## United States House of Representatives Committee on Oversight and Government Reform

Deposition of Susan B. Ralston May 10, 2007

Please note the technical and substantive changes to this transcript Available at http://oversight.house.gov

| 1  | RPTS SCOTT   |
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| 2  | DCMN NORMAN  |
| 3  |  |
| 4  |  |
| 5  | EXECUTIVE SESSION  |
| 6  | COMMITTEE ON OVERSIGHT AND                               |
| 7  | GOVERNMENT REFORM,                                       |
| 8  | U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,                           |
| 9  | WASHINGTON, D.C.   |
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| 14 | DEPOSITION OF: SUSAN B. RALSTON                          |
| 15 |  |
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| 17 |  |
| 18 | Thursday, May 10, 2007                                   |
| 19 |  |
| 20 | Washington, D.C  |
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| 22 |  |
| 23 | The deposition in the above matter was held in Room      |
| 24 | 2203, Rayburn House Office Building, commencing at 10:15 |
| 25 | a.m.   |

| 1  | Appearances:                                       |
|----|--|
| 2  |  |
| 3  | For Committee on Oversight and Government Reform:  |
| 4  |  |
| 5  | KRISTEN AMERLING, COUNSEL                          |
| 6  | SUSAN SACHSMAN, COUNSEL                            |
| 7  | PHIL BARNETT, STAFF DIRECTOR                       |
| 8  | ANNA LAITIN, PROFESSIONAL STAFF MEMBER             |
| 9  | KEITH AUSBROOK, MINORITY GENERAL COUNSEL           |
| 10 | STEVE CASTOR, MINORITY COUNSEL                     |
| 11 |  |
| 12 | Also Present: REPRESENTATIVE TOM DAVIS OF VIRGINIA |
| 13 |  |
| 14 | For Susan B. Ralston:                              |
| 15 |  |
| 16 | BRADFORD A. BERENSON, ESQ.                         |
| 17 | JULIE G. KOLLER, ESQ.                              |
| 18 | SIDLEY AUSTIN                                      |
| 19 | 1501 K Street, N.W.                                |
| 20 | WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005                             |
| 21 |  |
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| 23 |  |
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| Ms. <u>Amerling.</u> On behalf of the Committee on Ove | ersight  |
|--|----------|
| and Government Reform, I thank you for being here to   | day.     |
| This proceeding is known as a deposition. The Chair    | man of   |
| the committee originally sought this deposition as pa  | art of   |
| the committee's investigation of lobbying contacts be  | etween   |
| the White House and Jack Abramoff and his associates   | . And in |
| addition, he originally sought the deposition as par   | t of the |
| committee's investigation of the use of nongovernmen   | tal      |
| e-mails by White House officials for official busine   | SS.      |

Based on subsequent representations by your attorney regarding information that you may have and that you may be willing to discuss regarding additional topics under investigation by the committee, today's deposition will also concern political briefings by White House officials to Federal agency officials, White House practices regarding the handling of classified information, and the White House use of intelligence regarding Iraq.

My name is Kristin Amerling. I'm the majority counsel designated for this deposition. I'm accompanied by Anna Laitin, who is a committee professional staff member, and Susan Sachsman, who is a counsel for the committee.

Would minority counsel please introduce yourselves?

Mr. <u>Ausbrook.</u> Sure.

I'm Keith Ausbrook, and I'm the general counsel for the Republicans.

| 1 | Mr. <u>Castor.</u> | Steve | Castor, | also | a | counsel | with | the |
|---|--------------------|-------|---------|------|---|---------|------|-----|
| 2 | Republican staff.  |       |         |      |   |         |      |     |

Ms. <u>Amerling.</u> Would other committee staff please introduce yourselves?

Mr. Barnett. Phil Barnett, the majority staff director.

Ms. Amerling. We will also have the benefit today of the presence of the Ranking Member of the committee.

Mr. <u>Davis of Virginia</u>. I don't intend to stay for the deposition. I just wanted to thank you for coming voluntarily. Thank you.

We are going to do everything we can, from our perspective, to treat you fairly and to make sure that our rules are followed. Your position at the White House has, unfortunately, put you in the middle of events of great interest to the Chairman of the committee and to probably some other committees around, and I hope that we'll be able to take your testimony efficiently. We do not want to have to keep coming back and forth. I'm sorry we don't have all of the documents before you that we may ask you questions on -- we had hoped to be able to do that -- but we want to work as efficiently as we can, and we understand that you're unwilling at this point, without some further assurances, to answer some questions. But I just want to thank you for that.

We'll proceed and see how it goes. We want to make sure

- 1 that on the minority side, your rights are protected and all of the rules are followed, okay? We have a good working 2 3 relationship with the majority staff. This is not a hostile 4 proceeding between us, and it shouldn't be with you. We are just trying to get at some facts at this point. 5 6 Again, thank you for coming. 7 The Witness. Okay. 8 Mr. Berenson. Thank you, Congressman. I will just note my appearance for the record. 9 I am Brad Berenson with Sidley Austin, counsel for 10 Ms. Ralston, and I am accompanied today by Julie Koller, my 11 12 colleague. Ms. Amerling. Before beginning the deposition, I would 13 like to go over some standard instructions and explanations 14 15 regarding the deposition. Ms. Ralston, because you have been placed under oath, 16 your testimony here has the same force and effect as if you 17 were testifying before the committee. If you knowingly 18 provide false testimony, you could be subject to criminal 19
- The <u>Witness</u>. I do.

21

Ms. <u>Amerling.</u> Is there any reason you're unable to provide truthful answers in today's deposition?

related offenses. Do you understand this?

prosecution for perjury by making false statements or other

The <u>Witness</u>. There is no reason why.

| 1  | Ms. <u>Amerling.</u> As you may well have already heard from |
|----|--|
| 2  | your attorney, you have the right under the fifth amendment  |
| 3  | of the Constitution to refuse to answer any questions if a   |
| 4  | truthful answer to that question may tend to incriminate you |
| 5  | Do you understand this?                                      |
| 6  | The <u>Witness.</u> I do.                                    |
| 7  | Ms. Amerling. The deposition will proceed as follows:        |
| 8  | I'll ask you questions regarding the subject matter of       |
| 9  | the committee investigations for up to 1 hour. When I'm      |
| 10 | finished, the minority counsel will have the opportunity to  |
| 11 | ask you questions for 1 hour.                                |
| 12 | The <u>Witness.</u> Okay.                                    |
| 13 | Ms. Amerling. Additional rounds of questioning,              |
| 14 | alternating between the majority and minority counsel, may   |
| 15 | follow until the deposition is completed. The reporter will  |
| 16 | be taking down everything you say, and she will make a       |
| 17 | written record of the deposition. You need to give verbal,   |
| 18 | audible answers because the reporter cannot record nods or   |
| 19 | gestures.  |
| 20 | Do you understand that?                                      |
| 21 | The <u>Witness.</u> I do.                                    |
| 22 | Ms. Amerling. If you don't hear or understand a              |
| 23 | question, please say so, and I'll repeat it or rephrase it.  |
| 24 | If I ask you about conversations or events in the mast       |

and you're unable to recall the exact words or details, you

| 1  | should testify to the substance of such conversations or      |
|----|---|
| 2  | events to the best of your recollection. If you recall only   |
| 3  | part of a conversation or of an event, you should give us     |
| 4  | your best recollection of those events or parts of the        |
| 5  | conversations that you do recall. Do you understand?          |
| 6  | The <u>Witness.</u> I do.                                     |
| 7  | Ms. Amerling. Ms. Ralston, do you have any questions          |
| 8  | before we begin the deposition?                               |
| 9  | The <u>Witness.</u> No.                                       |
| 10 | EXAMINATION   |
| 11 | BY MS. AMERLING:  |
| 12 | Q Would you please state your full name for the               |
| 13 | record?   |
| 14 | A Susan B. Ralston.   |
| 15 | Ms. Amerling. Your attorney has indicated that he wants       |
| 16 | to make some preliminary remarks.                             |
| 17 | Mr. <u>Berenson.</u> Right. Thank you very much, Kristin.     |
| 18 | Susan is here this morning voluntarily. She wants to          |
| 19 | assist the committee in its investigation to the extent that  |
| 20 | she is able to. She is not under subpoena. We understand      |
| 21 | that the purpose of this morning's deposition is really       |
| 22 | twofold: first, for her to provide the information that she   |
| 23 | can provide on a couple of subjects where she can testify     |
| 24 | without precondition and without any of the further           |
| 25 | assurances that Congressman Davis referred to; and, secondly, |

to make a record for the committee of the subjects on which she does not currently feel she can testify without a grant of immunity based on concerns that the testimony may reasonably form some link in a chain of evidence that somebody could regard as inculpatory of her.

The subjects this morning that she will be unable to testify to on those grounds are the subjects of the relationship between Jack Abramoff and his associates and White House officials, including Ms. Ralston, and the subject of the use by White House officials of political e-mail accounts at the RNC.

She has material, useful information about both of those subjects. She is more than willing to provide it to the committee. However, she will, as we have previously discussed, require a grant of immunity before she is comfortable going forward. That is not because she believes that she has violated the law or that I believe she has violated the law. Neither is true. She doesn't believe that and I don't believe that. Nonetheless, in a situation where the factual issues are developing and emerging as quickly as they are and where legal theories, new legal theories are appearing all the time and developing and emerging as quickly as they are, she doesn't have sufficient comfort that testimony provided in this setting on those subjects will not have some tendency to inculpate her, at least in the eyes of

someone who is inclined to be distrustful or to put the worst possible construction on events.

So, for that reason this morning, to the extent your questions touch upon the Abramoff affair or the RNC e-mail accounts, I'll instruct her to respectfully decline to answer those questions at the present time in the hope that, at some point in the future, she will be able to do so under a grant of immunity.

## BY MS. AMERLING:

Q Ms. Ralston, your counsel has informed the committee that you may have information relevant to the investigation of presentations given by the White House Office of Political Affairs' staff to Federal agency officials regarding past and future elections that you would be willing to discuss with us today; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q Now, the second matter under investigation by the committee is White House practices in handling classified information. I understand you'll also be willing to discuss this issue in today's deposition; is that correct?

A Yes.

Q With respect to the third matter under investigation by the committee of how intelligence in Iraq was handled at the White House, your counsel has informed us that you may have information you would be willing to share

| 1  | concerning the role Karl Rove played in the preparation of    |
|----|---|
| 2  | White House statements and speeches involving Iraq            |
| 3  | intelligence; is that correct?                                |
| 4  | A Yes.  |
| 5  | Q I'll turn to these three issues later in the                |
| 6  | deposition. I would like to start by asking you a few         |
| 7  | questions about Jack Abramoff's contacts with you while you   |
| 8  | were at the White House.                                      |
| 9  | Are you willing to answer any questions today regarding       |
| 10 | your own contacts with Jack Abramoff and his associates while |
| 11 | you were at the White House?                                  |
| 12 | A No.   |
| 13 | Q Could you explain the basis for declining to answer         |
| 14 | those questions?  |
| 15 | Mr. <u>Berenson.</u> The basis for declining to answer those  |
| 16 | questions is the basis I set forth at the outset of the       |
| 17 | deposition.   |
| 18 | Ms. <u>Amerling.</u> Okay.                                    |
| 19 | BY MS. AMERLING:  |
| 20 | Q Let's turn to a few questions regarding Mr. Rove.           |
| 21 | While you were serving at the White House, did Karl Rove      |
| 22 | ever take any official actions sought by Jack Abramoff or his |
| 23 | associates for any of Abramoff's clients?                     |

Mr. Berenson. Here, too, Kristin, she is not going to

be in a position this morning to answer questions with

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| 1  | respect to Abramoff contacts with other White House officials |
|----|---|
| 2  | or as to the actions of those other White House officials as  |
| 3  | they related to various things that Mr. Abramoff may have     |
| 4  | wanted, again for the same reason that I gave at the outset.  |
| 5  | Ms. <u>Amerling.</u> Okay.                                    |
| 6  | BY MS. AMERLING:  |
| 7  | Q Let's turn to the subject of RNC e-mail accounts.           |
| 8  | The Republican National Committee has informed this           |
| 9  | committee that you're among a number of White House officials |
| 10 | who had RNC e-mail accounts while working at the White House. |
| 11 | I would like to ask you about the RNC e-mail accounts and     |
| 12 | other nongovernmental e-mail accounts on which you may have   |
| 13 | conducted official White House business.                      |
| 14 | Where did you get the idea to obtain an RNC e-mail            |
| 15 | account?  |
| 16 | Mr. Berenson. We'll have the same objection to this           |
| 17 | line of questions and for the same reason.                    |
| 18 | BY MS. AMERLING:  |
| 19 | Q Let's turn to Mr. Rove's use of RNC e-mail accounts         |
| 20 | and communications hardware provided by the RNC.              |
| 21 | Would you describe what you know about Mr. Rove's use of      |
| 22 | RNC e-mail accounts or RNC hardware to conduct official       |
| 23 | White House business?   |
| 24 | Mr. Berenson. May I have a moment to consult on this          |
| 25 | one?  |

| 1  | Ms. <u>Amerling.</u> Sure.                                    |
|----|---|
| 2  | [Witness and counsel confer.}                                 |
| 3  | Mr. <u>Berenson.</u> Kristin, I think we'll go ahead and try  |
| 4  | to answer some questions on this topic. How far we can go,    |
| 5  | I'm not really sure. I won't be sure until you go down the    |
| 6  | road a little bit, but at least as to some basics and some    |
| 7  | preliminaries, there is probably no issue for us.             |
| 8  | Ms. <u>Amerling.</u> Okay.                                    |
| 9  | BY MS. AMERLING:  |
| 10 | Q Did Mr. Rove communicate over e-mail?                       |
| 11 | A Yes.  |
| 12 | Q What e-mail accounts did he use?                            |
| 13 | A He had three accounts that I recall. He had an              |
| 14 | official White House account, a political account, and a      |
| 15 | personal account.   |
| 16 | Q And what do you mean by a "political account"?              |
| 17 | A It was an e-mail account that came over from the            |
| 18 | campaign. I don't know who managed the account, but it was a  |
| 19 | GeorgeWBush.com e-mail address.                               |
| 20 | Q And why did he use this account?                            |
| 21 | Mr. <u>Berenson.</u> I'm going to interpose an objection to   |
| 22 | that particular question on the grounds stated at the outset. |
| 23 | Ms. Amerling. Could you articulate, Mr. Berenson? This        |
| 24 | may be a more appropriate question for you because it is a    |
| 25 | legal question.   |

1 Mr. <u>Berenson</u>. Sure.

2.2

2 Ms. <u>Amerling.</u> I understand Ms. Ralston is declining to 3 discuss her own use of political e-mail accounts.

Can you explain the basis on which she would decline to discuss the use of such accounts by Mr. Rove?

Mr. <u>Berenson</u>. Yes. We have decided this morning to allow her to talk about some of the mechanics of Mr. Rove's use of e-mail accounts, but when it comes to the reasons of why he was using political e-mail accounts, there is a reasonable, well-founded concern that a discussion of the reasoning behind the use of those accounts may sweep more broadly than Mr. Rove himself, and may go part of the way toward explaining a pattern of usage among other officials, potentially including Ms. Ralston, and so that's why we are going to decline to answer that question this morning.

Ms. Amerling. So, just to be clear, with respect to questions relating to Mr. Rove's reasons for using political e-mail accounts, Ms. Ralston is declining to answer those questions on the basis of her fifth amendment privilege?

Mr. <u>Berenson</u>. She is not actually invoking her fifth amendment privilege this morning. She is not here under compulsion, so the fifth amendment really isn't in the picture. What she is doing is notifying the committee of an intention to invoke that and not to respond to those questions if she were under compulsion with respect to those

| 1  | questions. It's merely a technical difference, but I just     |
|----|---|
| 2  | want the record to be clear.                                  |
| 3  | [Counsel and Witness confer.]                                 |
| 4  | BY MS. AMERLING:  |
| 5  | Q Let's go back to questions about Mr. Rove's use of          |
| 6  | the political e-mail accounts.                                |
| 7  | When Mr. Rove communicated with you over e-mail, which        |
| 8  | e-mail account did he use?                                    |
| 9  | Mr. Berenson. Again, because this involves the use of         |
| 10 | e-mail by Ms. Ralston herself, we are going to have the same  |
| 11 | objection and for the same reason previously stated.          |
| 12 | BY MS. AMERLING:  |
| 13 | Q When did Karl Rove first start using his RNC e-mail         |
| 14 | account to send and receive e-mails from the White House?     |
| 15 | A From day one.   |
| 16 | Q And for how long did he continue to use this                |
| 17 | account? I refer to it as an "RNC e-mail account." You had    |
| 18 | said a "GeorgeWBush account." Was it your understanding this  |
| 19 | was an account provided by the RNC?                           |
| 20 | A Well, I don't know who the domain holder was or who         |
| 21 | was in charge of the server during the campaign and when it   |
| 22 | may have been transferred from the campaign assets to the     |
| 23 | RNC, and then who was responsible for maintaining the account |

during the reelect. So it was a political account. I don't

know who necessarily was responsible for it.

24

1 Q Okay. Does that make sense --2 Α 3 0 Sure. 4 Α -- given the time frame? From now on, when I refer to it, I'll refer to that 5 0 6 e-mail account as the political e-mail account. 7 Α Okay. For how long did Mr. Rove continue to use his 8 political e-mail account to send e-mails from the 9 White House? 10 The entire time that I worked for him. 11 Α Do you know how frequently he used this account? 0 12 13 Α It would be hard for me to quantify how much. used it a lot. 14 Did Mr. Rove have a BlackBerry provided by the RNC? 15 I don't know if the RNC actually provided the 16 equipment. It was a political BlackBerry. I don't know if 17 the BlackBerry came on -- if he had it during the campaign 18 or -- it was a political BlackBerry. 19 Did you ever see him use it? 20 0 21 Α Yes. When did he first start using this BlackBerry? 22 Q I don't know when he started using it in the 23

White House. My best recollection is that he had it at the

very beginning, but I can't say exactly when it started.

24

1 Do you know how often he used it? Q 2 Α He used it daily. 3 Q Many times over the course of a day? 4 Α Yes. 5 0 Did he have a White House BlackBerry, an official White House BlackBerry? 6 7 No. he did not. 8 When he left his office, did he generally bring his 0 9 political BlackBerry with him? 10 Α Yes, he did. 11 Did Karl Rove ever discuss whether e-mails sent and 12 received on his political e-mail account or political BlackBerry were being preserved? 13 14 Α Can you repeat the question, please? 15 Did he ever discuss whether e-mails that were sent 16 or received over the political e-mail account or by using the 17 political BlackBerry were being preserved? 18 Α He and I -- I don't recall a specific discussion 19 between he and I about it. My general understanding was that 20 he thought that the e-mails were being preserved. 21 0 What is the basis for your understanding? 22 Well, there were times during -- over the course of 23 the time that I worked there, for example, during the campaign, during the 2004 reelect, there was an e-mail that 24

was sent out by the staff about the campaign's e-mail

- retention policy, and somebody at the campaign called me to notify me that this e-mail was going to go out.
  - Q The e-mail was sent by whom?

- A By somebody on the campaign staff. So it was a staffwide e-mail, and the e-mail explained the retention policy, but somebody on the campaign staff -- and I don't recall who specifically -- called me to say that it didn't apply to myself and to Karl, and to let him know that when he saw it, it did not apply.
  - Q When did you receive this communication?
- 11 A It was probably sometime in 2003.
- Q And did they explain why this policy didn't apply to you or to Mr. Rove?
  - A Well, there were other times during the first 4 years or so when Karl would get an upgrade of equipment. And if he got a new computer or if he got a new BlackBerry, I remember conversations with the RNC IS&T staff that because they saved Karl's e-mails, that it would take a long time to load up his e-mail file folders. So we have had general conversations like that with RNC staff, which led both of us to believe that they were retaining his e-mails.
  - Q But you mentioned a specific communication that came out from the campaign sometime in 2003.
- A Right. But prior to that particular e-mail from the campaign, the RNC prior to that had led us to believe

- 1 that the e-mails were being saved.
- Q But why did they say that the policy that was going
- 3 to be issued wouldn't apply?
- A Because it was my understanding that -- I don't
- 5 know if it was my --
- 6 Mr. <u>Berenson.</u> Did they say anything about why --
- 7 The <u>Witness</u>. They did not.
- 8 Mr. Berenson. -- the policy wasn't going to apply?
- The Witness. It was just a general understanding that I
- 10 had.
- BY MS. AMERLING:
- Q Can you describe what the policy was?
- 13 A I don't recall a specific policy in writing or
- 14 being notified verbally or in a briefing what the policy was.
- Mr. Berenson. Kristin, are you referring to the policy
- she was notified about by the campaign?
- 17 Ms. Amerling. Yes.
- 18 Mr. <u>Berenson</u>. So that e-mail.
- The <u>Witness.</u> Okay. I thought we were talking about the
- 20 RNC. Okay.
- BY MS. AMERLING:
- Q I was talking about the campaign policy that you
- said you believed was communicated sometime in 2003.
- 24 A Okay. So, again, state your question, please.
- Q Do you recall the substance of that policy?

- A Oh, that e-mails were deleted after 30 days.
- Q Now, you described communications with the RNC
- 3 before you received that policy in 2003.
- 4 Can you tell us when you received those other
- communications from the RNC regarding Mr. Rove's e-mails or
- 6 regarding his RNC equipment?
- 7 A I can't give a specific time frame.
- Q Do you recall how many instances there were where
- 9 you had such communications?
- 10 A It may have been four or five times. I can't say
- specifically, but it seemed to be a number of times. Karl
- would get a new computer. He would lose a BlackBerry.
- 13 Whenever this happened, there would be some conversation with
- the IS&T people about his mail file.
- 15 Q The IS&T people at the RNC?
- 16 A Correct.
- Q Do you recall who they were? Do you recall the
- names of any of those people?
- 19 A I could think of some names of people it might be,
- but I don't know if it was definitely who I might name.
- 21 Does that make sense?
- Q Sure. Could you tell us the names that you're
- thinking of?
- 24 A It might be Dirk Dyman, D-Y-M-A-N. It could have
- been Mike Ciarrino, and I can't remember how to spell his

- last name. I think it's C-I-A-R-R-I-N-O, I think.
- Those are the two people that I remember who worked on
- the RNC IS&T staff. There may have been others, but those
- 4 are two that I remember.
- 5 Q Did Karl Rove ever use his BlackBerry pin code to
- 6 communicate?
- 7 A I don't know.
- Q Did he ever use a pager to communicate?
- 9 A I think he was issued a White House pager after
- September 11th, but I think it was more of a pager to
- 11 receive, not to transmit, I think.
- 12 Q He was issued a pager by the White House?
- 13 A Correct.
- Q But you're not aware of a pager issued by the RNC
- or by the campaign?
- 16 A I don't think so.
- 17 Q Did any other officials at the White House besides
- 18 Mr. Rove ever discuss deleting e-mails that were sent or
- 19 received on political e-mail accounts?
- 20 Mr. <u>Berenson</u>. I'm going to interpose an objection here,
- again for the same reasons.
- Ms. Amerling. Could you articulate the reasons?
- 23 Mr. Berenson. Sure.
- 24 If we are talking about a pattern or a practice of the
- use of e-mail accounts, the deletion of e-mails by

White House officials other than Mr. Rove himself, that raises concerns that that information could in some way reflect on Ms. Ralston's own conduct or state of mind with respect to those issues. And so at the present time, she will decline to answer those questions, but would be happy to do so in the future with appropriate assurances.

Ms. Amerling. I want to go back to the testimony that Ms. Ralston provided about contacts between Jack Abramoff and the White House; and this is, again, a question that's probably better suited for you, Mr. Berenson.

She made clear she didn't want to discuss her own actions regarding Mr. Abramoff and his associates. Can you explain the legal basis for her declining to answer questions about the actions of Mr. Rove or other White House officials with respect to Jack Abramoff?

Mr. <u>Berenson</u>. Sure. We have previously discussed this off line. The issue here with respect to the relationship between Mr. Abramoff and his associates generally, and the White House and White House officials, implicates in many ways that may or may not already be obvious to the committee from its review of documents and e-mails, conduct and actions by not only those other officials but potentially also by Ms. Ralston herself. She was personal friends with a number of the individuals on Abramoff's staff, and as the committee's own report makes clear, was frequently the

recipient of communications from them, even if the substantive matters under discussion related only to activities by other officials in the White House.

2.2

So the entire subject of the Abramoff team's relationship with the White House and other White House officials is one on which she will have to decline to respond to questions at this time.

Ms. <u>Amerling.</u> Is she invoking her fifth amendment privilege with respect to questions on that subject?

Mr. <u>Berenson</u>. She is not formally invoking her fifth amendment privilege with respect to that subject or to any other subject for the simple reason that the fifth amendment can't even theoretically apply unless there is compelled testimony.

However, as I indicated at the outset of the deposition, she is here, making a record for the committee of her intent to decline to answer questions on that subject on the ground of the fifth amendment privilege if, in the future, she were to be compelled to testify on those subjects or with respect to those questions.

## BY MS. AMERLING:

Q A couple of more questions about Mr. Rove's use of political e-mails. The RNC has informed us that -- you had previously said that the RNC had told you that Mr. Rove's e-mails were saved. Was he able to delete them himself?

- A I believe he had the ability to.

  Did he?
- A I have no specific knowledge that he did.
- 4 Q Did you ever receive instructions from any
- 5 White House officials regarding how to handle e-mails sent or
- 6 received on political e-mail accounts?
- 7 Mr. <u>Berenson</u>. I'm going to interpose the same objection
- 8 for the same reason with respect to that question.
- 9 BY MS. AMERLING:
- 10 Q Okay. Let's turn to a different subject. Before I
- turn to a different subject, I have one additional question.
- 12 Did Mr. Rove ever receive any instructions from
- White House officials regarding the use of political e-mail
- 14 accounts?
- 15 A He may have but not to my knowledge.
- [Counsel and Witness confer.]
- 17 Mr. Berenson. Ms. Ralston may have one additional
- clarification or piece of information to offer. I just need
- 19 a moment to consult.
- 20 Ms. Amerling. Okay.
- 21 [Counsel and Witness confer.]
- 22 Mr. <u>Berenson</u>. There is one additional fact about
- 23 Mr. Rove's equipment and e-mails that Ms. Ralston would like
- to volunteer to the committee.
- 25 Ms. <u>Amerling.</u> Okay.

- The <u>Witness.</u> During the Plame leak investigation,

  Patrick Fitzgerald and his team took Karl's political laptop

  and his BlackBerry during the investigation.
- 4 BY MS. AMERLING:
- Q Do you know whether other e-mails that Mr. Rove had sent or received over his political accounts were provided to Mr. Fitzgerald as well?
- 8 A I'm sorry, can you repeat that question?
- Q Do you know whether records of other e-mails that

  Mr. Rove sent or received through his political e-mail

  accounts were provided to Mr. Fitzgerald?
- 12 Mr. <u>Berenson.</u> Beyond what Mr. Fitzgerald got when he 13 took the laptop and BlackBerry?
- 14 Ms. Amerling. Yes.
- The <u>Witness.</u> You know, my recollection is a little fuzzy, but I believe that in the document production, we did search his political accounts.
- BY MS. AMERLING:
- 19 Q Who searched them?
- 20 A We did a search ourselves -- Karl and myself -- and 21 we may have asked the RNC to do a search as well.
- Q Can you walk me through what you did to search his political accounts?
- A He -- on his laptop, we -- I would go and do keyword searches, based on the subpoena that we got, and

- 1 search all of his folders for keywords.
- 2 Q So these searches were conducted on e-mails that
- 3 were lodged in his laptop?
- 4 A Correct.
- Q And you said you may have asked the RNC to conduct
- 6 additional searches?
- 7 A I have a vague recollection that we did, but --
- 8 Q Do you recall that you asked the RNC to do that?
- 9 A I believe I did. I have a fuzzy recollection that
- 10 I did. I believe I did.
- 11 Q Why were you asking the RNC to do additional
- 12 searches?
- 13 A In case -- so that we were very comprehensive in
- our search. If for some reason I missed it, they would have
- 15 caught it.
- 16 Q And when did you ask the RNC to do that?
- 17 A In response to any given subpoena.
- 18 Q Well, you had referred earlier to a request from
- 19 Mr. Fitzgerald in the Plame investigation.
- 20 Was there more than one request?
- A For documents in that investigation, there was more
- than one subpoena.
- Q How many?
- 24 A There may have been as many as six or seven.
- Q And do you know the time frame?

| 1  | A I can't recall the specific time frame.                     |
|----|---|
| 2  | Q Beyond Mr. Fitzgerald's requests, were there other          |
| 3  | requests from other investigators for Mr. Rove's e-mails?     |
| 4  | A The only there may have been, but the only other            |
| 5  | major investigation that I recall specifically was related to |
| 6  | Enron.  |
| 7  | Q Do you know when that would have been?                      |
| 8  | A I believe that was in 2001 sometime.                        |
| 9  | Q And you think in 2001 that Mr. Rove searched his            |
| 10 | e-mails to respond to a request for investigators relating to |
| 11 | Enron?  |
| 12 | A He or I searched.   |
| 13 | Q And that search included a search of political              |
| 14 | e-mails sent over the political account?                      |
| 15 | A Correct.  |
| 16 | Q Were other White House officials aware that                 |
| 17 | Mr. Rove in 2001 was providing e-mails from his political     |
| 18 | accounts to investigators who were looking at Enron?          |
| 19 | A I believe so, because all of the documents that we          |
| 20 | collected were then turned over to the White House Counsel's  |
| 21 | Office.   |
| 22 | Q Similarly, with respect to the six or seven                 |
| 23 | subpoenas from Mr. Fitzgerald, or whatever the number was     |
| 24 | from Mr. Fitzgerald, were White House officials aware that    |

you and Mr. Rove were providing e-mails sent and received on

- 1 his political accounts to Mr. Fitzgerald?
- A All of the documents that we collected in those investigations or for those requests as well were also turned
- 4 over to the White House Counsel's Office to then submit.
- Q You mentioned that you think you asked the RNC to search for Mr. Rove's e-mails in response to at least one of the Fitzgerald subpoenas.
- 8 A I believe I did.
- Q What did they do in response to that request?
- 10 A I believe they did a search, and I can't recall if
- anything came up in response, but if it did, those documents
- would also have been turned over in response to the
- subpoenas.
- 14 Q Do you know whether other White House officials
- were aware that the RNC was conducting searches for
- Mr. Rove's e-mails in response to the request from
- 17 Mr. Fitzgerald?
- 18 A I don't recall a specific notification or a
- specific discussion with White House staff, but my sort of
- general understanding is that they knew.
- Q In 2001, when this was the request from an outside
- investigation relating to Enron for Mr. Rove's e-mails, did
- you or Mr. Rove make a request to the RNC to search for
- e-mails in response to that request?
- 25 A I don't recall specifically making a request to the

- 1 RNC. I may have. I just don't recall specifically.
- Q Did Mr. Rove have a practice of printing out his
- 3 e-mails?
- 4 A He did.
- Q Did he print out e-mails received on his political
- 6 account?
- 7 A He would -- we didn't have a political printer. He
- 8 did not have a political printer in his office, and there
- 9 were a lot of times that he would forward a document to me to
- print out. So he would ask me to print them.
- 11 Q To print e-mails sent or received on his political
- 12 account?
- 13 A E-mail, correct.
- 14 Q And were those printouts stored anywhere?
- A Well, we had a filing system in our office, handled
- by Records Management, and they were responsible for all of
- the files. So every piece of paper which we saved went to
- 18 Records Management, and they kept all of the files in
- 19 storage.
- 20 [Counsel and Witness confer.]
- BY MS. AMERLING:
- Q Did he print out all of his e-mails that were sent
- or received on his political account?
- 24 A No. No.
- Q How did he decide which e-mails would be printed

1 out and which ones wouldn't be? 2 Mr. Berenson. If you know. 3 The Witness. Well, if there was follow-up action or it 4 was something lengthy that he would like to read later, he 5 would print it out. He would often get a lot of articles to 6 read, so they would be things to print out and then look at 7 later. 8 BY MS. AMERLING: 9 0 Let's turn to a different subject. Okav. 10 Α Okay. 11 Q The subject is the political briefings given by the White House Office of Political Affairs to Federal agency 12 officials, and I would like to start with some questions 13 about your employment history and your position at the 14 White House as background. 15 16 Where are you currently employed? 17 Α I'm a private, independent consultant. 0 And to whom do you report? 18 19 Α Myself. 20 Q Where did you work before you held that position? 21 At the White House. Α 22 And what positions did you hold there? 0 23 Α From 2001 to 2004, I was the Executive Assistant to

In 2003 through 2004, in addition to being

Executive Assistant. I was also the White House liaison to

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Karl Rove.

- the BCO4 campaign. In 2005 and 2006, I was also the Special
- 2 Assistant to the President. I think I got my commission in
- 3 2004, at the end of 2004.
- 4 Q And to whom did you report in each of these
- 5 positions?
- 6 A To Karl Rove.
- 7 Q When you were assigned responsibilities as the
- 8 White House liaison to the campaign, what did that entail?
- 9 A There was a -- our office was the -- what he called
- 10 a "funnel" to make sure that all campaign coordination came
- through our office, meaning myself and him.
- 12 Q And did you continue to have responsibilities at
- the White House while you took on those responsibilities as a
- 14 liaison?
- 15 A Yes, I did.
- Q When did your responsibilities with the campaign
- 17 stop?
- 18 A Well, let's see. December of '04.
- 19 Q Prior to your service at the White House, where
- were you employed?
- 21 A Greenberg Traurig.
- Q And what position did you hold there?
- 23 A I cannot remember my exact title. It was something
- like Associate Director of Government Affairs, something like
- 25 that.

1 0 During what time period did you serve in that 2 position? From January '01 to February of '01. Just over a 3 Α 4 month. 5 0 And where did you work before then? Preston Gates. 6 Α 7 During what time period did you work there? Q The 2 years prior to that. So it was 2000, '99, 8 Α 9 and the very end of '98. 10 Q What was your position at Preston Gates? 11 Α I was the Executive Assistant. 12 Q And where did you work before that? Let's see. Directly before that, I worked at 13 Α M&J Wilcow in Chicago, Illinois. 14 15 0 And what was your position there? I was the Executive Assistant to the President. 16 Α 17 Q During what time period did you work there? Let's see, I had two separate stints there. I'd 18 19 have to look up the exact dates, but it was the 2 years prior 20 before I moved to Washington. I had a 1-year break where I worked at Orbis Broadcast Group, and then 2 years prior to 21 that. I was also at M&J. 2.2. Okay. Let's turn to your service at the 23 0 White House. How did you hear that the position of Executive 24

Assistant to Karl Rove was open?

| 1  | A I heard about it through Jack Oliver at the RNC.            |
|----|---|
| 2  | Q What was the process for applying for this                  |
| 3  | position?   |
| 4  | A I met with Jack Oliver shortly after the                    |
| 5  | inauguration. He passed me on to Israel Hernandez, who was    |
| 6  | the deputy to Mr. Rove. I met with Mr. Hernandez. Then        |
| 7  | shortly thereafter, I met with Mr. Rove, and then a few days  |
| 8  | later, they offered me the position.                          |
| 9  | Q Did you know Karl Rove prior to applying for this           |
| 10 | position?   |
| 11 | A No, I did not.  |
| 12 | Q Can you describe your responsibilities as Executive         |
| 13 | Assistant to Mr. Rove?  |
| 14 | A I was responsible for managing the administrative           |
| 15 | duties of his office, which included answering the telephone, |
| 16 | managing his schedule, managing the paper flow of his office. |
| 17 | He was responsible for four offices, so I was coordinating    |
| 18 | the activities of those four offices.                         |
| 19 | Q What were the four offices?                                 |
| 20 | A The Office of Political Affairs, the Office of              |
| 21 | Public Liaison, the Office of Strategic Initiatives, and the  |
| 22 | Office of Intergovernmental Affairs.                          |
| 23 | Q So if a person wanted to meet with Mr. Rove, did            |
| 24 | they generally go through you?                                |

That is correct.

| 1  | Q And how were phone calls routed to Mr. Rove at the        |
|----|---|
| 2  | White House? Did they generally go through you?             |
| 3  | A Yes.  |
| 4  | Q Is there anybody else who answered phone calls for        |
| 5  | him?  |
| 6  | A Well, calls could come through the switchboard            |
| 7  | directly to him. I was mostly the person answering the      |
| 8  | phone, but there were other people who, from time to time,  |
| 9  | helped.   |
| 10 | Q When Mr. Rove wanted to communicate with other            |
| 11 | individuals in the White House, what did he do?             |
| 12 | A He might pick up the phone himself and place the          |
| 13 | call. He might ask me to place a call or he might just walk |
| 14 | to that person's office.                                    |
| 15 | Q What about when he wanted to e-mail someone? Did          |
| 16 | he go through you?  |
| 17 | A No.   |
| 18 | Q When people sent draft documents to Karl Rove for         |
| 19 | his review, did they go through you?                        |
| 20 | A Primarily.  |
| 21 | Q When he edited documents, did you play a role in          |
| 22 | communicating revisions that he made to others?             |
| 23 | A Sometimes. Sometimes he would give the edits              |
| 24 | himself.  |

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When you communicated these revisions, how did that

- 1 work?
- A He would give the edits and comments to me. He
- might write -- he might give them to me verbally and/or in
- 4 written form, and I would communicate it to the person.
- Q When people came to meet with Mr. Rove, did you
- 6 greet them and bring them in to Mr. Rove?
- 7 A Yes. I sat just outside his office, so they
- 8 couldn't get to him without walking past me.
- 9 Q Did you have a door between your office and his
- 10 office?
- 11 A Yes.
- 12 Q Did anyone else have a door between their offices
- and his office?
- 14 A No.
- 15 Q You said you managed Mr. Rove's schedule. How did
- 16 you learn what would be on his schedule?
- 17 A Well, there were internal meetings that were
- regular meetings that we would -- that were on his schedule.
- 19 There were appointments that he would tell me to put on
- 20 there. Sometimes there would be meetings or speaking
- 21 engagements that we would discuss, but nothing got onto his
- schedule without his knowing it. We would talk about his
- 23 schedule regularly. He would want to know what was coming up
- in the next few days, what was coming up even a month out.
- 25 So we would talk about his schedule pretty frequently.

- 1 Q Did you remind Mr. Rove of his appointments?
- 2 A Yes. That was a big job, trying to keep him on
- time, moving, being where he needs to be.
- 4 Q Who else besides you reported to Mr. Rove?
- 5 A Well, in our office suite, there were one or two
- 6 other individuals right there. One was Israel Hernandez. In
- 7 2003, we added a staff assistant named B.J. Gergen, and
- 8 outside of that, there were probably 50 or 60 people in those
- 9 four offices that I mentioned earlier who worked directly for
- 10 him.
- 11 Q And those people included Sara Taylor?
- 12 A She is one. Correct.
- 13 Q And Scott Jennings?
- 14 A Correct.
- 15 Q And Matt Schlapp?
- 16 A Correct.
- 17 Q And Ken Mehlman?
- 18 A Correct.
- 19 Q This committee has been examining evidence where,
- in January of this year, a member of the Office of Political
- 21 Affairs gave a PowerPoint presentation at the General
- 22 Services Administration that discussed outcomes of the
- 23 midterm election and Republican targets for the next
- 24 election. And the White House has recently acknowledged that
- 25 the Office of Political Affairs gave similar presentations on

- at least 20 occasions to 15 agencies, before and after the 2 2006 elections, as well as giving an undetermined number of 3 presentations surrounding the 2002 and 2004 elections.
  - At the time that you worked at the White House, were you aware that employees of the Office of Political Affairs gave similar political presentations to political appointees of Federal agencies?
- 8 A Yes, I was aware.

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- Q How many times were presentations like that given?
- A I can't -- it's impossible for me to say how many times they gave it. I know it was a regular occurrence. I could only be involved in the number of times that Karl specifically gave the presentation himself, but they may have given it many times without my knowledge.
- Q How many times are you aware of that Mr. Rove gave the presentations?
- A During the first couple of years, my recollection -- my best recollection is that he gave it, possibly, at least once to each of the agencies.
  - Q Which agencies?
- 21 A The major -- the major Cabinet agencies.
- 22 Q What about after that?
- A After he had done them at least once, he more often deferred to one of his deputies to give the presentation. So it would have either been Barry Jackson or Ken Mehlman, or

- whoever the Political Affairs Director was, and that person's deputy. There were a lot of demands for his time, and since he had met with each of the agencies at least once, then he preferred that somebody else try to give it.
  - Q Was it his idea to give these presentations?
  - A You know, I can't say specifically it was his idea, but my general understanding is that it was he and whoever the head of the Political Affairs Office was who decided that they would do it.
- [Counsel and Witness confer.]
  - The <u>Witness</u>. There were -- each of the agencies would sometimes have meetings, and there were written requests that came in requesting him to appear at a retreat or at a meeting with politicals that they wanted him to speak at.

## 15 BY MS. AMERLING:

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- Q Were all of the occasions on which he gave political presentations to agencies based on a request from the agencies or did the White House offer to do these presentations?
  - A I think it was a mixture of both.
- Q Do you know specifically where they were given?

  You said they were given at the agencies, but where were they given?

  given?
- A Well, I know -- I can't recall specifically. I know, at least on a couple of occasions where there was a

- 1 retreat, the briefing was given off site, after hours, or at a weekend location. 2 3 0 Were there occasions when the presentations were 4 given during work hours? 5 Α There may have been, but I don't recall 6 specifically. I mean, that information would be either in 7 the request or in the communication, but I can't recall 8 specifically. 9 Q Do you recall any occasions when the briefings were given in Federal office buildings? 10 11 They may have, but I don't recall specifically. 12 Do you know who decided where the presentations 0 would be given? 13 Α I don't. 14 15
- Q Did anyone talk with you about how decisions were made regarding which agency employees to invite?
- 17 A It wasn't discussed with me specifically.

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My general understanding was that this was for politicals. I mean sometimes the briefings were high-level briefings for members of the Secretary's senior staff, and sometimes the briefings were for Schedule Cs. To my knowledge, the briefings were restricted to politicals.

- Q Do you know why that was the case?
- A Nobody discussed that with me, personally.
- Q Did you ever hear anybody discuss the reasons?

- 1 A Not that I recall.
- 2 Q Were these presentations given consistently
- 3 throughout your time at the White House or were they given
- 4 more frequently around the time of elections?
- A You know, my recollection is that they may have
- been more frequent. They seemed to be a regular occurrence,
- 7 though.
- Q When you say "more frequent," do you mean more
- 9 frequent around the time of elections?
- 10 A Yes.
- 11 Q And how were these presentations drafted?
- 12 A The Office of Political Affairs would draft it.
- Q Who was involved in the drafting?
- 14 A Several people. The head of the Office of
- 15 Political Affairs would be one of the key people. They would
- get information from somebody on staff who was not an expert
- 17 but who had experience in polling information, and sometimes
- they did get information from the RNC.
- 19 Q Besides the head of the Office of Political
- Affairs, who else was involved in drafting the presentations?
- 21 A You know, there may have been others, but I think
- 22 the primary responsibility was the Office of Political
- 23 Affairs for the first draft. Karl was engaged in editing,
- 24 but the first drafts would always come from Political
- 25 Affairs.

| 1  | Q Do you know where the presentations were stored?            |
|----|---|
| 2  | A Stored in what way?   |
| 3  | Q When there were drafts of the presentations that            |
| 4  | were developed and then ultimately a final copy, where did    |
| 5  | these documents get stored?                                   |
| 6  | A Well, the Office of Political Affairs handled it.           |
| 7  | They are the ones who printed it, created it on their         |
| 8  | political accounts.   |
| 9  | Mr. <u>Berenson.</u> Do you know for sure that it was always  |
| 10 | done on their political accounts?                             |
| 11 | The <u>Witness.</u> I believe so.                             |
| 12 | BY MS. AMERLING:  |
| 13 | Q Do you know whether they printed out copies of the          |
| 14 | presentations and stored them in White House offices?         |
| 15 | A Yes, they printed them out. I don't know where              |
| 16 | they stored them.   |
| 17 | Q And was there a standard presentation?                      |
| 18 | A There was a fairly standard presentation that               |
| 19 | changed from time to time depending on who it was being given |
| 20 | to, the time of year, what the priorities were for the        |
| 21 | White House at the time, but there was a fairly standard      |
| 22 | template.   |
| 23 | Q Was this the same presentation or similar to one            |
| 24 | that was used to solicit Republican donors?                   |

I don't think so. I mean I have seen so many

- presentations that that would be a completely different kind of presentation.
- Q Did presentations given before elections differ from presentations given after elections?
  - A Yes.

- 6 Q How did they differ?
- A Well, the political information would be very
  different. Going into an election cycle, they are kind of
  laying out their best estimate of how races might fall, what
  the target States are; and then after the elections, it's
  more of a rehash of what happened.
- Q When you say "target States," what do you mean by that?
- A There were States that were a priority for
  political -- for the Office of Political Affairs. They
  called them "target States."
  - Q A priority with respect to what?
- A These were States that -- they were States that
  were important, given the races and the political activity of
  that particular time. So, for example, if there were key
  races in Florida, then Florida might be a target State.
- Q Key races for Republicans?
- 23 A Republicans.
- Q And did the presentations discuss future elections and candidates?

| 1   | A Yes. If they were prior to an election cycle, yes          |
|-----|--|
| 2   | Q Did they discuss, as the one given at the GSA did,         |
| 3   | targeting specific Democratic seats and defending specific   |
| 4   | Republican seats?  |
| 5   | A The presentations that I remember did.                     |
| 6   | Mr. <u>Castor.</u> I would like to interject here.           |
| 7   | We have been going for about an hour. If Ms. Ralston         |
| 8   | would like to take a break, we would like to make sure that  |
| 9   | that opportunity is provided. I don't need a break           |
| 10  | personally, but  |
| 11  | The <u>Witness.</u> That would be great.                     |
| 12  | Ms. <u>Amerling.</u> You would like a break?                 |
| 13  | The <u>Witness.</u> That would be great.                     |
| 14  | Ms. Amerling. Let's go off the record.                       |
| 15  | [Recess.]  |
| 16  | Mr. <u>Ausbrook.</u> Okay. Let's go back on.                 |
| 17  | I want to welcome you. I know you have been through          |
| 18  | some questioning already. I want to thank you for being      |
| 19  | here.  |
| 20  | The <u>Witness.</u> Thanks.                                  |
| 21  | EXAMINATION  |
| 22  | BY MR. AUSBROOK:   |
| 23  | Q My name is Keith Ausbrook, and I'm the Republican          |
| 24  | General Counsel for the committee, and I understand that you |
| 0.5 | have one additional statement that you want to make with     |

- 1 respect to previously asked questions.
- 2 A With regard to the filing of where these
- presentations were kept, I wanted to point out that there may
- 4 have been the possibility that Karl kept copies of that
- presentation in his own separate files, but I just don't
- 6 recall. They wouldn't have been part of the White House
- 7 files.
- 8 Q Okay. Not part of the White House files. Do you
- 9 mean because they were --
- 10 A They were political in nature.
- 11 Q They were political files?
- 12 A So they would not have gone into Records
- Management.
- Q So did he have a set of files that were political
- files in the same way that he had separate e-mail accounts?
- 16 A Correct.
- 17 Q Let me ask you a few questions, sort of broadly,
- 18 about the Office of Political Affairs.
- 19 When you went to work there, what was your understanding
- of what the Office of Political Affairs does?
- 21 A I can't remember if they actually told me "this is
- 22 what Political Affairs does," but they were -- the way I
- viewed it is that each office had constituencies.
- 24 For example, with Intergovernmental Affairs, their
- constituency was nonFederal-elected officials -- mayors,

- Governors, local officials. In Public Liaison, their
  constituency was all of the outside groups, and the
  constituency of Political Affairs was the Hill, Congress.
  - Q What was the Office of Political Affairs designed to do with respect to its constituency?
    - A Well, they worked with Legislative Affairs on any domestic agenda items. They worked with the other committees -- the RNC, the NRSC, the NRCC -- to coordinate their activities. They worked on campaigns and races.
- Q When you say "worked on campaigns and races," what did they do on campaigns and races?
  - A They would work with the committees in identifying particular districts -- or races that they might be helping, and how the White House was going to help those particular races with political activity. So, for example, if there was a race in a State, the White House might allocate resources, political resources, through surrogates.
    - Q "Surrogates" being like political appointees and others who were permitted to engage in campaign activities --
- A Exactly.

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- Q -- even though they are employed by the Federal
  Government?
- 23 A Exactly.
- Q Do you recall any sort of formal description of the function of the Office of Political Affairs in writing?

| 1  | A I believe there is a description on the white House       |
|----|---|
| 2  | Web site, but I couldn't tell you what it says exactly.     |
| 3  | Q Do you recall receiving a briefing about how people       |
| 4  | in the Political Affairs Office could manage their dual     |
| 5  | functions their campaign functions and their official       |
| 6  | functions?  |
| 7  | A There was a White House counsel briefing, but I           |
| 8  | can't remember exactly the extent to which we discussed the |
| 9  | dual role. They may have received briefings from the RNC    |
| 10 | counsel, but I'm not aware.                                 |
| 11 | Q But did you ever receive a briefing from RNC              |
| 12 | counsel about that?   |
| 13 | A Not that I recall.  |
| 14 | Q Do you know if anybody received briefings about how       |
| 15 | to use the different e-mail accounts?                       |
| 16 | Mr. <u>Berenson.</u> I'm going to interpose our previous    |
| 17 | objection there for the same reasons stated at the outset.  |
| 18 | Mr. <u>Ausbrook.</u> Okay.                                  |
| 19 | BY MR. AUSBROOK:  |
| 20 | Q I'll get back to the political briefings that             |
| 21 | Mr. Jennings gave and Mr. Rove gave on occasion.            |
| 22 | When you said that they may have become more frequent       |
| 23 | around the campaign, were you talking about before an       |
| 24 | election or after an election, or both?                     |
| 25 | A I said they may. I believe they may have been more        |

| 1  | frequent during an election cycle.                           |
|----|--|
| 2  | Q We in the House are in election cycles all the             |
| 3  | time, so   |
| 4  | A That's the thing. It's like every 2 years there's          |
| 5  | a lot of activity.   |
| 6  | Q Yes. Do you know if the counsel's office ever              |
| 7  | advised the political office or your office about legal      |
| 8  | issues surrounding those briefings?                          |
| 9  | A They may have. There were presentations that we            |
| 10 | did run by the White House Counsel's Office, but I can't     |
| 11 | recall if those were the presentations given to briefings in |
| 12 | agencies, but there were times that we did run political     |
| 13 | presentations by the counsel's office.                       |
| 14 | Q What did you run those by them for?                        |
| 15 | A To make sure that the content was okay.                    |
| 16 | Q Do you know what the concerns were with the                |
| 17 | content? Was it whether the content was appropriate?         |
| 18 | A You know, I can't say specifically.                        |
| 19 | Q Do you recall any conversations in the Political           |
| 20 | Affairs Office or in your office about these kinds of        |
| 21 | briefings during the Clinton administration?                 |
| 22 | A There may have been, but I don't recall                    |
| 23 | specifically.  |
| 24 | Q Did anyone ever suggest that the purpose of these          |
| 25 | briefings was to use government agencies to advance          |

## congressional campaigns?

A Well, some of the information that was provided -politicals were allowed to, on their own time, participate in
campaigns and political activities. And I don't have a
specific recollection that that was the directive of those
briefings, but the politicals were made aware of key races
that the White House was interested in.

Q So you're saying that the briefings were limited to providing this information to politicals, possibly, so that they could engage in the campaigns that they are allowed to do, but not so they could use the resources of the agency for political campaigns?

A Well, I don't recall ever attending a briefing specifically, so what was said at those briefings, I don't know.

Q I think you mentioned that the people who prepared the presentations actually used their political resources to prepare the presentations.

Do you know whether they were specifically advised to do that with respect to those presentations?

A I don't know.

- Q Did anybody ever discuss that it was important to do that, to distinguish between the political aspect of their jobs and their official aspects?
- 25 A There may have been specific discussions, but I'm

- 1 not aware.
- Mr. Ausbrook. Okay. That's all that we have.
- 3 BY MS. AMERLING:
- Q I have a few more questions about the political briefings.
- 6 A Okay.

Q You said earlier that the presentations that were made in these briefings sometimes changed, I think you said, based on the agency or the White House priorities.

10 What types of changes do you recall were made based on a specific agency?

A Well, I can't -- I don't know with regard to a specific agency, but one of the things that they discussed in the presentation were key priorities that the President was trying to accomplish in the near term, and so it's possible that the presentation content changed. If it were focused on -- for example, education was a key priority during that time frame, so there may have been more detail if the presentation were given to the Education Department.

Q Some agencies had more than one political briefing during an election cycle. For example, at Commerce, reportedly, political appointees attended an Office of Political Affairs presentation at the agency, and then the Secretary, with senior Commerce political staff, attended a second private briefing at the White House.

Do you know how those briefings would have differed?

A I don't. My best guess is that they broke it up because of space and the number of employees in those two groups. The Schedule Cs would have been a much larger briefing, so I can't imagine how many appointees they had, but my best guess is that it was just two briefings broken up because of space.

Q Do you know why briefings would have been held at the White House?

A You know, I don't. I mean, my best guess is that Secretaries were more often at the White House. It was a nice thing for the senior appointees to come into the building, but I don't recall specifically why. It's just kind of my best guess.

Q Did anyone ever discuss why these briefings would help agency heads fulfill the agencies' missions?

A I don't recall specific discussions, but sort of my general understanding is that Karl felt that it was important to communicate to the agencies that they felt like they were in communication with the White House, that they were in touch with what the President was doing, that they were in touch with senior officials more to coordinate just the activities.

Q Did anyone ever discuss why the briefings included information on targeting specific Democratic seats or

- 1 defending specific Republican seats?
- 2 A I don't recall a specific discussion myself. You
- know, there may have been conversations between Karl and the
- 4 Office of Political Affairs about why, but just, you know, as
- to a general understanding of the political environment,
- 6 sensitizing the political appointees as to why the political
- 7 environment is important, I think Karl made that fairly clear
- 8 during the time that I worked for him that the environment,
- 9 the political environment, was important to what we were
- trying to accomplish.
- Q Were all of the discussions about these briefings
- conducted over political e-mail accounts?
- 13 A Well --
- Mr. <u>Berenson.</u> Hold on just a moment there.
- [Counsel and Witness confer.]
- Mr. <u>Berenson</u>. I'll go ahead and let her answer this
- 17 question.
- 18 Ms. <u>Amerling.</u> Okay.
- The <u>Witness</u>. The majority of the discussions about the
- presentation, I think, were face to face. I mean, Karl met
- with his staff very frequently, and so the discussion of the
- presentation or a contact presentation was either -- I don't
- think would have been taking place over e-mail. It would
- have been either on the phone or in person.
- BY MS. AMERLING:

- Q You said earlier, I believe, that Mr. Rove said the briefings were a way to keep the agencies coordinated; is that accurate?
  - A That the White House wanted the agencies to understand what the President's priorities were. So it was to communicate the priorities and make sure that they were -- that that's what they were focused on as well.
  - Q In 2002, were you familiar with a dispute in Oregon over whether or not to divert water from the Klamath River

    Basin to nearby farms?
- 11 A I recall that.

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- 12 Q What was Mr. Rove's involvement in that dispute?
- A You know, I do not remember the exact details, but there were discussions with Barry Jackson, and I guess it would have been Ken Mehlman at the time for the Office of Political Affairs, but as a policy matter, they did discuss it.
- Q Barry Jackson, Ken Mehlman and Mr. Rove discussed this issue?
- 20 A Correct.
- Q Was anyone else involved?
- A Well, as I recall, this subject did come up
  frequently in our directors' meetings. We had a directors'
  meeting every day, pretty much every day.
- Q What is a "directors' meeting"?

- A It would be -- the participants would have been
  Karl, myself, Israel Hernandez, each of the directors of the
  four offices that he managed, and sometimes those directors
  would bring a deputy, and this meeting was held in his
  office.
  - Q In Karl Rove's office?

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- 7 A Correct. And we met almost every day.
- Q For how long was the subject of the "Klamath River
  Basin water diversion" issue a topic of these directors'
  meetings?
- 11 A Oh, I can't say specifically, but it was definitely 12 mentioned on multiple occasions.
- 13 Q And what did the discussions entail?
  - A You know, I would have to look at what the issue was, but I think some of the discussions involved Barry Jackson's reporting on what was going on, what was going on policywise in terms of discussions inside the building.
    - Q What do you mean by that?
  - A Well, there was a policy process in the White House that, on some key issues, Karl deferred to Barry -- his deputy on policy -- to kind of run and manage. So if there were policy meetings with policy people, leg people, intergovernmental, anybody who was involved in the policy process, then Barry might have been reporting to Karl about what those discussions were about.

| 1  | Q But you don't remember the details of those                |
|----|--|
| 2  | discussions?   |
| 3  | A I don't remember the details.                              |
| 4  | Q Were you   |
| 5  | A I'd have to look at the issue.                             |
| 6  | Q Were you aware that in early January 2002, Karl            |
| 7  | Rove gave a PowerPoint presentation, that he used to solicit |
| 8  | Republican donors, to 50 Department of Interior managers at  |
| 9  | Department retreat in Shepherdstown, West Virginia?          |
| 10 | A You know, I don't remember that one specifically,          |
| 11 | but he gave those kinds of presentations. I wouldn't doubt   |
| 12 | it.  |
| 13 | Q Do you recall his discussing with you that he was          |
| 14 | going to give a presentation related to the Klamath River    |
| 15 | issue at a retreat?  |
| 16 | A I don't have a specific recollection. He may have          |
| 17 | but I don't have a specific recollection.                    |
| 18 | Q Were you aware that Mr. Rove traveled to Klamath           |
| 19 | River in late January and early February 2002 and spoke to   |
| 20 | the farmers there?   |
| 21 | A He traveled so much. He may have. I vaguely                |
| 22 | recall that trip, but he traveled so much that I $$          |
| 23 | Q Do you recall anything about that trip?                    |
| 24 | A No. I just have a very vague recollection of it.           |
| 25 | Q Were you aware that Mr. Rove put together a                |

Cabinet-Level task force on Klamath River issues? 1 He may have, but I don't remember. 2 You were not involved in that? 0 3 It sort of sounds vaguely familiar, but I just 4 don't remember the details. 5 Were you aware that the Interior Department's 6 inspector general investigated the White House's involvement 7 in the Interior Department's decision about Klamath River 8 9 water levels? I do not remember that. 10 Let's turn to a different subject, the subject of Q 11 the White House's handling of classified information. 12 Α Okay. 13 Did you hold a security clearance when you were at 0 14 the White House? 15 I did. 16 Α And when did you get that clearance? 17 0 I got my full clearance in the summer of '01. Ι 18 Α got a Top Secret security clearance. 19 Did you hold that clearance throughout your service 0 20 at the White House? 21 Yes, I did. 22 Α Did you receive any briefings or other guidance 0 23 from White House officials regarding how to handle classified 24 25 information?

| 1  | A Yes.  |
|----|---|
| 2  | Q When did you receive those?                               |
| 3  | A You had to get them I cannot remember how many            |
| 4  | times, but there were they could have been yearly, but I    |
| 5  | remember attending more than one briefing.                  |
| 6  | Q And from whom did you receive these briefings?            |
| 7  | A Mark Frauenfelder at the White House. I believe he        |
| 8  | is in the Secret Service or in the Security Division.       |
| 9  | Q Did anyone else participate in these briefings?           |
| 10 | A I think it was a briefing that multiple people            |
| 11 | presented on, and he was sort of the lead person in charge, |
| 12 | but I don't think I don't think it was restricted to one    |
| 13 | person.   |
| 14 | Q Do you remember any other officials who gave these        |
| 15 | briefings?  |
| 16 | A Well, the White House Counsel's Office also gave us       |
| 17 | briefings. I recall briefings from the person in charge of  |
| 18 | ethics on various you know, different people during         |
| 19 | various times of the year but I do not remember if that     |
| 20 | was the briefing on the classified information. There were  |
| 21 | just multiple security briefings.                           |
| 22 | Q So you don't recall any specific occasion on which        |
|    |   |

a member of the White House Counsel's Office provided a

briefing relating to the handling of classified information?

I think -- my best recollection is that it was Mark

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| 1  | Frauenfelder's office who gave the briefing about the       |
|----|---|
| 2  | handling of classified information.                         |
| 3  | Q Did Karl Rove have a security clearance while you         |
| 4  | were at the White House?                                    |
| 5  | A Yes.  |
| 6  | Q When did he receive his clearance?                        |
| 7  | A You know, I don't know exactly when. I believe he         |
| 8  | had it from beginning early on.                             |
| 9  | Q Did he receive briefings or guidance from                 |
| 10 | White House officials on the handling of classified         |
| 11 | information?  |
| 12 | A I believe he did because it was a requirement of          |
| 13 | being on staff. You had to attend briefings.                |
| 14 | Q Do you know that he actually did receive such a           |
| 15 | briefing?   |
| 16 | A I'm fairly certain he did, but I don't believe he         |
| 17 | would have had his security clearance without attending the |
| 18 | briefing.   |
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| 1  | <u>RPTS_THOMAS</u>   |
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| 2  | DCMN MAGMER  |
| 3  | [11:50 a.m.]   |
| 4  | BY MS. AMERLING:   |
| 5  | Q And do you recall what guidance was provided in            |
| 6  | these briefings?   |
| 7  | A You mean all of the detail?                                |
| 8  | Q Can you describe what you recall?                          |
| 9  | A Um, there was a fairly lengthy presentation I              |
| 10 | would say maybe it was 15 or 20 minutes long in terms of     |
| 11 | how to handle the classified documents, where they should be |
| 12 | kept. We had a secure safe in our office. They shouldn't be  |
| 13 | taken out of the building.                                   |
| 14 | Q Okay. Can you describe what procedures were in             |
| 15 | place for Mr. Rove to receive classified information at the  |
| 16 | White House?   |
| 17 | A Well, somebody in his office had to sign for the           |
| 18 | document. Whoever was on staff handing out the materials     |
| 19 | would walk the materials around to each office, and then     |
| 20 | somebody with a clearance had to sign for it. If it was      |
| 21 | above a Top Secret clearance, than Karl would have had to    |
| 22 | sign for it personally.                                      |
| 23 | Q And what procedures were in place for Mr. Karl             |
| 24 | Mr. Rove to receive classified information over the phone?   |

A Well, he had some type of secure phone in his

office, or he could take a call in the SIT room. 1 In the situation room? 2 0 3 Α Correct. What about receiving classified information over 0 4 5 the fax? Did you have a secure fax? We did not. Those faxes would have come in over Α 6 7 the situation room. And were there procedures in place for Mr. Rove to Q receive classified information from the CIA? 9 I don't know if there was a distinction. There may 10 11 have been, but I don't know. Was there any general understanding about the 12 0 sensitivity of receiving information from the CIA? 13 14 I don't recall specifically. 15 As an example, do you know whether information that someone worked at the CIA was presumed to be classified or 16 sensitive information? 17 18 I am sorry. Say that again. Was the fact that someone worked at the CIA 19 presumed to be classified or sensitive information that 20 shouldn't be disclosed? 21 I don't remember any specific discussion about 22 23 that. Are you aware of any violations of security rules 24 Q

by Mr. Rove?

Not that I am aware of. 1 Α 2 Q Are you aware of any violations of security rules by anyone else at the White House? 3 I have no knowledge. 4 Do you know whether White House security officers 5 0 ever conducted inspections of West Wing offices to check for 6 7 compliances for ways of handling classified information? I don't recall that. There may have been, but I 8 Α don't recall. 9 Do you know whether outside agencies ever requested 10 to conduct an inspection of the West Wing to ensure that 11 effective security procedures were in place? 12 Again, there may have, but I don't recall. 13 Did anyone at the White House ever talk with you 14 0 about the renewal of Mr. Rove's security clearance in 2006? 15 Well, there was a regular procedure that after 16 Α 5 years you had to be reinvestigated; and I believe in 2006 17 there were a number of staff who had been there for 5 years, 18 myself included, who went through the reinvestigation 19 20 process. Did anyone ever talk with you about Mr. Rove's 21 0 reinvestigation process? 22 Well, it's possible. Because the FBI agent who 23 24 would come in and do the interviews -- I did several. They

might have talked to me about Karl, but I can't remember

- specifically. I did several. I did several interviews on other staff.
  - Q It has been reported that in June and July of 2003 several White House officials told reporters that Valerie Plame Wilson, the wife of Ambassador Joseph Wilson who conducted a mission to Niger investigating possible uranium sales to Iraq, worked with the CIA. In June or July of 2003, were you familiar with the name Valerie Plame Wilson?

A You know, I don't remember the exact timing. I have talked to investigators before about this matter, and the timing and all of the details are pretty fuzzy. So I don't know if I was aware of it prior to all of the press reports or after. It is just hard for me to say, pin down exactly.

- Q So you don't have a recollection of how you heard of Valerie Plame Wilson in the first place?
- 17 A Correct. I believe it was after the story came
  18 out.
- Q Did you hear or see any communications by Karl Rove about Joe Wilson or Valerie Plame Wilson with anyone at the White House?
- 22 Mr. <u>Berenson</u>. At any time?
- Ms. <u>Amerling.</u> Yes.

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The <u>Witness.</u> Yes. As I mentioned, there was an investigation, an ongoing investigation, for several years.

So Joe Wilson was, you know, something that he did -- that we 1 talked about and were aware of. 2 BY MS. AMERLING: 3 Who did Mr. Rove talk about this subject with? 0 4 Um, well, at least on one occasion I recall in one 5 of our director's meetings it being discussed, but I can't 6 remember the exact content of that discussion. 7 Were you aware of any communications by Mr. Rove 0 8 about Joe Wilson or Valerie Plame Wilson with the Office of 9 the Vice President? 10 You know, it is -- that investigation was so 11 lengthy that the timing of all of the conversations is not 12 really clear in my mind. 13 I believe he did talk to the Vice President's Office 14 about it, but I just don't remember when, with whom, the 15 16 context. Why do you believe that he talked with that office 17 0 about this subject? 18 I just have a vague recollection that he and 19 Scooter Libby talked about this subject often. 20 Often? Q 21 Α Often. 22 During what time frame? 23 0 I don't know. I mean, I -- it is really hard for

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me to say.

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And when they discussed this topic, do you know 1 0 specifically what they said? 2 3 Α No, I was not present. And the conversations were not repeated to you? 0 4 No. 5 Α Were you aware of any discussion between Karl Rove and anyone else about a plan to disclose information about 7 Ms. Wilson's CIA employment to the press? 8 I am sorry. Say that question again. 9 Were you aware of any discussions between Karl Rove 10 0 and any others about a plan to disclose information about Ms. 11 Wilson's CIA employment to the press? 12 Um. I don't think -- I think I have a vague 13 Α recollection of it being discussed but not until after the 14 story. 15 And who discussed this issue? 16 Karl -- well, Karl may have talked about it with us Α 17 in his office. 18 And what did he say? 19 Q Well, to me personally he said that he never knew 20 Α her name, and it wasn't him who disclosed it. 21 Do you remember when he told you that? Q 22 It was sometime during the investigation. 23 Α Did he discuss with you whether he disclosed 24 0

information that Joe Wilson's wife was a CIA employee,

- irrespective of whether he knew her name?
- A You know, I think we talked about it during the

  investigation as it related to a lot of the documents that we

  had to produce during this time period.
  - Q "We" meaning you and Mr. Rove?
- 6 A Correct.

Q What did those discussions entail?

A Well, we talked about -- we tried to put together a time line of -- he may have talked to reporters. He talked to -- he was trying to refresh his recollection as well. So he had asked me to search for people that he may have talked to in our phone log and meetings, to check his e-mail.

So during the course of the investigation, there were times that we discussed Plame, Wilson, Novak, the reporters. I mean, it just -- over the time period, there were a lot of documents that we had to produce, call logs, calendars. And so in relation to the time line, he and I discussed, you know, whether he made those calls and whether he had those conversations and meetings.

- Q And what did he say?
- A You know, I would have to go back and look at all of the documents. But he didn't recall -- he recalled talking to Novak.
  - O Did he recall what he said to Novak?
- A I don't believe we discussed the details of it.

- Did he recall talking with Matthew Cooper of Time 1 0 Magazine? 2 You know, he may have. I mean, I talked with the Α 3 special investigator's office about this before, and, you 4 know, my recollection back then may have been a little bit 5 more clear. But at this point, where I sit here right now, 6 it is hard for me to remember it -- remember it all, because 7 8 it was such a lengthy investigation. Based on the various conversations you had with 9 0 Mr. Rove about this subject, did you come to believe that he 10 had disclosed to anyone in the press the fact that Joe 11 Wilson's wife worked at the CIA? 12 Well, it is hard for me to distinguish what he and 13 I may have talked about and what I read in the press. So it 14 has been recounted in the press that he said to Bob Novak 15 when he said, "I heard that Joe Wilson's wife worked at the 16 CIA," and he said, "I heard that, too." Now I don't know if 17 he told me that, or if I just remember it from reading it in 18 19 the press. Do you have any information about how Mr. Rove 0 20 learned that Valerie Wilson was an employee of the CIA? 21 I don't remember. I think I recall he heard it 22 Α through gossip. 23
- 25 A I don't know.

Gossip from whom?

Q

| 1  | Q Do you know who else at the White House was aware          |
|----|--|
| 2  | of this fact that Valerie Wilson was an employee of the CIA? |
| 3  | A Well, from the press accounts I know that Scooter          |
| 4  | Libby did.   |
| 5  | Q From your personal knowledge?                              |
| 6  | A No, not from my own personal knowledge.                    |
| 7  | Q Do you have any information about whether Karl Rove        |
| 8  | was aware that Ms. Wilson's identity as a CIA employee was   |
| 9  | classified information?                                      |
| 10 | A I don't have any knowledge about that.                     |
| 11 | Q Do you have any information about whether anyone           |
| 12 | else at the White House was aware of it, that that was       |
| 13 | classified information?                                      |
| 14 | A I don't.   |
| 15 | Q What documents would contain information on how            |
| 16 | Mr. Rove or others at the White House learned of and         |
| 17 | disclosed information relating to Ms. Wilson's CIA           |
| 18 | employment?  |
| 19 | A I don't know what documents might exist.                   |
| 20 | Q Are you aware of any internal investigations               |
| 21 | conducted by any White House official regarding the          |
| 22 | disclosure of Valerie Plame Wilson's identity as a CIA       |
| 23 | A There may have been, but I don't recall.                   |
| 24 | Q You have no recollection of one?                           |

Α

 $\operatorname{Hmm}\operatorname{-mm}$  .

Q Let us turn to the subject of how the White House used intelligence on Iraq.

The committee is examining this issue, including how the President used Iraq intelligence in his State of the Union address in 2003. Can you tell us what you know about the process of the White House for drafting and vetting the State of the Union address?

A The process started probably late November, early December. It was a fairly high-level process and quite secretive. So the speech itself, I probably didn't see a draft until very close to the actual time of the speech in January. So they had conducted meetings.

- Q When you say "they," who are you talking about?
- 14 A White House senior staff and legislative and policy 15 people.
  - Q Including Mr. Rove?
- 17 A Correct.

Q And what role did Mr. Rove play in the development of the State of the Union address?

A He was involved in meetings. He was engaged in the process itself, so he was the person to -- at the beginning saying, okay, it is time to start thinking about the State of the Union. We should start meeting. He would be tasking people to look at particular issues. He would have people meet with outside people to solicit their opinions. He would

- 1 have people talk to other people in the agencies.
- So he was engaged in the process of collecting

  information and then internally deciding what the key items
- 4 were going to be included in the speech. He was involved in
- the drafting of the speeches, looking at revisions, making
- 6 comments, sitting in speech prep.
- Q So drafts of the State of the Union address came to his -- to him?
- 9 A Yes.
- 10 Q And how did that happen? Did that go through you?
- A Well, in the beginning, the drafts were circulated
- amongst the senior staff without any staff involvement. So
- the drafts were handled directly from speech writing to Karl.
- Or I mean there were many drafts in the beginning that the
- staff didn't see until much later on; and for State of the
- Union, it was a very close-hold process.
- By the time the drafts actually started getting
- circulated in a more open fashion -- I mean, you might be on
- draft 20 by then. So, in the beginning, it was a very
- close-hold process.
- 21 But then as we got closer to the speech, the regular
- staffing process kicked in, which meant that the staff
- secretary's office would circulate the speech to all of the
- 24 key people for comments.
- Q And that is when you might receive a copy of it?

| 1  | A Um-hmm.   |
|----|---|
| 2  | Q To pass along to Mr. Rove?                                  |
| 3  | A Correct. But he had been engaged in the process             |
| 4  | from the very beginning.                                      |
| 5  | Q And you have been describing the process in general         |
| 6  | for State of the Union addresses.                             |
| 7  | Did Mr. Rove play the same role that you have described       |
| 8  | specifically for the State of the Union address in 2003?      |
| 9  | A For every State of the Union.                               |
| 10 | Q And you said he was involved in tasking issues to           |
| 11 | be handled that were covered by the State of the Union        |
| 12 | address, is that correct?                                     |
| 13 | A Um-hmm.   |
| 14 | Q Did he play a role in tasking the development of            |
| 15 | the section of the 2003 State of the Union address that had   |
| 16 | to do with the statements about Iraq's nuclear capability?    |
| 17 | A He may have. But in the beginning again, it is              |
| 18 | very high level, very close-hold. What he would have done is  |
| 19 | definitely been involved in the drafting or in, you know, the |
| 20 | editing and the wording of the speech.                        |
| 21 | Q All parts of the speech?                                    |
| 22 | A Correct. So as a whole. He would have read                  |
| 23 | through it multiple times                                     |

25

Q

Do you know who had the idea to include in the 2003

State of the Union address the claim that Iraq sought uranium

in Niger? 1 I don't. 2 Α Do you know what input Karl Rove had with respect 3 to inclusion of that claim in the address? 4 Α You know, he -- in the time that we were 5 circulating the drafts towards the end, he may have made a 6 specific comment, but I don't have a specific recollection 7 that he weighed in on that phrase. 8 Did anyone at the White House ever discuss with you 9 0 the use of that claim in any public statements made by White 10 House officials? 11 12 Α No. Karl Rove didn't discuss this claim with you? 0 13 Α No. 14 15 Mr. Berenson. Do you want to clarify that last answer? The Witness. I don't recall. I don't have a 16 recollection of anyone discussing with me specifically that 17 claim. 18 BY MS. AMERLING: 19 When it became public that the basis for that claim 20 0 was forged documents, were there any discussions that you 21 recall about who would take the blame for use of that 22 statement? 23 I don't recall. 24 Α

Do you recall anyone expressing concern about the

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Q

- 1 reports that the underlying basis of the claim was forged 2 documents? 3 Α You know, there may be -- there may have been 4 conversations just from a communication standpoint. When this news came out about, the claim that 5 0 President had made in his State of the Union address about 6 7 Iraq seeking uranium in Niger, that that claim was based on forged documents, that was a pretty striking news report. 8 Do you recall Karl Rove expressing any concern about that 9 10 report? You know, I have a vague recollection that that 11 Α 12 conversation took place. Karl was involved in most major communications efforts of the White House, and so I would 13 strongly believe that he -- that he was engaged in it, but I 14 just don't have a specific recollection. 15 You said you recall that -- you think conversations 16 0 took place about this? 17 Α I think. 18 But you don't recall what was said? 19 0 20 You know, it would have been uncommon for Karl not 21 to be engaged in the subject matter. But I don't recall specific discussions that he had. I mean, I am quite 22
  - Q Do you remember anyone else at the White House expressing concern when this report came out?

confident that he was engaged in it.

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| 1  | A Well, concern in general or concern to me?                  |
|----|---|
| 2  | Q Concern well, to you personally, or did you hear            |
| 3  | anyone discussing their concerns about this?                  |
| 4  | A Well, I just remember the topic, when it happened,          |
| 5  | that it was a topic of discussion in the building. I don't    |
| 6  | have a specific recollection of it.                           |
| 7  | Q So you don't recall any White House officials               |
| 8  | taking steps to investigate how that claim once the news      |
| 9  | came out that the basis for the claim was forged documents,   |
| 10 | you don't recall any White House officials taking steps to    |
| 11 | investigate how that claim was used?                          |
| 12 | A You know, they may have. I just I don't know                |
| 13 | what those would have been.                                   |
| 14 | Q Okay. I have a few additional questions concerning          |
| 15 | the political briefings.                                      |
| 16 | Are you aware of any instances in which a White House         |
| 17 | official used government resources to benefit individual      |
| 18 | candidates for political office?                              |
| 19 | A No, I don't have any specific knowledge that I can          |
| 20 | remember.   |
| 21 | Q Do you recall Ken Mehlman approving quotes from             |
| 22 | President Bush to be used by Republican candidates in Guam to |

A Yes. It was not uncommon for candidates to request a photo, approved use of a photo or a quote, and there was an

be used during the 2002 election?

| 1  | internal process to get those approved.                       |
|----|---|
| 2  | Q Do you recall any efforts by White House officials          |
| 3  | to secure White House meetings or photo opportunities for Ben |
| 4  | Fitial in 2001 when he was a candidate for governor in the    |
| 5  | Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands?                 |
| 6  | Mr. <u>Berenson.</u> I am going to jump in here and lodge the |
| 7  | same objection that I lodged for the previous reasons. $$ I   |
| 8  | think this has some nexus to the Jack Abramoff issue.         |
| 9  | BY MS. AMERLING:  |
| 10 | Q Can you explain the systems in Rove's office that           |
| 11 | enabled him to separate political and official work? For      |
| 12 | instance, did he have separate computers?                     |
| 13 | A He had two separate computers.                              |
| 14 | Q Did he have different phones?                               |
| 15 | A He had two different phones. He didn't always               |
| 16 | carry both phones, but he did have two different phones. He   |
| 17 | only had one BlackBerry, though.                              |
| 18 | Q And how did the political laptop or political               |
| 19 | BlackBerry get set up in the first place? Who was involved    |
| 20 | in setting that up?   |
| 21 | A My recollection is that the RNC provided the                |
| 22 | equipment and Israel Hernandez, his other deputy who worked   |
| 23 | with me in the Office of Political Affairs, helped arrange    |

Q So RNC IT people came in to the White House to set

24

25

it.

- up this equipment? 1 That is correct. 2 And if something went wrong with the equipment that 3 0 was provided by the RNC, who addressed the problem? 4 5 Α The RNC. So RNC technical people would come over to work on 6 7 the equipment? 8 Α Yes. I have a few more questions about the political 9 e-mail accounts. 10 You mentioned that Mr. Rove had a political e-mail 11 account, a personal e-mail account, and a White House e-mail 12 13 account: is that correct? Α Um-hmm. 14 Can you describe how often he used each of those 15 16 accounts? It would be difficult for me to give a percentage, 17 Α but I would say that he used his RNC e-mail account the 18 majority of the time or his political account the majority of 19 the time. He did use his White House account. He had to be 20 21 in the office to use it. But it is really difficult to 22 quantify how much. Did he use his personal account for official 23 0
- 25 A Not that I am aware of.

business?

| 1  | Q Do you know how often he used his official account?         |
|----|---|
| 2  | A He used it when he was in the office, but it is             |
| 3  | hard for me to quantify how much he used it. But most of the  |
| 4  | time he used his political account.                           |
| 5  | Q Do you know what his personal e-mail account                |
| 6  | address was?  |
| 7  | A It was an AOL account. I don't remember right now.          |
| 8  | Q Do you know whether Ken Mehlman used a political            |
| 9  | e-mail account?   |
| 10 | A You know, Karl also had a "Rove.com" e-mail                 |
| 11 | address.  |
| 12 | Q You are referring to a personal e-mail address?             |
| 13 | A Well, it was it wasn't I don't know how you                 |
| 14 | would classify it, but it was a "Rove.com" e-mail address.    |
| 15 | There were I can't remember when, but at some point his       |
| 16 | Rove.com e-mails all went to the same political account. So   |
| 17 | if you sent an account if you sent an e-mail to George W.     |
| 18 | Bush.com or if you sent an e-mail to him at Rove.com, it went |
| 19 | to the same place.  |
| 20 | Q Do you know why his e-mail was set up that way?             |
| 21 | A I don't.  |
| 22 | Q Do you know whether he made any official                    |
| 23 | communications over his Rove.com e-mail account?              |
| 24 | A He may have, but I can't think of I mean, he may            |

have, because he used it all the time.

| 1 | Q         | Do you   | know  | whether  | e-mails  | sent   | or re | eceive | d on  | his |
|---|-----------|----------|-------|----------|----------|--------|-------|--------|-------|-----|
| 2 | Rove.com  | account  | were  | provided | l to inv | estiga | tors  | who s  | ought | :   |
| 3 | e-mail re | cords fr | om Mı | . Rove?  |          |        |       |        |       |     |

A I believe so. They took his political laptop; and, as I mentioned, that laptop was taken during the leak investigation. All of the e-mails just kind of got funneled into the same political server.

- O What about --
- A That is what I believe.
- Q Okay. What about Mr. Mehlman? Do you know whether
  he used his political e-mail account to send or receive
  e-mails while he was at the White House?
- 13 A I believe he did.

- Q Did he ever e-mail you over that account?
- Mr. <u>Berenson.</u> We are going to interpose an objection here on the same basis as before.
- 17 Ms. <u>Amerling.</u> Could you articulate the basis of that objection for us?

Mr. <u>Berenson</u>. Sure. It's as I described it before. We have tried to accommodate the committee's interest this morning by allowing a fair bit of questioning with respect to Mr. Rove's own use of various e-mail accounts. But any questions that go to the larger issue of use of political e-mail accounts for official business by other members of the White House staff such that they might form part of a picture

of an overall practice or overall pattern, we are not 1 comfortable responding to at this time. 2 So that is essentially why. 3 4 Ms. Amerling. This question goes to whether Mr. Mehlman 5 actually used his e-mail. We have been seeking information from the RNC on this issue, and at this point they haven't 6 been able to turn up a record of use by Mr. Mehlman. 7 Mr. Berenson. Well, how about if you ask whether Susan 8 has specific knowledge that Mr. Mehlman ever used his RNC 9 e-mail account. I think that question probably wouldn't be 10 objectionable. 11 12 Ms. Amerling. Okay. BY MS. AMERLING: 13 Ms. Ralston, do you have specific knowledge about 14 0 whether Mr. Mehlman ever used his political e-mail account? 15 Α He did. 16 And do you know how frequently he used that? 17 Q I couldn't quantify it. He used it frequently, 18 Α 19 daily. Let me ask you about several other White House 20 21 officials, the same question. 22 Do you have any knowledge regarding whether Dan Bartlett used political e-mail accounts while at the White House? 23 He did. 24

Do you know how often he used it?

25

Q

| 1  | A I don't. Dan I don't think Dan had a political            |
|----|---|
| 2  | account the entire time he was there. I think the political |
| 3  | account issue to him was done around the re-elect. There    |
| 4  | were a number of White House staff who didn't get their     |
| 5  | accounts until that time.                                   |
| 6  | Q Do you have any knowledge about whether Israel            |
| 7  | Hernandez used a political e-mail account to send e-mails?  |
| 8  | A He did.   |
| 9  | Q Do you know how frequently he used that account?          |
| 10 | A I know he used it regularly.                              |
| 11 | Q What about Cathie Martin, the same question for           |
| 12 | Cathie Martin?  |
| 13 | A I don't know.   |
| 14 | Q I am going to give you a couple more names and the        |
| 15 | with each of those names I am asking the same question: Did |
| 16 | they use a political e-mail account to send or receive      |
| 17 | e-mails?  |
| 18 | A Um-hmm.   |
| 19 | Q Anita McBride?  |
| 20 | A I don't know.   |
| 21 | Q Matt Schlapp?   |
| 22 | A Yes.  |
| 23 | Q Do you know how frequently Matt Schlapp used his          |
| 24 | political e-mail account?                                   |
| 25 | A I believe he used it daily.                               |

1 0 Kara Ahern? 2 Α I think so. 3 0 Darren Bearson? I believe he had one and he used it. but I don't 4 Α know how frequently. 5 Do you know how frequently Kara Ahern used her 6 account? 7 I don't. Α 8 Glynda Becker? 0 9 She had an account. She probably used it daily. 10 Α Daily, you said? 11 0 12 Α Probably. Anthony Casale? 13 0 I believe he had one, but I don't know how often he 14 Α used it. 15 Do you know whether he used it at all? 16 0 17 Α I don't. Alicia Clark? 0 18 Α I believe she had one. I don't know how 19 20 frequently. Okay. We have a list of about 37 names here I am 21 0 going to go through. For each of these individuals also, if 22 you could tell us what you know about the position they held 23 at the White House. 24

Mr. Berenson. Oy vey.

| 1  | The <u>Witness.</u> You want to go back to the beginning?     |
|----|---|
| 2  | BY MS. AMERLING:  |
| 3  | Q What was Kara Ahern's position?                             |
| 4  | A She at one time, she was the political person in            |
| 5  | the Vice President's office.                                  |
| 6  | Q And then her position changed?                              |
| 7  | A I don't I can't remember what she was before                |
| 8  | that, but at one point she was political affairs for the Vice |
| 9  | President's Office.   |
| 10 | Q What about Anita McBride? What was her position?            |
| 11 | A She was chief of staff for the First Lady.                  |
| 12 | Q Okay.   |
| 13 | A She still is.   |
| 14 | Q Darren Bearson?   |
| 15 | A He was an associate director I think that is the            |
| 16 | title in the Office of Political Affairs.                     |
| 17 | Q Glynda Becker?  |
| 18 | A Same position.  |
| 19 | Q Anthony Casale?   |
| 20 | A I think he was a staff assistant. He may have been          |
| 21 | an intern at one point.                                       |
| 22 | Q Now, let's go back to the question I am going to            |
| 23 | continue down this list and ask the question about whether    |
| 24 | these individuals used a political e-mail account.            |

Alicia Davis?

```
She was also an associate director in the Office of
1
             Α
        Political Affairs. I believe she had an account that she
2
        used daily.
3
             0
                  Mike Davis?
4
5
             Α
                  Same.
                  What was his position?
6
                  Also an associate director in the Office of
7
8
        Political Affairs.
                  And you believe he also used it daily?
9
             Q
                  I believe he did.
10
             Α
                  Paul Dyck?
11
             Q
                  Same position. He was associate director in the
12
             Α
        Office of Political Affairs. I believe he had an account.
13
        believe he used it daily.
14
15
             Q
                  Bridget Elliott?
                  I don't know who that is.
16
             Q
                  Angela Flood?
17
                  She was in the Office of Political Affairs.
18
        was the deputy political director, I think, from 2003 and
19
        2004.
20
             Q
                  And did she have a political e-mail account?
21
             Α
                  I believe she did.
22
                  And how --
23
             0
                  I believe she used it daily.
24
             Α
```

Luke Frans?

0

| 1  | A He was in the Office of Political Affairs, but ${ m I}$    |
|----|--|
| 2  | can't remember his exact position.                           |
| 3  | I believe he had an account, and I believe he used it        |
| 4  | daily.   |
| 5  | Mr. <u>Berenson.</u> May I have just a moment?               |
| 6  | The Witness. Just a point of clarification. When I           |
| 7  | have been saying "daily," I probably should use the term     |
| 8  | "regularly." Because I can't say exactly how much they used. |
| 9  | They use it on a regular basis.                              |
| 10 | BY MS. AMERLING:   |
| 11 | Q Okay. How about Wesley Fricks?                             |
| 12 | A He was my deputy in the Office of Strategic                |
| 13 | Initiatives. He did have an account, and he used it on a     |
| 14 | regular basis, I believe.                                    |
| 15 | Q Noe Garcia?  |
| 16 | A Noe Garcia was in the Office of Political Affairs.         |
| 17 | I believe he was an associate director. I believe he had an  |
| 18 | account, and I believe he used it on a regular basis.        |
| 19 | Q Tim Griffin?   |
| 20 | A Tim Griffin, I think he came on board in 2005. He          |
| 21 | wasn't there for too long. But he was the deputy political   |
| 22 | director in Political Affairs. I believe he had an account,  |
| 23 | and I believe he used it regularly.                          |
| 24 | Q Brad Hester?   |
| 25 | A Brad was also in the Office of Political Affairs.          |

- I think he was an associate director. I believe he had an account which he used regularly.
- 3 Q Doug Hoelscher?
- A Doug was in the Office of Political Affairs. I

  can't remember his exact position. It may have changed while

  he was there. But I believe he had an account, but I have no

  idea how often he used it.
- 8 Q Do you know whether he used it at all?
- 9 A I believe he did, but I don't know how frequently.
- 10 Q Okay. Nathan Hollifield?
- A Nathan was in the Office of Political Affairs, and
  I think he may have started off as a staff assistant, maybe
  later became associate director, I think. I believe he had
  an account but -- which he did use, but I don't know how
  frequently.
- 16 0 Matt Hunter?

- A Matt Hunter was in the Office of Political Affairs.

  I believe he was an associate director. And, you know, I

  believe he had an account, but I don't know how frequently he

  used it.
  - Q Do you know whether he used it?
- 22 A I believe he used it.
- 23 Mr. <u>Ausbrook.</u> You are reading from a list the people that RNC has.
- 25 Ms. <u>Amerling.</u> They have not provided information

1 about --Mr. Ausbrook. You are asking her to verify. I don't 2 think it is necessary. I don't mind you asking what she 3 knows about their uses of it, but to ask her whether she 4 knows or didn't know, I think that was answered by the RNC. 5 Ms. Amerling. My question was did they have one and can 6 7 she answer it. Mr. Ausbrook. Your question -- if you wish to exclude 8 that from that, that would be fine. Your questioning was did 9 10 they have one. BY MS. AMERLING: 11 Matt Hunter? 12 0 I believe he was associate director in Political 13 Affairs, but I don't know how often he used it. 14 15 Q Do you know whether he used it? 16 Α I believe he did. Tracy Jucas? 17 0 She was Matt Schlapp's executive assistant in the 18 Office of Political Affairs. And she did use it, but I don't 19 know how frequently. 20 0 Shelby Lauckhardt? 21 She was briefly an executive assistant in the 22 Office of Political Affairs. I don't know if she used it at 23 24 all. She wasn't there very long. Henley MacIntyre? 25 0

Henley was an executive assistant in the Office of 1 Α Political Affairs. She worked for Sara Taylor. I don't know 2 how often she used her account. 3 4 Q Do you know whether she used her account? I don't know. I believe she did. 5 Jeanie Mamo? 6 She is in Media Affairs. She had -- she must have 7 had an account. But I don't know if she used it. I mean, 8 she would have been in that category of staff who got e-mails 9 because of the re-elect. 10 0 Kate Marinis? 11 She was Ken Mehlman's executive assistant in the Α 12 first 2 years. I don't know how often she used her account. 13 Do you know whether she used her account? 14 0 She may have. I believe she did. But I don't know 15 how often. 16 Q Annie Mayol? 17 Annie was a -- she was an associate director in the 18 Office of Political Affairs. She did use it. Not often. 19 Kelley McCullough? 0 20 She was in the Office of Political Affairs. 21 was -- at one point, she was an associate director. She was 22 She did have a political also working at the campaign. 23

24

25

basis.

She did use it. I believe she used it on a regular

- 1 Q Michael Napolitano?
- 2 A He was a staff assistant in the Office of Political
- 3 Affairs. I don't know how often he used his account, though.
- 4 Q Do you know whether he used his account?
- 5 A He probably did. I don't know how often.
- 6 Q Kasey Pipes?
- 7 A Kasey Pipes was in the Office of Strategic
- 8 Initiatives. I don't know if he used it.
- 9 Q Lori Raad?
- 10 A Lori Raad. She is in the Office of Political
- 11 Affairs. She probably used it on a regular basis.
- 12 0 Krista Ritacco?
- A She was Dan Bartlett's executive assistant. I
- think she was in the category of staff who got it during the
- 15 campaign. I don't know if she used it.
- 16 Q Leonard Rodriguez?
- 17 A In the Office of Political Affairs. He probably
- used it on a regular basis.
- 19 Q Steve Schmidt?
- 20 A Steve Schmidt was on the campaign staff, but when
- 21 he came on board he was in the Vice President's Office. He
- was the political person. I believe he used it, but I don't
- 23 know how often.
- Q Sarah Simmons?
- A Sarah Simmons. I don't know who she is. She might

- be in the First Lady's office. I don't know.
- 2 Q You don't have any knowledge about her use?
- A No.
- 4 Q Meredith Terpeluk?
- 5 A She was in the Office of Political Affairs. I
- 6 don't know if she used it.
- 7 Q Dave Thomas?
- 8 A He was in the Office of Political Affairs. He -- I
- 9 don't know if he used it.
- 10 O Travis Thomas?
- 11 A Travis, I don't know if Travis was ever a White
- House employee. Travis Thomas. I mean, he worked on the
- campaign, but I don't know if he was ever -- if he was, I
- 14 don't remember.
- 15 O Okav. And, finally, Nicolle Wallace?
- 16 A She started off in Media Affairs, and she went to
- 17 the campaign. Then she came back to the White House in
- 18 Communications. And I don't know if she used it.
- 19 Q Do you know whether anyone at the White House had
- an official BlackBerry?
- 21 A If anybody at the White House?
- 22 Q Yes.
- 23 A Yes. I mean, there were people who had official
- 24 BlackBerries.
- Q Do you know whether anyone in the Office of

| 1  | Political Affairs had an official White House BlackBerry?    |
|----|--|
| 2  | A I don't know.  |
| 3  | Q Anybody that you are aware of, that you have               |
| 4  | specific knowledge of?                                       |
| 5  | A No, I don't think so.                                      |
| 6  | Ms. Amerling. I am finished with my round of questions.      |
| 7  | Do you have any?   |
| 8  | BY MR. AUSBROOK:   |
| 9  | Q Let us go back to the briefings that you got on how        |
| 10 | to handle classified information.                            |
| 11 | A Um-hmm.  |
| 12 | Q And people were required to attend those briefings.        |
| 13 | Was not attending a briefing grounds for losing a clearance? |
| 14 | A I believe it was.  |
| 15 | Q Are you aware of anyone who was ever deprived of           |
| 16 | their clearance for not attending a briefing?                |
| 17 | A I don't know.  |
| 18 | Q When you said that you think that I think you              |
| 19 | said that the knowledge about Valerie Plame and her identity |
| 20 | as a CIA agent was learned through gossip. Do you know if    |
| 21 | A Well, her that Joe Wilson's wife was a CIA agent           |
| 22 | was learned through gossip.                                  |
| 23 | Q But they didn't know her name?                             |
| 24 | Mr. <u>Berenson.</u> I think the previous testimony was that |
| 25 | your understanding had been that that was how Karl learned   |

| 1  | it, right?   |
|----|--|
| 2  | The <u>Witness</u> . Right.                                  |
| 3  | BY MR. AUSBROOK:   |
| 4  | Q Do you know if he had any conversation with Richard        |
| 5  | Armitage about her?  |
| 6  | A They talked. I don't know if they talked about             |
| 7  | her.   |
| 8  | Q Okay. When you were talking about the process for          |
| 9  | developing the State of the Union, specifically the 2003     |
| 10 | State of the Union, was Karl Rove's job in looking at the    |
| 11 | State of the Union address to examine the substantive for    |
| 12 | policy statements within the speech? For example, was it his |
| 13 | job to say, gee, this doesn't sound right if the CIA had a   |
| 14 | part of the speech that said, as it did, that the British    |
| 15 | have learned that Saddam Hussein tried to get uranium from   |
| 16 | Africa?  |
| 17 | A I don't know about Karl's involvement for that             |
| 18 | particular section.  |
| 19 | As a matter of course, when he reviewed speeches, he         |
| 20 | looked at it, he looked at the body the whole body of the    |
| 21 | speech. He could comment on substantive policy matters, but  |
| 22 | with regard to that specific, I don't know. I don't know.    |
| 23 | Q Were you aware of any objections within the White          |
| 24 | House to those 16 words in that speech at the time?          |
| 25 | A I don't recall any.  |

| 1  | Q You were asked about the later discovery that the          |
|----|--|
| 2  | documents that there were forged documents on which the      |
| 3  | speech was relied. Do you recall any discussion that in fact |
| 4  | the speech that when those claims were made that the         |
| 5  | speech did not, in fact, rely on that so no investigation on |
| 6  | why it relied on false documents was necessary?              |
| 7  | A I am sorry. What is the question?                          |
| 8  | Q Let me break that down a little bit.                       |
| 9  | Do you recall anybody saying that the claim that the         |
| 10 | speech relied on forged documents was false?                 |
| 11 | A The claim of the speech relied I don't. I don't            |
| 12 | recall.  |
| 13 | Mr. <u>Ausbrook.</u> Okay. The other question isn't          |
| 14 | necessary. That is it.                                       |
| 15 | Ms. Amerling. No further questions.                          |
| 16 | Mr. <u>Ausbrook</u> . No further questions?                  |
| 17 | Ms. Amerling. I don't have any further questions.            |
| 18 | I just want to thank you again on behalf of the              |
| 19 | committee for coming in and taking the time to talk with us  |
| 20 | today. Okay.   |
| 21 | Mr. <u>Berenson.</u> Thank you.                              |
| 22 | [Whereupon, at 12:50 p.m., the deposition was                |
| 23 | concluded.]  |
| 24 |  |