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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6200

KOLAN DAVIS, STAFF DIRECTOR AND CHIEF COUNSEL
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May 3, 2019

John Frazer
Secretary and General Counsel
National Rifle Association of America
11250 Waples Mill Road
Fairfax, VA 22030

Dear Mr. Frazer:

On December 13, 2018, I requested that three former presidents of the NRA – Mr. David Keene, Mr. Allan Cors, and Mr. Peter Brownell -- make themselves available to be interviewed by my staff in conjunction with my investigation into Russian engagement with the National Rifle Association and related political activities. They failed to respond to my request. Beginning in September 2018, to its credit, the NRA voluntarily produced over 4000 pages of documents related to this matter. In order to resolve this matter I, as Ranking Member, respectfully request that you provide answers and related documents to the attached questions no later than May 17, 2019.

I also request that you complete and notarize the attachment attesting to the accuracy and authenticity of your response. Federal law (18 USC 1001) generally makes it a crime to knowingly and willfully provide false information or to conceal a material fact in any matter within the jurisdiction of the executive, legislative, or judicial branch of the Government of the United States.

Sincerely,



Ron Wyden
Ranking Member
United States Senate Finance Committee

Attachment

Domestic Expenses for NRA and NRA Officials related to Maria Butina, Alexander Torshin and other Russians:

- 1) Records provided by the NRA suggest the organization reimbursed certain Alexander Torshin- and Maria Butina-related expenses incurred by individuals like David Keene. For example, your organization provided a spreadsheet of what appear to be David Keene's NRA-related expenses which included a charge of \$1,732.94 for an April 9, 2015 meal with the stated business purposes of "Meal in Nashville for Annual Meeting: David Keene, Donna Keene, Alexander Torshin, Maria Butina, Ronnie & Mrs. Barrett, Carolyn Meadows, Ian and Carin Walters, Ollie North, Larry & Laurie Beasley, Kayne Rot." However, it is not clear whether the NRA paid for such expenses or if it did, the extent to which it may have done so.
 - a. Please explain the NRA's reimbursement and charge-card policies and identify who at the organization was responsible for approving expenses incurred by individuals like David Keene.
 - b. Please confirm whether David Keene maintained an NRA credit card and whether the organization reimbursed expenses he incurred personally, and if so which expenses the NRA paid for. What other officers have these benefits, as described above?
 - c. Please itemize all expenses incurred by the NRA, its officers, and staff related to domestic Russian activity (i.e. occurring within the United States and including but not limited to Ms. Butina, Mr. Torshin, other Russians who participated in 2015 meeting), including any dinners, meetings, event tickets, third party event registration fees, or other events, that the organization ultimately paid for in 2015.
 - d. Please confirm whether the NRA reimbursed Keene for this April 9, 2015 expense cited above and any other Russian-related expenditure.
- 2) Your organization provided a spreadsheet of what appear to be David Keene's NRA-related expenses which included charges of \$897.12 and \$739.83 for two May 2016 meals with the stated business purposes of "Meal with David M. Keene, Maria Butina, Dmitry Osipkin, Dave Butz at Annual Meeting," and "Meal with David M. Keene, Maria Butina, Alexander Torshin, Dmitry Osipkin, Alan and Mrs. Molloy at Annual Meeting." NRA employees also arranged for car service for Ms. Butina and Mr. Torshin for the 2016 annual meeting.
 - a. Please itemize all expenses incurred by NRA, its officers, and staff related to domestic Russian activity (including Ms. Butina, Mr. Torshin, other Russians who participated in the 2016 meeting) including any dinners, meetings, event tickets, third party event registration fees, or other events, that the organization ultimately paid for in 2016.
 - b. Please confirm whether the NRA reimbursed Mr. Keene for the May 2016 expenses cited above and any other Russian-related expenditure(s).
- 3) In documents provided, Donna Keene appears to ask the NRA for reimbursement for travel and parking for herself and David Keene to attend a Russian delegation dinner on February 2, 2017. Please itemize all expenses incurred by the NRA, its officers, and staff related to domestic Russian activity in 2017 including any dinners, meetings, event tickets, third party event registration fees, or other events, that the organization ultimately paid for in 2017.

Non-NRA domestic activities

- 4) Your organization provided an April 27, 2015, Donna Keene email to Maria Butina in which she wrote the NRA would pay for Ms. Butina's registration for "CNP" and claimed David Keene would be participating in the event as well. Your organization also provided a spreadsheet of what appear to be Keene's NRA-related expenses, including a June 5, 2015 \$700 expenditure with the stated business purpose of "Registration Fee for CNP Meeting." Additional records indicate that the organization or its officers were responsible for facilitating Ms. Butina's participation in many non-NRA events like the National Association of Sporting Goods Wholesalers annual meetings, Safari Club International annual meetings, National Shooting Sports Foundation events, and annual National Prayer Breakfast meetings.
 - a. Please confirm whether Mrs. Keene was referencing annual meetings hosted by the Council for National Policy. Please also identify who paid for Ms. Butina's participation.
 - b. Please identify any other domestic non-NRA events or meetings for which the NRA arranged, paid, or otherwise helped Ms. Butina, Mr. Torshin, or any of their Russian national associates attend.
 - c. Please also identify any officers of other nonprofit or political organizations to which the NRA or its officers introduced Ms. Butina and Mr. Torshin.

2015 NRA Delegation Moscow Trip:

- 5) Records provided by the NRA do not clearly indicate what expenses the organization covered for the Israel/Russia delegation's travel in 2015. For example, some records indicate that Pete Brownell covered some expenses for David Clarke and his spouse, and ultimately may have paid for some of the costs incurred by Jim Liberatore and his spouse. Conversely, NRA records indicate that NRA staff provided trip assistance in booking air travel, assembling and managing itineraries, collecting gifts to be given in Russia, processing visa applications and other functions.
 - a. Please itemize all expenses related to the delegation's travel to Israel and Russia incurred by the organization and clearly indicate which of those costs trip participants reimbursed, as well as the dates of any reimbursements that occurred.
- 6) Please identify how many organization resources, like staff time, were dedicated to preparing for the delegation's trip, including time dedicated to making travel arrangements, securing travel visas, drafting participant biographies and other briefing materials, and any related expenses incurred that were not reimbursed.
- 7) Documents provided by the NRA indicate that Maria Butina asked the NRA to reimburse her for expenses she attributed to the Liberatores' costs while in Moscow. At the apparent direction of Millie Hallow, Ms. Butina submitted an invoice for \$6,000 from Bridges LLC for costs associated with the Moscow trip. Ms. Hallow is listed as the contact on the invoice. It is unclear whether the NRA or Mr. Brownell ultimately paid the Bridges LLC invoice.
 - a. Please explain the role of the NRA in this transaction and indicate whether the organization paid the invoice.

- b. Did the NRA ever make any payment or reimbursement to Bridges LLC? Did the NRA ever make any payment or reimbursement to Ms. Butina? If so, please identify those payments, the dates they occurred, the amounts, and their purpose.
- 8) In documents provided related to plans for the 2015 Moscow trip, it is implied that members of the group would meet with Vladimir Putin, but that this meeting would not appear on the actual itinerary. Did any members of the group meet with Vladimir Putin?
- 9) Former NRA President Allan Cors was quoted in a January 28, 2019 New York Times report as having said, "Wayne [LaPierre] did not want any misconception that this was an official trip. Frankly, I had similar concerns." A November 2015 letter from then- President Cors to Alexander Torshin stated that he was withdrawing from his planned participation in the NRA's trip; he wrote "after a month-long argument with my doctors, I have concluded that for health reasons I won't be able to travel." Mr. Cors spoke to the "importance of the relationship I feel we have developed" between himself and Mr. Torshin and that David Keene and Joe Gregory would serve as his and the NRA's representatives.
 - a. Please provide any supporting documentation, emails, text messages, canceled travel plan receipts, or other communications not already provided to the Committee that corroborate Mr. Cors' claim to the New York Times that the trip was not an official trip.
 - b. In a March 19, 2018 letter to Sen. Wyden, NRA Secretary and General Counsel John Frazer claimed that Joe Gregory, who he identified as "chairman" and member of the Golden Ring of Freedom, "traveled to Russia in his personal capacity." Please explain this apparent contradiction with the Cors/Torshin letter.

2013 Moscow Trip

- 10) According to public reporting, in 2013, then-NRA President David Keene traveled to Moscow to meet with Maria Butina's 'Right to Bear Arms' group. According to documents produced to the Committee, Paul Erickson "staffed" him on this trip.
 - a) Please identify the purpose of this trip and any other NRA employees who participated.
 - b) What expenses, including those incurred by Mr. Erickson, did the NRA pay for?

Other Engagements

- 11) In documents provided to the Committee, Donna Keene stated in 2015 that she and David Keene had "worked for 7 years to build trust with the Russians." Mr. Torshin is reported to have made his first trip to the U.S. in 2011.
 - a. At any other time, since 2007, did NRA officials travel to Russia? If so, who and when and for what purpose?
 - b. At any other time, since 2007, did the NRA host Russian nationals in the United States? If so, who and when and for what purpose?

Alleged Cooperation Agreement, Visas, and Invitations:

- 12) According to public reporting, Maria Butina claimed in 2013 that she had a “signed cooperation agreement” with the NRA. No documents provided by your organization indicate that such an agreement was ever discussed or existed.
 - a. Please confirm whether a “cooperation agreement” or any other contract, arrangement, or mutually beneficial agreement existed between the NRA, any of its officers, and Ms. Butina, or any entity connected to her.
- 13) According to public reporting, Maria Butina claimed that the NRA was instrumental in her obtaining her visa to enter the U.S.
 - a. Please confirm whether the NRA ever assisted Ms. Butina or any other Russian national in obtaining a visa to enter the U.S. If so, please identify the individual(s) assisted, the date(s) such assistance was provided, and the nature of that assistance.
- 14) In 2016, at the direction of then President Brownell, the NRA extended invitations to a number of Russians, including Maria Butina and Alexander Torshin, for the 2016 annual meeting. Ms. Butina’s organization later requested additional invitations for this event, which the NRA subsequently did within a matter of days. Records provided indicate that Ms. Butina routinely attended NRA meetings in 2015 and 2016.
 - a. Please describe the process(es) by which the NRA approved access and invitations to its meetings, generally, and for foreign nationals specifically, and identify the NRA officers and employees responsible for approving such access.

Meetings with Ambassador Kislyak and other Russian representatives

- 15) NRA documents indicate that NRA officers, including Mr. Cors, scheduled multiple meetings with then-Russian Ambassador Sergey Kislyak, including a three-hour meeting at the NRA in 2015 and a private luncheon at the Ambassador’s residence in the spring of 2016. According to additional documents provided, Mr. Cors also intended to invite Mr. Kislyak to “hunt” in 2015, and the Keenes attended a February 2017 Russian delegation dinner in Washington, DC.
 - a. Please identify all meetings or events between the Russian Ambassador, his staff, and NRA officers. For each such meeting or event, provide a brief summary of and explanation for the purpose of the event and attendees.
- 16) According to emails provided by the NRA, on December 9, 2015, then-president Allan Cors emailed an NRA staffer requesting the address for then-Ambassador Kislyak claiming he needed to “send a note” to the Ambassador. No such correspondence was provided.
 - a. Please provide a copy of any correspondence that was sent to or received from the Ambassador.
- 17) Did Mr. Cors or any other NRA officer or employee meet with Russian government diplomats or representatives, other than Ambassador Kyslyak, since 2011 that have not already been identified in the documents provided? If so, please identify the meetings and individuals who attended and when.

Additional Federal Investigations

18) On February 15, 2018, John Frazer, NRA Secretary and General Counsel wrote to Sen. Wyden confirming that there had been no contact between the FBI and the NRA. In an April 27, 2018 email, your organization's treasurer Wilson Phillips wrote, "I have given an affidavit about the Louisville dinner," presumably referencing the organization's 2016 annual meeting in Louisville, Kentucky. No further information was provided related to this email.

- a. Please identify to whom and when this affidavit was provided and whether any other NRA officers or staff have provided similar affidavits and to whom.

Redactions & Withheld Documents

19) Some documents provided by the NRA do not provide justification for particular redactions. For example, in XX production dated XX, the NRA provided text messages that appear to have been sent from someone within the NRA organization to an individual, who appears to be Donald Trump Jr., related to Maria Butina.

- a. Please identify the sender of the text message, confirm that Donald Trump Jr. was indeed the recipient, and provide any additional related communications as well as the context surrounding the text message (i.e., the time and date the message was sent, whether any internal conversations took place before the message was sent, etc).

20) As noted above, Allen Cors gave an interview to the New York Times describing concerns he held and that Wayne LaPierre had concerning the 2015 Moscow trip. The materials produced by the NRA do not appear to contain any e-mails, notes or other information originating from Mr. LaPierre. Please identify each of the custodians from whom the documents produced to the Committee were (a) searched and (b) provided.

Other Organizational Matters

21) Please identify and describe any other benefits and expenses for Mr. or Mrs. Keene that the NRA provided, i.e. staff support, travel services, travel expenses, etc. What other officers or past officers have these benefits?

22) Documents provided indicate that then-President Brownell engaged in personal business activities while on the 2015 Moscow trip. What are the organization's policies regarding personal inurement and how are they enforced?

Notarized Statement of Accuracy

I certify that the statements I have made and the materials that I have provided in response to the Committee's letter of April XX, 2019, are true, complete and correct to the best of my knowledge.

Name: _____ Date: _____

Witness: _____ Date: _____