



**Permanent Select Committee  
on Intelligence**

**U.S. House of Representatives**

January 14, 2020

The Honorable Jerrold Nadler  
Chairman  
Committee on the Judiciary  
U.S. House of Representatives  
2138 Rayburn House Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Chairman Nadler:

Pursuant to Section 3 of H. Res. 660, following consultation with the Ranking Minority Member, I am transmitting to the House Committee on the Judiciary two flash drives containing additional records and other materials related to the impeachment inquiry. This evidence was produced to the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence pursuant to duly authorized subpoenas and shared with the Committee on Oversight and Reform and the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

One flash drive is in a sealed envelope marked "sensitive"—this flash drive contains call records with sensitive personal information that should be protected from public disclosure. The other flash drive includes some of the records recently produced by Lev Parnas, an associate of President Trump's personal attorney, Rudy Giuliani, that are pertinent to the impeachment inquiry and some of which are described in more detail in the enclosure. Despite unprecedented obstruction by the President, the Committee continues to receive and review potentially relevant evidence and will make supplemental transmittals under H. Res. 660, as appropriate.

Thank you for your prompt attention to this matter.

Sincerely,

Adam B. Schiff  
Chairman

Enclosures

cc: The Honorable Doug Collins, Ranking Member  
Committee on the Judiciary  
The Honorable Devin Nunes, Ranking Member  
Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence

**Enclosure: Certain Documents Produced by Lev Parnas  
to the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence**

The House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence (“Committee”) requested on September 30, 2019, that Lev Parnas, an associate of Rudy Giuliani, President Trump’s personal attorney, voluntarily produce records as part of the House of Representatives’ impeachment inquiry. On October 3, Mr. Parnas’ then-attorney, John Dowd, communicated to the Committee that Mr. Parnas would not comply with the request. On October 9, Mr. Parnas was detained pursuant to an arrest warrant from the Southern District of New York. The next day, on October 10, the Committee issued a duly-authorized subpoena to compel Mr. Parnas to produce records pertinent to the impeachment inquiry.

On October 30, after securing new counsel, Mr. Parnas informed the Committee that he intended to comply with the subpoena. Mr. Parnas recently received court authorization to share with the Committee materials that were seized from him by the U.S. Attorney’s Office for the Southern District of New York. He also produced to the Committee other material in his possession and continues to provide material responsive to the subpoena on a rolling basis.

A preliminary review of Mr. Parnas’ production, a voluminous record of data extracted primarily from one of his personal cell phones, further corroborates the findings and evidence related to the President’s scheme, which was laid out in the [Trump-Ukraine Impeachment Inquiry Report](#), released by the Committee on December 3.

As an example of the relevancy to the impeachment inquiry of the evidence that you are receiving today, attached here are some documents pertinent to the President’s Ukraine effort that we identified in our initial review of Mr. Parnas’ production. Because some messages retrieved from Mr. Parnas’ device were written in Russian, the Committee is also providing a rough translation of a number of those messages, which is also included here. The evidence you are receiving today shows:

- Mr. Parnas produced handwritten notes on stationery from the Ritz-Carlton Hotel in Vienna, Austria that appear directly related to the President’s scheme to press Ukraine to announce investigations beneficial to his reelection campaign. Mr. Parnas’ attorney confirmed that the notes were written by his client. One hand-written note states:

*\* get Zelensky [sic] to Annonce [sic] that the Biden case will Be Investigated*  
*\* start commun[icating] with Zelensky [sic] without (Pinchuk or Kolomoisky)*

Victor Pinchuk and Ihor Kolomoisky are prominent and politically-connected Ukrainian oligarchs. As described in the Committee’s impeachment report, Mr. Parnas unsuccessfully sought Mr. Kolomoisky’s assistance in facilitating a meeting between Mr. Giuliani and President Zelensky.

- In January of 2019, Mr. Parnas and Mr. Giuliani exchanged text messages about securing a visa for former Ukrainian Prosecutor General Viktor Shokin. When Mr. Parnas advised that the United States had denied Mr. Shokin’s visa, Mr. Giuliani responded “I can revive it.”

Mr. Giuliani later revealed, “It’s going to work I have no 1 in it.” He also gave Jay Sekulow, President Trump’s personal attorney, Mr. Parnas’ phone number.

- In March 2019, Mr. Parnas communicated by text message with Robert F. Hyde about former U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovitch. In response to some articles, tweets, and videos accusing the Ambassador of being disloyal to President Trump, Mr. Hyde wrote “Wow. Can’t believe Trumo [sic] hasn’t fired this bitch. I’ll get right in that.” Mr. Hyde then sent a series of text messages suggesting that he had Ambassador Yovanovitch under physical surveillance in Kyiv and that “They are willing to help if we/you would like a price.”
- Mr. Parnas communicated with Mr. Giuliani, Victoria Toensing and others about the removal of Ambassador Yovanovitch. For example, on April 23, the day before Ambassador Yovanovitch received a phone call from the State Department that she had to return to the United States because there were “concerns” from “up the street” at the White House, Mr. Giuliani texted Parnas, “He fired her again.” Mr. Parnas responded, “I pray it happens this time I’ll call you tomorrow my brother.”
- Mr. Parnas communicated extensively by phone and messaging applications with Mr. Giuliani about matters relevant to the House impeachment inquiry.

For example, Mr. Parnas’ phone included a screenshot of a previously-undisclosed May 10, 2019, letter from Mr. Giuliani to then-President-elect Zelensky. The one-page letter signed by Mr. Giuliani states, in part:

*Dear President-Elect Zelensky:*

*I am private counsel to President Donald J. Trump. Just to be precise, I represent him as a private citizen, not as President of the United States. This is quite common under American law because the duties and privileges of a President and a private citizen are not the same. Separate representation is usual process.*

*[...]*

*However, I have a more specific request. In my capacity as personal counsel to President Trump and with his knowledge and consent, I request a meeting with you on this upcoming Monday, May 13<sup>th</sup> or Tuesday, May 14<sup>th</sup>. I will need no more than a half-hour of your time and I will be accompanied by my colleague Victoria Toensing, a distinguished American attorney who is very familiar with this matter.*

Mr. Parnas texted a copy of the letter to a close aide to then-President-elect Zelensky shortly after it was drafted.

Mr. Giuliani’s letter makes clear that his trip, which he publicly described at the time as an effort to “meddle in an investigation,” was undertaken with the knowledge and support of President Trump.

Around the same time, Mr. Giuliani also sent Mr. Parnas a text message asking, “This guy is canceling meeting I think?” Approximately three hours later, Mr. Giuliani sent Mr. Parnas drafts of a public statement that claimed that “people advising the PRES ELECT are no friends of the President.”

As detailed in the Committee’s impeachment inquiry report, Mr. Giuliani cancelled his trip to Ukraine following public revelations that he was traveling there to manufacture dirt on President Trump’s political opponent, former Vice President Joe Biden.

Following his cancellation, Mr. Giuliani publicly criticized President-elect Zelensky and his aides, claiming that Mr. Zelensky was surrounded by “enemies of the President.”

- Mr. Parnas continued to try to arrange a meeting with President Zelensky. For example, on July 3, Mr. Parnas told Mr. Giuliani that he was traveling to Vienna. Mr. Giuliani responded, “Wow!”, and Mr. Parnas explained “trying to get us mr Z.”
- Mr. Parnas communicated via encrypted messaging applications, particularly WhatsApp, with senior Ukrainian officials and figures at key junctures in 2019 while President Trump’s scheme was underway. These communications, often in Russian, demonstrate that Mr. Parnas served as a direct channel between President Trump’s agent, Mr. Giuliani, and individuals close to President Volodymyr Zelensky.
  - In early May 2019, Mr. Parnas was in contact with senior aides to President Zelensky, including Ivan Bakanov, who serves as the head of Ukraine’s Security Service, and Serhiy Shefir, who is the chief aide to President Zelensky. Mr. Parnas sought their assistance in scheduling a meeting between Mr. Giuliani and President Zelensky.

Mr. Parnas also sent these aides several news articles promoting the same false allegations about former Vice President Biden and his son and Ukraine’s purported interference in the 2016 election that President Trump raised during his July 25, 2019, call with President Zelensky.

On May 2, Mr. Bakanov replied to Mr. Parnas: “I shared the information you provided with Mr. President via the established channel, but I have not yet received confirmation.” It appears that Mr. Bakanov provided the press articles to President-elect Zelensky, indicating that President Zelensky learned of the false allegations promoted by Mr. Giuliani and his associates at least as early as May of 2019.

- Mr. Parnas was also in contact with two former corrupt Prosecutors General of Ukraine, Viktor Shokin and Yuriy Lutsenko. Mr. Lutsenko in particular was Mr. Giuliani’s primary source for the same false allegations about Vice President Biden and the 2016 election. Mr. Parnas’ communications with Mr. Lutsenko included frequent reference to Ambassador Yovanovitch, often in deeply offensive terms. Ambassador Yovanovitch was ousted by President Trump after a smear campaign

launched against her by Mr. Lutsenko, Mr. Giuliani, and their associates in the United States and Ukraine.

- On October 2, 2019, Jay Sekulow, personal counsel to the President, informed President Trump's former attorney John Dowd that he had discussed with President Trump "the issue of representation" and that President Trump "consents to allowing your representation of Mr. Parnas and Mr. Fruman." This email was sent three days after the Committee sent Mr. Parnas and Mr. Fruman a request to voluntarily produce records and testify before the investigating Committees.

On October 3, the day after Mr. Sekulow's letter was sent to Mr. Dowd, Mr. Dowd wrote to the Committee to clarify that he represented Mr. Parnas and Mr. Fruman, advising that, "Messrs. Parnas and Fruman assisted Mr. Giuliani in connection with his representation of President Trump."

One week later, Mr. Parnas and Mr. Fruman were arrested. Mr. Parnas changed counsel thereafter and, on October 30, 2019, informed the Committee that he wanted to comply its request and subpoena.