED]

7 [REDACTED]

8 [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

9 [REDACTED]

10 [REDACTED]

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

12 [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

13 [REDACTED] ?

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

15 [REDACTED]

16 [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

17 [REDACTED]

18 [REDACTED]

19 [REDACTED]

20 [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

21 [REDACTED]

22 [REDACTED] .

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

24 [REDACTED] ?

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

1 (00:47:24)

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

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

9

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

10

11

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

12

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

13

14

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

15

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

16

17

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

18

19

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

20

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

21

22

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

23

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

24

25

1 (00:48:10)

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

3 [REDACTED] --

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

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

6 [REDACTED] --

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

8 [REDACTED] .

9 MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) [REDACTED]

10 [REDACTED] .

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

12 [REDACTED]

13 [REDACTED] .

14 MR. ZWONITZER: (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) [REDACTED]

15 [REDACTED] .

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

17 [REDACTED]

18 [REDACTED]

19 [REDACTED]

20 [REDACTED]

21 [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

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

23 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) [REDACTED]

24 [REDACTED] .

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

1 (00:48:48)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

23 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

24 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Do you recall him having anything
25 besides those at your meetings?

1 (00:49:49)

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

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

9 MR. ZWONITZER: But I don't remember him having a
10 bunch of -- other than the diary, I don't remember him
11 pulling from notes.

12 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And the reason I'm asking is
13 because we have seen some kind of hanging filing system and
14 it looks like a lot of it is prep for your book. And so I'm
15 wondering if you ever saw him go into a hanging file system
16 like that to pull stuff out?

17 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Like, at a desk drawer or safe.

18 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. I don't. I don't remember
19 that.

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

21 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Did he -- when he had left the vice
22 presidency, obviously, he was not unemployed but whatever it
23 is former vice presidents do --

24 MR. ZWONITZER: He was over employed.

25 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah. He wasn't, he wasn't --

1 (00:50:53)

2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- clocking in at 9:00 a.m. to a
3 job but, you know, he had some office-type areas you
4 mentioned at Chain Bridge and there in the basement or the
5 downstairs area he had like an office area and at the lake
6 house, too. Did he -- did it seem like he had a desk where
7 he sat every day and, like, did his business, did his phone
8 calls, keep up with the world?

9 MR. ZWONITZER: So when he was at the lake, he
10 has -- (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F)
11 [REDACTED]. And there's a desk there. I think
12 it's the desk he built -- he bought in 1970 -- not -- about
13 1968 before he could afford it and he wanted to be, like,
14 I'm gonna show people what a lawyer looks like.

15 So that was his, that was the desk he used when he
16 was -- I got the sense if he was doing business he would sit
17 at that desk. But the truth is in all the years I've known
18 him, I've rarely seen him, like, sit at a desk for more than
19 ten minutes at a time. I mean he's up moving. He thinks on
20 his feet.

21 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Pacing around or what?

22 MR. ZWONITZER: Pacing, talking, starting a fire
23 while we're talking, you know, and he -- but I don't
24 remember him, like -- I remember him sitting at that desk
25 to make phone calls. You know? Well, let me check in --

1 (00:52:15)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: -- with, you know, Jimmy Kennedy
3 about something in Scranton. But, you know, I don't
4 remember him spending a lot of time at a desk.

5 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. I want to show you an email.
6 This is about, this is in November of 2018, so after the
7 book, and you were going to meet with him at Wilmington, and
8 I think you were going to get there -- at the lake house --
9 you were going to get there before the -- this is
10 Bates -- this is Zwonitzer 2028.

11 And you're talking about you're going to meet at
12 Wilmington at a certain time and they're going to get
13 there -- I think you're taking the train and he's coming up
14 from D.C., and he says, (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F)
15 [REDACTED]. Is that --

16 MR. ZWONITZER: Let me see. Yeah. I think -- I'm
17 not sure, but any time, like, you know, when the paperback
18 comes out, we did a new, a new prologue for the paperback
19 and we might have been -- that might have been a meeting for
20 that.

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

22 MR. ZWONITZER: But I can't actually -- it seems
23 like that would have been the reason for that.

24 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F)
25 [REDACTED] ?

1 (00:54:01)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: I mean, I'm sure I could have. I
3 don't remember (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F) that day.

4 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. Did he have, like, security
5 or someone around, or does he just --

6 MR. ZWONITZER: November of 2018 he did not have
7 any security --

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

9 MR. ZWONITZER: -- because the Secret Service had
10 left by then. What he had was, you know, the front gate
11 that locked.

12 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. But he left -- he would just
13 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F)?

14 MR. ZWONITZER: I mean in this one instance. I
15 don't remember ever -- remember that happening. Yeah.

16 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) You guys were close. You had a
17 close relationship. I know it's weird having a relationship
18 with the president, and I never know how to describe that.

19 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. I mean, like (indiscernible
20 00:54:40) that, it's like, you know, he trusted me and --

21 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) I remember asking someone once
22 were you friends? And he said, well can you really be
23 friends with the president? I'm like, I'm not sure. I'm
24 actually not sure. But --

25 MR. ZWONITZER: An acquaintance. Yeah. But I --

1 (00:54:56)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: -- mean that was -- I remember
3 that. I don't remember (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F), but it's quite
4 possible that I did.

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

6 MR. FREEMAN: And did you have more?

7 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) I would show some photographs to
8 see --

9 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah, why don't I hand them to you
10 because you're better at the photographs than I am.

11 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. I don't know how this --how
12 your system works. Let me see --

13 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) There's a table of contents.

14 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Oh, perfect. Okay. When you were
15 visiting him in Wilmington did you ever go in the garage?

16 MR. ZWONITZER: I think one time he showed me his
17 Corvette.

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

19 MR. ZWONITZER: But the truth is, when I was there
20 most of the time, (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F)

21

22 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Oh. Maybe I can show you a
23 picture. This is Bates 2022, 1221 ERB-9. Did the garage
24 look anything like that when you saw it?

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

1 (00:56:27)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: -- Corvette was inside.

3 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah. So I think if you look --
4 maybe you can see it in this, the Corvette, I believe, is --

5 MR. ZWONITZER: Oh, is that over there?

6 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah. Off to the side. When you
7 say it was -- when you saw it, (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F)

8 [REDACTED] --

9 MR. ZWONITZER: I thought that (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F)

10 [REDACTED]

11 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) What did it, what did it look
12 like, the --

13 MR. ZWONITZER: I don't -- I think he just told me
14 that's what it was in the garage. I don't think I, I don't
15 think I ever saw it. I think it was taken out by the time I
16 was ever there.

17 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) So is that while he was still vice
18 president?

19 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. I don't -- I mean I just --

20 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Or when you went --

21 MR. ZWONITZER: I remember seeing the car. I
22 don't remember seeing anything else.

23 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Do you remember, when you went
24 there, was it -- when you saw the garage was it while he was
25 still vice president?

1 (00:57:23)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: No. It was after.

3 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) It was after. Okay. This is TAB
4 E (ph.). Do you remember going down, ever visiting the den
5 in Wilmington?

6 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah, I've been to the den.

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

8 [REDACTED] ?

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

10 [REDACTED]

11 [REDACTED]

12 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And this is JLH-62. Do you
13 remember the timeframe you would do that?

14 MR. ZWONITZER: I mean, I'm sure I was in that den
15 in 2006.

16 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Oh, okay.

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

18 [REDACTED]

19 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. Were you (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F) in 2017
20 and beyond?

21 MR. ZWONITZER: I might have (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F) in
22 2017.

23 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. Just going to show you
24 another picture of the den. It ends in DSC-4. Does that
25 look familiar to you?

1 (00:59:08)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: I mean it's familiar. I remember,
3 but --

4 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Did you spend enough time (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
5 to kind of form an impression of the area or have any
6 memory of that area?

7 MR. ZWONITZER: Of that?

8 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) So, like, the pool table's right
9 around here.

10 MR. ZWONITZER: Okay.

11 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And I guess I'm pointing out this
12 couch, this leather couch and this little cabinet here with
13 a bunch of challenge coins on it.

14 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. I mean, well, the leather
15 couch is sort of his -- that's his go-to leather couch.

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

17 MR. ZWONITZER: That's the leather couch you'd see
18 everywhere, upstairs, they put one in the Naval Observatory.

19 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. I will show you another
20 picture, DSC-5. Specifically, this cabinet here, does
21 that -- is that familiar to you at all?

22 MR. ZWONITZER: I mean I --

23 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) It's okay if you have no memory of
24 it. I'm just trying to --

25 MR. ZWONITZER: I don't have a particular --

1 (01:00:07)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: -- you know, my -- I don't have a
3 photographic memory of these rooms.

4 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah. No, that's understandable.
5 All right. Did you guys want to show pictures of Rehoboth
6 or no?

7 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Sure. It's one of the last tabs.

8 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Oh, okay.

9 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) It would be the last one. It's the
10 very last tab, I believe.

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

12

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

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

15

16

17

18

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

20

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

22

23 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Let's see. These are some
24 pictures of Rehoboth.

25 MR. ZWONITZER: Mm-hmm.

1 (01:00:57)

2 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) This is -- these are all Bates
3 starting 20230201-BLH, this is 8.

4 MR. ZWONITZER: Yep. That's the -- (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F)

5 [REDACTED]

6 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And what room is that?

7 MR. ZWONITZER: This is the dining room.

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

9 MR. ZWONITZER: And I think this is the -- I'm
10 sorry, the porch that sort of looks out. Yeah. So we would
11 sometimes sit here to work and we would sometimes sit out on
12 the porch area to work.

13 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. And then a lot of pictures
14 of the dining room. This, kind of, living room, this is
15 JLH-325.

16 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah, that's the, that's (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F)

17 [REDACTED]

18 [REDACTED]

19 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) It looks like a living room maybe.

20 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. We spent almost no time in
21 there.

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

23 MR. ZWONITZER: I don't remember spending any time
24 in there.

25 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) A lot of this, JLH-327, kind of --

1 (01:02:31)

2 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- like the deck area?

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

4

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

6 MR. ZWONITZER: And we did -- we worked out

7 here --

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

9 MR. ZWONITZER: -- a good bit, too. A nice cool
10 breeze.

11 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah. It's -- it looks really
12 nice.

13 MR. ZWONITZER: He had been a shoebox kid. He
14 used to take a -- he and his buddies would go with a shoebox
15 full of clothes and they would go to Rehoboth when they were
16 high school kids and so he was very pleased to be able to
17 have a house here.

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

19 [REDACTED] ?

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

21

22

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

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

25 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) I would soon, or not -- I was --

1 (01:03:26)

2 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- looking for a specific picture
3 of it but I'm not finding it. This is JLH-289. I'm
4 assuming you aren't familiar with this room?

5 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. I don't know that room. I
6 assume that's a (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F)?

7 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah. There was, like, (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E),
8 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Did you ever draft, like, use that computer?
9 There was a (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F) with a desk?

10 MR. ZWONITZER: I don't remember ever being -- I
11 mean, I have a vague memory of (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)
12 visiting and spending time there, but I think that was also
13 on the main floor.

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

15 MR. ZWONITZER: The only thing I do remember is
16 (b) (6), (b) (7)(C), (b) (7)(E), (b) (7)(F)

17 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yes.

18 MR. ZWONITZER: Which was chiefly for Champ, the
19 dog --

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

21 MR. ZWONITZER: -- who had a bad shoulder
22 dysplasia thing.

23 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. Do you have more follow up?

24 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Are you done with those?

25 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yes.

1 (01:04:32)

2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Not on, not on this, no.

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

4 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Did you ever go to the Penn Biden
5 Center?

6 MR. ZWONITZER: The Penn Biden Center wasn't built
7 while we were working on this. It was still under
8 construction.

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

10 MR. ZWONITZER: And so I did -- I think we had a
11 meeting there in January of 2018 (indiscernible 01:04:59)
12 every Biden meeting talking about, like, what's the plan for
13 the next year.

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

15 MR. ZWONITZER: But I was (indiscernible
16 01:05:07).

17 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. Were you at the new one at
18 101 Constitution, the big --

19 MR. ZWONITZER: Well, that's the one that --

20 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. That's where you were at?
21 Okay.

22 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. It was just before it was
23 almost built. I don't even know where they were located
24 before they built that. I did see a lot of architectural
25 drawings.

1 (01:05:28)

2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Oh yeah? Who showed you those?

3 MR. ZWONITZER: Biden's a wannabe architect.

4 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Oh, really?

5 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. He designed the lake house.
6 He would sit in hearings and do architectural drawings.

7 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) That's great. Are you done with
8 the photos?

9 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yes.

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

11 (Indiscernible conversation.)

12 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Not that I can think of right now.

13 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay, great. Perfect. I want to
14 circle back. We started at the beginning about, sort of,
15 these audio recordings and you, I guess, kind of freaked out
16 and deleted them, I guess, for lack of a better --

17 MR. ZWONITZER: I what?

18 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) You freaked out and deleted them or
19 swooped them over. Is that a fair way of putting it? And I
20 understand you didn't wanna ascribe motivations or a
21 percentage of motivations but obviously you were aware of
22 the special counsel investigation when you did that.

23 MR. ZWONITZER: I was aware.

24 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. You said you didn't tell
25 anyone. I just want to make clear, just to make sure I --

1 (01:06:28)

2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- understand, you didn't tell
3 anyone that you did that, set aside your lawyers later.

4 MR. ZWONITZER: Except for my lawyers.

5 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. At the time you didn't,
6 like, oh shit, I've got this stuff. What am I going to do?

7 MR. ZWONITZER: (No audible response.)

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

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

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

11 [REDACTED]

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

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

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

15 [REDACTED]

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

17 [REDACTED] ?

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

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

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

21 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Later on, when (b)(3), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C) , I
22 understand from talking to (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) here that you were shocked
23 when we called, and obviously it's a scary moment, I
24 understand.

25 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

1 (01:07:23)

2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Were you thinking about this stuff
3 and what was your, what was your reaction? Why don't you,
4 why don't you describe it?

5 MR. ZWONITZER: Well, my reaction was I really
6 didn't know what I had, and I really didn't, I really didn't
7 want to be mixed up in this to be quite honest.

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

9 MR. ZWONITZER: And I also, part of me thought,
10 like, oh, wait a minute, I'm not -- am I journalist? Do I
11 need to, you know, do I, do I need to be turning over
12 things? But -- so that was my initial reaction with that.

13 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. I know you talked to
14 lawyers, and I don't want to ask about those. But did you
15 reach out to anyone in Biden world after being contacted by
16 us?

17 MR. ZWONITZER: I did not.

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

19 MR. ZWONITZER: I mean that's one thing I knew not
20 to do.

21 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. And how did you know not to
22 do that? Or what instinct was it that was telling you not
23 to, because in some ways that's a natural thing to do.

24 MR. ZWONITZER: Well, it is a natural thing to do
25 but I was also sort of hyperaware that -- I didn't want --

1 (01:08:24)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: -- to be seen as coordinating with
3 -- it's that sort of thing. You know, I knew enough to know
4 that I should be independent --

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

6 MR. ZWONITZER: -- of whatever was going on there,
7 and I knew they were cooperating.

8 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah. But I suppose you've covered
9 politics long enough to know how things go --

10 MR. ZWONITZER: Well --

11 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- can go wrong

12 MR. ZWONITZER: I know how things go but I also
13 know how -- whereas, you know better than anybody we're in,
14 we're in a new territory these days.

15 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah, for sure. And I think I
16 asked you this before. Again, I just want to get it clear,
17 other than your lawyers, who knows that you're here talking
18 to us today or, sort of, interacting with the special
19 counsel's office?

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

21 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. Have you talked to anyone
22 else about it?

23 MR. ZWONITZER: I haven't.

24 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. What about Bob Bauer? Do
25 you know who Bob Bauer is?

1 (01:09:17)

2 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah.

3 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Who's Bob Bauer?

4 MR. ZWONITZER: He's --

5 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Or how do you know Bob Bauer? I
6 know who he is.

7 MR. ZWONITZER: He's Biden's personal attorney.

8 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. Did you -- have you ever
9 worked with him before?

10 (Indiscernible conversation).

11 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Yeah, sorry, get these out of the
12 way.

13 MR. ZWONITZER: I have not worked with him. I
14 think he -- I think he weighed in on some small thing on the
15 book at one point.

16 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) I think he's acknowledged in the
17 book but it wasn't clear to me what his --

18 MR. ZWONITZER: He's, he's acknowledged.

19 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- what if any role he had.

20 MR. ZWONITZER: I think he's actually named in the
21 book as someone who was -- he and Anita were helpful to
22 Biden, him thinking about running in 2016. So I think
23 that's how his name came up.

24 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. Because it seemed somewhat
25 that Mark Gitenstein was playing the Bob Bauer role in --

1 (01:10:00)

2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- terms of shepherding the book.
3 You know, the early decisions about writing the book and
4 running the traps in terms of legal issues, you don't lead
5 an office while you're pursuing it.

6 MR. ZWONITZER: Yeah. I remember we weren't
7 pursuing it while he was in office. So I have not
8 personally been in contact with Bob Bauer.

9 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) How about President Biden, when's
10 the last time you talked to him or had any contact with him?

11 MR. ZWONITZER: He called me about a week before
12 his inauguration. I think it was just, sort of, checking
13 down a list of thank yous. Just to say thanks, how you
14 doing.

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

16 MR. ZWONITZER: It was, it was nice to get that
17 call.

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

19 MR. ZWONITZER: But as I think I mentioned before,
20 I don't, I don't reach out to him. He's got plenty of
21 things to -- I might of, at some point, you know, said, hey
22 I'm going to be in town to his body person a couple of years
23 ago. But the last time I spoke with him was about a week
24 before inauguration.

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

1 (01:10:57)

2 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) When news of Mar-a-Lago broke, and
3 that classified documents were found on Former President
4 Trump's property, did you have any reaction to that?

5 MR. ZWONITZER: No. Well, I mean, I found -- I
6 mean that news was -- it seemed like it was beyond just
7 there was stuff found on his property. There was stuff
8 found on his property and he was making a point to push back
9 about anybody getting it. That's what I remember about
10 that. So I mean it -- as it registered with everybody, I
11 think it registered with me.

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

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

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

20 MR. ZWONITZER: -- from six years ago.

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

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

1 (01:12:31)

2 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. And do you -- is it only
3 after, you know, I called to talk to you about scheduling an
4 interview and (b)(3), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C), and you then, kind of,
5 went through your material that, you know, was years old.
6 Was it only -- I guess I'm trying to figure out, at what
7 point did you come across or remember that references to
8 classified material?

9 MR. ZWONITZER: It would have been after the
10 (b)(3), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C) because I -- as I said, with the, with the audio
11 files, I didn't listen to anything again. I simply slid
12 everything into the trash. And I didn't go back, I don't
13 think. I can't, I can't remember going back before I
14 (b)(3), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C)

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

16 MR. ZWONITZER: I don't remember doing that.

17 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) When you -- after (b)(3), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C)
18 and you're going through this stuff, and I know you
19 looked at some of this and you saw references to classified,
20 what was your reaction? Obviously, in light of everything
21 that's happened in the world with Mar-a-Lago and this
22 special counsel's office?

23 MR. ZWONITZER: My reaction was not good, you
24 know. It worried me.

25 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) How did it -- how so? What were --

1 (01:13:59)

2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- you worried about?

3 MR. FREEMAN: You want to take a break?

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

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

6 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) The time is 12:59.

7 (End of 230731_0075) .

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1 (Start of 230731_0076.)

2 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) It is 1:05 p.m., we're back on
3 record.

4 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) So I think before the break I asked
5 you a question about your -- you said you were concerned.

6 MR. ZWONITZER: Yes.

7 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And I asked how so.

8 MR. ZWONITZER: So right after I (b)(3), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C),
9 before I talked to counsel or anybody, I did start looking
10 at, like, what you, or what do I have. And I did notice
11 that, like, the word classified popped up. And so I, you
12 know, I started to understand I'm going to get mixed up into
13 something that's probably, politically, very sensitive.

14 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) And so you were concerned that
15 you're getting hauled before congress, something like that?

16 MR. ZWONITZER: I didn't know. I mean --

17 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) (b)(3), (b)(6), (b)(7)(C).

18 MR. ZWONITZER: -- I had, I had no expectations.
19 I didn't know what to be concerned about. I just knew that,
20 like, this, this is not small.

21 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) No good comes of this for you?
22 Okay. Fair enough. Yep, anything else, guys? Appreciate
23 your time. Is there other things -- is there something we
24 missed today? Either I didn't specifically ask. or that
25 you're -- that's on mind that I -- you have a sense of --

1 (00:01:22)

2 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- what we're interested in that
3 you can think of?

4 MR. ZWONITZER: I do -- I mean, I would like to
5 just say that, you know, in my experience, long experience
6 with him, that President Biden has always been, in my
7 understanding, very careful about the, you know, sensitive
8 information that he carries around partly in his head every
9 day.

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

11 MR. ZWONITZER: And that was always great, sense
12 of him having read it.

13 MR. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. Appreciate that. (b) (6), (b) (7)(C)

14 [REDACTED]
15 [REDACTED]
16 [REDACTED]
17 [REDACTED]
18 [REDACTED]
19 [REDACTED]
20 [REDACTED]
21 [REDACTED]
22 [REDACTED]
23 [REDACTED]

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

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

1 (00:02:30)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

24

25 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) Okay. The time is 1:08 and --

1 (00:03:22)

2 SA (b) (6), (b) (7)(C) -- this concludes the interview.

3 (End of 230731_0076.)

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C E R T I F I C A T E

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

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

Transcriber

August 9, 2023
Date

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

Auditor

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