Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

SELECT SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE CORONAVIRUS PANDEMIC 2157 Rayburn House Office Building Washington, DC 20515–6143 Majority (202) 225–5074 Minority (202) 225–5051

STAFF MEMORANDUM

TO:	Select Subcommittee on the Coronavirus Pandemic Republican Members
FROM:	Select Subcommittee on the Coronavirus Pandemic Republican Staff
DATE:	May 22, 2024
RE:	Allegations of Wrongdoing and Illegal Activity by Dr. David Morens, Senior Advisor to National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases former-Director Dr. Anthony Fauci

Previous witness testimony and documents in the custody of the Select Subcommittee on the Coronavirus Pandemic (Select Subcommittee) raise serious questions regarding potential wrongdoing and illegal activity by Dr. David Morens, Senior Advisor to National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases (NIAID) former-Director, Dr. Anthony Fauci.

I. <u>Background</u>

On June 29, 2023, the Select Subcommittee sent Dr. Morens a request for documents pertinent to its investigations from his personal e-mail accounts.¹ On November 20, 2023, in response to that letter, Dr. Morens produced approximately 2,000 pages of responsive documents to the Select Subcommittee. These documents mimicked what Dr. Morens produced to the National Institutes of Health (NIH) during its investigation into alleged wrongful disposition of federal records by Dr. Morens.

On December 22, 2023 and January 18, 2024, Dr. Morens testified at transcribed interviews before the Select Subcommittee.² At the interviews, Select Subcommittee counsel advised Dr. Morens that he was required pursuant to Title 18 Section 1001 of the United States Code to answer questions truthfully, including questions posed by Congressional staff in the interview, and that if he knowingly made false statements, he could be subject to criminal prosecution.³ Dr. Morens stated, on the record, that he understood the requirement and the

¹ Letter from Hon. Brad Wenstrup, D.P.M., Chairman, Select Subcomm. on the Coronavirus Pandemic, H. Comm. on Oversight & Accountability, to David Morens, M.D., Senior Advisor, Dir., Nat'l Inst. of Allergy & Infectious Diseases (June 29, 2023).

² Transcribed Interview of David Morens, M.D., Senior Advisor, Dir., Nat'l Inst. of Allergy & Infectious Diseases (Dec. 22, 2023); Transcribed Interview of David Morens, M.D., Senior Advisor, Dir., Nat'l Inst. of Allergy & Infectious Diseases (Jan. 18, 2024).

³ Id.

consequences of not complying with that requirement.⁴

On April 16, 2024, the Select Subcommittee announced a subpoena to compel Dr. Morens to produce the remaining responsive documents from his personal e-mail accounts.⁵ On April 30, 2024, in response to the subpoena, Dr. Morens produced approximately 30,000 more pages of responsive documents.

⁴ Id.

⁵ Letter from Hon. Brad Wenstrup, D.P.M., Chairman, Select Subcomm. on the Coronavirus Pandemic, H. Comm. on Oversight & Accountability, to David Morens, M.D., Senior Advisor, Dir., Nat'l Inst. of Allergy & Infectious Diseases (Apr. 16, 2024).

II. Dr. Fauci May Have Conducted Official Business Via Personal E-Mail.

Evidence in possession of the Select Subcommittee suggests that Dr. Morens knowingly transmitted official records to Dr. Fauci via his personal e-mail. If true, this raises serious questions of whether Dr. Fauci took part in a conspiracy amongst the highest levels of NIAID to hide official records regarding the origins of COVID-19.

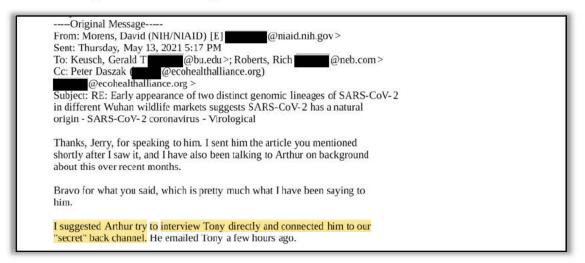
Finding: Dr. Fauci may have conducted official business on his personal e-mail.

Dr. Morens stated that he had access to Dr. Fauci's personal e-mail and, in fact, would conduct official business via Dr. Fauci's personal e-mail.

Exhibit 1: April 21, 2021 e-mail from Dr. Morens⁶

B	OSTON UNIVERSITY CONFIDENTIAL TREATMENT REQUESTED
From:	David Morens
To:	Peter Daszak
Cc: Subject:	Keusch, Gerald T: Rich Roberts: Robert Kessler: Aleksei Chmura
Date:	Re: Zoom meeting with Tony tomorrow Wednesday, April 21, 2021 12:59:02 PM
Attachments:	Political letters, bills, re, CoV research in China, GoF etc.,docx
private gmail	o say there is no worry about FOIAs. I can either send stuff to Tony on his or hand it to him at work or at his house. He is too smart to let colleagues send could cause trouble. D
private gmail	or hand it to him at work or at his house. He is too smart to let colleagues send could cause trouble. D
private gmail him stuff that	or hand it to him at work or at his house. He is too smart to let colleagues send could cause trouble. D y iPhone

Exhibit 2: May 13, 2021 e-mail from Dr. Morens⁷



⁶ E-Mail from David Morens, M.D., Senior Advisor, Nat'l Inst. of Allergy & Infectious Diseases, Nat'l Insts. of Health, to Peter Daszak, Ph.D., et. al. (Apr. 21, 2021) (BU02535).

⁷ E-Mail from David Morens, M.D., Senior Advisor, Nat'l Inst. of Allergy & Infectious Diseases, Nat'l Insts. of Health, to Gerald Keusch, M.D., et. al. (May 13, 2021) (MORENS_SUBPOENA 014975).

Exhibit 3: April 22, 2021 e-mail from Dr. Morens⁸

If i had to bet, i would guess that beneath Tony's macho I-am-not-worried reaction he really is concerned. And whatever the case he should be very concerned about what happened to Peter, to our research portfolio in an extremely important area, and to scientific independence He did not know about either the Miller Commission or the letter from Rep Rogers which i emailed to him on gmail later	
I also commented that Lauer's letters to you Peter, and the Rogers letter to you, had alot of overlap and seemed to reflect input of at least one scientist, whether or not one of our grantees. In other words, i feel that regarding those letters someone or someones are working in cahoots with the politicians who wish to do harm to NIH He didn't seem particularly troubled by that. MORENS SUBPOENA 01	9654
MORENS_SOBPOENA_01	9034
In the end he said thanks for filling me in and asked me to call him on his private cell phone (which is what i normally do anyway) if i hear anything that might be important So, i am not sure where things stand. I absolutely DO feel that it would be a good thing if one of you	
luminaries were to approach him and try to make sure he understood what is going on out there, and perhaps discuss what the larger community of scientists can do to lock arms in unity and push back. David	

⁸ E-Mail from David Morens, M.D., Senior Advisor, Nat'l Inst. of Allergy & Infectious Diseases, Nat'l Insts. of Health, to Gerald Keusch, M.D., et. al. (Apr. 22, 2021) (MORENS_SUBPOENA 019654).

III. Dr. Morens Used Personal E-Mail Accounts To Avoid Accountability and Transparency.

Evidence in possession of the Select Subcommittee suggests that Dr. Morens displayed a systemic and troubling pattern of avoiding transparency by routinely directing others to communicate with him via a personal e-mail address to avoid the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). Dr. Morens went so far as to explicitly instruct them to use his personal e-mail when "addressing the Daszak grant."⁹ A grant awarded by NIAID and overseen by NIH.

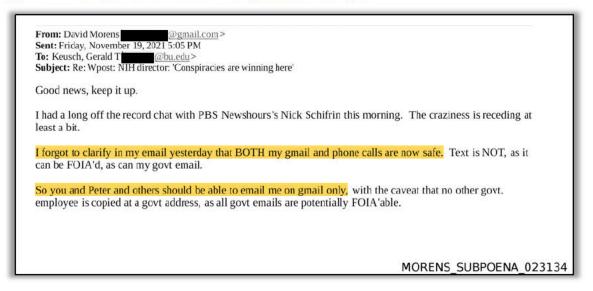
Additionally, Dr. Morens apparently took steps, with the assistance of NIH FOIA officers, to shield his official e-mails from public transparency.

Further, Dr. Morens regularly forwarded internal NIH and NIAID communications from his NIH email address to his personal Gmail address. He passed along this information from his personal Gmail to other scientists, including Dr. Peter Daszak of EcoHealth Alliance, Inc. (EcoHealth). And Dr. Morens actively assisted Dr. Daszak in navigating and subverting the grant process to reinstate EcoHealth's grant following its cancelation by Dr. Michael Lauer at NIH.

Finding: Dr. Morens instructed others to use his personal e-mail to avoid the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA).

Dr. Morens systemically instructed others that he communicated with, specifically surrounding NIH actions regarding EcoHealth or Dr. Daszak, to use his personal e-mail. Contrary to Dr. Morens' previous testimony, this instruction was not to discuss "personal matters" with Dr. Daszak but was to avoid transparency to the American people.

Exhibit 1: November 19, 2021 e-mail from Dr. Morens¹⁰



⁹ E-Mail from David Morens, M.D., Senior Advisor, Nat'l Inst. of Allergy & Infectious Diseases, Nat'l Insts. of Health, to Phillip Rosenthal, M.D., et. al. (July 5, 2020) (MORENS_SUBPOENA 007355).

¹⁰ E-Mail from David Morens, M.D., Senior Advisor, Nat'l Inst. of Allergy & Infectious Diseases, Nat'l Insts. of Health, to Gerald Keusch, M.D. (Nov. 19, 2021) (MORENS_SUBPOENA 023134).

Date:	Sun, 26 Apr 2020 11:46:46 AM -0400
Sent:	Sun, 26 Apr 2020 11:46:45 AM -0400
Subject:	Re: PLEASE READ Re: Please read and acknowledge receipt Actions needed regarding 2R01Al110964-06
From:	David Morens @gmail.com>
To:	Peter Daszak @ecohealthalliance.org>; @ecohealthalliance.org>;
I have let	nt from my gmail account. Please send all replies here To gmail Tony know but have not spoken to him directly. There are things I can't say except Tony is aware and
I have let I have lea Peter, and	
I have let I have lea Peter, and level of F I don't ha from "Bu	Tony know but have not spoken to him directly. There are things I can't say except Tony is aware and arned that there are ongoing efforts within NIH to steer through this with minimal damage to you, d colleagues, and to nih and niaid. No guarantees, but let us hope. I imagine this will be handled at the

Exhibit 2: April 26, 2020 e-mail from Dr. Morens¹¹

Exhibit 3: May 12, 2020 e-mail from Dr. Morens¹²

Sent: Tue, 12 May 2020 6:38:17 PM -0400 Subject: Fwd: NIH termination of research grant From: David Morens @gmail.com> To: Gerald Keusch @bu.edu>; Jerry, my private gmail account is where i sent this from, after forwarding to myself from my nih account Please try to send only to my gmail, as we were doing a couple weeks ago. But i messed up a few times and sent from my nih acct, because on my phone the two are merged, and then when you respond by hitting regoes to nih After some recent issues, i am going to try to strictly use only my gmail in these discussions, that is, @gmail.com TY, david Sent from my iPhone Devid M Mercen	Date:	Tue, 12 May 2020 6:38:18 PM -0400
From: David Morens To: Gerald Keusch @bu.edu>; Jerry, my private gmail account is where i sent this from, after forwarding to myself from my nih account Please try to send only to my gmail, as we were doing a couple weeks ago. But i messed up a few times and sent from my nih acct, because on my phone the two are merged, and then when you respond by hitting regoes to nih After some recent issues, i am going to try to strictly use only my gmail in these discussions, that is, @gmail.com TY, david Sent from my iPhone	Sent:	Tue, 12 May 2020 6:38:17 PM -0400
To: Gerald Keusch @bu.edu>; Jerry, my private gmail account is where i sent this from, after forwarding to myself from my nih account Please try to send only to my gmail, as we were doing a couple weeks ago. But i messed up a few times and sent from my nih acct, because on my phone the two are merged, and then when you respond by hitting re- goes to nih After some recent issues, i am going to try to strictly use only my gmail in these discussions, that is, @gmail.com TY, david Sent from my iPhone	Subject:	Fwd: NIH termination of research grant
Jerry, my private gmail account is where i sent this from, after forwarding to myself from my nih account Please try to send only to my gmail, as we were doing a couple weeks ago. But i messed up a few times ar sent from my nih acct, because on my phone the two are merged, and then when you respond by hitting re goes to nih After some recent issues, i am going to try to strictly use only my gmail in these discussions, that is, @gmail.com TY, david Sent from my iPhone	From:	David Morens @gmail.com>
Please try to send only to my gmail, as we were doing a couple weeks ago. But i messed up a few times and sent from my nih acct, because on my phone the two are merged, and then when you respond by hitting regoes to nih After some recent issues, i am going to try to strictly use only my gmail in these discussions, that is, @gmail.com TY, david Sent from my iPhone	то:	Gerald Keusch @bu.edu>;
sent from my nih acct, because on my phone the two are merged, and then when you respond by hitting regoes to nih After some recent issues, i am going to try to strictly use only my gmail in these discussions, that is, @gmail.com TY, david Sent from my iPhone	Jerry, my	private gmail account is where i sent this from, after forwarding to myself from my nih account
Sent from my iPhone		
		ne recent issues, i am going to try to strictly use only my gmail in these discussions, that is,
Devid M Marrier	After son	ne recent issues, i am going to try to strictly use only my gmail in these discussions, that is, @gmail.com
David M Morens	After son TY, dav	ne recent issues, i am going to try to strictly use only my gmail in these discussions, that is, @gmail.com id
OD, NIAID, NIH Begin forwarded message:	After son TY, dav Sent fron David M	ne recent issues, i am going to try to strictly use only my gmail in these discussions, that is, @gmail.com id n my iPhone Morens

¹¹ E-Mail from David Morens, M.D., Senior Advisor, Nat'l Inst. of Allergy & Infectious Diseases, Nat'l Insts. of Health, to Peter Daszak, Ph.D., et. al. (Apr. 26, 2020) (MORENS_SUBPOENA 011613).

¹² E-Mail from David Morens, M.D., Senior Advisor, Nat'l Inst. of Allergy & Infectious Diseases, Nat'l Insts. of Health, to Gerald Keusch, M.D., (May 12, 2020) (MORENS_SUBPOENA 008135).

Finding: Dr. Morens employed the NIH FOIA and Information Technology offices to assist him in shielding official records from public transparency.

In addition to using a personal e-mail to avoid FOIA, Dr. Morens also stated that the NIH FOIA office assisted in these attempts to shield official records from the American public.

Exhibit 1: February 24, 2021 e-mail from Dr. Morens¹³

On Feb 24, 2021, at 9:21 AM, David Morens < @gmail.com > wrote:
You are right, i need to be more careful. However, as i mentioned once before, i learned from our foia lady here
how to make emails disappear after i am foia'd but before the search starts, so i think we are all safe. Plus i deleted
most of those earlier emails after sending them to gmail. D
Sent from my iPhone
David M Morens
OD, NIAID, NIH

Exhibit 2: November 18, 2021 e-mail from Dr. Morens¹⁴

Date:	Thu, 18Nov 2021 5:06:31 PM -0500
-	Re: Opinion for WaPo
From:	David Morens @gmail.com>
To:	Keusch, Gerald T @bu.edu>;
Jerry,	
I am upda	ating you on my computer and gag order situation.
phone site	help of our [T folks, I went over the whole computer and uation. They loaded some ant-hacking software on my phone ussed the situation with me.
devices, i	7, my gmail is now safe from FOIA and hacking on all of my including government computer and phone, and my private r and iPad.
	hould be safe to communicate safely with you, Peter, and slow as we use my private gmail.
clips I get you don't not show party iten	have noticed that I have intentionally forwarded you news t daily, sent from my govt email, but that is ok as long as reply to that email. I have done this because this should up in a FOIA, is innocuous as it's just forwarding a third n already in the public domain, and because it saves me ng to my own gmail and then on to you.
Please pa to me exc	ass this on to Peter and <mark>I ask you both that NOTHING gets sent compared by the sent sent to my gmail, and make sure that what gets sent to my esn't have a cc to another government employee who could be</mark>

 ¹³ E-Mail from David Morens, M.D., Senior Advisor, Nat'l Inst. of Allergy & Infectious Diseases, Nat'l Insts. of Health, to Gerald Keusch, M.D., et. al. (Feb. 24, 2021) (MORENS_SUBPOENA 012513).
 ¹⁴ E-Mail from David Morens, M.D., Senior Advisor, Nat'l Inst. of Allergy & Infectious Diseases, Nat'l Insts. of Health, to Gerald Keusch, M.D. (Nov. 18, 2021) (MORENS_SUBPOENA 000219).

Exhibit 3: November 11, 2021 e-mail from Dr. Morens¹⁵

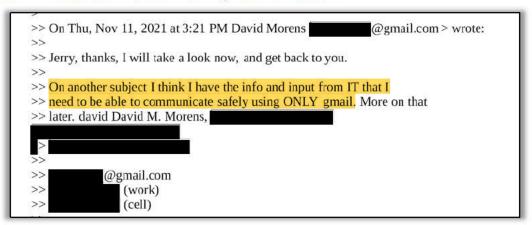


Exhibit 4: February 25, 2021 e-mail from Dr. Morens¹⁶

Original Message From: Morens, David (NIH/NIAID) [E] @gmail.com > Sent: Thursday, February 25, 2021 12:06 PM To: Keusch, Gerald T @bu.edu > Cc: Peter Daszak (main @ecohealthalliance.org) @ecohealthalliance.org > Subject: Re: Briefing Tony	
It's more in the line of govt secret, but too comp;licated to explain in an email. But I learned the tricks last year from an old friend, Marg Moore, who heads our FOIA office and also hates FOIAs.	
	MORENS_SUBPOENA_0152
Incidentally, Tony and I and a few other people here all got a huge FOIA yesterday seeking any and all documents, emails, etc., that mention the words "Wuhan Institute" or "WIV". It appears that this comes from folks tied to politics, who want specifically to know about anything NIH has had	
to do with WIV, or any scientists working with WIV. The original request was I think far broader, but we negotiated it down to just those two terms. You names will not show up in this FOIA, at least not from my info. d	

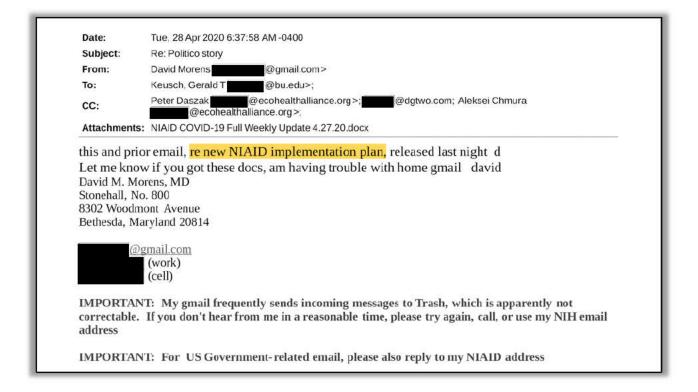
¹⁵ E-Mail from David Morens, M.D., Senior Advisor, Nat'l Inst. of Allergy & Infectious Diseases, Nat'l Insts. of Health, to Gerald Keusch, M.D., (Nov. 11, 2021) (MORENS_SUBPOENA 018901).

¹⁶ E-Mail from David Morens, M.D., Senior Advisor, Nat'l Inst. of Allergy & Infectious Diseases, Nat'l Insts. of Health, to Gerald Keusch, M.D., et. al. (Feb. 25, 2021) (MORENS_SUBPOENA 015237).

Finding: Dr. Morens provided Dr. Daszak, President of EcoHealth, with inside information regarding NIH operations.

Dr. Morens, by virtue of his position of public trust within the Office of the Director of NIAID, was privy to information that the general public was not. This included information regarding upcoming documents being released via FOIA, specifically surrounding the origins of COVID-19 and EcoHealth. Dr. Morens, to the benefit of Dr. Daszak, would forward information regarding internal NIAID FOIA processes—and the underlying documents themselves—to Dr. Daszak. This provided Dr. Daszak with inside information that he would otherwise not have access to.

Exhibit 1: April 28, 2020 e-mail and attachment marked FOUO (For Official Use Only) from Dr. Morens¹⁷



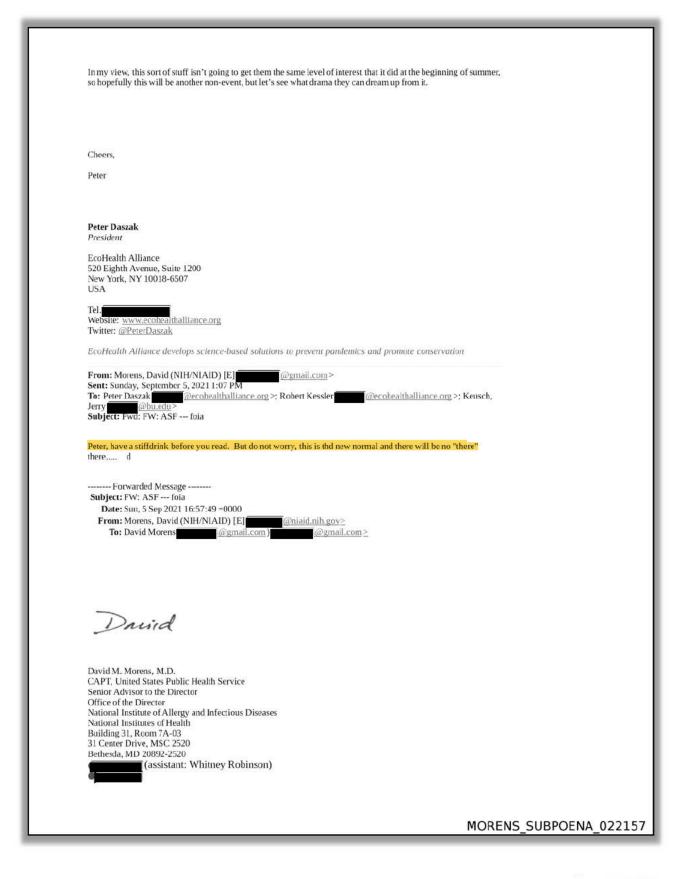
¹⁷ E-Mail from David Morens, M.D., Senior Advisor, Nat'l Inst. of Allergy & Infectious Diseases, Nat'l Insts. of Health, to Gerald Keusch, M.D., et. al. (Apr. 28, 2020) (MORENS_SUBPOENA 007254).

NIAID SARS.	CoV-2 Research Updates
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Exhibit 2: September 5, 2021 e-mail from Dr. Morens¹⁸

Sent: Sunday, September 5, To: Peter Daszak @@ @bu.edu>		<u>cohealthailiance.org</u> >; Keusch, Jerry <
Subject: Re: FW: ASF fo	ia	
But I think that's the importa these nutters will move on to	nt thing: since there is nothing to find, there is little t another conspiracy d	hey can do with it. Maybe at some point
On 9/5/2021 1:19 PM, Peter	Daszak wrote:	
our lawyers. It includ extremely upsetting t	up. The 900 pages of grant material I think is the stur es the full proposal for our grant in China, reports etc hat these will now be dragged through the mud, but t e – everything is completely normal and above board	c. as well as our current U01. It's he truth is, there's nothing unusual or

¹⁸ E-Mail from David Morens, M.D., Senior Advisor, Nat'l Inst. of Allergy & Infectious Diseases, Nat'l Insts. of Health, to Peter Daszak, Ph.D., et. al. (Sept. 5, 2021) (MORENS_SUBPOENA 022157).



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From: Folkers, Greg (NIH/NIAID) [E] @niaid.nih.gov> Sent: Friday, September 3, 2021 9:29 AM To: NIAID OD AM @niaid.nih.gov> Subject: RE: ASF --- foia

Further on FOIA

900 pages of EcoHealth Alliance grant materials are going out (with redactions) today under a lawsuit with First Look Institute (The Intercept). In OD.

ASF --- I do not think you need to look at this

Also, as folks may be aware, and apropos of my email late last night, Congress does not have to go through the FOIA. So the tranche from last night was not in the usual NIH FOIA channel.

From: Folkers, Greg (NIH/NIAID) [E] Sent: Friday, September 3, 2021 12:09 AM To: Contaid.nih.gov Subject: ASF --- fola

We have closely monitored foia document releases with an eye toward items that are new/different/potentially problematic in terms of people using them to cause mischief. Nothing recently has fallen into those categories

NOW -- What is new and will be released soon, perhaps tomorrow

Unredacted emails requested by minority members of House Committee on Oversight and Reform

In OD, please see

II HOGR minority requested emails

9/2/2021 9:03 PM

ASF 1 think it would be helpful for you to eyball **all** the redacted emails now being released in un-redacted form For instance, for this entry, look at at the top one

NIH 2157 - 2161
 NIH 2157 - 2161 redacted

We have gone through these, and the ones that might be worth a first look are:

MORENS SUBPOENA 022158

2157-2161
2314-2324
#14 and 15

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MORENS_SUBPOENA_022159

Exhibit 3: May 28, 2021 e-mail from Dr. Morens¹⁹

Sent:	Fri, 28 May 2021 6:37:33 PM -0400
	Fri, 28 May 2021 6:33:51 PM -0400
Subject:	RE: FW: OGC has placed a temporary hold on all releases having to do with EcoHealth Alliance/Wuhan Institute of Virology
From:	Peter Daszak @ecohealthalliance.org>
То:	Morens, David (NIH/NIAID) [E] @gmail.com>; keusch, Jerry @bu.edu>; Roberts, Rich @neb.com>;
Attachmen	ts: image001.gif; image002.jpg; image003.png
	good news to me. On a cynical note, I suspect HHS is doing this because they feel that Tony Fauci & Francis Collin ssure, and they don't want more mud to be slung around, even if it's mis-quoted, out-of-context garbage from our
are just pullir	nk it was prob a mistake to allow anything of EHAs to be FoIA'd in the first place, given that these conspiracy folks ig things completely out of context and feeding them to people like Rand Paul and other nut-jobs. Again, it's a case not stepping up in anyway at all to defend an organization they fund that was already under attack thanks to their
The US Righ EcoHealth, N	t to Know chief was bragging on Twitter last week that they'd filed 70!! FoIA requests related to Wuhan, IIH etc.
Peter	
Peter Dasza President	ĸ
New York, N	lliance venue, Suite 1200 Y 10018-6507
520 Eighth A New York, N USA Tel.: Website: www	venue, Suite 1200 Y 10018-6507 w.ecohealthalliance.org
520 Eighth A New York, N USA Tel.: Website: <u>ww</u> Twitter: <u>@Pe</u>	venue, Suite 1200 Y 10018-6507 w.ecohealthalliance.org
520 Eighth A New York, N USA Tel.: Website: <u>ww</u> Twitter: <u>@Pe</u> <i>EcoHealth A</i> From: More Sent: Friday, To: Peter Da	venue, Suite 1200 Y 10018-6507 w.ecohealthalliance.org terDaszak
520 Eighth A New York, N USA Tel.: Website: <u>ww</u> Twitter: <u>@Pe</u> <i>EcoHealth A</i> From: More Sent: Friday, To: Peter Da Subject: Fw Virology	<pre>venue, Suite 1200 Y 10018-6507 w.ecohealthalliance.org terDaszak lliance develops science-based solutions to prevent pandemics and promote conservation ns, David (NIH/NIAID) [E] @gmail.com> May 28, 2021 2:55 PM szak @ecohealthalliance.org>; keusch, Jerry @bu.edu>; Roberts, Rich @meb.com></pre>

¹⁹ E-Mail from David Morens, M.D., Senior Advisor, Nat'l Inst. of Allergy & Infectious Diseases, Nat'l Insts. of Health, to Peter Daszak, Ph.D., et. al. (May 28, 2021) (MORENS_SUBPOENA 015820).

----- Forwarded Message ------

Subject: FW: OGC has placed a temporary hold on all releases having to do with EcoHealth Alliance/Wuhan Institute of Virology

Date: Fri, 28 May 2021 18:52:24 +0000

From: Morens, David (NIH/NIAID) [E]

@niaid.nih.gov > @gmail.com >

David

David M. Morens, M.D. CAPT, United States Public Health Service Senior Advisor to the Director Office of the Director National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases National Institutes of Health Building 31, Room 7A-03 31 Center Drive, MSC 2520 Bethesda, MD 20892-2520 (assistants: Kimberly Barasch; Whitney Robinson)

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No.

@nih.gov

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MORENS SUBPOENA 015821



IV. Dr. Morens Potentially Intentionally Deleted Official Records.

Evidence in possession of the Select Subcommittee suggests that Dr. Morens, on numerous occasions, knowingly and willingly attempted to or actually deleted official records.

Finding: Dr. Morens stated, on numerous occasions, that he intentionally deleted official records.

Dr. Morens routinely expressed to others, especially Dr. Daszak, that he would delete any official records that may be sensitive—meaning harmful to Dr. Daszak. Further, Dr. Morens affirmatively stated that he did in fact delete records.

In addition to Dr. Fauci's possible personal e-mail use discussed above, Dr. Morens also implies that Dr. Fauci also deleted official records. Again, if true, this raises serious questions of whether Dr. Fauci took part in a conspiracy amongst the highest levels of NIAID to destroy official records regarding the origins of COVID-19.

Exhibit 1: October 5, 2021 e-mail from Dr. Morens²⁰

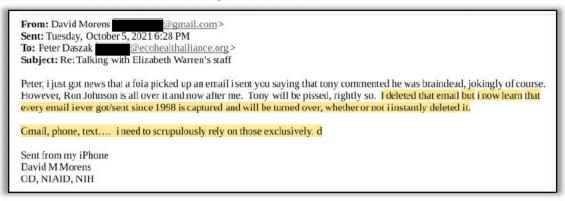
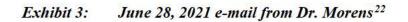


Exhibit 2: June 16, 2020 e-mail from Dr. Morens²¹

Date:	Tue, 16 Jun 2020 2:22:55 PM -0400
Sent:	Tue, 16 Jun 2020 2:22:54 PM -0400
Subject:	Re: Two reporters might contact you in the next couple of weeks.
From:	"Morens, David (NIH/NIAID) [E]
To:	Peter Daszak @ecohealthalliance.org>;
CC:	Gerald Keusch h@bu.edu>; Robert Kessler@ecohealthalliance.org>; Aleksei Chmura @ecohealthalliance.org>;
finding a messages all smart	As are dreadful and paranoia-inducing. In the old days we had to do them ourselves, by hand. I mear nd printing out thousands of emails coming in and going out. Now they sometimes FOIA text too. Many FOIAs turn up thousands of pages of docs, and of course, most of meaningless. We are enough to know to never have smoking guns, and if we did we wouldn't put them in emails and if we em we'd delete them. In my 22 years at NIAID I have never seen a FOIA that turned up useful on d

 ²⁰ E-Mail from David Morens, M.D., Senior Advisor, Nat'l Inst. of Allergy & Infectious Diseases, Nat'l Insts. of Health, to Peter Daszak, Ph.D., Pres., EcoHealth Alliance, Inc. (Oct. 5, 2021) (MORENS_SUBPOENA 011538).
 ²¹ E-Mail from David Morens, M.D., Senior Advisor, Nat'l Inst. of Allergy & Infectious Diseases, Nat'l Insts. of Health, to Peter Daszak, Ph.D., et. al. (June 16, 2020) (MORENS_SUBPOENA 008588).



On Jun 28, 2021, at 4:10 PM, Morens, David (NIH/NIAID) [E]	gmail.com> wrote:
Sorry! On 18 April 2020, Peter Daszak emailed me and Tony, congratulating science. That email somehow fell into the hands of the Congressman, probabl who didn't delete it, as I did (delete all of Peter's emails and others relating to o	y via a FOIA of someone
	BU04541
BOSTON UNIVERSITY CONFIDENTIAL TREATMENT	REQUESTED
BOSTON UNIVERSITY CONFIDENTIAL TREATMENT started hitting the fan.	REQUESTED
	, and he now wants to get rased long ago (I verified hassles is to delete all

²² E-Mail from David Morens, M.D., Senior Advisor, Nat'l Inst. of Allergy & Infectious Diseases, Nat'l Insts. of Health, to Peter Hotez, M.D., et. al. (June 28, 2021) (BU04541).

V. Dr. Morens Undermined NIH Efforts to Oversee EcoHealth Alliance, Inc.

Evidence in possession of the Select Subcommittee suggests that Dr. Morens, while employed by NIAID and NIH acted as an agent on behalf of a federal grantee, EcoHealth. While acting as EcoHealth's agent, Dr. Morens routinely advocated for EcoHealth to receive federal funding, assisted EcoHealth in responding to NIH compliance investigations, and was in direct communication with EcoHealth's Board of Directors regarding the status of NIH funding.

Finding: Dr. Morens assisted EcoHealth and Dr. Daszak in responding to active and ongoing NIH compliance efforts.

Shortly after April 24, 2020, when NIH first terminated EcoHealth's grant, Dr. Morens began assisting Dr. Daszak in how to respond to NIH compliance efforts. Dr. Morens went so far as to edit both letters EcoHealth sent back to NIH and EcoHealth's press releases regarding the termination. Additionally, as a NIAID employee, Dr. Morens advocated directly to EcoHealth's Board of Directors to reassure them that EcoHealth would have its funding restored.

Finally, and concerningly, after EcoHealth was awarded a new grant in August of 2020, Dr. Morens emailed Dr. Daszak and asked for a kickback. The Select Subcommittee has not seen evidence substantiating a kickback.

Exhibit 1: March 29, 2021 e-mail from Dr. Morens²³

From: Morens, David (NIH/NIAID) [E]
To: Peter Daszak @cohealthalliance.org>; Keusch, Jerry @bu.&du>; Roberts, Rich @ncb.com
Cc: Aleksei Chmura @ecohealthalliance.org > Subject: Re: Response to Michael Lauer letters
EXTERNAL SENDER
Peter, attached some edits for consideration. In general Lthink it makes the right points and presents a
strong case. My comments are mostlly minor word-smithing, plus clarifying and simplifying as much as possible, since this will probably be read by Lauer but will perhaps be leaked and read by many others. david
On 3/29/2021 2:10 AM, Peter Daszak wrote:
Hi Jerry, David, and Rich
I can't remember which of you offered to review our draft response to Michael Lauer at NIH, but it would be very helpful if one of you could. I'm sending it to my pro bono lawyers as well, and they'll rip into it, but your advice and edits (using track changes) would be most helpful
By the way, the WHO report comes out Tuesday morning our time (1 think).
I'll have a final draft version tomorrow that I'll try to get out to you early.
Cheers,
Peter

²³ E-Mail from David Morens, M.D., Senior Advisor, Nat'l Inst. of Allergy & Infectious Diseases, Nat'l Insts. of Health, to Peter Daszak, Ph.D., et. al. (Mar. 29, 2021) (MORENS_SUBPOENA 013382).

	lon, 25 Oct 2021 6:37:15 AM -0400
	lon, 25 Oct 2021 6:36:35 AM -0400
	E: Short version of our response to NIH - bullets for sharing.
	eter Daszak @ecohealthalliance.org >
	avid Morens @gmail.com>;
CC: Ke	eusch, Gerald T @bu.edu>; Aleksei Chmura @ecohealthalliance.org>;
Thanks for the	e comments David – I'll incorporate them today.
Cheers,	
Peter	
Peter Daszak President	ζ.
EcoHealth Al	lliance
	venue, Suite 1200
Sector Strength	Y 10018-6507
USA	
Tel.: Website: <u>www</u> Twitter: @Pe	w.ecohealthalliance.org terDaszak
EcoHealth Al	lliance develops science-based solutions to prevent pandemics and promote conservation
To: Peter Das Cc: Keusch, O	y, October 25, 2021 6:31 AM szak @ecohealthalliance.org> Gerald T @bu.edu>: Aleksei Chmura @ecohealthalliance.org>
	Short version of our response to NIH - bullets for sharing.
Peter, this is a	n excellent draft. I will suggest some wordsmithing tweets later today. d
Sent from my David M Mor OD, NIAID, 1	rens
On Oc	et 25, 2021, at 00:22, Peter Daszak @ecohealthalliance.org > wrote:
David,	
	ned is a single sheet with bullets explaining why Dr. Tabak was wrong and hopefully convincing folks at NIH to iticizing EHA's reporting compliance.
Please	don't share the full letter yet – we'll edit that and get it to NIH by Tuesday hopefully.
I'm als	so worried that folks at NIH might use it to further twist the knife so they can avoid looking like they made a mistake
	MORENS_SUBPOENA_014241

Exhibit 2: October 25, 2021 e-mail from Dr. Morens²⁴

²⁴ E-Mail from David Morens, M.D., Senior Advisor, Nat'l Inst. of Allergy & Infectious Diseases, Nat'l Insts. of Health, to Peter Daszak, Ph.D., et. al. (Oct. 25, 2021) (MORENS_SUBPOENA 014241).

- which they did!

Cheers,

Peter

Peter Daszak President

EcoHealth Alliance 520 Eighth Avenue, Suite 1200 New York, NY 10018-6507 USA

Tel.: Website: www.ecohealthalliance.org Twitter: @PeterDaszak

EcoHealth Alliance develops science-based solutions to prevent pandemics and promote conservation

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MORENS_SUBPOENA_014242

Exhibit 3: April 28, 2020 e-mail from Dr. Morens²⁵

Date:	Tue, 28 Apr 2020 6:29:20 AM -0400
	Re: Broader statement
From:	David Morens @gmail.com >
To:	Keusch, Gerald T @bu.edu>;
CC:	Peter Daszak @ecohealthalliance.org>; Aleksei Chmura @ecohealthalliance.org>;
Jerry's e " and in David M Stonehal 8302 Wo	or some reason this Word doc won't allow me to save edits, so here are my comments. I like dits, they add to the richness. Two minor things, in para 2, line 2 might say "ecologic niches para 3, line 10, "Academies" david . Morens, MD l, No. 800 odmont Avenue , Maryland 20814
301 496	ns@gmail.com 6253 (work) 1783 (cell)
	TANT: My gmail frequently sends incoming messages to Trash, which is apparently not ble. If you don't hear from me in a reasonable time, please try again, call, or use my NIH email
IMPOR	FANT: For US Government-related email, please also reply to my NIAID address
On Mon	Apr 27, 2020 at 10:40 PM Keusch, Gerald T
is foolis my edit importa	nade a number of suggestions to both avoid pejoratives and at the same time indicate why it sh to sever the ties with the Chinese you have. Maybe this is too much. Don't send it with s until others have a chance to reflect and see if it is measured enough. I think it is very int to note why this is so counterproductive to our needs as a country to truly understand s happened.
Jerry	
Sent: M To: Dav Cc: Ale Subject	Peter Daszak @ecohealthalliance.org > onday, April 27, 2020 10:16 PM id Morens @gmail.com >; Keusch, Gerald T @bu.edu csei Chmura @ecohealthalliance.org > Broader statement ince: High
Any cha	nce you could look over this statement and suggest whether there is anything we should change?
	MORENS SUBPOENA 00

²⁵ E-Mail from David Morens, M.D., Senior Advisor, Nat'l Inst. of Allergy & Infectious Diseases, Nat'l Insts. of Health, to Peter Daszak, Ph.D., et. al. (Apr. 28, 2020) (MORENS_SUBPOENA 007204).

ł	Peter
I	Peter Daszak
ł	President
ł	EcoHealth Alliance
4	460 West 34 th Street
ľ	New York, NY 10001
ι	USA
1	Tel.:
١	Website: www.ecohealthalliance.org
3	Twitter: @PeterDaszak
ł	EcoHealth Alliance develops science-based solutions to prevent pandemics and promote conser

MORENS_SUBPOENA_007205

From: To: Cc: Subject: Date:	<u>Keusch, Gerald T</u> <u>Peter Daszak</u> <u>Aleksei Chmura</u> RE: Draft response to Michael Lauer - please review Monday, October 25, 2021 4:25:00 PM
l just spe	nt some time on the phone with David. <mark>He is concerned about the</mark>
privacy o	f text and other messages from his cell phone to you and me because
he has be	een using a government phone which permits personal conversations
as well.	So even things via gmail sent and received on his cell phone could be
FOIA'able	e. This came from Tony in their conversation this morning.
	s multiple things going on this week, including medical appointments,
	n house, and the need to get himself a personal smart phone, and
	told him not to be in touch with you and EHA for the time being. He
S.	connected to me and via me to you. He wanted to reiterate a couple
	. First, on the timeline to make it more specific with dates and details.
Getting i	n touch with Stemmy is really important and being sure he is well
informed	l, acknowledges the timeline and the communications you mention,
and is on	board because he will certainly be questioned. He also suggested
that you	discuss with him the need for NIH to check the records and to confirm
when do	cuments were filed and acknowledged. And that when you were
aware th	at it was necessary to file the 5 year report the system shut you out
and you	presumed that was normal process as you were then into the new
g <mark>ran</mark> t yea	ar 1.
Jerry	
From: Davi	d Morens @gmail.com>
	day, October 25, 2021 9:36 AM
To: Peter D Cc: Keusch,	
6	:: Draft response to Michael Lauer - please review
Peter, i will	be meeting with Tony about this later on
Does Stem	my know about this new timeline and will he back you up, including the problem with
	out of the electronic report system? d

²⁶ E-Mail from David Morens, M.D., Senior Advisor, Nat'l Inst. of Allergy & Infectious Diseases, Nat'l Insts. of Health, to Peter Daszak, Ph.D., et. al. (Oct. 25, 2021) (BU10302).

BOSTON UNIVERSITY CONFIDENTIAL TREATMENT REQUESTED

David M Morens OD, NIAID, NIH

On Oct 25, 2021, at 06:37, Peter Daszak @ecohealthalliance.org> wrote:

Yes - I think you're right. I'm trying to walk the line in this letter between clearly stating that EcoHealth didn't breach reporting requirements, and not causing any damage to NIH, but I do have to respond if they're going to be out there with comments to the press like Francis who is quoted in the Washington Post as saying there'll be consequences for us for 'messing up':

The grant to EcoHealth has been suspended, Collins said Thursday. "They messed up here. There's going to be some consequences for EcoHealth," he said. But he also said that, had the experimental result been reported earlier, "it would not have been a reason to sort of hit the panic button and say my god this is dangerous stuff."

https://www.washingtonpost.com/health/2021/10/21/nih-ecohealth-alliancecoronavirus/

I get it that the consequences may not amount to much, but if the public is being told we did risky research and didn't monitor it well, they'll not support us if NIH cancels all our funding.

Please tell Francis, Tony, Dr. Tabak and all that my whole family is being affected when they read comments like this in the press. The toll is awful, and the language they are using is just not fair. We're a a year non-profit - they represent NIH.

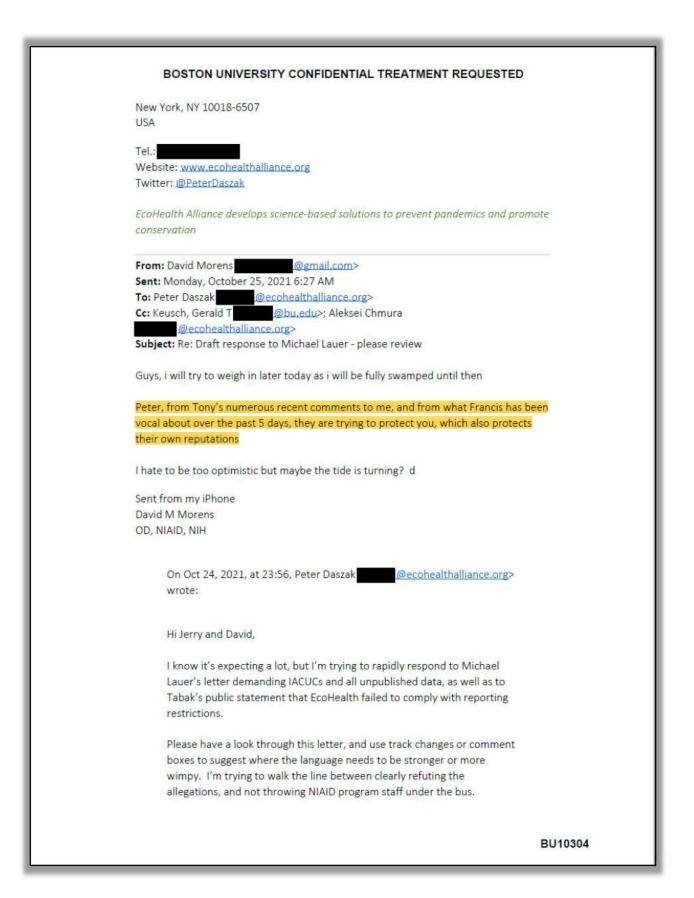
Cheers,

Peter

Peter Daszak President

EcoHealth Alliance 520 Eighth Avenue, Suite 1200

BU10303



BOSTON UNIVERSITY CONFIDENTIAL TREATMENT REQUESTED

I'm hoping to submit this either Monday evening or Tuesday, ahead of the deadline, so we can remove ourselves from the press attacks quickly, and tell people publicly that we complied with reporting requirements.

David - I'll send some bullets for you to pass on to Tony later on.

Cheers,

Peter

Peter Daszak

President

EcoHealth Alliance 520 Eighth Avenue, Suite 1200 New York, NY 10018-6507 USA

Tel.:

Website: <u>www.ecohealthalliance.org</u> Twitter: <u>@PeterDaszak</u>

EcoHealth Alliance develops science-based solutions to prevent pandemics and promote conservation

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Date:	Tue, 7 Dec 2021 2:03:29 PM -0500
Sent:	Tue, 7 Dec 2021 2:03:27 PM -0500
CONTRACTOR OF THE	Re: Peter Daszak and the Salem Witch Trials
From:	Nancye Green @dgtwo.com>
To:	David Morens s@gmail.com>;
beginning	remember you. And I cannot thank you enough for this wonderful note. I am the EHA Board Chair, this role about a year before the outbreak. Have been by Peter's side throughout, brainstorming first accolades and then all of the crazies.
began. W know tha myself in	I has been incredibly supportive of Peter and I have not heard a word otherwise since the craziness e have worked to keep them as well informed as we can, but no one has wavered. In other words, we Peter is a great scientist, a deeply honest man, and always does what he believes is right. I work biotech and know how unclear science is by its very nature - and how the picture can change with lence. We are living in a world of polarities and it doesn't suit the scientific process very well.
permissio that we ha would lik	noughtful and generous to have shared your valuable perspective. I appreciate it and, with your n, would love to forward it to our board. If that doesn't work for you, no problem. You should know ave no one FOIA-able on our board. We have made sure to only use personal addresses. And if you e me to send your comments unattributed to you personally, that would work too. It never hurts to eter with so many untruths flying around.
to all of u	meet you again in the coming months and thank you so much for your thoughtful words. It means a loss. We are very proud of EHA and the incredible work all of our scientists do around the world - often sk to themselves. They are committed to the work as are we!
All the be Nancye	st,
Nancye (Donovan	
www.don	ovangreen.com <http: www.donovangreen.com=""></http:>
	n Alliance Chair nealthalliance.org <http: www.ecohealthalliance.org=""></http:>
On 12/7/2	1, 1:43 PM, "David Morens" @gmail.com > wrote:
can't exac you are o	e, you may not remember that we met a couple years ago, 1 tly remember where, but I am writing you because I believe n the EcoHealth Board, and <mark>want to put in a word for Peter coHealth team,</mark> and all the great work they have been doing.
harassme	entist at NIH but because of death threats and general nt of me and more particularly my boss, Tony Fauci <mark>, we have to</mark> ommunications like this on private email so that it can't be
	MORENS SUBPOENA

Exhibit 5: December 7, 2021 e-mail from Dr. Morens²⁷

²⁷ E-Mail from David Morens, M.D., Senior Advisor, Nat'l Inst. of Allergy & Infectious Diseases, Nat'l Insts. of Health, to Nancye Green, Chairman, Board of Directors, EcoHealth Alliance, Inc. (Dec. 7, 2021) (MORENS_SUBPOENA 019667) retrieved via a FOIA, as we have been FOIA's so many times we've all lost count, and we have had to set up a special FOIA team just over the issue of Peter and related matters.

I have known Peter for over 15 years, have published scientific papers with him, have published in the EcoHealth journal, and have even nominated him to the Cosmos Club.

Peter is an exceptional scientist, literally the world's top expert in coronavirus emergences, and a scrupulously honest man. It is horrifying and heart-breaking to see all this unfold.

What has been happening over the past year is pure evil politics: the charges against him and against EcoHealth are false. It is sad that many in the media have elevated political charges without merit into the realm of false equivalency (e.g., lab leaks and man-made Frankenstein viruses are given equal weight to the obvious natural origin of the SARS-CoV-2 virus), but this is the new world we live in. Guilty until proven innocent, even when the charges are false to the point of being crazy.

The vast majority of us in the science community know the truth but, sadly, most don't speak out for fear they will be attacked too. My boss Tony Fauci is covered by secret service 24-7, and when we go up onto the 7th floor of our building, all staff, people like me, are met with armed police. Friends of mine are lying low because of threats to them and their families, and so many have told me they'd love to defend Peter but they are afrai9d the wrath of the conspiracy crazies will turn to them. What Peter has been experiencing is terrible but no longer unique.

Which leads me to say: I hope the Board will support Peter through this. Remember that HE is the good guy in this story, and some day, when the history books are written about this, Peter and EcoHealth will be the heroes, not the villains. Even though it's not apparent, there is much love and goodwill out there in the scientific community for Peter and EcoHealth. Please stand up for what is good and right, and support Peter until this ends.

Thanks, david morens

David M. Morens, MD Stonehall, No. 800



IMPORTANT: My gmail frequently sends incoming messages to Trash, which

MORENS_SUBPOENA_019668

Date:	Thu, 27 Aug 2020 11:32:23 PM -0400
Sent:	Thu, 27 Aug 2020 11:32:20 PM -0400
Subject:	RE: STAT: NIH awards \$7.5 million grant to EcoHealth Alliance, months after uproar over political interference
From:	Peter Daszak @ecohealthalliance.org >
To:	Morens, David (NIH/NIAID) [E] @gmail.com >; Gerald Keusch @bu.edu >;
Attachment	s: image001.jpg
Very happy to	see this announced today. Just hoping that the errant scheisters on One America News Network don't start rum so loud that the Orange Blob decides to decapitate this one also
me they receiv	ur kind words, and <mark>of course there's a kick-back</mark> . Itstarts with 5 more years of FoIA requests (Jean Patterson told red a nasty phone call over a month ago when it went up on NIHReporter.gov from the person who FoIA'd our ope it doesn't culminate in 5 years in Federal jail, or even Chinese 're-education camp'
Cheers,	
Peter	
Peter Daszak	
EcoHealth All 520 Eighth Av New York, NY USA	venue, Suite 1200
Tel.: Website: www Twitter: @Pet	v.ecohealthalliance.org erDaszak
EcoHealth Al	liance develops science-based solutions to prevent pandemics and promote conservation
Sent: Thursda To: Peter Das	s, David (NIH/NIAID) [E] @niaid.nih.gov> y, August 27, 2020 7:54 PM zak @cohealthalliance.org>; Gerald Keusch @bu.edu> : STAT: NIH awards \$7.5 million grant to EcoHealth Alliance, months after uproar over political interference
	get a kickback???? Too much fooking money! DO you deserve it all? Let's discuss Seriously, this is great served, There is still justice in a Trump-infected universe d
Sent from my David M More OD, NIAID, N Begin forward	ens NIH
	"Folkers, Greg (NIH/NIAID) [E]" @niaid.nlh.gov > August 27, 2020 at 18:04:15 EDT
	MORENS SUBPOENA 00

Exhibit 6: August 27, 2020 e-mail from Dr. Morens²⁸

²⁸ E-Mail from David Morens, M.D., Senior Advisor, Nat'l Inst. of Allergy & Infectious Diseases, Nat'l Insts. of Health, to Peter Daszak, Ph.D., et. al. (Aug. 27, 2020) (MORENS_SUBPOENA 001152). To: NIAID COGCORE OD AM

@mail.nih.gov>, NIAID OCGR Leg

@mail.nih.gov >, NIAID

OD AM @niaid.nih.gov> Subject: STAT: NIH awards \$7.5 million grant to EcoHealth Alliance, months after uproar over political interference

NIH awards \$7.5 million grant to EcoHealth Alliance, months after uproar over political interference

By HELEN BRANSWELL @HelenBranswell AUGUST 27, 2020 Reprints

MORENS_SUBPOENA_001153

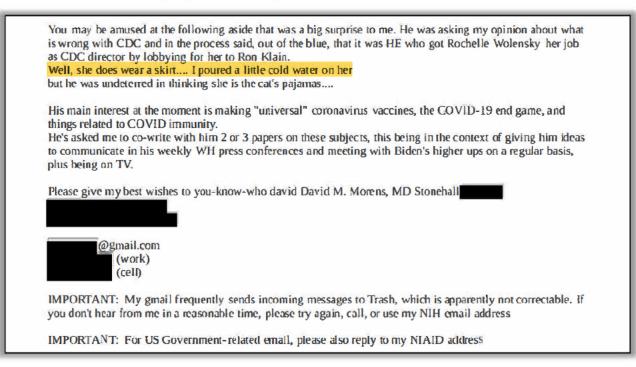
VI. Dr. Morens Acted Unbecoming of a Federal Employee.

Evidence in the possession of the Select Subcommittee suggests that Dr. Morens acted unbecoming of a federal employee. Being employed by the U.S. government is a privilege not a right. Dr. Morens abused his position and made inappropriate and misogynistic statements, some on his official e-mail account. These statements represent a disdain for the American public, whom Dr. Morens purportedly serves, and establishes that he should not have a position of public trust.

Finding: Dr. Morens made inappropriate, disrespectful, and misogynistic statements that are unbecoming of a representative of the United States government.

Dr. Morens showed a concerning pattern of behavior that suggests he is not qualified to hold a position of public trust. Dr. Morens made numerous misogynistic and sexist comments that are inappropriate. It raises serious questions regarding the integrity of Dr. Fauci's office and if Dr. Fauci knew his own Senior Advisor was making these comments.

Exhibit 1: November 18, 2021 e-mail from Dr. Morens²⁹



²⁹ E-Mail from David Morens, M.D., Senior Advisor, Nat'l Inst. of Allergy & Infectious Diseases, Nat'l Insts. of Health, to Gerald Keusch, M.D. (Nov. 18, 2021) (MORENS_SUBPOENA 014740).

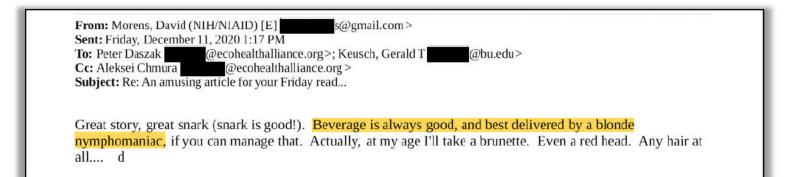
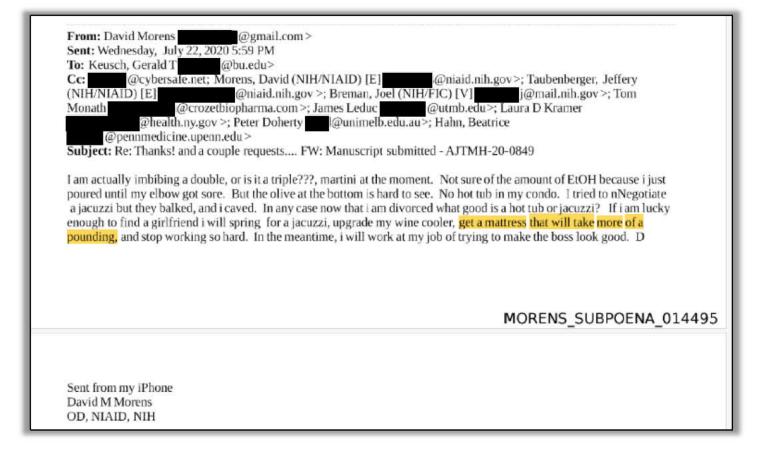


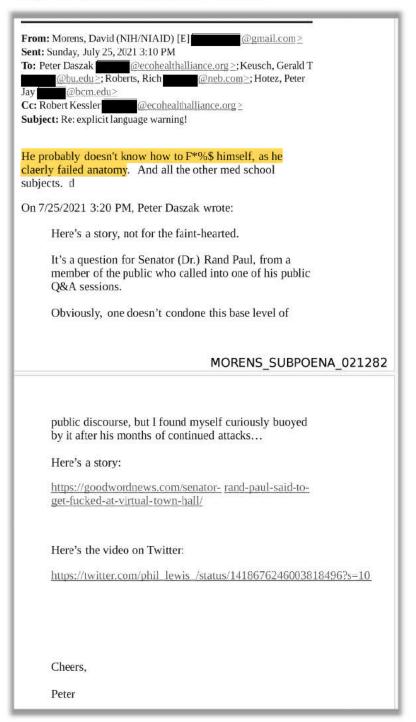
Exhibit 3: July 22, 2020 e-mail from Dr. Morens³¹



³⁰ E-Mail from David Morens, M.D., Senior Advisor, Nat'l Inst. of Allergy & Infectious Diseases, Nat'l Insts. of Health, to Peter Daszak, Ph.D., et. al. (Dec. 11, 2021) (MORENS_SUBPOENA 005154).

³¹ E-Mail from David Morens, M.D., Senior Advisor, Nat'l Inst. of Allergy & Infectious Diseases, Nat'l Insts. of Health, to Gerald Keusch, Ph.D., et. al. (July 22, 2021) (MORENS_SUBPOENA 014495).

Exhibit 4: July 25, 2021 e-mail from Dr. Morens³²



³² E-Mail from David Morens, M.D., Senior Advisor, Nat'l Inst. of Allergy & Infectious Diseases, Nat'l Insts. of Health, to Peter Daszak, Ph.D., et. al. (July 25, 2021) (MORENS_SUBPOENA 021282).

VII. Dr. Morens Likely Provided False Testimony To The Select Subcommittee.

On December 22, 2023 and January 18, 2024, Dr. Morens testified at transcribed interviews before the Select Subcommittee.³³ At the interviews, Select Subcommittee counsel advised Dr. Morens that he was required pursuant to Title 18 Section 1001 of the United States Code to answer questions truthfully, including questions posed by Congressional staff in the interview, and that if he knowingly made false statements, he could be subject to criminal prosecution.³⁴ Dr. Morens stated, on the record, that he understood the requirement and the consequences of not complying with that requirement.³⁵

The evidence presented throughout this memorandum establishes that Dr. Morens likely provided false testimony to the Select Subcommittee.

³³ Transcribed Interview of David Morens, M.D., Senior Advisor, Dir., Nat'l Inst. of Allergy & Infectious Diseases (Dec. 22, 2023); Transcribed Interview of David Morens, M.D., Senior Advisor, Dir., Nat'l Inst. of Allergy & Infectious Diseases (Jan. 18, 2024).

³⁴ Id. ³⁵ Id.