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## Ukraine, Disinformation, & the Trump Administration

### A Full Timeline of Events

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This timeline began as a means to chronologize the events detailed by the parties deposed by the House committees leading the impeachment probe as well as events disclosed by other involved parties, such as Giuliani. At this point, the details of the alleged quid pro quo related to Ukraine and the campaign against Ambassador Yovanovitch are both well-known and much-discussed. However, a detailed examination of earlier events also makes clear the duration of, extent of, and possible motives behind the unrelenting disinformation campaign originating from Ukraine. There are many colorful characters involved, but the disinformation campaign appears to originate with Yuriy Lutsenko, the former prosecutor general of Ukraine, and Dmytro Firtash, a corrupt and influential Ukrainian oligarch.

Regarding the implementation of the Trump Administration's policy toward Ukraine and the details related to the alleged quid pro quo, this extensive timeline tracks the pertinent known actions of and interactions between the following individuals (and many others):

- US Ambassador to the European Union Gordon Sondland
- Acting US Ambassador to Ukraine Bill Taylor
- Former US Special Envoy for Ukraine Kurt Volker
- President Trump's personal lawyer Rudolph W. Giuliani
- Former U.S. ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovitch
- Deputy Assistant Secretary of State George Kent

Perhaps more valuable for reporters working on this story, the longer narrative of the Ukraine saga gives one an understanding of the motives behind the disinformation campaign organized by a desperate and easily transparent Ukrainian politician, Lutsenko, and the corrupt Ukrainian oligarch Firtash, with his own clear financial and legal motives. Reading the timeline in its entirety – not a small task – makes clear the extensive role played by Rudy Giuliani and his associates, Lev Pamas and Igor Fruman, in spreading disinformation. Pamas's and Fruman's links back to Firtash are also detailed. Notable are the roles of Joe diGenova and Victoria Toensing in spreading disinformation and their parroting of beneficial narratives while employed by Firtash. John Solomon played an indispensable role in the collection and domestic publication of elements of this disinformation campaign. And domestic media outlets (the most prominent featured in this timeline) played a role in amplifying the distribution of these storylines.

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A few of the names you will want to know before delving in and a few things to keep in mind when reading:

- **Dmytro Firtash** (influential Ukrainian oligarch) – Legal motives due to his fighting extradition to U.S. and financial motives related to his corrupt siphoning of money from Naftogaz, Ukraine's state-run oil and gas company.
- **Yuriy Lutsenko** (former Ukrainian Prosecutor General) – Professional motives to save a threatened career, personal motives against Ambassador Yovanovitch, and suspected links to Firtash through his relationship with Parnas and Fruman.
- **Lev Parnas** and **Igor Fruman** (Giuliani associates) – Strong reported financial links to Firtash and financial motives related to Naftogaz resulting in targeting of Yovanovitch.
- **Rudy Giuliani** (President Trump's personal lawyer) – High susceptibility to disinformation from Lutsenko, his indicted associates, and Firtash's associates.
- **John Solomon** (former opinion columnist for The Hill and now Fox News contributor) – Focus on stories from disinformation campaign, non-disclosure of conflicts, use of unreliable sources, publishing false and misleading stories, misrepresentation of sources, and opaque coordination with involved parties.
- **Marie Yovanovitch** (former U.S. ambassador to Ukraine) – Targeted with unsupported allegations by multiple parties for financial, personal, professional, and political reasons.
- **Joe diGenova** and **Victoria Toensing** (prominent DC lawyers, Trump supporters, and Firtash's attorneys) – Non-disclosure of financial motives and representation of Firtash while spreading false and misleading stories.
- **US Media** – Amplification of disinformation stories from clearly unreliable sources and non-disclosure of conflicts by guests.

Keep in mind this story is developing and there is so much we do not yet know. There will be many books written about this saga – clearly, as this timeline is almost the length of a book.



## The Timeline

February 22, 2014: Ukraine's then president Viktor Yanukovich surprised the world by fleeing Kyiv and ending up in Russia. He has been widely characterized in Ukraine and the West as pro-Russia — and even as a puppet of the Russian president, Vladimir V. Putin. A Ukrainian court would later convict Yanukovich of committed treason by inviting Russia to invade Ukraine and reverse a pro-Western revolution that ousted him from power. Paul Manafort was a political consultant for Yanukovich. Yanukovich and his political party, the Party of Regions, were the primary clients of Manafort's political consulting business for a decade.<sup>1</sup> Deputy Assistant Attorney General Bruce Swartz, of DOJ's criminal division, would later say that he became aware of allegations that Manafort may have engaged in criminal conduct through the media when Yanukovich was ousted from office.<sup>2</sup>

**March 12, 2014:** Industrialist Dmytro Firtash, one of Ukraine's most influential oligarchs with close links to Russia through his gas interests, was arrested in Austria on bribery and other charges at the request of U.S. law enforcement agencies. Though he is nowhere near as wealthy as the country's top oligarchs, Firtash's close links to Russia, and possibly to the Kremlin via the energy sector, made him one of the most influential figures in Ukraine.<sup>3</sup> Firtash later posted \$174 million in bail (allegedly paid by a Russian billionaire close to Putin's inner circle<sup>4</sup>) and pledged to remain in Austria during extradition proceedings. The Justice Department has described Firtash as an associate of "Russian organized crime." He has denied all the charges.<sup>5</sup> The F.B.I. has been investigating Firtash since 2006, and an arrest warrant had been issued for him by a federal judge in Virginia, the Austrian authorities said.<sup>6</sup> In little more than a decade, the Ukrainian went from obscurity to wealth and renown, largely by buying gas from Russia and selling it in his home country. His success was built on remarkable sweetheart deals brokered by associates of Russian leader Vladimir Putin, at immense cost to Russian taxpayers, a Reuters investigation showed. "Firtash has always been an intermediary," said Viktor Chumak, once chairman of the anti-corruption committee in the Ukrainian parliament, said in 2014. "He is a political person representing Russia's interests in Ukraine."<sup>7</sup> Firtash had previously weighed teaming up with American investors and political strategist Paul Manafort to buy high-end real estate in the United States, including the Drake Hotel in New York. Manafort met with Firtash in May, June, and August of 2008 to seal the Manhattan real estate deal, according to a memo by Rick Gates, another Trump strategist.<sup>8</sup> Brad Zackson, a former righthand man to Fred Trump Sr., wrote in an email in March 2009: "I have an idea to bring [Donald] Trump in on the Drake. I think it solves a lot of issues right away." By then, though, the Drake deal was basically dead.<sup>9</sup> Details of the Drake Hotel negotiations remained secret until 2011, when former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko filed a lawsuit in Manhattan claiming that the project was in fact a money-laundering scheme cooked up by Firtash, Manafort, and their associates. A judge in New York threw out that case on the grounds that it fell outside the court's jurisdiction.<sup>10</sup> As part of that deal, the lawsuit alleged, Firtash would pay a \$1.5 million fee to a firm owned by Manafort and a real estate executive who had once worked for the Trump Organization. "Manafort gave Firtash the opportunity to expand the scope of his money laundering activities into the United States," the suit claimed.<sup>11</sup> The court documents detail how Manafort controlled a shell corporation that allegedly was part of the machinery that pushed money into real estate on behalf of Firtash and their mutual partners, with Firtash in one case allegedly laundering some \$25 million in the proposed deal involving the Drake Hotel. Manafort also allegedly used one of the shell companies he set up—cited in the Mueller indictment—to

make a cash purchase of a \$3.675 million Manhattan apartment in 2006, an apartment that was in Trump Tower.<sup>12</sup> In addition to his shady business dealings, observers say US authorities want to detain Firtash because he holds information on close allies of Russian President Vladimir Putin. "The case against Firtash in the United States will not be limited only to the bribery allegations in India," said Ukrainian MP Serhiy Leshchenko, a former journalist who has investigated Firtash's case. "He is very valuable not only as a defendant but as witness too."<sup>13</sup>

**March 24, 2014:** Within days of posting bail, Firtash organized a meeting in Vienna between then-presidential hopeful Vitali Klitschko, a former world boxing champion, and billionaire Petro Poroshenko to persuade them to unite behind a single candidate, three people familiar with the meeting told Bloomberg. Two days later, Klitschko announced his support for Poroshenko, who went on to win over Firtash's longtime nemesis, former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko (the same woman who had accused Manafort of being part of a Firtash money-laundering scheme).<sup>14</sup> "We achieved what we wanted: Poroshenko became president, and Klitschko became mayor," Firtash later said. Both Klitschko's and Poroshenko's camps reject Firtash's claim to have brokered a deal for the presidency.<sup>15</sup> Just a month before, in Feb. 2014, Lauren Goodrich, chief Eurasia analyst at global intelligence firm Stratfor, said there were rumors that Firtash was now funding Klitschko's party.<sup>16</sup> The Centre for Eastern Studies later reported, "Since the Klitschko's party UDAR came into existence, the Ukrainian media have suggesting that it is linked to Firtash, who is believed to be its main sponsor." The Center speculated, "It can be assumed that Firtash, who most likely 'gave birth' to this agreement, received security guarantees for his assets in exchange."<sup>17</sup>

**April (date uncertain), 2014:** Paul Manafort traveled to Vienna and met with Dmytro Firtash, a former U.S. government official later told McClatchy.<sup>18</sup> In 2009, Manafort ended an email to Firtash with an optimistic salutation: "Our friendship and partnership will last for many years to come. To our current and future successes!"<sup>19</sup> "[Manafort] was very well situated in Ukraine," Firtash told The Daily Beast in March 2019. "He interacted with a lot of people, knew a lot of people. And I knew him well."<sup>20</sup>

**May 6, 2014:** In an interview published by the New York Times, Dmytro Firtash says, "When you say that business and politics are inseparable, that's true. When you ask me the question, 'Can I influence politics?' I don't know how to lie, so I'll tell you: Yes, I can influence politics. I am not a politician, but I have certain influences."<sup>21</sup>

**2014 (unknown date):** Ukrainian oligarch Viktor Medvedchuk, who is under U.S. sanctions, has acknowledged meeting Paul Manafort once in 2014. The details of this meeting remain unknown. Medvedchuk is so close to Putin that the Russian president is the godfather of Medvedchuk's daughter.<sup>22</sup> In March 2014, when designating Medvedchuk as being involved in violating Ukrainian sovereignty and subjecting him to sanctions, the U.S. Dept. of the Treasury said, "A long-time proxy and close personal friend of Russian President Vladimir Putin, [Medvedchuk] acted as a liaison between Yanukovich and Putin."<sup>23</sup> His ties to the Kremlin run deep; partial transcripts from tape recordings of then-Ukrainian president Leonid Kuchma, published in 2002, show Kuchma saying: "Well, we know about it, that [Medvedchuk] was a KGB agent, 100 percent."<sup>24</sup>

**Sometime after June 5, 2014:** After becoming mayor, and the protests that took place in Kyiv in 2014, Vitali Klitschko negotiated a potential contract for Giuliani Security & Safety to restore order in the city. Giuliani's fee, roughly \$300,000, was too steep, and the deal wasn't completed, the Wall Street Journal later reported.<sup>25</sup>

**June (unknown date), 2014:** When Vitaly Yarema, became prosecutor general, Andrii Telizhenko became his foreign affairs assistant. Telizhenko had worked on Yerma's parliamentary campaign and served as a senior assistant to him when he was deputy prime minister. Oleksiy Grytsenko, a leader of the AutoMaidan political movement, says that, during Telizhenko's time at the prosecutor general's office, Telizhenko once asked a businessman for a \$5,000 bribe to organize a meeting with Yarema for him. That meeting never happened. During a conversation with the Kyiv Post, Grytsenko called up the businessman in question, who confirmed his narrative. However, the businessman did not respond to a Kyiv Post request for comment. "Telizhenko is definitely a person working for money. He's not a decent one," Grytsenko said. "I wouldn't trust him." Telizhenko denied ever asking for or taking bribes.<sup>26</sup>

**September (date uncertain), 2014:** Paul Manafort, now on the payroll of President Viktor Yanukovich's former chief of staff Serhiy Lyovochkin, flew to Ukraine and set to work rebranding the Party of Regions, a party deeply fractured by violence and by Russia's intervention. It was Manafort who argued for a new name for the movement — the Opposition Bloc, or Oppo Bloc, as it was called. The strategy worked. Under the new name, the Party of Regions kept a foothold in Parliament.<sup>27</sup>

**April 23, 2015:** At the behest of TriGlobal Strategic Ventures, Giuliani agreed to advise the mayor of Kyiv, Vitali Klitschko, who had called for more Western support of the Ukrainian government's efforts to combat Russian separatists.<sup>28</sup> Klitschko met with Giuliani in New York City, but they had met before, in 2008, when Giuliani held a news conference in Times Square with the Klitschko, who was running for mayor of Kyiv at the time (Klitschko won the office on his third try, in 2014). Giuliani said his firm had been approached by Klitschko's team, which was seeking advice on how to combat corruption in the Ukrainian capital. The event is detailed on the website of TriGlobal, and the company's president, Vitaly Pruss, later told NBC News that he was the one who had made the connection between Giuliani and Klitschko's team.<sup>29</sup> TriGlobal Strategic Ventures is a company that aims to "assist Western clients in furthering their business interests in the emerging economies of the former Soviet Union," according to its website in 2016. Records show Giuliani has had ties dating to at least 2004 to TriGlobal, a company that has provided image consulting to Russian oligarchs and clients with deep Kremlin ties. In 2004, the company arranged to have Giuliani come to Moscow to meet with Russian Foreign Minister Sergey V. Lavrov as well as other prominent Russian politicians and business executives. TriGlobal's advisory board includes Ara Abramyan, listed on the company's website as a "very close Advisor to the Russian Government's inner circle including the President and the Prime Minister." The company's founding partners are Andrey Drobyshev, who claims to have strong relations with regional and municipal governments in Russia, and Vitaly Pruss, whose website profile says that he has focused on "international image development and PR for Russian & Ukrainian companies" and that from 2008 to 2011, he worked "closely with Giuliani Partners LLC." Jeffrey Berman, one of TriGlobal's managing partners, is also vice president of Berman Enterprises, a family-run company that worked with Giuliani Partners in 2008 to form a

commercial and residential real estate investment vehicle called the Berman Opportunity Fund.<sup>30</sup>

**April 24, 2015:** Lev Parnas posted a photo to his Instagram account of himself standing next to Ivana Trump (Trump's first wife), his business partner David Correia, and other at a Miami restaurant.<sup>31</sup>

**April 26, 2015:** Andriy Telizhenko, an advisor to Ukrainian Prosecutor General Viktor Shokin, is involved in a five-car accident in Kyiv – one driver driving at unsafe speed struck four cars ahead of him, injuring two women.<sup>32</sup> Local Ukrainian reporting site [dtp.kiev.ua](http://dtp.kiev.ua) appears to be the first to identify Telizhenko as the responsible party.<sup>33</sup> According to witnesses, Telizhenko, the at-fault driver, was in an inadequate state, had difficulty talking, and did not really understand what was happening around him. In addition, Telizhenko allegedly showed a badge and a pistol in a holster to a police officer.<sup>34</sup> When the prosecutor general's office is contacted, they said that Telizhenko's blood alcohol content had shown 0.08% and they retroactively fired him on April 24 (the Friday before the Sunday accident).<sup>35</sup> As of Dec. 2019, Telizhenko was still listing Nov. 2015 as the end date of his employment at the prosecutor general's office instead of the seemingly correct date of April 2015 (unless he was re-hired without publicity or not actually dismissed).<sup>36</sup> Telizhenko says the collision occurred because he lost consciousness due to a medical condition and insists that he resigned from the Prosecutor General's Office two weeks prior to the accident.<sup>37</sup> Telizhenko would later be employed by the Ukrainian Embassy in Washington and, in Jan. 2017, come to play a central role in the Ukrainian Embassy-DNC story.



**April 28, 2015:** In video remarks, Vice President Biden praised reforms recently approved by Ukrainian parliament, saying, "You've cut wasteful gas subsidies—hard as that can be—and you're closing the space for corrupt middlemen who rip off the Ukrainian people."<sup>38</sup> In July 2015, Ukrainian Prime Minister Yatsenyuk would leave no doubt as to whom Biden was referring, stating, "There is one of the biggest state-owned enterprises, which is Ukrainian Naftogaz, a gas company, that had very shadowy and non-transparent deals with middlemen and with the Russian Federation. So last year we eliminated this middleman. His name is Mr. Firtash. He is under FBI investigation and expected to be extradited to the United States."<sup>39</sup>

**April 30, 2015:** Dmytro Firtash admitted in court that he met with presidential candidate Petro Poroshenko and UDAR Party leader Vitali Klitschko on the eve of the presidential election in

May 2014, and that the meeting was his idea and aimed to prevent the presidency of Yulia Tymoshenko. "The main thing that we got [from the meeting] what we wanted: Poroshenko is the president, Klitschko has become the mayor (of Kyiv)," Firtash told a court in Vienna at a hearing of his extradition to the United States.<sup>40</sup> The agreement also allegedly covered the distribution of numerous state posts, including Valentin Nalyvaichenko retaining his position as head of the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU).<sup>41</sup>

**April 30, 2015:** Ukraine's President Poroshenko signed a draft law "On the natural gas market." The law was adopted with an important amendment, the essence of which lay in the fact that private gas distribution companies, most of which in Ukraine are controlled by Dmytro Firtash, will no longer be able to use the [gas transportation] networks free of charge. Prime Minister [Arseniy] Yatsenyuk's faction People's Front advocated the introduction of the amendment. However, almost the entirety of PPB [Petro Poroshenko Bloc] voted in support of the law as well. "Firtash's testimony [about his meeting with Poroshenko and Klitschko] is his revenge for this draft law - nothing else," a PPB deputy close to Poroshenko maintained.<sup>42</sup>

**April 30, 2015:** In a defeat for the United States, an Austrian judge refused to order the extradition of Firtash. "America obviously saw Firtash as somebody who was threatening their economic interests," Judge Bauer said, explaining his decision from the bench. But he also said the U.S. had not provided coherent evidence of a crime either: "There just wasn't sufficient proof." Smiling contentedly after the ruling, Firtash said: "I am not an enemy of America. I am afraid America has another problem, which is there are certain people who are pursuing their own personal interests, and by pursuing those personal interests tried to make me into an enemy of America."<sup>43</sup> The U.S. Justice Department filed an appeal.

**Shortly after April 30 (precise date unclear), 2015:** Almost the next day after the court session in Vienna, both President Poroshenko and Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenyuk had a conversation with Vice President Biden, during which the issue of Dmytro Firtash was discussed. Biden also mentioned other oligarchs, requesting that deoligarchization be hastened.<sup>44</sup>

**May 27, 2015:** In a speech at the Brookings Institution, Vice President Biden says, "Ukraine needs to use all the tools at its disposal to limit the ability of the oligarchs to abuse their market position or exert pressure on government officials. And by the way, there's a long history of that." Biden went on to say, "And the stakes are strategic as well as economic because Russia and others are using corruption and oligarchs as tools of coercion." Russia's aggression in Ukraine is "abetted by a hyper-aggressive state-sponsored Russian propaganda machine that actively spreads disinformation - and does it very well, I might add," Biden said.<sup>45</sup>

**June 18, 2015:** Valentin Nalyvaichenko, head of the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU), was dismissed from his post by Ukrainian President Poroshenko. Nalyvychenko faced a number of political problems at the time, but among them were the resurfaced rumors about Nalyvaichenko's connection to oligarch Dmytro Firtash. Nalyvaichenko knows Firtash personally, but the rumors are loosely based around Firtash being a member of organized crime, his backing of Kyiv Mayor Vitali Klitschko, and Nalyvaichenko being a member of Klitschko's UDAR Party. The rumors then morphed into allegations that Firtash insisted upon Nalyvaichenko's appointment as SBU Head and that he provided financial backing to get him



there – much of that is questionable, but the stories added to Nalyvaichenko’s political liabilities.<sup>46</sup> The Centre for Eastern Studies (OSW) reported that Poroshenko sacked Nalyvaichenko in response to Firtash’s demand to hold early elections.<sup>47</sup> In the years to come, Nalyvaichenko would go on to make an appearance in the highly questionable Politico article from Jan. 2011, which alleges Ukrainian government officials working with the DNC to sabotage Trump. Nalyvaichenko also continuously questions the authenticity of the so-called black ledger, used against Paul Manafort. And he has repeatedly called for investigations into Burisma.

**Oct. 23, 2015:** In a photo posted to his Instagram account, Lev Parnas and his son posed with then-candidate Trump at a campaign event.<sup>48</sup>



**December 8, 2015:** Speaking before the Ukrainian parliament, Vice President Biden said, “The energy sector needs to be competitive, ruled by market principles -- not sweetheart deals.”<sup>49</sup> “We saw oligarchs ousted from power, only for them to return,” Biden said. “We understand how difficult some of the votes for reforms are but they are critical for putting Ukraine back on the right path.”<sup>50</sup> Dmytro Firtash later criticized Ukrainians’ response to Biden’s speech, which the audience applauded throughout. “I was ashamed just to look at this, it was so repulsive,” Firtash said in March 2019. “He was behaving as the boss, the owner, the chief—it was just horrible.”<sup>51</sup> “The Obama administration, and Vice President Biden in particular, led the international community to help advance gas sector reforms in Ukraine,” a former State Department official with knowledge of the dynamics later the Daily Beast in Oct. 2019. “The thinking of the United States was that establishing an open, transparent gas sector would be vital to Ukraine’s fight against entrenched oligarchic corruption and would shore up the country’s strategic stability in the face of Russian aggression.” “Mr. Firtash’s control of RosUkrEnerg, which exerted monopolistic control over regional gas distribution, would have been threatened by these reforms,” the official added.<sup>52</sup>

**December 15, 2015 to June 1, 2016:** Andriy Telizhenko served as a third secretary (the lowest diplomatic rank) in the political section in the Ukrainian Embassy in Washington. During that time, he claims, he witnessed examples of Ukrainian officials openly favoring Hillary Clinton's candidacy.<sup>53</sup> The Kyiv Post says he sometimes surprised his colleagues by drinking expensive



whiskey and smoking cigars in the embassy's backyard. Telizhenko says that during this time he met Victoria Toensing.<sup>54</sup>

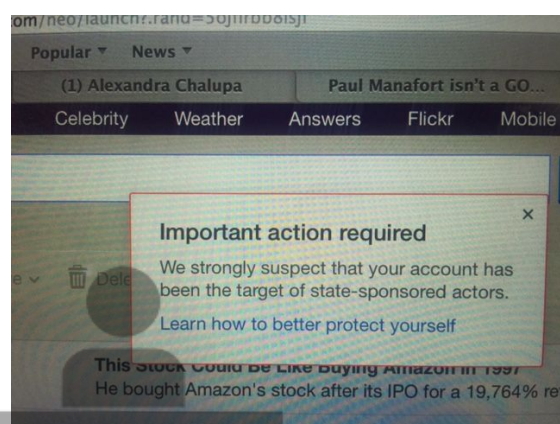
**January (unknown date), 2016:** The FBI's Criminal Investigation Division opened an investigation of Paul Manafort, approximately two months before Manafort joined the Trump campaign as an advisor. The criminal investigation concerned allegations that Manafort had engaged in money laundering and tax evasion while acting as a political consultant to members of the Ukrainian government and Ukrainian politicians.<sup>55</sup>

**February 29, 2016:** Paul Manafort sent two succinct memos to Trump through Thomas J. Barrack Jr., a mutual friend. Barrack, according to Manafort's spokesperson, wanted his old friend, Manafort, to help Trump's campaign deal with potential challenges at the convention. After reading the packet, Trump requested a one-on-one meeting with Manafort. Manafort began by telling the candidate he lived on an upper floor of Trump Tower.<sup>56</sup>

**March 28, 2016:** Trump, girding for a long battle over presidential delegates and a potential floor fight at the GOP convention, hires Paul Manafort to lead his delegate-corralling efforts.<sup>57</sup> Manafort, who owned a condo in Trump Tower, is a former business partner of Roger Stone, a Trump adviser.<sup>58</sup> In Nov. 2019, Stone is convicted of tampering with a witness and lying to Congress about his efforts to learn of hacked Democratic emails.<sup>59</sup>

**End of March or Early April (dates unknown), 2016:** Andriy Telizhenko, a third secretary in the political section in the Ukrainian Embassy in Washington, would later claim this is the period in which he is approached by Alexandra Chalupa, a DNC consultant.<sup>60</sup>

**April 20, 2016:** A DNC consultant, Alexandra Chalupa, received a pop-up warning from Yahoo saying her account was under threat from state-sponsored hackers, according to a screengrab she later circulated among colleagues. By the second half of April, the DNC's senior leadership was beginning to realize something was amiss, according to AP.<sup>61</sup> Chalupa's message stands out as the first public indication that the reach of the hackers who penetrated the DNC had extended beyond the official email accounts of committee officials to include their private email and potentially the content on their smartphones.<sup>62</sup>



**May 3, 2016:** An e-mail message within a later Wikileaks dump of DNC data suggests that the Yahoo account of one DNC staffer may have been specifically targeted by Russian hackers.

Alexandra Chalupa, a DNC consultant who was also researching Manafort's activities in Ukraine, sent the DNC communications director an email showing a warning message she received from Yahoo Mail. Chalupa wrote, "Since I started digging into Manafort these messages have been a daily occurrence on my yahoo account despite changing my password often." The warning message from Yahoo Mail stated, "We strongly suspect that your account has been the target of state-sponsored actors." Sean Gallagher, Ars Technica's IT and National Security Editor, later wrote that Chalupa may have been targeted using data from one of the Yahoo breaches or a forged cookie based on stolen Yahoo code.<sup>63</sup>

**May 12, 2016:** Former Interior Minister Yuriy Lutsenko was appointed Ukraine's new Prosecutor General. Lawmakers voted by to approve Lutsenko's candidacy, after removing the need for nominees to the chief prosecutor's post to hold a law degree and reducing required legal experience. Some lawmakers shouted "shame" as the bill passed, while others alleged procedural violations.<sup>64</sup> Soon after his appointment, Lutsenko began feuding with other law enforcement agencies, notably the National Anti-Corruption Bureau.<sup>65</sup>



**May 19, 2016:** Trump elevated Paul Manafort to campaign chairman.<sup>66</sup>

**June 1, 2016:** BuzzFeed News later reported that, following his Jan. 2017 interview with Politico where he accused the Ukrainian embassy of helping the DNC, Andrii Telizhenko said that he felt pressured to resign from the Ukrainian embassy in Washington and returned to Kyiv.<sup>67</sup> However, his employment at the embassy actually, according to his own later account, ended on June 1, 2016.

**June 20, 2016:** Paul Manafort becomes the head of Trump's campaign after campaign manager Corey Lewandowski is fired.<sup>68</sup> Deputy Assistant Attorney General Bruce Swartz, of DOJ's criminal division, would later say he was concerned when the Trump Campaign named Manafort as its manager. Swartz had a long standing interest in the investigation and prosecution of Manafort, dating to at least Feb. 2014.<sup>69</sup>

**Sometime around June (date unknown), 2016:** Paul Manafort becomes aware that the "black ledger" story was going to come out. In Aug. 2016, Manafort told Steve Bannon that "he had known about the story coming out for approximately 2 months [which would be June] and had not gotten involved in it."<sup>70</sup>

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**July (exact dates unknown), 2016:** Andriy Artemenko, a Ukrainian lawmaker, traveled to Cleveland for the Republican National Convention, seizing on the chance to meet with members of Trump's campaign. Artemenko later told the NY Times he saw in Trump an opportunity to advocate a plan for peace in Ukraine — and help advance his own political career. Artemenko spent two and a half years in jail in Kiev in the early 2000s on embezzlement charges, later dropped, which he said had been politically motivated.<sup>71</sup>

**July 22, 2016:** WikiLeaks released a trove of nearly 20,000 emails, providing an embarrassing inside look at Democratic Party operations on the eve of the Democrats' national convention.<sup>72</sup> This batch of emails includes some emails from Alexandra Chalupa, a DNC consultant who was also researching Manafort's activities in Ukraine. According to an email later reviewed by Politico, on the same day WikiLeaks began publishing stolen DNC documents, Chalupa was offered a position as an "embedded consultant" in Ukraine's Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In Nov. 2019, Chalupa mused in an interview with Politico about how Republicans would be reacting now if she'd actually taken a job in Ukraine that required her to shuttle back and forth from Kyiv to D.C. during the 2016 campaign. "I never responded to it [the job offer]," Chalupa said. "Felt it was a trap."<sup>73</sup>

**August 14, 2016:** Ukrainian officials reveal the existence of a handwritten ledger suggesting that Paul Manafort had received off-the-books payments from Yanukovich's political party to the tune of millions of dollars.<sup>74</sup> The New York Times published an article alleging that Ukraine's National Anti-Corruption Bureau had discovered a so-called black ledger detailing \$12.7 million in secret payments to Manafort to help Viktor Yanukovich, the pro-Moscow president of Ukraine who was toppled in 2014.<sup>75</sup>

**August 17, 2016:** Ukrainian activists held a protest in central Kyiv accusing the country's powerful prosecutors of obstructing the National Anti-Corruption Bureau (NABU). Some 100 protesters gathered outside the office of prosecutor-general Yuriy Lutsenko holding posters saying: "Lutsenko, don't stay silent! Your prosecutors are criminals!" The anti-corruption agency accused Lutsenko's prosecutors of illegally detaining two of its officers and using physical violence against them as they carried out an undercover investigation. And it was NABU that had just confirmed that payments in so-called black ledger were earmarked for Paul Manafort.<sup>76</sup>

**August 19, 2016:** Ukrainian lawmaker Serhiy Leshchenko (later a direct target of Rudy Giuliani) held a news conference in Kyiv to detail the existence of a notebook found in a burned-out room in the headquarters of Ukraine's former ruling political party. The book revealed a list of purported secret payments made by Ukraine's former pro-Russia president, Viktor Yanukovich, to Paul Manafort.<sup>77</sup>





**August 19, 2016:** CNN reported that the Justice Department and FBI were investigating Paul Manafort's firm's ties to Viktor Yanukovich. That same day, Trump "accepted" Manafort's resignation as campaign chairman.<sup>78</sup>

**August 29, 2016:** Marie L. Yovanovitch presented her credentials as the new U.S. ambassador to Ukraine. Shortly after taking up her post, Yovanovitch went to meet Ukrainian Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko in his office and complained that his deputies were stained by corruption, two Ukrainian officials familiar with the encounter later told the NY Times. The ambassador then pressed Lutsenko further, the officials said, asking him to stop investigating anti-corruption activists who were supported by the American Embassy and had criticized his work. Lutsenko said he snapped at Yovanovitch that "no one is going to dictate to me" who should be investigated, prompting the ambassador to storm out of the meeting. The NY Times later reported that, in the months to come — as the ambassador stepped up her criticism of Ukraine's faltering efforts to root out corruption — Lutsenko's personal animus toward Yovanovitch grew.<sup>79</sup>

**September 8, 2016:** RT America, a television network controlled by the Russian government, broadcasts an interview in which Larry King asked Trump about reports that Russia had hacked computer networks controlled by Democrats. Trump said he wasn't convinced. "I've been hearing about it," he said. "I've been reading about it. I think it's probably unlikely. I think maybe the Democrats are putting that out. Who knows? I think it's pretty unlikely."<sup>80</sup>

**September 14, 2016:** In a Newsweek article about the Trump Organization's foreign business deals, a former company executive told Newsweek the Trump Organization has maintained close relations with Ukrainian-Russian developer Pavel Fuks (who would later have business deals with both Giuliani and former Ukrainian Embassy employee Andriy Telizhenko).<sup>81</sup>

**October 24, 2016:** Lev Parnas made a \$33,400 donation to the Republican National Committee on the same day he donated \$2,700 to Trump's presidential campaign.<sup>82</sup>

**During 2016 campaign:** Rick Gates later told investigators (on April 10, 2018) that Paul Manafort during the 2016 campaign believed a hack of DNC emails was "likely" carried out by Ukrainians, not Russians.<sup>83</sup> According to the FBI's memo of Gates's April 2018 interview, Gates told Mueller's office that the idea that Ukraine was involved was a theory pushed by Konstantin Kilimnik, a longtime associate of Manafort.<sup>84</sup> In federal court, Mueller's prosecutors repeatedly portrayed Kilimnik as "a former Russian intelligence officer" who "has ties to a Russian

intelligence service and had such ties in 2016.”<sup>85</sup> According to the Mueller documents, Gates told investigators that “[Former national security adviser Michael] Flynn was adamant the Russians did not carry out the hack” and that Flynn told Trump that U.S. intelligence “was not capable of figuring it out.” He also said that Manafort said the hack of Democratic emails “was likely carried out by the Ukrainians, not the Russians.” And Gates said Manafort’s theory was “parroted” from Kilimnik, who “also opined the hack could have been perpetrated by Russian operatives in Ukraine.”<sup>86</sup>

**November 5, 2016:** Paul Manafort emailed Jared Kushner, writing, “I am really feeling good about our prospects on Tuesday and focusing on preserving the victory. This memo deals with this concern. I sent this to Reince, and briefed Rick Gates and Hannity.”<sup>87</sup>

**November 5, 2016:** When the Kyiv Post wanted to talk about stalled or non-existent investigations against such public figures as Dmytro Firtash and several others, Yuriy Lutsenko flashed anger and threatened to end the interview. Lutsenko said no one had a right to tell him who to prosecute. “If you’re interested in last names, I’m ending this interview,” he said.<sup>88</sup>

**November 22, 2016:** Paul Manafort, Giuliani, and others met with president-elect Trump’s transition team in Trump Tower.<sup>89</sup>

**December 1, 2016:** “Ukraine seriously complicated the work of Trump’s election campaign headquarters by planting information according to which Paul Manafort, Trump’s campaign chairman, allegedly accepted money from Ukrainian oligarchs,” Maria Zakharova, a spokeswoman for Russia’s Foreign Ministry, said at a press briefing, according to a transcript of her remarks posted on the Foreign Ministry’s website. “All of you have heard this remarkable story,” she told assembled reporters. Zakharova contended that Ukrainian officials were desperate to protect their favorable relationship with the U.S. after having run afoul of Trump — and Manafort — during the campaign. In a follow-up exchange with Politico, Zakharova went further, suggesting that the Ukrainian government was intentionally trying to undermine Trump’s campaign by releasing the so-called “black ledger” naming Manafort. “That’s exactly what it looks like,” she wrote.<sup>90</sup>

**December (dates unknown), 2016:** Andriy Telizhenko, the former political officer in the Ukrainian Embassy, says he unofficially contacted Ukrainian President Poroshenko with the goal of getting Valeriy Chaly, Ukraine’s ambassador to the U.S., removed. But he says Poroshenko didn’t hear him out. He then claims his friends, who knew his Alexandra Chalupa story, were contacted by journalists writing on Ukraine and Telizhenko agreed to talk to them.<sup>91</sup>

**January 6, 2017:** The office of the director of national intelligence released a long-awaited unclassified version of its report for President Obama on what the intelligence agencies said was a multifaceted attempt to influence the 2016 presidential election. The report concluded, among other things: “We assess with high confidence that Russian President Vladimir Putin ordered an influence campaign in 2016 aimed at the US presidential election, the consistent goals of which were to undermine public faith in the US democratic process, denigrate Secretary Clinton, and harm her electability and potential presidency. We further assess Putin and the Russian Government developed a clear preference for President-elect Trump.” The report clearly determined who hacked the DNC, stating, “In July 2015, Russian intelligence

gained access to Democratic National Committee (DNC) networks and maintained that access until at least June 2016.” The report went on to say that, “By their nature, Russian influence campaigns are multifaceted and designed to be deniable because they use a mix of agents of influence, cutouts, front organizations, and false-flag operations.” Russia used those very tactics in Ukraine in 2014.<sup>92</sup>

**January 10, 2017:** A group of ten Senate Republicans and Democrats introduced a bill that would impose a wide range of sanctions on the Russian government not only for alleged interference in the 2016 U.S. presidential election but also for Russian aggression in Syria and Ukraine.<sup>93</sup>

**Early months of 2017:** According to later reporting in the NY Times, Russian intelligence operatives deployed a network of agents in a years-long campaign to essentially frame Ukraine as responsible for Moscow’s own hacking of the 2016 election. Starting at least in 2017, the operatives peddled a mixture of now-debunked conspiracy theories along with established facts to leave an impression that the government in Kyiv, not Moscow, was responsible for the hackings of Democrats and its other interference efforts in 2016, senior intelligence officials later told the NY Times. The Russian intelligence officers conveyed the information to prominent Russians and Ukrainians who then used a range of intermediaries, like oligarchs, businessmen and their associates, to pass the material to American political figures and even some journalists, who were likely unaware of its origin, the officials said. Russian intelligence officers aimed part of their operation at prompting the Ukrainian authorities to investigate the allegations that people in Ukraine tried to tamper with the 2016 American election and to shut down inquiries into corruption by pro-Russian politicians in Ukraine, according to a former official. One target was the Ukrainian “black ledger.”<sup>94</sup> By late-November 2019, Alina Polyakova of the Brookings Institution wrote, “This ‘it was Ukraine narrative’ may go down in history as the most successful disinformation campaign by the Russian intelligence agencies.”<sup>95</sup>

**January 11, 2017:** President-elect Trump conceded for the first time that Russia had carried out cyberattacks against the two major political parties during the presidential election, but he angrily rejected unsubstantiated reports that Moscow had gathered compromising personal and financial information about him that could be used for extortion. Trump compared U.S. intelligence officials to Nazis, sidestepped repeated questions about whether he or anyone in his presidential campaign had had contact with Russia during the campaign, and lashed out at the news media and political opponents, arguing that they were out to get him. “I think it was disgraceful — disgraceful that the intelligence agencies allowed any information that turned out to be so false and fake out. That’s something that Nazi Germany would have done, and did do,” he said. “As far as hacking, I think it was Russia,” Trump said, his first comments accepting the conclusions of U.S. intelligence officials that Moscow had interfered in the election to help him win. But Trump expressed little outrage about that breach and seemed to cast doubt on Russia’s role moments after acknowledging it, asserting that “it could have been others also.” He also quoted a Kremlin denial on Jan. 10, 2017, of reports that it had gathered damaging information to compromise Trump. “They said it totally never happened,” Trump said of President Putin and his government. “I respected the fact that he said that.” Trump, asked at the news conference whether he believed that Putin had directed the hacking effort to help him win the presidency, said, “If Putin likes Donald Trump, I consider that an asset, not a liability, because we have a horrible relationship with Russia.”<sup>96</sup>



**January 11, 2017:** Politico publishes an article titled “Ukrainian efforts to sabotage Trump backfire” in which Andriy Telizhenko, who worked as a political officer in the Ukrainian Embassy, said Oksana Shulyar (one of the top aides to Valeriy Chaly, Ukraine’s ambassador to the U.S.) instructed him to help Alexandra Chalupa, a sometimes DNC consultant, research connections between Trump, Manafort, and Russia.<sup>97</sup> Alina Polyakova, a director and fellow at the Brookings Institute, later told BuzzFeed News that the Politico piece was likely the beginning of the Ukrainian collusion narrative. “To me, this is the origin story of that narrative,” she said. “We’ve seen now Giuliani and people around him pull data points [from the piece] that in a conspiratorial mind look connected but aren’t.”<sup>98</sup> Telizhenko had previously worked in the Ukrainian government and prosecutor general’s office, under Viktor Shokin (who later filed an affidavit on behalf of Dmytro Firtash). Telizhenko went on to become a political consultant in Kyiv. Sometime after leaving the embassy, one of Telizhenko’s clients was Andriy Artemenko, the Ukrainian politician who attended the 2016 Republican National Convention and who at this time was working to push a so-called “Ukrainian peace deal.” His peace deal was a proposal for a negotiated end to hostilities on terms favorable to Russia that Artemenko back-channeled to Trump’s former personal attorney, Michael Cohen, shortly before Trump was inaugurated in 2017.<sup>99</sup> Artemenko also made an appearance in the Jan. 11 Politico article, Artemenko claimed to have met with Trump’s team during the campaign and said he personally offered to set up similar meetings for Chaly but was rebuffed. “It was clear that they were supporting Hillary Clinton’s candidacy,” Artemenko said. “They did everything from organizing meetings with the Clinton team, to publicly supporting her, to criticizing Trump. ... I think that they simply didn’t meet because they thought that Hillary would win.” Valentyn Nalyvaichenko, a Ukrainian former diplomat who served as the country’s head of security under Poroshenko, appears in the Politico article questioning the authenticity of the Black Ledger.<sup>100</sup> Artemenko has claimed that Nalyvaichenko supplied him with the compromising materials on Poroshenko in 2015.<sup>101</sup> The two men are close allies. And Poroshenko once forced a vote for Nalyvaichenko’s resignation through Parliament.<sup>102</sup> And the Kyiv Post reported that an investigation by Radio Svoboda published in October 2015 found that Nalyvaichenko has links with Firtash. In 2009, he made Firtash’s business partner, Valery Khoroshkovsky, his deputy at the SBU. Nalyvaichenko’s advisor in 2014-2015, Markiy Lubkivsky, used to have a managing position in Ukrrestavratsiya, a company controlled by Lovochkin, who is a business partner of Firtash, the investigation found. Nalyvaichenko has denied any links to Firtash. In Oct. 2019, his press representative referred to the reported ties as “rumors.”<sup>103</sup> The story also fits the narrative that Firtash himself would later vocalize. “So that you understand, the Ukrainian embassy [in the U.S.] was working completely for Clinton’s headquarters,” Firtash claimed in March 2019. “Our embassy in America was working completely for Clinton.”<sup>104</sup>

**January 12, 2017:** President-elect Trump named Rudy Giuliani as an informal adviser on cybersecurity, according to the presidential transition office.<sup>105</sup>

**January (about a week before Trump’s inauguration), 2017:** Months after the FBI began examining Paul Manafort, he called Trump’s chief of staff, Reince Priebus. Manafort told Priebus that the Steele dossier was tainted by inaccuracies and by the motivations of the people who initiated it, whom he alleged were Democratic activists and donors working in cahoots with Ukrainian government officials, a GOP operative told Politico. Priebus alerted Trump to the conversation with Manafort, according to the operative familiar with the conversation and a

person close to Trump. Manafort discussed with other Trump allies the possibility of launching a countervailing investigation into efforts by Ukrainian government officials who allegedly worked in conjunction with Clinton allies to damage Trump's campaign, Politico reported.<sup>106</sup>

**January 20, 2017:** Ukrainian politician Andriy Artemenko, quoted earlier in the month in the Politico article on the alleged DNC-Ukraine links, attended Trump's inauguration and visited Congress, posting on Facebook his admiration for Trump and talking up his peace plan in meetings with American lawmakers.<sup>107</sup>



**January 27, 2017:** Michael Cohen, the president's personal lawyer, and his business associate Felix Sater met with Andriy Artemenko, a pro-Russian Ukrainian lawmaker whom Cohen had known for years. Artemenko gave them a purported proposal for a peace deal between Ukraine and Russia — paired with alleged evidence of corruption that he said could be used to discredit Ukraine's president, Poroshenko.<sup>108</sup> Sater is a business associate who helped Trump scout deals in Russia. Artemenko was a Ukrainian lawmaker trying to rise in a political opposition movement shaped in part by Trump's former campaign manager Paul Manafort. Artemenko had also been featured in the Politico piece on Jan. 11 alleging Ukrainian efforts to sabotage Trump's 2016 campaign. Artemenko, who the NY Times said "sees himself as a Trump-style leader of a future Ukraine," claimed to have evidence — "names of companies, wire transfers" — showing corruption by President Poroshenko, that could help oust him. And Artemenko said he had received encouragement for his plans from top aides to Russian President Putin. "A lot of people will call me a Russian agent, a U.S. agent, a C.I.A. agent," Artemenko said. "But how can you find a good solution between our countries if we do not talk?" The NY Times wrote of Artemenko, "Some colleagues in Parliament describe him as corrupt, untrustworthy or simply insignificant, but he appears to have amassed considerable wealth."<sup>109</sup>

**February 2, 2017:** At a press conference, Russian President Vladimir Putin said, “As we all know, during the presidential campaign in the United States, the Ukrainian government adopted a unilateral position in favor of one candidate. More than that, certain oligarchs, certainly with the approval of the political leadership, funded this candidate, or female candidate, to be more precise.”<sup>110</sup>

**Early February (date uncertain), 2017:** A week before Michael T. Flynn resigned (on Feb. 13) as national security adviser, a sealed proposal was hand-delivered to his office, outlining a way for President Trump to lift sanctions against Russia. The proposal, a peace plan for Ukraine and Russia, was being pushed by Michael D. Cohen, who delivered the document, on behalf of Andriy Artemenko. Cohen and Sater said they had not spoken to Trump about the proposal. When Cohen met with Trump in the Oval Office in early February, he said, he left the proposal in Flynn’s office. Cohen said he was waiting for a response when Flynn was forced from his post.<sup>111</sup> (Cohen walked back his story after the meeting was exposed by the Times, insisting that he had thrown the plan in the garbage.)<sup>112</sup> Essentially, Artemenko’s plan would require the withdrawal of all Russian forces from eastern Ukraine. Ukrainian voters would decide in a referendum whether Crimea, the Ukrainian territory seized by Russia in 2014, would be leased to Russia for a term of 50 or 100 years. The Ukrainian ambassador, Valeriy Chaly, who Artemenko had criticized in Politico a month before, rejected a lease of that kind. “It is a gross violation of the Constitution,” he said in written answers to questions from The Times. “Such ideas can be pitched or pushed through only by those openly or covertly representing Russian interests.”<sup>113</sup>

**February 16, 2017:** In op-eds and interviews, Dmytro Firtash has explained his belief that Ukraine should be like Switzerland, a neutral bridge between East and West, with allegiances neither to Russia nor to Europe and the U.S. “What is Trump doing?” Firtash says in an interview published by Bloomberg on Feb. 16. “He’s saying, ‘We need to make our own production. We will sell what we produce. We will give you loans, and you will serve the loans and give the money back to us.’ I perfectly understand what he’s saying. That signal is clear to me. Ukraine is a small country, and clearly we cannot do like the U.S., but I understand what he’s doing.”<sup>114</sup> Firtash later, in March 2019, blamed the Americans for the Maidan revolution which deposed Yanukovich. He refers to it as “the uprising,” calls it a Western-fomented coup, and said Americans basically started running the country after the revolution. And he said it scared the Russians into invading the Crimea and part of eastern Ukraine.<sup>115</sup>

**February 20, 2017:** The Kremlin claims it had no prior knowledge of a Ukrainian lawmaker’s Andriy Artemenko’s peace plan for Ukraine, and called it absurd anyway. The NY Times reported that Artemenko had sent a proposal to Trump associates. The mooted plan would entail Russian forces withdrawing from eastern Ukraine and Ukrainian voters deciding in a referendum whether Crimea would be leased to Russia for a term of 50 or 100 years.<sup>116</sup>

**February 20, 2017:** The Ukrainian publication Strana.ua ran an interview with Andriy Artemenko (Note: Translated excerpts here). In the interview, Artemenko says, “I have long been familiar with these people close to Trump.” Also saying, “And with [Michael] Cohen and [Felix] Sater, I started discussing it at the primaries stage, when no one believed that Trump would even become a candidate, not to mention the presidency.” “And already at that time I

began to establish channels of communication with the team of Donald Trump,” Artemenko explained. He passed “kompromat,” or compromising material, against Ukrainian President Poroshenko to the Trump administration because he wanted to force early elections in Ukraine, including for president. “Only external pressure can force it,” Artemenko said. “And to be precise, then only Donald Trump. Trump is the only person in the world whom Poroshenko is afraid of.”<sup>117</sup>

**February 20, 2017:** Ukrainian Radical Party leader Oleh Lyashko told journalists in parliament that Andriy Artemenko had been expelled from the party.<sup>118</sup>

**February 20, 2017:** “If the Trump administration is working with [Andriy] Artemenko, they're complete idiots,” Kristina Berdyskykh, a prominent Ukrainian investigative journalist who has interviewed Artemenko, told Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty. However, Oleksandr Onyshchenko, a self-exiled legislator and onetime member of the pro-Russian Party of Regions faction loyal to Yanukovich and linked to Paul Manafort, told RFE/RL that he knows Artemenko “well” and that he is an “independent” man. Onyshchenko, at the time had been stripped of his parliamentary immunity and was being sought by Ukrainian authorities for alleged embezzlement involving a state-owned gas company.<sup>119</sup>

**February 21, 2017:** An Austrian court approved a U.S. extradition request for Dmytro Firtash. Extradition, however, was still not a certainty.<sup>120</sup> He was arrested following the decision.

**February 21, 2017:** Ukrainian Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko revealed that Ukrainian prosecutors launched a criminal investigation of Andriy Artemenko, suspecting treason. The preliminary charges read that Artemenko, backed by Russia, betrayed Ukraine by promoting abroad the openly pro-Russian idea of leasing Crimea, thereby aiding the aggressor state.<sup>121</sup>

**February 24, 2017:** An Austria judge ordered the release of Dmytro Firtash. The court in Vienna said it found no reason to keep him custody because he had already handed in his passport and paid bail of 125 million euros when he was first detained in 2014.<sup>122</sup>

**March 21, 2017:** New corruption allegations lodged in Ukraine against Paul Manafort. The new allegations against Manafort were leveled by Serhiy Leshchenko, a lawmaker and journalist (and later a target of both Giuliani and John Solomon). Leshchenko released a copy of what he said was an invoice on letterhead from Manafort's consulting company, based in Alexandria, Va., dated Oct. 14, 2009, to a Belize-based company for \$750,000 for the sale of 501 computers. On the same day, Manafort's name is listed next to a \$750,000 entry in the “black ledger” released by anti-corruption investigators in August 2016. Leshchenko alleged that Manafort falsified an invoice to the Belize company to legitimize the \$750,000 payment to himself.<sup>123</sup>

**March 24, 2017:** In an interview with ZIK TV channel, Andriy Artemenko admitted that he has known Dmytro Firtash for many years and allowed the oligarch to use an aircraft owned by his company.<sup>124</sup>

**April 21, 2017:** President Trump for the first time floats a theory that Ukraine might have played a role in falsely fingering Russia for its 2016 election interference. “[The Democrats] get hacked,

and the FBI goes to see them, and they won't let the FBI see their server," Trump tells AP. When AP asked "CrowdStrike?" Trump responded, "That's what I heard. I heard it's owned by a very rich Ukrainian, that's what I heard. But they brought in another company to investigate the server."<sup>125</sup> Fiona Hill later said that National Security Advisor H.R. McMaster and Homeland Security Advisor Tom Bossert "spent a lot of time" warning Trump that "the alternative theory" about Ukraine interfering in the 2016 election was false. Hill said it "was a debunked theory."<sup>126</sup>

**April 28, 2017:** President Trump again brings up the conspiracy theory in an interview with the Washington Examiner. Trump said, "The Russia is a faux story. It's made up." Later adding, "And somebody had mentioned — and this may be incorrect — a company that's owned by somebody from the Ukraine. You've heard that, I assume you've heard that? But John Podesta and his brother, why aren't they asking about that? The Russia story is a faux story."<sup>127</sup>

**May (date unknown), 2017:** Giuliani Security & Safety inked a contract with the city administration of Kharkiv, Ukraine, to streamline municipal emergency services, according to the company. A person familiar with the negotiations said Pavel Fuks, a Kharkiv native who had made a fortune in Russian real estate, paid the contract.<sup>128</sup> "[Fuks] was [a] sponsor of a preliminary study that my firm did of security and emergency management in Kharkiv and some on advice on a planned Holocaust Memorial," Giuliani said in a Jan. 2019 text message to Mother Jones. A Ukrainian magazine, Novoye Vremya, reported in 2018 that Fuks said he retained Giuliani to "create a U.S. office for supporting investment in" Kharkiv. When asked about Fuks' claim, Giuliani told Mother Jones, "I have no knowledge of that."<sup>129</sup> About a decade earlier, Fuks had negotiated with Trump to license the Trump brand for a tower that Fuks was building, with other partners, in the Russian capital's Moscow City, Fuks said at the time. The deal didn't come together.<sup>130</sup> Andriy Telizhenko — who in Jan. 2017 told Politico a story of collusion between the Democrats and Ukraine and later repeatedly fed information to Giuliani — has said that he also does consulting work for Fuks — "advising him about international relations."<sup>131</sup> TriGlobal Strategic Ventures claims to have facilitated introduction between the City of Kharkiv and Giuliani Security & Safety. The company also said it would be involved in future cooperation between the two parties.<sup>132</sup>

**May 5, 2017:** Andriy Artemenko, a Ukrainian lawmaker whose plan to resolve the conflict in Ukraine reportedly wound up on the desk of then-U.S. national security adviser Michael Flynn, has been stripped of his citizenship by presidential decree, Ukraine's State Migration Service says. The migration service said in a statement that President Poroshenko had terminated Artemenko's Ukrainian citizenship over the lawmaker's voluntary acceptance of foreign citizenship. Artemenko had previously acknowledged that he holds Canadian citizenship.<sup>133</sup>

**May 10, 2017:** Vice President Pence expressed the Trump administration's "unwavering support" for Ukraine's sovereignty in a meeting with Ukrainian Foreign Minister Pavlo Klimkin. The meeting took place the same day that President Trump was meeting with Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov. Trump's meeting with Lavrov was aimed at fulfilling his campaign pledge to improve relations with Russia, while Pence's meeting with Klimkin appeared aimed at assuring Kyiv that better relations with Moscow would not come at Ukraine's expense.<sup>134</sup> Ukrainian Ambassador to the U.S. Valeriy Chaly also participated at the meetings.<sup>135</sup>

**May 12, 2017:** Sputnik, the government-funded news agency in Russia, reports that Ukrainian MP Andriy Artemenko claimed that Kyiv paid lobbyists \$400,000 to arrange Foreign Minister Pavlo Klimkin's meeting with Trump and Pence, which Artemenko said lasted only six minutes. Artemenko added that the meeting had not been planned in advance, but was arranged to compensate for the meeting between President Trump and Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov, which took place earlier in the day. Klimkin denied that the Foreign Ministry paid lobbyists for the meeting. "I definitely do not use lobbyists or others for organizing meetings," Klimkin said.<sup>136</sup>

**May 16, 2017:** Ukraine's parliament terminated the powers of independent MP Andriy Artemenko. Parliament resolution No. 6445 says Artemenko's people's deputy powers have been terminated "in connection with the termination of his Ukrainian citizenship."<sup>137</sup>

**May 22, 2017:** The Prosecutor General's Office of Ukraine has not notified Dmytro Firtash of suspicion in any crime, Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko said. "We have serious cases related to the enterprises of Firtash. As of now, no procedural suspicion has been announced to him," he told journalists in Kyiv.<sup>138</sup>

**June 7, 2017:** Giuliani visited Kyiv to give a speech for the Victor Pinchuk Foundation, headed by a prominent Ukrainian oligarch, Victor Pinchuk.<sup>139</sup> Pinchuk paid Giuliani to speak at the conference, much to the annoyance of fellow oligarch Pavel Fuks, who thought his deal with Giuliani was exclusive. "I didn't advise them" on anything, Giuliani later told BloombergQuint, declining to comment on his lecture fee. "It was nothing to do with President Trump."<sup>140</sup>

**June 8, 2017:** Giuliani meets with Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko and Yuriy Lutsenko, according to a later-released House investigation.<sup>141</sup>

**June 9, 2017:** Ukrayinska Pravda publishes an article about President Poroshenko's inner circle in which participants in Poroshenko's "emergency meetings" admit off the record that the prosecutor-general, Yuriy Lutsenko, has serious ambitions. "Oh, Lutsenko's ambitions are very big. He is like [then Ukrainian Prime Minister Volodymyr Groysman]. Only Volodya [Groysman] already sees himself as [Poroshenko's] successor, while Lutsenko first sees himself as prime minister and only then a successor," a source said.<sup>142</sup>

**June 15, 2017:** Ukraine's investigation of the so-called "black ledger" that listed alleged illicit payments to Paul Manafort was transferred from an anti-corruption bureau, known as NABU, to Poroshenko's prosecutor general, Yuriy Lutsenko, according to a report in the Kyiv Post. The paper quoted Viktor Trepak, former deputy head of the country's security service, saying: "It is clear for me that somebody gave an order to bury the black ledger."<sup>143</sup>

**June 20, 2017:** President Trump met with President Poroshenko at the White House. Poroshenko first met with Vice President Pence and then, briefly, enjoyed a "drop-in" visit with Trump. The brief visit appeared to be a departure for the Trump White House, which has been featuring one-on-one meetings with presidents big and small, sometimes followed by a joint press conference — and certainly not relegating foreign heads of state to drop-ins.<sup>144</sup> Trump was initially opposed to meeting Poroshenko, who had been scheduled only to meet with Pence, two people involved in the planning later told the Wall Street Journal. Still, White House



advisers believed the presidents should have at least a quick photo op and meeting as a show of support, particularly since Trump had granted an unscheduled visit to two top Russian diplomats the month before.<sup>145</sup> Giuliani, who met with Poroshenko less than two weeks prior, said he had nothing to do with setting up the encounter.<sup>146</sup>

**June 27, 2017:** In commenting on the allegation that Manafort had received money from the Party of Regions, Ukrainian Special Anticorruption Prosecutor's Office Nazar Kholodnytsky (who would later pass information to Giuliani and John Solomon) said on the ZIK television channel that the case was handled by the Ukrainian National Anticorruption Bureau (NABU). "But we didn't obtain any evidence of Manafort's involvement. I am only stating facts. There is no proof regarding Manafort," he said. The allegations about Manafort's irregularities are merely a PR stunt launched before the inquiry had been opened and based on something that the inquiry did not prove, Kholodnytsky said.<sup>147</sup> On the same day in the U.S., Manafort himself disclosed that his consulting firm had received more than \$17 million over two years from the Party of Regions, a Ukrainian political party with links to the Kremlin. The filing serves as a retroactive admission that Manafort performed work in the United States on behalf of a foreign power without disclosing it at the time, as required by law.<sup>148</sup>

**Early Summer (date unknown), 2017:** A source with direct knowledge of the matter later told Vox that the White House adopted Paul Manafort's recommendation in the summer of 2017 to specifically target Alexandra Chalupa, a political strategist and consultant for the DNC, for allegedly working with Ukrainian officials to hurt Trump's candidacy.<sup>149</sup>

**July 10, 2017:** White House press secretary Sarah Sanders encouraged reporters to investigate the DNC and the Ukrainian Embassy. In an off-camera briefing, Sanders said: "Frankly, I think something that may make sense is looking at the Democrat National Committee coordinated opposition research directly with the Ukrainian Embassy. This is not an accusation, that's an on-the-record action that they took. So if you're looking for an example of a campaign coordinating with a foreign country or a foreign source, look no further than the DNC who actually coordinated opposition research with the Ukrainian Embassy."<sup>150</sup>

**July 11, 2017:** On his radio show, Rush Limbaugh said, "We know for a fact that the Hillary campaign was getting oppo research on Trump from the Ukrainian government, and that led to Paul Manafort being fired as campaign manager." Limbaugh continued, "We have proof that the Ukrainians were trying to sabotage Trump. We have proof that they were trying to help Hillary Clinton and that when Trump wins, they backed off, they begged forgiveness and wanted to become friends with Trump so that he would not pay them back."<sup>151</sup>

**July 13, 2017:** The Internet Research Agency (IRA) is a Russian disinformation actor and it was active in the 2016 campaign. IRA activity released by Twitter shows. "Where's the outrage over Clinton and her campaign team's collusion with Ukraine to interfere in the US election?" tweeted @USA\_Gunslinger on July 13, 2017, one of the IRA's main fake-conservative accounts.<sup>152</sup>

**July 24, 2017:** In a letter to Ukraine's prosecutor general Yuriy Lutsenko, Andrei Derkach, an independent MP who was formerly aligned with a pro-Russian party (the Party of Regions with ties to Paul Manafort), requested that authorities launch a pretrial investigation into "illegal interference in the election of President of the United States organized by a criminal

organization.” This organization, Derkach said, consisted of senior members of the country’s National Anti-Corruption Bureau, government officials, and other public figures. Derkach’s accusations center around reports, first published in Politico in January 2017, that alleged Ukrainian politicians and diplomats may have cooperated with Alexandra Chalupa, a former DNC consultant, to hamper Trump’s candidacy and bolster Clinton’s presidential bid. Derkach also claimed that the campaign against candidate Trump included the disclosure of the Black Ledger.<sup>153</sup> Derkach has close ties to Lutsenko.<sup>154</sup> And Derkach’s father was a KGB officer and Derkach himself was once a student of the Academy of KGB in Moscow.<sup>155</sup>

**July 24, 2017:** Senate Judiciary Committee Chairman Chuck Grassley (R-IA) wrote to Deputy Attorney General Rod Rosenstein using the Jan. 2017 Politico article to suggest that Ukrainian “political leadership” worked with DNC consultant Alexandra Chalupa to undermine Trump’s campaign. Grassley claimed, based solely on the Politico article, that Chalupa’s actions were in violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA).<sup>156</sup>

**July 24, 2017:** On Fox News, Hannity said, “And as we have been telling you about, there is the issue of possible Ukrainian election collusion. Now, the scandal revolves around one-time DNC operative, along with the Ukrainian government officials -- they worked during the campaign to hurt Donald Trump, to help Hillary Clinton. Are we ever going to look into that?”<sup>157</sup>

**July 25, 2017:** President Trump tweets about “Ukrainian efforts to sabotage Trump campaign” and asks, “So where is the investigation A.G.?” — referring to Attorney General Jeff Sessions.<sup>158</sup> According to Bob Woodward’s book “Fear: Trump in the White House,” National Security Advisor H. R. McMaster said, of Trump’s tweet, it was clearly Russian propaganda. McMaster and the NSC and intelligence experts had concluded that, but the president had picked it up and shot it out. Woodward then wrote that McMaster said he wasn’t sure how long he could stay.<sup>159</sup> Fiona Hill later said, “It is a fiction that the Ukrainian Government was launching an effort to upend our election, upend our election to mess with our Democratic systems.”<sup>160</sup> Andriy Telizhenko, the former political officer in the Ukrainian Embassy in Washington featured in a January 2017 piece in Politico alleging a Ukrainian-Democratic plot, later commented on the McMaster anecdote from Woodward’s book. In Sept. 2018, on Russia’s Radio Sputnik, Telizhenko suggested McMaster’s comments were part of an effort to destroy the Trump administration and that people around Trump, inside his administration, were blocking Telizhenko’s efforts.<sup>161</sup>

**July 25, 2017:** In federal court documents, the Department of Justice describes Dmytro Firtash as an “upper echelon (associate) of Russian organized crime.” While purported ties between Firtash and Russian organized crime have been raised in the past, the court filing was the most explicit and public yet by the Justice Department.<sup>162</sup>

**July 25, 2017:** In an application for a search warrant for Paul Manafort’s condo in Alexandria, Virginia, the FBI referenced Manafort’s past association with Dmytro Firtash (although his name was first redacted when the application was unsealed).<sup>163</sup>

**August 9, 2017:** Matthew Whitaker, who then headed a conservative advocacy group, the Foundation for Accountability and Civic Trust (FACT), but would later become Trump’s Acting Attorney General, filed a complaint with the Federal Election Commission alleging that the DNC

and Alexandra Chalupa, one of its consultants, had violated federal election law. Whitaker's complaint claimed that Chalupa had broken the law when she met with officials at the Ukrainian Embassy in Washington, D.C., during the 2016 presidential election to find out what, if anything, diplomats there knew about Paul Manafort's work as a political adviser to a former Ukrainian president and political party that wanted their country to cut ties with the West and align Ukraine with Vladimir Putin's Russia. One former Trump administration official and one current one told Murray Waas, at the NY Review of Books, that Whitaker filed the complaint only after the White House encouraged him to do so, encouraging him to target Chalupa directly.<sup>164</sup> The FEC appears to have taken no action on the complaint.

**August 10, 2017:** Following a security briefing, President Trump remarked that "the Democrats colluded on the Ukraine. So they colluded. And then, when you get down to it, why isn't the FBI looking at the DNC server?"<sup>165</sup>

**August 11, 2017:** In a supportive text exchange with Paul Manafort, Sean Hannity mentions "Ukraine interference" as one of the issues he will continue to talk about on his programs.<sup>166</sup>

**August 30, 2017:** Matthew Whitaker, later Trump's Acting Attorney General, writes an editorial in The Hill in which he details the Foundation for Accountability and Civic Trust's complaint against Alexandra Chalupa and the DNC. "The DNC/Ukraine connection is serious, and the public deserves answers," Whitaker writes.<sup>167</sup>

**September 21, 2017:** President Trump met with President Poroshenko in a bilateral meeting at the UN General Assembly. Just before the meeting, former U.S. officials later told the Washington Post, Trump peppered US Special Envoy for Ukraine Kurt Volker with his negative views of Ukraine, suggesting that it wasn't a "real country," that it had always been a part of Russia, and that it was "totally corrupt."<sup>168</sup>

**October 30, 2017:** An indictment against Paul Manafort and his longtime business associated, Rick Gates, was unsealed. Manafort was released on \$10 million bond and placed on house arrest.<sup>169</sup> Manafort was indicted on charges of failing to register as an agent of former pro-Russian Ukrainian President Viktor Yanukovich, a close ally of both Firtash and Putin, and of laundering payments from Ukraine to evade taxes.<sup>170</sup>

**October 31, 2017:** In a TIME article, Dmytro Firtash is quoted praising Paul Manafort. "I can tell you he's a real specialist," said Firtash, whom TIME called "Manafort's friend." "[Manafort] won three elections in Ukraine. He knew what he was doing," said Firtash.<sup>171</sup>

**November 3, 2017:** Yuriy Lutsenko took further steps to slow walk the Ukrainian cases related to the Mueller investigation, according to later reporting in the NY Times.<sup>172</sup> "In the U.S., within a few months a special prosecutor brings concrete well-founded charges against Manafort, confirming cash flows through his offshore accounts," Daria Kaleniuk, executive director of the Anti-Corruption Action Center, told the Kyiv Post. "In Ukraine, more than a year after the 'Black Ledger' investigation began, the Anti-Corruption Prosecutor's Office can't bring charges against a single suspect for whom there is evidence collected by the NABU, and decides to send the 'Black Ledger' investigation to the graveyard of criminal cases: the Prosecutor General's Office." Lutsenko's Prosecutor General's Office had brought no charges against Manafort. "Ukrainian

authorities are trying to forget (Manafort's) name so as not to anger Trump," lawmaker Serhiy Leshchenko told the Kyiv Post.<sup>173</sup>

**On and around November 19, 2017:** Giuliani visited the eastern Ukrainian city of Kharkiv.<sup>174</sup> Kharkiv Mayor Gennadiy Kernes. Kernes was once a leading figure in ousted pro-Russian President Viktor Yanukovych's Party of Regions.<sup>175</sup> Giuliani later defended his work with Kernes. Kernes uses a wheelchair after nearly being killed by an unidentified gunman in 2014. His allies have blamed Russian President Putin for the attack, an allegation the Russian government has denied. "I wasn't concerned about them, because he just got his legs blown off by Putin," Giuliani said in July 2018, referring to alleged links between Moscow and Kernes. "Maybe those ties were before."<sup>176</sup> Giuliani's work in Kharkiv was reportedly mostly paid for by Ukrainian real estate developer Pavel Fuks (Mayor Kernes longtime friend) to consult with the city on security and emergency management, according to the U.S. news outlet Mother Jones. Fuks was born in Kharkiv but made his fortune in Moscow, where he claims to have negotiated with Trump personally over his plans to build a Trump Tower in Moscow. Fuks is reported to have paid \$200,000 for what he thought would be VIP tickets to Trump's inauguration but ended up filing a lawsuit against the Republican fundraiser Yuri Vanetik after the tickets failed to materialize.<sup>177</sup> Fuks said he'd hired Giuliani to give back to his hometown. "Giuliani's company provides lobbying services, and they are very strong in security," he said. "He's a star."<sup>178</sup> Fuks later dismissed a local press report that Giuliani received \$400,000 just to give a speech during the trip. Fuks recalled talking to Giuliani about relations between the U.S. and Ukraine: "He said, 'Ukraine is our partner, we will help.' He has a very positive attitude toward Ukraine, so he undertook to lobby for us." Giuliani has insisted he doesn't lobby.<sup>179</sup> Giuliani arrived in Kharkiv on a private jet owned by Ukrainian-American billionaire Alex Rovt. In 2011, Rovt sold the majority of his agribusiness and fertilizer holdings to billionaire Ukrainian natural gas mogul, Dmytro Firtash. And, according to NBC, Rovt is one of the main financiers behind a Spruce Capital subsidiary that loaned \$3.5 million in 2016 to Paul Manafort weeks after he resigned as manager of Trump's presidential campaign.<sup>180</sup>

**November 22, 2017:** Giuliani met with Ukraine President Poroshenko in Kyiv.<sup>181</sup> In Nov. 2019, Poroshenko said Giuliani did not raise the issue of investigation regarding Burisma or Hunter Biden during the Nov. 2017 meeting.<sup>182</sup> Giuliani said the main purpose of the meeting was to get Poroshenko's approval for the emergency services project in Kharkiv. "We met [Giuliani] as a friend of Trump," Kostiantyn Yelisieiev, the chief foreign policy adviser to Poroshenko, has said.<sup>183</sup> Giuliani said he was in the country, for his second visit in less than a year, as a private citizen to advise Kharkiv on security. But he was also serving at the time as President Trump's cybersecurity adviser, and Ukrainian TV headlined it as a "visit by Trump's adviser."<sup>184</sup>



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**November 29, 2017:** Ukrainian anticorruption operatives, aided by agents from the U.S. FBI, were closing in on an alleged criminal gang of government officials when the tables were suddenly turned. An undercover operative for the National Anti-Corruption Bureau (NABU) was discussing a \$30,000 bribe with a senior official when agents from two other law-enforcement bodies that answer to Ukraine’s president swooped in and detained him. The General Prosecutor’s Office, led by Yuriy Lutsenko, accused the operative of illegal entrapment and publicly unmasked several agents, wrecking the operation that was launched in April 2017 following a tip that a ring of officials at the State Migration Service allegedly furnished passports and other documents illegally for cash. “These actions appear to be part of an effort to undermine independent anti-corruption institutions,” the U.S. State Department said.<sup>185</sup> According to the NY Times, the anti-corruption bureau investigated previously untouchable tycoons and politicians, including several of Lutsenko’s subordinates. These actions — and the praise they received from Ambassador Yovanovitch — infuriated Lutsenko, reinforcing his animosity toward the ambassador and his determination to put the rival agency in its place.<sup>186</sup>

**December 3, 2017:** Yuriy Lutsenko, appeared on television in Ukraine accusing the National Anti-Corruption Bureau (NABU) of acting outside the law and questioned the FBI’s activities in the country. “A joint operation, as [NABU Director Artem Sytnyk] puts it, is an absolutely illegal action without the relevant legal procedures,” he said. NABU said the FBI was working in Ukraine under a nearly two-year-old agreement that it published on its website. “[We] have found their staff to be professional and trustworthy,” the FBI told The Wall Street Journal.<sup>187</sup> Lutsenko posted pictures of undercover agents involved on the internet, and the case collapsed. “For this alone [Lutsenko] should go to jail,” Anatoly S. Hrytsenko, a former Ukrainian minister of defense, later said.<sup>188</sup> George Kent would later say that this was “the breaking point of our disillusionment with Yuriy Lutsenko.” Kent said that Lutsenko “was essentially colluding with a corrupt official to undermine the investigation” and that Lutsenko’s actions threatened U.S. security.<sup>189</sup>

**December 6, 2017:** The U.S. State Department said that recent events in Ukraine, including the disruption of a high-level corruption investigation and the arrest of NABU officials raised concerns about its commitment to fighting corruption. “These actions ... undermine public trust and risk eroding international support for Ukraine,” a spokeswoman said.<sup>190</sup>

**December (date not specified), 2017:** Yuriy Lutsenko transfers dozens of cases into Yanukovich-era corruption, including the Skadden and Kyrgyz cases against Paul Manafort,

from Sergii Gorbatuk's department to the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine (NABU). Gorbatuk is the former top investigator in charge of EuroMaidan cases and the black ledger case against Manafort.<sup>191</sup>

**December 20, 2017:** A lawyer for Dymitro Firtash said an Austrian Supreme Court recently stayed Firtash's extradition while it rules on a request to reconsider its initial extradition order. The lawyer told a Chicago federal court that it's now unlikely he'll face extradition "in the immediate future."<sup>192</sup>

**February 8, 2018:** Andriy Telizhenko, the former Ukrainian Embassy staffer who accused DNC consultant Alexandra Chalupa of attempting to coordinate with Ukrainian officials, opened a political consulting firm called Golden Lion Strategies, incorporated in Canada.<sup>193</sup>

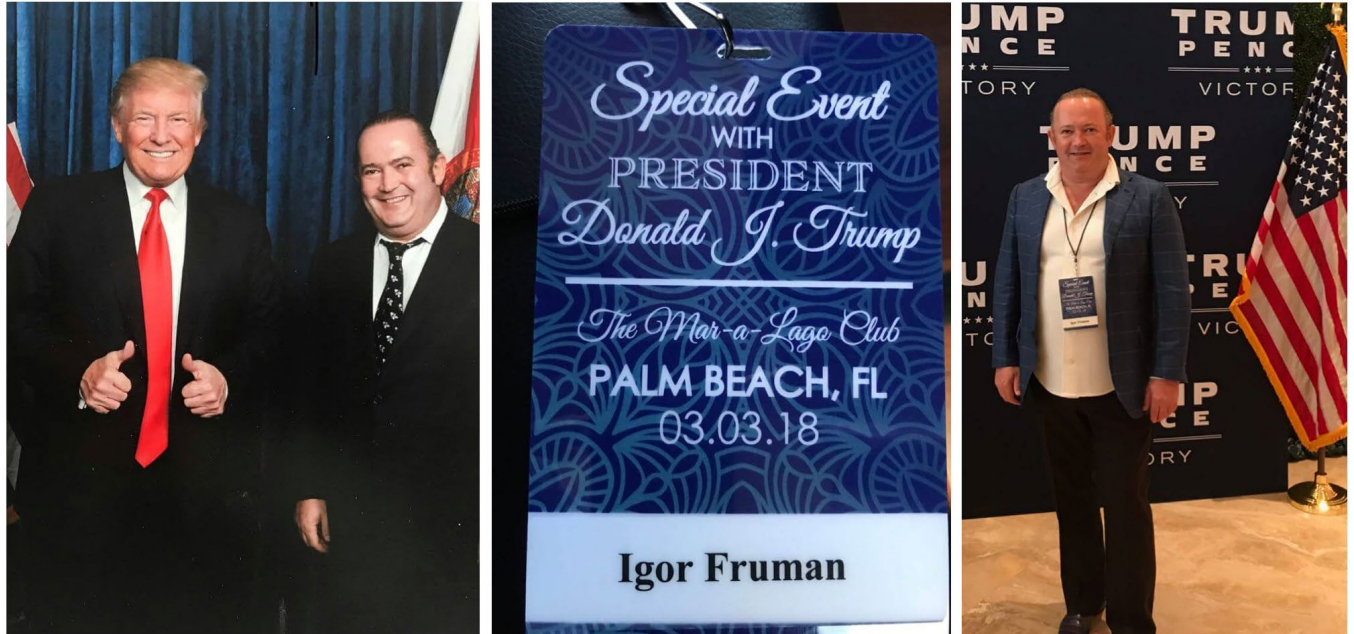
**March (date unspecified), 2018:** According to a later indictment, Lev Parnas and Igor Fruman began attending political fundraising events in connection with federal elections and making substantial contributions to candidates, joint fundraising committees, and independent expenditure committees with the purpose of enhancing their influence in political circles and gaining access to politicians. The indictment says Parnas and Fruman "sought to advance their personal financial interests and the political interests of at least one Ukrainian government official with whom they were working."<sup>194</sup> Yuriy Lutsenko is widely believed to be the unnamed Ukrainian government official who appears in the indictment (unsealed on Oct. 10, 2019). Parnas and Fruman allegedly worked on behalf of Lutsenko as part of the campaign to force out Ambassador Yovanovitch.<sup>195</sup>

**March 3, 2018:** Igor Fruman participated in an event for Trump's campaign at Mar-a-Lago, according to an article, in Russian, published by ForumDaily. "In the 2016 elections, I made donations to Trump's election campaign fund, and now, a year after taking over the presidency, Trump decided it was right again to invite us and turn to his supporters," said Fruman, who the ForumDaily said had supported the Republican Party for many years. The story included a photo of Fruman with Trump, from the "personal archive of Fruman," along with a photo of his badge from the March 2018 event.<sup>196</sup>



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**March 9, 2018:** Russian President Vladimir Putin suggested in a US television interview that Ukrainians, Tatars or "Jews," could have meddled in the 2016 US presidential election -- but not the Kremlin.<sup>197</sup>

**March 19, 2018:** Igor Fruman donated \$5,000 to the Great America Committee, a political action committee registered by Vice President Pence.<sup>198</sup>

**March 25, 2018:** President Trump decided not to hire Joe diGenova and Victoria Toensing as new additions to his legal team. "The president is disappointed that conflicts prevent Joe diGenova and Victoria Toensing from joining the president's special counsel legal team," Trump's personal lawyer, Jay Sekulow, said in a statement. "However, those conflicts do not prevent them from assisting the president in other legal matters. The president looks forward to working with them." The president met with diGenova and Toensing, in the days before this decision, to discuss the possibility that they would join his legal team in the Mueller case.<sup>199</sup>

**March 27, 2018:** Vitaly Pruss, President of TriGlobal Strategic Ventures, reports that the meeting between the official delegation from the City of Kharkiv, Ukraine and Giuliani was a success.<sup>200</sup>

**April 3, 2018:** Nazar Kholodnytsky, head of Ukraine's Specialized Anticorruption Prosecutor's Office (who later met with and passed information to Giuliani), was subject of an interview about accusations that he pressured prosecutors, divulged secret data on investigations, warned suspects about planned searches, and other offences. He was actually wiretapped doing these things. During the interview, Roman Romanyuk asked about reports that the SAP prosecutor has been trying in vain for six months to get evidence related to the case of Dmytro Firtash and the Zaporizhzhya titanium and magnesium plant. The accusations were that Kholodnytsky hadn't provided the evidence against Firtash. Kholodnytsky said, "all the written stuff is a lie. We submitted necessary evidence to the last but one meeting on the Zaporizhzhya plant."<sup>201</sup>

**April 4, 2018:** A handful of big donors to the America First super PAC, which allies with President Trump, had dinner at the Trump Townhouse at Trump's Washington hotel and personally interacted with the president and his eldest son. Among those in attendance were Lev Parnas and Igor Fruman, who had snagged a spot at the dinner with the promise of a major contribution to the America First super PAC. They turned the conversation to Ukraine, people familiar with the event later told the Washington Post, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to describe the private dinner. Parnas has described to associates that he and Fruman told President Trump at the dinner that they thought the U.S. ambassador to Ukraine [Yovanovitch] was unfriendly to the president and his interests. According to Parnas, the president reacted strongly to the news: Trump immediately suggested that Ambassador Yovanovitch, who had been in the Foreign Service for 32 years and served under Democratic and Republican presidents, should be fired, people familiar with his account said. The president was updated regularly by Giuliani on what he was learning about Parnas's and Fruman's efforts in Ukraine, according to a former senior administration official who spoke to the Washington Post on the condition of anonymity because of the ongoing investigation. "It's just not true that [Trump] had no idea who these guys were. He knew Lev particularly," the person said.<sup>202</sup>

**April 4, 2018:** Evidence emerged that Ukrainian Chief Anti-Corruption Prosecutor Nazar Kholodnytsky is himself be corrupt — blocking or subverting investigations against powerful suspects and firms owned by oligarchs. The National Anti-Corruption Bureau (NABU) released audio recordings implicating Kholodnytsky in wrongdoing. In the recordings, Kholodnytsky is heard pressuring anti-corruption prosecutors and courts, urging a witness to give false testimony, and tipping off suspects that their properties were about to be searched. Kholodnytsky on April 4 confirmed that the tapes were authentic but said they were "out of context."<sup>203</sup> David Holmes, Political Counselor at the U.S. Embassy in Kyiv, later said, "The [U.S.] Embassy decided we couldn't work with [Kholodnytsky] anymore. You can't have an anti-corruption prosecutor who was caught coaching witnesses." George Kent and Ambassador Yovanovitch encouraged Kholodnytsky to resign.<sup>204</sup> Kholodnytsky would later meet with and pass information to Giuliani and become a source for John Solomon.

**April 11, 2018:** Global Energy Producers, LLC (GEP) incorporated in Delaware, with Corporation Trust Company as its registered agent and a Wilmington, Delaware, address as its agent's address. The Campaign Legal Center, a nonpartisan watchdog group, later connected this shell corporation to Lev Parnas and Igor Fruman by finding political contribution records in Parnas' and Fruman's own names that had listed the same addresses that GEP had used and that had listed GEP as their employer.<sup>205</sup>

**April 11, 2018:** Sen. Roger Wicker (R-MS) sent a letter to then-Attorney General Jeff Sessions asking about the status of Dmytro Firtash's extradition. In the letter, obtained by NBC News, Wicker said that Firtash had served as a "direct agent of the Kremlin" and was using the money earned from ongoing "corruption" to delay his extradition to Chicago, where he has been under federal indictment. "Despite his arrest" in 2014, Wicker wrote, "Firtash continues to engage in corruption in Ukraine, reaping hundreds of millions of dollars in illicit profits." His letter estimated the gross amount earned since Firtash's arrest at \$1.5 billion.<sup>206</sup> (In mid-Oct. 2019, a spokesperson for Wicker said, "We have not received a response" to their 2018 letter.<sup>207</sup>)

**April 19, 2018:** It's reported in the press that Giuliani will join President Trump's legal team in an effort to "quickly" resolve the special counsel investigation into Russian election interference and possible ties to Trump associates. Trump negotiated the discussions to have Giuliani join his team with Giuliani directly, a person close to the process told the NY Times.<sup>208</sup>

**May 1, 2018:** Lev Parnas posted on Facebook thanking President Trump for the "incredible dinner and even better conversation." Parnas erroneously tagging the dinner as having been held at the White House, when this was actually the America First super PAC, which took place at Trump's Washington hotel.<sup>209</sup>



**May 2, 2018:** The New York Times reports that four meandering cases that involve Paul Manafort have been effectively frozen by Ukraine's chief prosecutor, Yuriy Lutsenko. The cases were not closed, the prosecutor general's office said in a statement, but the order blocked the prosecutor from issuing subpoenas for evidence or interviewing witnesses. "We have no authority to continue our investigation," the prosecutor, Serhiy Horbalyuk, said in an interview. "In every possible way, we will avoid irritating the top American officials," Volodymyr Arieu, a member of Parliament who is an ally of President Poroshenko, said in an interview. "We shouldn't spoil relations with the administration." An order issued in April 2018 isolated these four investigations.<sup>210</sup>

**May 9, 2018:** Lev Parnas and Fruman meet with Rep. Pete Sessions (R-TX) in Sessions's Capitol Hill office. Parnas posted a photo of himself and David Correia with Sessions in his Capitol Hill office, with the caption "Hard at work !!"<sup>211</sup> It is not known why the Texas Congressman agreed to meet personally with Parnas and Igor Fruman. But it is known that America First Action's finance chair, Roy Bailey, is close friends with Rep. Sessions and had been Sessions' campaign chair; later that year, the super PAC would go on to spend millions

supporting Sessions' failed reelection bid. Bailey is also a partner at Giuliani's consulting firm, Giuliani LLC. Giuliani himself would headline a fundraiser for Sessions later in 2018. The indictment also states that the pair had met Sessions at a super PAC fundraiser.<sup>212</sup>



**May 9, 2018:** Rep. Sessions (R-TX) writes to Secretary Pompeo at the State Department seeking the dismissal of Ambassador Yovanovitch. "I wanted to bring to your attention an interaction that I recently had with individuals regarding the current U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine," a letter from Sessions' began. "I have received notice of concrete evidence from close companions that Ambassador Yovanovitch has spoken privately and repeatedly about her disdain for the current Administration in a way that might call for the expulsion of Ms. Yovanovitch as U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine immediately." "I kindly ask you consider terminating her ambassadorship and find a replacement as soon as possible," Sessions added.<sup>213</sup> Even in Oct. 2019, Sessions still would not say where he got the information about Yovanovitch.<sup>214</sup> Yovanovitch has denied ever badmouthing Trump.<sup>215</sup>

**Unknown date (after above events):** The Hill's John Solomon (who later wrote articles, conducted interviews, and appeared on Fox News to detail allegations against Ambassador Yovanovitch) told ProPublica in Oct. 2019 that he first encountered Lev Parnas through Rep. Sessions (exactly when was not specified). But Sessions told ProPublica that he has no connection to Solomon. "I don't know John," he said. Solomon says his personal attorneys, Joe diGenova and Victoria Toensing, set up his first formal meeting with Parnas. He also asserted that his editors at The Hill "were aware" that he was seeking help from diGenova and Toensing on matters concerning Ukraine.<sup>216</sup>



**May 10, 2018:** Lev Parnas and David Correia again went to Capitol Hill and met with Reps. Carlos Curbelo (R-FL) and Kevin Brady (R-TX).



**May 11, 2018:** Legal red tape in Ukraine and a lack of help from the United States have left Ukraine's investigations of Paul Manafort in legal limbo, senior prosecutor Serhii Horbatiuk told Reuters. In November 2017, Horbatiuk, who heads special investigations at the general prosecutor's office, warned that corruption probes, including those linked to Manafort, were at risk of being buried due to their transfer to a sister agency. Since then, most had been returned to his team's jurisdiction, apart from the three cases in which Manafort figures. Horbatiuk said these were in effect frozen as the General Prosecutor Yuriy Lutsenko's office had not decided which agency should handle them. As a result, "investigators and prosecutors have not been able to carry out investigative action", Horbatiuk said. Lutsenko said in May 2018 that Ukraine could not progress with the cases until U.S. investigations into Manafort produced results.<sup>217</sup>

**May 14, 2018:** The Hill's editor-in-chief sent out a memo to staff stating that "effective immediately" John Solomon would no longer publish stories under the banner of news but instead would be an "opinion contributor."<sup>218</sup> Solomon said that the choice to have his writing classified as opinion was his. During his TV appearances, Hannity has often continued to announce Solomon as an "investigative reporter" at The Hill.

**May 15, 2018:** An article originally published in Russian described "Igor Fruman, an American businessman from Florida" as a "channel of direct communication between the Jewish

community of Kiev and the President of the United States.” The article went on to say “Fruman is at the same time one of the largest private sponsors of the election campaign of Donald Trump.” Going on to say, “In an exclusive interview Igor Fruman told our portal that a week ago he participated in a closed meeting with Donald Trump. The meeting was held in Washington, and it was attended by only eight people. Another participant in the meeting was an American businessman Lev Parnas, who, like Fruman, is a member of the American Friends of Anatevka Board of Trustees. According to Igor Fruman, the conversation was about preparations for the victory in the midterm elections to the US Congress in November 2018. Each of the guests had the opportunity to speak on important topics for him, and Fruman raised the topics of America's support for Israel and Ukraine. The reaction of Donald Trump on both topics was absolutely positive.”<sup>219</sup>



**May 15, 2018:** Russell S. Jacobs, a real estate attorney who reportedly specializes in navigating rules for foreign buyers using shell companies to launder money through U.S. real estate, transferred \$1.26 million from a client trust account to an LLC managed by Lev Parnas and his wife, according to the CLC, citing records later made public through a civil action against Parnas in the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of Florida. According to CLC, the \$1.26 million appears to have originated from a source other than Jacobs himself—namely, a client or other third party associated with Jacobs.<sup>220</sup>

**May 17, 2018:** GEP gave \$325,000 to America First Action, Inc., which describes itself as “the primary super PAC dedicated to electing federal candidates who support the agenda of the Trump-Pence administration.” This single contribution represented 6.5 percent of America First Action’s nearly \$5 million in 2<sup>nd</sup> quarter 2018 contributions received.<sup>221</sup> Available records provided no indication that GEP had accrued sufficient assets, investment earnings, business revenues, or bona fide capital investments to make the contribution without an infusion of funds provided to it for that purpose. Wire transfer records show that the money was transferred to America First Action from an entity managed by Lev Parnas and his wife.<sup>222</sup>

**May 21, 2018:** Lev Parnas and Igor Fruman shared a breakfast with Donald Trump Jr. and Tommy Hicks Jr., who later became co-chair of the Republican National Committee, at the Polo Lounge in Beverly Hills.<sup>223</sup>

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**May 23, 2018:** Ukrainian Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko denied NY Times' report about blocking Manafort investigations. "Speculations around the so-called freezing of the Manafort case, which were voiced by the American leading edition [The NY Times], are completely untrue. Indeed, the Prosecutor General's Office (PGO) of Ukraine has [criminal] cases, in which Manafort appears. We have conducted a number of investigations and at least four times requested international legal assistance from our American colleagues that we received," he told Voice of America during his visit to the United States.<sup>224</sup> Lutsenko returned the Skadden and Kyrgyz cases against Paul Manafort to Sergii Gorbaturuk's unit after a media backlash.<sup>225</sup>

**June 6, 2018:** Lev Parnas contributed \$500 to the National Republican Congressional Committee and described his occupation as "CEO" of "Global Energy Producers."<sup>226</sup>

**June 21, 2018:** GEP gave \$50,000 to Friends of Ron DeSantis, a Florida PAC supporting Republican gubernatorial candidate Ron DeSantis.<sup>227</sup>

**June 23, 2018:** Sergii Gorbaturuk, head of the in absentia case unit at the Prosecutor General's Office and the top investigator in charge of several Manafort cases, accused his boss, Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko, of unlawfully interfering in his activities and called for Lutsenko's dismissal. Gorbaturuk said that Lutsenko had ordered the liquidation of his unit. Gorbaturuk claimed in an interview with Hromadske TV that Lutsenko had constantly interfered in the criminal cases of his unit, which investigates murders during the 2013-2014 EuroMaidan Revolution and other EuroMaidan crimes. He accused Lutsenko of illegally taking away cases from his department by issuing reports with allegedly false information that they are investigated inefficiently. "If we combine the complaints that we have written due to their interference into our activities, I can say that Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko has nothing to do with the law," Gorbaturuk said. "He doesn't know the law and doesn't want to know it. He's not even trying to comply with the law." Gorbaturuk also said that Lutsenko "prosecutes whoever he wants and refuses to prosecute whoever he doesn't want to prosecute, and the absence of evidence for



him is secondary.” “(Lutsenko) has taken so many unlawful actions that could be classified as crimes that this is definitely grounds for his dismissal,” Gorbaturk added.<sup>228</sup>

**June 25, 2018:** Igor Fruman contributed \$2,700 to Pete Sessions for Congress and described his occupation as “President” of “Global Energy Producers.” That day, Lev Parnas also contributed \$2,700 to Pete Sessions for Congress.<sup>229</sup> According to the later indictment, the contribution made in Parnas’ name actually came from Fruman.<sup>230</sup> According to the indictment, Parnas and Fruman had committed to raise \$20,000 or more for Sessions.<sup>231</sup>

**June 26, 2018:** Igor Fruman gave \$25,000 to another state PAC called Florida Grown PC. That PAC was supporting DeSantis’ opponent in the Republican gubernatorial primary race, Adam Putnam.<sup>232</sup>

**June 28, 2018:** Lev Parnas made a \$2,700 donation to House Minority Leader Kevin McCarthy, R-Calif.<sup>233</sup>

**June (unknown date), 2018:** Ambassador Yovanovitch later heard from one of Yuriy Lutsenko’s deputies that the first meeting between Lutsenko and Giuliani was actually in June of 2018.<sup>234</sup>

**July 19, 2018:** Lev Parnas posted a photo to his Instagram account of himself standing next to Donald Trump Jr. and then-gubernatorial candidate Ron DeSantis.<sup>235</sup>

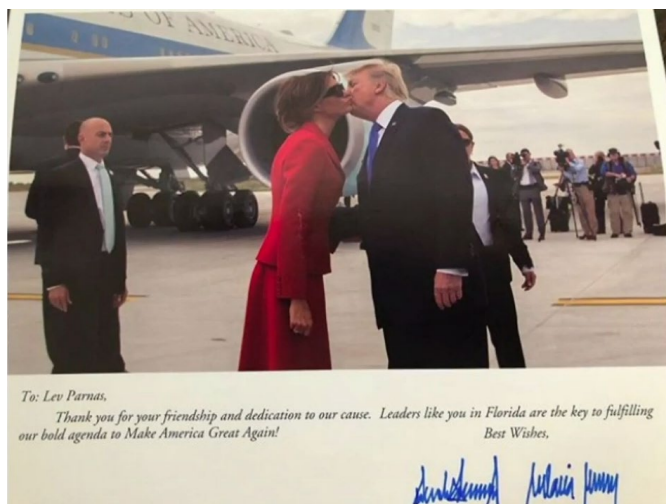


**July 25, 2018:** The Campaign Legal Center, a nonpartisan watchdog group, filed a complaint with the FEC about Igor Fruman and Lev Parnas presenting evidence that the two may have created Global Energy Producers, LLC as a shell corporation for the purpose of anonymously funneling six figures to a pro-Trump super PAC.<sup>236</sup>

**Summer (date unknown), 2018:** Phil Reeker later told Ambassador Yovanovitch that President Trump had wanted her to leave since the summer of 2018 and that, according to Reeker, Secretary Pompeo had tried to protect her.<sup>237</sup>

**August (date unknown), 2018:** Giuliani said Lev Parnas's company, Boca Raton-based Fraud Guarantee engaged Giuliani Partners, a management and security consulting firm, around August 2018. Giuliani said he was hired to consult on Fraud Guarantee's technologies and provide legal advice on regulatory issues.<sup>238</sup>

**August 27, 2018:** On his Instagram account, Lev Parnas posted a note, appearing to be signed by President Trump and the First Lady, thanking him for his friendship and dedication to "our cause."<sup>239</sup>



**August 28, 2018:** On his Instagram account, Lev Parnas posted a photo of the lobby of the Trump International Hotel in Washington, DC, with the caption "Home away from home!"<sup>240</sup>

**Late 2018 (Unspecified date):** Giuliani participates in a Skype call with the former top Ukrainian prosecutor, Viktor Shokin, who was ousted from office after multiple Western leaders, including Biden, pressed for his removal. It's around this time that Giuliani says he first learned of a possible Biden-Ukraine connection. "I arranged the Shokin call with the mayor," Lev Parnas later told NPR.<sup>241</sup>

**Late 2018 (Unspecified date):** An official in Yuriy Lutsenko's office, Kostiantyn Kulyk — one of the deputies Ambassador Yovanovitch had asked Lutsenko to dismiss at their first meeting — came up with an idea, a senior Ukrainian law enforcement official later told the New York Times. Kulyk had compiled a seven-page dossier on Hunter Biden — a potential way of reaching officials in Washington who had been blocked by Lutsenko's testy relations with the American Embassy in Kiev, the official said.<sup>242</sup> "[Lutsenko] wanted to become a person with whom people in the United States wanted to talk, and then probably he found Giuliani and found a sexy story that fit into the Giuliani agenda," Daria Kaleniuk, the director of the Anti-Corruption Action Center, later said.<sup>243</sup> In early April 2019, John Solomon claimed, on Hannity, that Ukrainian authorities had "been trying to get this information [about Biden] to the U.S. Justice Department for more than six months and have not got a receptive audience."<sup>244</sup>

**In or about September and October 2018:** According to the later Parnas-Fruman indictment, David Correia drafted a table of political donations and contributions, which was subsequently

circulated to the defendants and Foreign National-1 (believed to be Dymitro Firtash). The table described a “multi-state license strategy” to make between \$1million and \$2 million in political contributions to federal and state political committees.<sup>245</sup>

**September & October (dates unknown), 2018:** Giuliani’s firm was paid \$500,000 in two installments (within weeks of each other) on behalf of Fraud Guarantee in the fall of 2018, and he downplayed the \$500,000 contract. “Some of our contracts are 2 or 3 million dollars. This was not an extraordinarily large contract,” he said.<sup>246</sup> The NY Times later reported that the money came from a Long Island lawyer named Charles Gucciardo, a Republican donor and supporter of Trump. The payment was part of a deal in which Gucciardo would become an investor in a company started by Parnas, according to Giuliani, Gucciardo’s lawyer, and other people familiar with the arrangement.<sup>247</sup>

**September 7, 2018:** On his Instagram account, Lev Parnas posted photos of Vice President Pence shaking the hand of Nevada gubernatorial candidate Adam Laxalt, apparently from a campaign event Parnas attended at the Venetian Hotel in Las Vegas, along with a picture of Parnas and Igor Fruman posing with Laxalt.<sup>248</sup>

**September 18 (on or about), 2018:** According to the later Parnas-Fruman indictment, foreign National-1 (believed to be Dymitro Firtash) arranged for a \$500,000 wire to be sent from overseas accounts to a U.S. corporate bank account controlled by Igor Fruman and another individual.<sup>249</sup>

**September 26, 2018:** Radio Sputnik hosts accuse former National Security Advisor H.R. McMaster of lying to President Trump, engaging in a government cover-up of DNC-Ukrainian collusion, and of sedition. (A 2017 U.S. intelligence report found that Sputnik was part of “Russia’s state-run propaganda machine” that facilitated Russian interference and influence in the 2016 presidential election.) The program, in order to back up this story, goes to an English-language interview with Andriy Telizhenko (the Ukrainian embassy worker featured in the Jan. 2017 Politico article) conducted by former Breitbart journalist Lee Stranahan. Stranahan, following his move to Sputnik News in April 2017, told the Atlantic, “I’m on the Russian payroll now, when you work at Sputnik you’re being paid by the Russians. That’s what it is. I don’t have any qualms about it.” Stranahan conducted the interview on Periscope, but it was soon embedded and written up by Sputnik News, which included a link to the 2017 Politico article. “I spoke to Lee Stranahan because he was asking for an interview for a long time. And he promised it wouldn’t go on Sputnik, but it went on Sputnik. But he did it in a professional way. He said, ‘I am not pro-Russian,’” Telizhenko said. “That was the deal.”<sup>250</sup>

**September 30, 2018:** On his Instagram account, Lev Parnas posted a slideshow of himself posing in separate photos with President Trump, Eric Trump, and Donald Trump Jr.<sup>251</sup>

**September-October (dates unknown), 2018:** South Florida attorney Robert Stok told CNN in an interview that Lev Parnas and Igor Fruman came to a wealthy client of his seeking money, claiming they were so short on cash they couldn’t even pay for Parnas’ newborn son’s bris. Stok said the men asked Felix Vulis, a Russian-American natural resources magnate, if he could kick in some money for the event. They had also promised to open doors for Vulis through their connections to Giuliani and others, including the Washington lobbyist Brian Ballard, the former

chief of staff to Mike Pence Nick Ayers and others. This added to Parnas and Fruman's credibility with Vulis. Vulis was intrigued enough to loan them \$100,000, writing a check to Parnas' company Global Energy Producers in October 2018, which included a memo for a "loan to Igor and Lev (two month)," according to Stok and other records reviewed by CNN.<sup>252</sup>

**October 4, 2018:** Bud Cummins, a former U.S. attorney in Arkansas, emailed the U.S. attorney for the Southern District of New York relaying a request for a meeting. The meeting proposed by Cummins would have been between Yuriy Lutsenko and Manhattan U.S. Attorney Geoffrey Berman. The email proposing the meeting laid out allegations about Hunter Biden and his work for Burisma, and that the Black Ledger was falsified, Cummins later told TPM. Cummins said that he received the information about Hunter Biden and Manafort from two intermediaries of Lutsenko in September 2018. "The information I gave to them was a request to meet with Lutsenko," Cummins said, adding that he had a brief phone call with Berman and sent three follow-up emails after the information was sent. Cummins later expressed to TPM a mixture of dismay that Berman broke off contact and mild embarrassment at having dealt with Ukrainians whose motivations he admitted he did not understand. "At the time, I didn't know a whole lot about Ukraine. I didn't make any real attempt to vet this," Cummins said. In 2016, Cummins served as chair of Trump's campaign in Arkansas, then as a Trump whip at the 2016 Republican National Convention in Cleveland. He went on to serve on the Trump administration transition team. Cummins also previously registered as a lobbyist for former Prime Minister of Ukraine Yulia Tymoshenko.<sup>253</sup>

**October 16 (on or about), 2018:** According to the later Parnas-Fruman indictment, foreign National-1 (believed to be Dymitro Firtash) arranged for a second \$500,000 wire to be sent from overseas accounts to a U.S. corporate bank account controlled by Igor Fruman and another individual.<sup>254</sup>

**October 20, 2018:** On his Instagram account, Lev Parnas posted a photo a VIP badge for a rally where President Trump spoke in Elko, Nevada, to urge support for Republican gubernatorial candidate Adam Laxalt.<sup>255</sup> News footage from the rally shows indicted Parnas standing behind Trump. In the videos, Parnas sits in the area directly behind Trump before and during the rally.<sup>256</sup>

**On and around October 22, 2018:** Giuliani appeared in the former Soviet republic of Armenia, which has close trade ties with Russia. He was invited, according to local press accounts, by Ara Abramyan, an Armenian businessman who lives in Russia. Abramyan once helped reconstruct the Kremlin and also received a medal for "merit to the fatherland" from President Putin. Giuliani said he was in Armenia as a private citizen, but on a local TV news show, Abramyan implied that he expected Giuliani to carry a message for him to Trump. (The conversation was in Armenian, so it's not clear whether Giuliani understood what Abramyan was saying.) While in Armenia, Giuliani also attended a technology conference where he appeared on a panel that also included Sergey Glazyev, a Russian longtime Putin adviser currently on the U.S. sanctions list imposed after Russia's invasion of Crimea. Giuliani wouldn't disclose to ProPublica whether he was being paid, and if so by whom. TriGlobal Strategic Ventures claims credit for organizing the trips. Abramyan is on TriGlobal's board, as is a former Russian government minister.<sup>257</sup> "Overall, the visit itself seemed to be more about Giuliani's dealings with Russia and Mr. Abramyan than Armenia itself," Grigor Atanesian, an investigative

reporter in Armenia, later told Newsweek.<sup>258</sup> In a photo posted online, Giuliani can be seen standing at a lectern to the left of a group of seated men that include Glazyev. Giuliani told The Post in Sept. 2019 that he did not realize Glazyev would be present at the meeting before attending. "When we found out he was on the panel, the head of my security detail said [to the organizers], 'The mayor is just going to be giving a speech and leaving, and if you don't like that, screw you,'" Giuliani said.<sup>259</sup> (But Giuliani said in another earlier 2019 interview that he had never met Glazyev.<sup>260</sup>) Giuliani said he could not remember whether he and Glazyev spoke at the event.<sup>261</sup>

**November 1, 2018:** Nevada state fundraising records show Igor Fruman gave \$10,000 to Laxalt and Republican attorney-general candidate Wesley Duncan.<sup>262</sup>

**November 1, 2018:** Dr. Joseph Frager hosted Lev Parnas, Igor Fruman, and Giuliani at his home for a meal after they visited the gravesite of Rabbi Menachem Mendel Schneerson, the rebbe of the Chabad-Lubavitch Hasidic movement, in Queens, NY. Frager is the 1st vice president of the National Council of Young Israel, a Jewish communal group that is increasingly involved in Republican politics.<sup>263</sup> "They needed a place to go for a light meal afterward. My home was not far from the Ohel [grave]. I offered to have them come to my home that evening," Frager later said. "It was a group of about 20 people that came to my home that evening. All of this was done to enable additional fundraising."<sup>264</sup>



**November 3, 2018:** On his Instagram account, Lev Parnas posted a picture of himself and Giuliani aboard a private jet with the caption "On the road again." <sup>265</sup>







**November 3, 2018:** On his Instagram account, Lev Parnas posted a picture of Giuliani campaigning with the caption “Get out and vote Indiana @indgop@mikebraun”<sup>266</sup>

**November 3, 2018:** On his Instagram account, Lev Parnas posted a picture of himself and Giuliani with the caption “Get out and vote Michigan! @johnjamesmi”<sup>267</sup>

**November 5, 2018:** On his Instagram account, Lev Parnas posted a picture of himself and Giuliani with the caption “Get out and vote New Hampshire !! Eddie Edwards for Congress !!”<sup>268</sup>

**November 7, 2018:** On his Instagram account, Lev Parnas posted a picture of himself and Fruman posing at a Ron Desantis election-night party.<sup>269</sup>

**November (unspecified date), 2018:** It’s still unclear when exactly Giuliani’s business interests in Ukraine took a political turn as he sought to mine the country for information that could harm Trump’s political rivals. Giuliani himself has told Foreign Policy and other outlets that it began in November 2018, when he was approached by a private investigator with whom he had previously worked at the U.S. Attorney’s Office for the Southern District of New York. Giuliani claims, the investigator—whom Giuliani declined to name—passed on allegations from a Ukrainian client who believed he had some damning information about Trump’s rivals.<sup>270</sup>

**November 27, 2018:** A lawyer for Paul Manafort repeatedly briefed President Trump’s lawyers on his client’s discussions with federal investigators after Manafort agreed to cooperate with the special counsel, Giuliani and two other people familiar with the conversations told the NY Times. Giuliani acknowledged the arrangement to the New York Times and defended it as a source of valuable insights into the special counsel’s inquiry and where it was headed. Manafort’s legal team had long kept Trump’s lawyers abreast of developments in his case under a joint defense agreement, even after Manafort agreed to plead guilty to some charges. “[Mueller] wants Manafort to incriminate Trump,” Giuliani declared of Robert Mueller.<sup>271</sup>

**November or December (date not specified), 2018:** Ambassador Yovanovitch says that people in the Ukrainian government told her that Yuriy Lutsenko was in communication with Giuliani, and that “they had plans, and that they were going to, you know, do things, including to

me.” She said that the impression she got was that Lutsenko had been talking rather freely about this in certain circles. She learned that “Lutsenko was looking to hurt me in the U.S.”<sup>272</sup>

**November 30 – December 3, 2018:** Rep. Devin Nunes (R-CA) traveled to Europe. Three of his aides— Derek Harvey, Scott Glabe, and George Pappas—traveled with him, per government records. Lev Parnas helped arrange meetings and calls in Europe for Nunes, Parnas’s lawyer Ed MacMahon later told The Daily Beast.<sup>273</sup> Parnas’s attorney, Joseph Bondy, later told CNN that his client and Nunes began communicating around the time of the Vienna trip. Parnas says he worked to put Nunes in touch with Ukrainians who could help Nunes dig up dirt on Biden and Democrats in Ukraine, according to Bondy.<sup>274</sup> Nunes has said reports that he met with ex-Ukrainian prosecutor general Viktor Shokin in Vienna were false.<sup>275</sup> “Mr. Parnas learned from former Ukrainian Prosecutor General Victor Shokin that Nunes had met with Shokin in Vienna last December,” Parnas’s attorney, Bondy, told CNN on Nov. 23, 2019. Bondy said that according to his client, following a brief in-person meeting in late 2018, Parnas and Nunes had at least two more phone conversations, and that Nunes instructed Parnas to work with Harvey on the Ukraine matters.<sup>276</sup> Nunes filed a lawsuit against CNN on Dec. 4, 2019, seeking \$435,350,000 in damages and claiming that the outlet defamed him in Nov. 2019 when it published a “demonstrably false hit piece” on Nunes’ alleged meeting with Shokin.<sup>277</sup>

**Shortly after December 3 (date unknown), 2018:** Lev Parnas’s attorney later told CNN that, shortly after Rep. Nunes’ Vienna trip, he and retired colonel Derek Harvey, who had previously worked for Trump on the National Security Council, and now works for Nunes on the House Intelligence Committee, met at the Trump International Hotel in Washington. Parnas says he and Harvey discussed claims about the Bidens as well as allegations of Ukrainian election interference, according to Parnas’s attorney, Joseph Bondy. Following this, Bondy said that in a phone conversation Nunes told Parnas that he was conducting his own investigation into the Bidens and asked Parnas for help validating information he’d gathered from conversations with various current and former Ukrainian officials, including Shokin. Parnas said that Nunes told him he’d been partly working off of information from the journalist John Solomon, who had written a number of articles on the Biden conspiracy theory for the Hill, according to Bondy.<sup>278</sup>

**December 5, 2018:** Giuliani and Lev Parnas attended the funeral service for President George H.W. Bush at the National Cathedral in Washington, DC. Former Florida Gov. Jeb Bush said the Bush family told BuzzFeed News that the Bush family didn't invite Parnas. "Rudy was (invited) and it is likely that he was Rudy's guest. Disappointing."<sup>279</sup> Igor Fruman was also at the funeral, but it is unclear if he came with Giuliani.



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**December (date unknown), 2018:** John Solomon later claimed (in an Oct. 2019 interview on Fox News) that “In December of '18, I was told by a White House official, President Trump was considering firing that ambassador [Yovanovitch].”<sup>280</sup>

**Late 2018 through Early 2019:** Trump administration officials were eyeing potential contenders to take over as ambassador to Ukraine. One of the people in the mix, three sources familiar with the discussions later told The Daily Beast, was Pete Sessions, the same congressman who had called for Ambassador Yovanovitch’s firing in May 2018, just after meeting with Lev Parnas. Sessions and Giuliani have been allies for more than 15 years, and Sessions has called the former New York mayor a friend. Conversations about Sessions—and another possible pick for the job, Raul Mas Canosa, a South Florida businessman with deep ties to the Cuban expat community—circulated inside and outside the administration from late 2018 through the early months of 2019, according to the sources. Parnas was part of discussions about Mas Canosa with associates in Kyiv, according to multiple people familiar with the conversations. One former State Department official said U.S. diplomats in Kyiv learned Mas Canosa was in contention after a rumor about him circulated in Ukrainian political circles. A spokesperson for Sessions later told The Daily Beast he was not offered the ambassadorship or vetted for it. Mas Canosa confirmed that he was approached about taking the position. Mas Canosa said he has never met Giuliani, Parnas, or Fruman. “She was not serving the president well, from what I was told,” Mas Canosa said of Yovanovitch.<sup>281</sup>

**December 11, 2018:** A Kyiv district court issued a strange ruling (which was later canceled by a higher court) in the lawsuit of lawmaker Boryslav Rozenblat against lawmaker Serhiy Leshchenko and National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine chief Artem Sytnyk. The court concluded that, in revealing the presence of Paul Manafort's name in the Party of Regions' so-called "black ledger" of illegal cash payments, both Leshchenko and Sytnyk had broken the law.<sup>282</sup> “The court's focus on alleged political implications of the ledger's release, such as claims that the release amounted to interference in Ukraine's external affairs and the U.S. elections, suggests that politics are at play in the decision,” Matthew Schaaf, Ukraine project director for the pro-democracy organization Freedom House, later said.<sup>283</sup> Yuriy Lutsenko had tried to oust NABU chief Sytnyk in 2017.<sup>284</sup> A higher court canceled the ruling in July 2019.

**December 12, 2018:** In a post to Facebook, Serhiy Leshchenko criticized the Kyiv district court's black ledger ruling, saying it was politically motivated, and aimed at undermining Artem

Sytnyk, who is director of the National Anti-Corruption Bureau.<sup>285</sup> Leshchenko has argued that the Dec. 2018 court ruling against him was unlawful and part of an attempt by Ukrainian President Poroshenko and Yuriy Lutsenko to curry favor with President Trump.<sup>286</sup>

**January (date uncertain), 2019:** The U.S. embassy in Ukraine had received a tourist visa application for Viktor Shokin, former prosecutor general of Ukraine, saying he was coming to visit his children who live in the U.S. The U.S. consulate believed Shokin was ineligible for a visa based on his known corrupt activities. Ambassador Yovanovitch told the consulate to handle the visa as they would for a non-high profile individual, which they said would be to deny the application. Yovanovitch said, “And the next thing we knew, Mayor Giuliani was calling the White House as well as the Assistant Secretary for Consular Affairs, saying that I was blocking the visa for Mr. Shokin, and that Mr. Shokin was coming to meet him and provide information about corruption at the embassy, including my corruption.” Despite Giuliani’s complaints, the consulate did not approve the visa, believing they’d made the right decision.<sup>287</sup> George P. Kent, the senior State Department official in charge of Ukraine, later said Shokin was known as “a typical Ukraine prosecutor who lived a lifestyle far in excess of his government salary, who never prosecuted anybody known for having committed a crime, and having covered up crimes that were known to have been committed.” Shokin did not have a valid visa, and Kent indicated that “under no circumstances should a visa be issued to someone who knowingly subverted and wasted U.S. taxpayer money.”<sup>288</sup>

**January 23, 2019:** Lev Parnas and Igor Fruman helped connect Giuliani to Viktor Shokin.<sup>289</sup> Giuliani had a phone or Skype call with Shokin (Parnas acted as interpreter). According to notes Giuliani later provided to the State Department, Shokin alleged that his investigations into Burisma were effectively terminated not because Poroshenko thought he was a “good guy” but because of pressure from Geoffrey R. Pyatt, the American ambassador, and Vice President Biden.<sup>290</sup> Giuliani’s notes also say that Shokin believes Ambassador Yovanovitch denied his visa to travel to the U.S. and he stated that Yovanovitch is close to Biden. Shokin also alleges “possible deceit” in the black ledger used against Paul Manafort.<sup>291</sup>

**January 2019 (date uncertain):** Giuliani begins telling Hannity about the Ukraine story. Giuliani later (in Sept. 2019) said, “Sean, I knew this back in November [2018]. Somebody came to me and told me this entire fact pattern back in November. I think I told you in January.” Hannity replied, “You told me.” And Giuliani continued, “I told you that Biden was involved in very, very horrible corruption, shocking to me.”<sup>292</sup>

**January 25-26, 2019:** Giuliani meets, for several hours over two days<sup>293</sup>, in New York with Yuriy Lutsenko, the top Ukrainian prosecutor at the time. “I went to his office and was there for several hours over three days,” Lutsenko later said. “He [Giuliani] was certainly prepared.”<sup>294</sup> “He had a lot of files and documents on the table. I was not the first person he had met with about the case,” Lutsenko later told The Washington Post.<sup>295</sup> This is when, Giuliani says, his investigation into the Bidens began.<sup>296</sup> “I was present but I’m not going to comment on what was discussed in those meetings,” Lev Parnas later told NPR.<sup>297</sup> Giuliani later told the NY Times that Parnas had helped arrange Lutsenko’s trip.<sup>298</sup> Lutsenko later said Giuliani asked him about investigations into the owner of Burisma, Mykola Zlochevsky, as well as whether Ambassador Yovanovitch, was “not loyal to President Trump.” Lutsenko now claims he told Giuliani that his relationship with the ambassador wasn’t friendly enough for her to confide her opinions on Trump.<sup>299</sup> But

he's also said he confided his worries about the ambassador to Giuliani.<sup>300</sup> Giuliani said he brought concerns about the ambassador to the president in the weeks following his meetings with Lutsenko. "It would have been a dereliction of my duty if I didn't," he said in Oct. 2019. Giuliani accused Yovanovitch of blocking his efforts to push Ukraine to investigate the Bidens: "I think she covered it up."<sup>301</sup> According to notes of their January meetings given to members of Congress, Lutsenko told Giuliani about what he called payments to Hunter Biden. The two also discussed the theory that Paul Manafort had been set up by supporters of Hillary Clinton.<sup>302</sup> Yovanovitch later said there was a rumor in Kyiv that during one of the meetings, between Giuliani and Lutsenko, that Trump got on the phone, but she never found out if the rumor was true.<sup>303</sup> During the course of the relationship they'd develop, Lutsenko says he and Giuliani spoke "maybe 10 times."<sup>304</sup>

**Late January or Early February (date uncertain), 2019:** Giuliani reached out to Ukrainian Minister of Interior Arsen Avakov, Avakov later told Ambassador Yovanovitch. Giuliani and Avakov spoke briefly on the phone, but Avakov said he didn't want to meet Giuliani because of his concerns about what he was doing, getting the Ukrainian government involved in U.S. domestic politics. Avakov was aware that Giuliani was interested in the Black Ledger, alleged Ukrainian involvement in the 2016 elections, and information that would hurt Biden.<sup>305</sup>

**February (date uncertain), 2019:** Ukraine Minister of Interior Arsen Avakov later disclosed to Deputy Assistant Secretary of State George Kent that, in February, Giuliani reached out to him and invited him to meet with himself, Lev Parnas, and Igor Fruman in Florida. Avakov declined the offer, later telling Kent that he had a tight schedule and had to get back to Ukraine.<sup>306</sup>

**February (date uncertain), 2019:** Ukrainian Minister of Interior Avakov told Ambassador Yovanovitch that he "was very concerned, and told me I really needed to watch my back." She was told that Lev Parnas and Igor Fruman were working with Giuliani, and that they had set up the meetings for Giuliani with Yuriy Lutsenko. Avakov also told Yovanovitch that Parnas and Fruman were interested in having a different ambassador at post because they wanted to have business dealings in Ukraine."<sup>307</sup>

**February 11, 2019:** Ukrainian Minister of Interior Avakov told George Kent, the deputy assistant secretary of state responsible for Ukraine, about Yuriy Lutsenko's private trip to NYC to see Giuliani. Avakov said the purpose of Lutsenko's trip was "to throw mud" towards Ambassador Yovanovitch, Kent, and others.<sup>308</sup>

**February (date not specified), 2019:** Yuriy Lutsenko expresses interest in the Paul Manafort cases. He asks Sergii Gorbatur's detectives to show him findings and testimony. Gorbatur was the top investigator in charge of EuroMaidan cases and the black ledger case.<sup>309</sup>

**February (dates unknown), 2019:** Giuliani began negotiations with Yuriy Lutsenko about a possible agreement to represent him for at least \$200,000, people familiar with the discussions later told the Washington Post. In the agreement, Giuliani's company would receive payment to represent Lutsenko as he sought to recover assets he believed had been stolen from the government in Kyiv, those familiar with the discussions said. The Washington Post says the agreements were never executed and there is no indication that Giuliani was ultimately paid by Lutsenko or other Ukrainian officials. But the negotiations proceeded far enough that a series of

legal agreements were drafted under which Giuliani's company would have received more than \$200,000 to work for the Ukrainians, people familiar with the agreements said. Some versions of the agreement envisioned lawyers Victoria Toensing and Joe diGenova, also playing a role and receiving payment. A February draft retainer agreement with Lutsenko called for the trio to help recover money allegedly stolen from Ukraine. The draft called for Lutsenko to retain Giuliani Partners, as well as diGenova and Toensing, and pay a \$200,000 retainer to Giuliani Partners.<sup>310</sup> One of the documents, a proposal signed in February by Giuliani, called for the Ukrainian Ministry of Justice to pay his firm \$300,000.<sup>311</sup>

**February 13, 2019:** On his Instagram account, Lev Parnas posted a picture of himself and Giuliani smoking cigars in Warsaw, Poland.<sup>312</sup> Parnas later said there was a meeting between Giuliani and Yuriy Lutsenko in Warsaw for which he was present.<sup>313</sup>



**Late February (date unknown), 2019:** Lev Parnas and Igor Fruman pressed Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko to announce investigations Biden's son and purported Ukrainian interference in the 2016 election in exchange for a state visit. Parnas and Fruman, met with Poroshenko in Kyiv, later said Edward B. MacMahon Jr., a lawyer for Parnas. He said they were working on behalf of Giuliani, Trump's personal lawyer, who was operating on orders from Trump. "There isn't anything that Parnas did in the Ukraine relative to the Bidens or the 2016 election that he wasn't asked to do by Giuliani, who was acting on the direction of the president," MacMahon said on Nov. 8, 2019. At the time of the February meeting, Poroshenko was seeking reelection and wanting an official visit to Washington. The February meeting was also attended by Ukrainian general prosecutor Yuriy Lutsenko, MacMahon said.<sup>314</sup> Robert Costello, a lawyer for Giuliani, later said his client had no knowledge of the meeting. Poroshenko's approval rating sagged, and the arrangement discussed in the February meeting didn't come to fruition, a person familiar with the matter later told the Wall Street Journal. Poroshenko was angling for a high-profile visit to Washington in April, but finished a distant second place in initial voting in the March election, this person said.<sup>315</sup>

**Sometime after February 14 (exact dates unknown), 2019:** In an interview with the publication Ukrainian Truth in Nov. 2019, Yuriy Lutsenko described how he was eager for Giuliani to help him get a meeting with the U.S. attorney general to discuss evidence he had uncovered that Ukrainian assets had been routed through U.S. bank accounts. Lutsenko said that Giuliani at first agreed he could help make the connection but that he never did. “For me, this is an absolute mystery. A few months later, a new United States Attorney General was selected [AG Barr took office on Feb. 14]. I called back several times with assistants or advisers to Giuliani with the question: ‘Will there be or will not be a meeting?’” Lutsenko said. He said Giuliani told him he would have to hire a lobbyist to get the meeting. “They even offered me such a company,” Lutsenko said. “I said that I am the prosecutor general of Ukraine and will not pay a dime.” Lutsenko said he was told it would be “impossible” for him to get the meeting without paying and he continued to refuse. “I will not pay money for any meeting,” Lutsenko claims he said.<sup>316</sup>

**March (dates unknown), 2019:** A source told the Washington Post that another retainer agreement, drafted in March, called for Giuliani Partners to receive \$300,000 from the Ukrainian Ministry of Justice for help locating supposedly stolen assets. That draft agreement also stated that Victoria Toensing and Joe diGenovaw ould be working on the matter. That agreement called for payments to be made to Giuliani Partners. Yet another proposal called for the Ukrainian Justice Ministry to hire Toensing and diGenova for asset recovery, but did not mention Giuliani.<sup>317</sup> Giuliani later told the NY Times that a Ukrainian official approached him in 2019, seeking to hire him personally. Giuliani said he dismissed that suggestion, but spent about a month [into March] considering a separate deal with the Ukrainian government. He then rejected that idea. “I thought that would be too complicated,” Mr. Giuliani said. “I never received a penny.”<sup>318</sup>

**March 5, 2019:** In a speech, Ambassador Yovanovitch called on Ukrainian officials to fire the special anti-corruption prosecutor, Nazar Kholodnytsky, who has been accused of helping suspects avoid corruption charges. “Nobody who has been recorded coaching suspects on how to avoid corruption charges can be trusted to prosecute those very same cases,” Yovanovitch said. She also called for a complete audit of a state-owned military procurement company and greater transparency for defense contracts.<sup>319</sup>

**On or about March 6-7, 2019:** David Hale, the State Dept. Undersecretary for Political Affairs, asked Ambassador Yovanovitch if she would consider staying on for another full year.<sup>320</sup> Hale said that “after I had some time with [Yovanovitch], I felt that I could make an assessment that she was doing a very good job” and so he “asked her if she would consider staying longer.”<sup>321</sup>

**March 7, 2019:** Some Ukrainian officials were trying to take “direct managerial control of Naftogaz” the company’s U.S. lobbying firm, Yorktown Solutions, said in a document filed with the Justice Department. “This outcome would quickly result in the reestablishment of corrupt schemes in the natural gas sector, redirecting funds out of the company, away from the state budget, and into the pockets of individuals like Dmytro Firtash,” the document said. Naftogaz’s seven-person supervisory board, which includes four Western directors, pushed for Naftogaz CEO Andriy Kobolyev to remain in place. Board member Amos Hochstein, an American member of Naftogaz’s board and the former U.S. special envoy for international energy affairs,

later said he wanted to “prevent the firing of the CEO simply for the reason that he refused to cooperate with a corrupt oligarch,” adding that he was referring to Dymitro Firtash.<sup>322</sup>

**March 7, 2019:** A federal judge sentenced Paul Manafort to 47 months in prison for dodging taxes and committing bank fraud, much less than he could have faced. Manafort to pay up to \$25 million in restitution. After Manafort’s statement in court, U.S. District Judge T.S. Ellis said: “I was surprised I did not hear you express regret.”<sup>323</sup>

**March 8, 2019:** Giuliani criticized Michael Cohen's lawyer Lanny Davis for representing Dmytro Firtash. "Lanny Davis represents a gentleman named Firtash," Giuliani told Hill.TV's Buck Sexton. "He is considered to be one of the close associates of [Semion] Mogilevich, who is the head of Russian organized crime, who is Putin's best friend. Lanny Davis has represented him for four or five years. If the newspapers are correct, he gets \$80,000 a month from this guy who's considered to be one of the high-level, Russian organized crime members or associates," Giuliani said.<sup>324</sup> In July 2019, Firtash made a revealing change to his Washington legal team, hiring Joe diGenova and Victoria Toensing<sup>325</sup> and publicly employing Lev Parnas.

**March 11, 2019:** Ambassador Yovanovitch emails David Hale to say she'd agree to staying on for another full year.<sup>326</sup>

**March 13, 2019:** A federal judge nearly doubled Paul Manafort’s prison sentence to seven and a half years, denouncing him as a man who “spent a significant portion of his career gaming the system.” Judge Amy Berman Jackson of U.S. District Court in Washington expressed scant sympathy for his plight. Rather, she closed out the trial with a blistering critique of Manafort’s character and a rapid-fire litany of his legal and ethical transgressions. The lead prosecutor in the case, Andrew Weissmann, would later become a target of Dmytro Firtash and John Solomon.<sup>327</sup>

**March (11-15, date uncertain), 2019:** Igor Fruman, Lev Parnas, and Harry Sargeant III touted a plan to replace Naftogaz CEO Andriy Kobolyev with another senior executive at the company, Andrew Favorov, according to two individuals who spoke to the AP as well as a memorandum about the meeting that was later submitted to the U.S. Embassy in Kyiv.<sup>328</sup> At an energy conference in Houston, Parnas, Fruman, and Sargeant made a pitch to Ukrainian state oil and gas giant Naftogaz, approaching a top official at the company, Andrew Favorov. A colleague of Favorov’s (Dale W. Perry) later told the Washington Post the story. Parnas and Fruman told him they had flown in from Florida on a private jet to recruit him to be their partner in a new venture to export up to 100 tanker shipments a year of U.S. liquefied gas into Ukraine. Sargeant told Favorov that he regularly meets with Trump at Mar-a-Lago and that the gas-sales plan had the president’s full support, two people who said Favorov recounted the discussion to them later told the AP. Favorov perceived the meeting to be a shakedown. Parnas and Fruman told Favorov that they hoped to see new leadership at Naftogaz soon that would be receptive to their proposal and they hoped to see the ouster of Ambassador Yovanovitch, whom they perceived as opposed to their plans.<sup>329</sup> (Three individuals later interviewed by the AP confirmed that Parnas and Fruman told people that Trump would replace Yovanovitch months before she was actually recalled to Washington.<sup>330</sup> “I do not know Mr. Giuliani’s motives for attacking me,” Yovanovitch said on Oct. 11. “But individuals who have been named in the press as contacts of Mr. Giuliani may well have believed that their personal financial ambitions were stymied by our

anti-corruption policy in Ukraine.”<sup>331</sup> Fiona Hill would later say that the most obvious explanation for the attacks “seemed to be business dealings of individuals who wanted to improve the investment positions inside of Ukraine itself.”<sup>332</sup>) Favorov later told the Wall Street Journal that Parnas and Fruman labeled Yovanovitch as part of “this Soros cartel” working against Trump. “You’re a Republican, right?” Favorov recalled Parnas and Fruman, asking him, after their reference to Soros. “We want you to be our guy.” Following the meeting, Favorov said he quickly reported the episode to Naftogaz CEO Andriy Kobolyev, his boss, and told Parnas and Fruman he couldn’t be a part of their plans.<sup>333</sup> “(Parnas and Fruman) basically just flat out said to him, hey, to do the deals we want to do, we were not able to get through to your CEO, and we think that the business needs a new CEO,” Perry later told CNN. Parnas and Fruman also told Favorov that an ambassador more amenable to their energy-business interest would be appointed, according to Perry. “What they said was, not that we can, but they are removing her, and that has already been agreed at the highest level of the US government,” Perry said.<sup>334</sup> Yovanovitch was a defender of Naftogaz CEO Kobolyev, who Parnas and Fruman were seeking to remove. Yovanovitch later called Kobolyev “as clean as they come,” saying he had been “fearless and determined to sort of shake everything up.”<sup>335</sup> John Dowd, a former Trump attorney who went on to represent Parnas and Fruman, claims Naftogaz executives approached his clients about making a deal. Dowd says the group then approached Rick Perry to get the Energy Department on board. “The people from the company solicited my clients because Igor is in the gas business, and they asked them, and they flew to Washington and they solicited,” Dowd said. “They sat down and talked about it. And then it was presented to Secretary Perry to see if they could get it together. “It wasn’t a shakedown; it was an attempt to do legitimate business that didn’t work out.”<sup>336</sup> (But Dowd also later told the WSJ in an email that Parnas and Fruman had “No contact with Perry. No business with Perry.”<sup>337</sup>) In an interview with the Washington Post, Dale Perry said Parnas and Fruman’s grand plan included one other element that Favorov found puzzling at the time: They said Naftogaz should put aside financial disputes with Firtash, a decision that could provide a windfall of more than \$1 billion for the tycoon. “He was like, ‘The Firtash debt? Why are these guys talking about that?’” Perry said of Favorov, “He just couldn’t understand it.”<sup>338</sup> Firtash and his companies have long taken part in “corrupt schemes” that have siphoned money away from Naftogaz, the company’s CEO, Kobolyev, contends. The Naftogaz chief said he has ended some of these dealings but has struggled to stop one that is costing the company big money. Ukrainian regulations require Naftogaz to supply a group of companies owned by Firtash, called oblgazy, even if they don’t pay for the gas, Naftogaz said. Kobolyev later began pushing Zelensky’s new government, which came to power after the April election, to fix the oblgazy situation.<sup>339</sup>

**Sometime after March (after 11-15, date uncertain), 2019:** Dale Perry, as he later told the AP, was so concerned about the efforts to change the management at Naftogaz and to get rid of Ambassador Yovanovitch that he reported what he had heard to Suriya Jayanti, a State Department foreign service officer stationed at the U.S. Embassy in Kyiv who focuses on the energy industry.<sup>340</sup> Firtash may have had the motive to help Lev Parnas and Igor Fruman push for Yovanovitch’s removal, Perry told Politico in Oct. 2019. “Firtash has the money and he has the reasons,” Perry said.<sup>341</sup>

**March 16, 2019:** On his Instagram account, Lev Parnas posted a picture of himself and Giuliani at Trump International Golf Club in Palm Beach with the caption “Great day of golfing !!!”<sup>342</sup>



**March (date uncertain), 2019:** The decision to reopen the investigation into Burisma was made by Yuriy Lutsenko, then Ukrainian general prosecutor, who had cleared Hunter Biden's employer more than two years ago. The announcement came in the midst of Ukraine's contentious presidential election, and was seen in some quarters as an effort by Lutsenko to curry favor from the Trump administration for his boss and ally, the incumbent president, Poroshenko.<sup>343</sup>

**March (18 or 19), 2019:** Behind the scenes, Lev Parnas was central to connecting The Hill's John Solomon with Yuriy Lutsenko. In an email that included Parnas, Solomon wrote that he'd "just got word from Lev [Parnas] that the prosecutor general has agreed to do an interview tomorrow." Parnas watched Lutsenko's interview live, inside the control room of The Hill's TV studio. Solomon later claimed that he called in Parnas to act as a translator, but in the end his services were not needed. Interviews and company records obtained by ProPublica show Parnas worked closely with Solomon to facilitate his reporting. Solomon also shared files he obtained related to the Biden allegations with Parnas, according to a person familiar with the exchange. At some point, Solomon's personal lawyers, Joe diGenova and Victoria Toensing, connected Solomon to Parnas.<sup>344</sup>

**March 19, 2019:** "So that you understand, the Ukrainian embassy [in the U.S.] was working completely for Clinton's headquarters," Dmytro Firtash claimed in an interview published by the Daily Beast. "Our embassy in America was working completely for Clinton. So of course when Clinton lost and Trump won, then the Ukrainian president, the government, the lawmakers, all shaken up, rushed to America to show off [to Trump]. It's very simple." Firtash also waxed sarcastic about President Trump. "Do I need Trump? Hell no," Firtash said. "I watched [Trump's inauguration] on TV and it was clearer to me than if I had been in that hall." "I, of course, understand that he's a world philosopher and he'll give such an epic speech that you need to record it and remember it forever," he said. "Unfortunately he only made it to the third grade, he can't even talk. He has no education." "Trump is a businessman, a person who went bankrupt four times," Firtash said. "That's not easy; he was worming his way out of trouble all the time. In that sense, he's pretty crafty, capable enough of making decisions and getting things done. But I can't say that he's too smart. That I cannot say."<sup>345</sup>

**Mid-March (date unknown), 2019:** David Holmes, Political Counselor at the U.S. Embassy in Kyiv, says an Embassy colleague learned from a Ukrainian colleague that Yuriy Lutsenko had complained that Ambassador Yovanovitch had "destroyed him" with her refusal to support him until he followed through with his reform commitment and ceased using his position for personal gain. Lutsenko said that after Ambassador Yovanovitch's posting in Kyiv, she would face "serious problems" in the United States.<sup>346</sup>

**48 hours leading up to March 20, 2019:** Phone records show that in the 48 hours before publication of John Solomon's March 20 article in The Hill, Lev Parnas spoke with Solomon at least six times.<sup>347</sup>

**March 20, 2019:** The Hill aired an interview, featuring Hill.TV's John Solomon, in which Yuriy Lutsenko admitted that he had "a difficult relationship" with Ambassador Yovanovitch. Lutsenko alleged that Yovanovitch gave him "a list of people whom we should not prosecute." The State Department quickly called the claim an "outright fabrication."<sup>348</sup> In his March 20 article, Solomon

also noted that Former Rep. Pete Sessions (R-TX) had, while in office voiced concerns about Yovanovitch in a letter to the State Department in 2018 in which he claimed to have proof the ambassador had spoken of her “disdain” for the Trump administration.<sup>349</sup> Solomon did not note, or was unaware, that Sessions sent the letter the same day he met with Lev Parnas and Igor Fruman. Solomon was then featured on Hannity’s TV show. Army Lt. Col. Alexander Vindman, an aide on Trump’s National Security Council, later said he considered the narrative being pushed by Solomon to be a false narrative. Vindman said the claims that Yovanovitch proffered a no-prosecute list, based on his experience with her, “seemed preposterous.” But Vindman said, of Solomon’s narrative in March 2019 Hill articles, “I think all the key elements were false.” Vindman said, “as far as I recall, the key elements that Mr. Solomon put in that story that were again proffered by Lutsenko, a completely self-serving individual to save his own skin, and to advance the interest of the President, more than likely actually with the backing of the President of Ukraine, and extremely harmful to Ukraine’s own interests, all those elements, as far as I recall, were false.” Vindman added sarcastically, “His grammar might have been right.”<sup>350</sup> According to Media Matters, over the next six months, Solomon published 45 columns aimed at discrediting the Russia investigation, 12 of which focused primarily on Ukraine. During that same time period, Solomon appeared on Fox News or Fox Business at least 72 times. Fifty-one of those appearances were on Hannity, where Hannity promoted Solomon’s scoops and labeled Solomon an “investigative reporter.”<sup>351</sup> David Holmes, Political Counselor at the U.S. Embassy in Kyiv, would later say, “The barrage of allegations directed at Ambassador Yovanovitch, a career ambassador, which included aggressive reporting against her in the U.S. media, is unlike anything I have seen in my professional career.”<sup>352</sup>



**March 20, 2019:** On the day John Solomon’s article was published, Lev Parnas again spoke with Solomon for 11 minutes.<sup>353</sup>

**March 20, 2019:** President Trump tweets, “John Solomon: As Russia Collusion fades, Ukrainian plot to help Clinton emerges.’ @seanhannity @FoxNews”<sup>354</sup>

**March 21, 2019:** Victoria Toensing tweets, “The real collusion began in @Ukraine. US Ambassador Marie #yovanovitch at @USEmbassyKyiv pro #HillaryClinton and a #NeverTrumper.”<sup>355</sup>

**March 21, 2019:** The State Dept. puts out a statement saying, “Ambassador Yovanovitch represents the President of the United States here in Ukraine and America stands behind her”

and her statements. The allegations by the Ukrainian Prosecutor General are not true and are intended to tarnish the reputation of Ambassador Yovanovitch.”<sup>356</sup>

**March 22, 2019:** Giuliani tweeted: “Hillary, Kerry, and Biden people colluding with Ukrainian operatives to make money and affect 2016 election.”<sup>357</sup>

**March 22, 2019:** In an interview on Fox News, John Solomon’s reporting was amplified as Joe diGenova accused Ambassador Yovanovitch, without providing evidence, of having “bad-mouthed” President Trump to Ukrainian officials and having told them “not to listen or worry about Trump policy because he’s going to be impeached.” When diGenova said Yovanovitch should be recalled, Hannity said “Oh immediately, immediately.” diGenova added: “The president has ordered her dismissal from her post.”<sup>358</sup> Also on Fox News, Laura Ingraham says, “But are there bad actors being ignored in this situation? In May of 2018, former Congressman Pete Sessions sent Secretary of State Pompeo an urgent letter, imploring him to remove the ambassador of Ukraine, Marie Yovanovitch. Yovanovitch, an Obama holdover, remains in the post today. She’s reportedly demonstrated clear anti-Trump bias.”<sup>359</sup>

**March 22, 2019:** President Poroshenko issued a statement in support of Ambassador Yovanovitch.<sup>360</sup>

**March 23, 2019:** On his Instagram account, Lev Parnas posted a picture of himself and Giuliani at Arlington National Cemetery.<sup>361</sup>

**March 23, 2019:** At this point, George Kent would later say, it was clear to him that there was a media “campaign of slander against” Ambassador Yovanovitch. He said that Lutsenko was “very clearly” a part of this campaign as was his press spokeswoman. He also mentioned “Porokhobots, the trolls on social media who were active in support of Poroshenko” who were attacking Yovanovitch and Kent by name in social media. He also said, “And then obviously the people in the United States that were promoting it.”<sup>362</sup> Also in March 2019 (unspecified date), Christopher Anderson, a State Department official who served as a senior adviser on Ukraine, briefed Giuliani and told him that he “believed that Lutsenko was trying to keep his job by making himself useful to the U.S. Government” and that “Lutsenko was trying to play into U.S. domestic politics and thereby win favors.”<sup>363</sup>

**March 23, 2019:** Philip Reeker, the acting assistant secretary of state for European and Eurasian affairs, sends an email to Ulrich Brechbuhl, Counselor of the State Department, “Looping you in on the latest I’ve received.” Reeker sent Brechbuhl excerpts attacking and Twitter-based threats against Ambassador Yovanovitch. In the email exchange, Under Secretary Hale said, “I believe Masha [Yovanovitch] should deny on the record saying anything disrespectful and reaffirm her loyalty as ambassador and FSO [Foreign Service officer] to POTUS and the Constitution.”<sup>364</sup>

**March 24, 2019:** Giuliani and Lev Parnas gathered at the Trump International Hotel in Washington with Healy E. Baumgardner, a former Trump campaign adviser who once served as deputy communications director for Giuliani’s presidential campaign and as a communications official during the George W. Bush administration. She is now listed as the CEO of 45 Energy Group (the company’s name is an apparent nod to Trump, the 45th president). According to

Giuliani, the gas deals that were discussed involved Uzbekistan, not Ukraine. But during this meeting, Parnas again repeated that Ambassador Yovanovitch would soon be replaced, a person with direct knowledge of the gathering later told the AP.<sup>365</sup> Giuliani and his associates were to be paid at least \$100,000 for the project, on which Parnas offered advice, reported the NY Times. The project did not pan out, Giuliani said.<sup>366</sup> In an Oct. 2019 text message to reporter Dan Friedman, Giuliani said the Uzbekistan deal “has nothing to do with” Parnas and Fruman. Asked why Parnas was in the Trump Hotel meeting then, Giuliani did not respond.<sup>367</sup>

**Spring (dates unknown) 2019:** Lev Parnas’s attorney, Joseph Bondy, later told The Washington Post that a top aide to Rep. Devin Nunes (R-CA), Derek Harvey, sometimes joined a group that met frequently in spring 2019 at the Trump International Hotel, to discuss the Biden matter, among other topics.<sup>368</sup> In addition to giving the group access to key people in Ukraine who could help their cause, Parnas translated their conversations, Bondy said. The group, according to Bondy, included Giuliani, Parnas, John Solomon, Joe diGenova, and Victoria Toensing. Parnas said that Harvey would occasionally be present as well, and that it was Parnas’ understanding that Harvey was Nunes’ proxy, Bondy said.<sup>369</sup>

**Early 2019 into Summer 2019 (dates unknown):** Lev Parnas and Igor Fruman, pitched their new company, and plans for a Poland-to-Ukraine pipeline carrying U.S. natural gas, in meetings with Ukrainian officials and energy executives, saying the project had the support of the Trump administration, people briefed on the meetings later told the Wall Street Journal. In many of the same meetings, the two men also pushed for assistance on investigations into Biden and alleged interference by Ukraine in the 2016 U.S. election, some of the people said. In conversations that continued into this summer, Parnas and Fruman told Ukrainian officials and others that Giuliani was a partner in the pipeline venture, which was a project of their company, Global Energy Producers, one of the people said. Another person said the men considered Giuliani a prospective investor in their company more broadly, but said the pitch was unsophisticated and exaggerated. The Ukrainians understood the pipeline to be “part of the essential package” Giuliani and his associates were pushing, often mentioned immediately after the demand for investigations, said Kenneth F. McCallion, a New York lawyer who represents a number of Ukrainian individuals who learned of the pipeline deal. In a Nov. 15 interview with the WSJ, Giuliani vehemently denied any involvement in the energy company or the pipeline pitch. “I have no personal interest in any business in Ukraine, including that business,” Giuliani said. “I do know the following: I am not a part of the ownership, or any other involvement with GEP. I never agreed to be part of it. I’m not even sure I was ever asked to be part of it,” Giuliani said. He said that if Parnas and Fruman had asked for his legal opinion, he would have told them to avoid involvement in any “ownership situation” in Ukraine while working alongside him there, because it would look “stupid.”<sup>370</sup>

**March 24, 2019:** Donald Trump Jr. tweets “We need more @RichardGrenell’s and less of these jokers as ambassadors.” And he linked to a DailyWire story “Calls Grow To Remove Obama’s U.S. Ambassador To Ukraine” about Ambassador Yovanovitch.<sup>371</sup> Victoria Toensing tweeted, “The US Ambassador to Ukraine, Marie Yovanovitch, must go. She is a never -Trumper.”<sup>372</sup>

**Shortly after March 24, 2019:** Ambassador Yovanovitch asked the State Dept. to put out a strong statement of support, otherwise she felt her position was not sustainable. Acting Assistant Secretary of State Phil Reeker relayed back to Yovanovitch that State was cautious

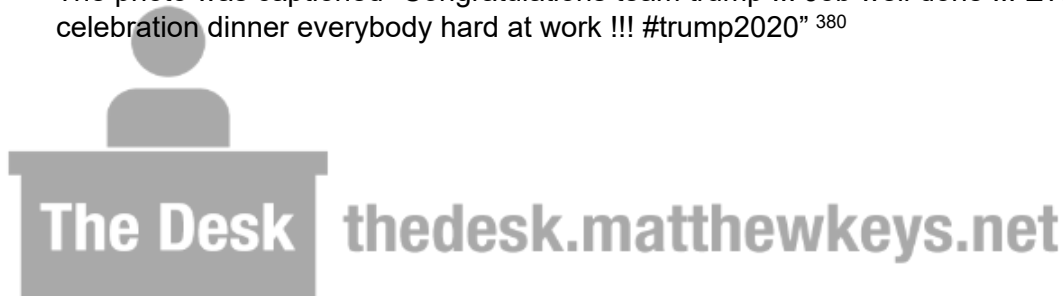
about putting out a statement of support because Trump might undermine it via Twitter. She was informed that no statement was going to be issued, not by the Secretary and not by anybody else at the State Dept. Yovanovitch assumed the reason for these problems was the partnership between Yuriy Lutsenko and Giuliani. Yovanovitch was told by Reeker that Secretary Pompeo or perhaps somebody around him was going to place a call to Hannity on Fox News to say, “what is going on? I mean, do you have proof of these kinds of allegations or not? And if you have proof, you know, tell me, and if not, stop.” She understood that the call was made and thought things “simmered down.”<sup>373</sup> Hannity says he never received such a call. However, David Hale, the State Dept. Undersecretary for Political Affairs, said, “I understood that [Sec. Pompeo] did call Sean Hannity.” Hale said he learned from Pompeo, after he called Hannity, that “there wasn’t any evidence to back up these allegations.”<sup>374</sup> Deputy Assistant Secretary of State George Kent has testified, “I believe, to the best of my recollection, the counselor for the Department, Ulrich Brechbuhl, reached out and suggested to Mr. Hannity that if there was no proof of the allegations, that he should stop covering them.”<sup>375</sup>

**March 25, 2019:** David Hale, the State Dept. Undersecretary for Political Affairs, briefs Secretary Pompeo about Ambassador Yovanovitch’s request for a public statement of support.<sup>376</sup> After a State Dept. meeting, Hale sends Yovanovitch an email in which he says (Hale’s recounting), “the Secretary had asked Ulrich Brechbuhl, the counselor, to get in touch with Americans who were apparently—or thought to be involved in passing this alleged information about the behavior of the Ambassador into the social media arena or around into the White House or whatnot, that they would talk to those individuals. And that a statement would be on hold until such time as those conversations had been concluded.”<sup>377</sup>

**March 25, 2019:** Philip Reeker, the acting assistant secretary of state for European and Eurasian affairs, said that, regarding the attacks on Ambassador Yovanovitch, “queries continued to come in following, for instance, the – specifically on some of the FOX News programs of Laura Ingraham and Sean Hannity, we got a lot of questions about the allegations there.” He says after a formal statement from State in response to the attacks on Yovanovitch was sent around for clearance, David Hale, State’s Under Secretary for Political Affairs, said “no statement.” That message was sent to the European Bureau press office, which was then forwarded to Reeker.<sup>378</sup>

**March 25, 2019:** On his Instagram account, Lev Parnas posted a picture of himself and Giuliani at Nationals Park when the Yankees were playing.<sup>379</sup>

**March 25, 2019:** On his Instagram account, Lev Parnas posted several pictures of Giuliani, Jay Sekulow, and other members of President Trump’s legal team having dinner at the Trump International Hotel in Washington, DC, a day after the Mueller report summary was released. The photo was captioned “Congratulations team trump !!! Job well done !!! Even during our celebration dinner everybody hard at work !!! #trump2020”<sup>380</sup>





**March 26, 2019:** Less than a week after the first piece featuring Yuriy Lutsenko appeared in The Hill, John Solomon sent files via Dropbox to Lev Parnas containing financial records purporting to be connected to Biden’s son. Around the same time, Solomon also sent Parnas, Victoria Toensing, and Joe diGenova what appeared to be an advance copy of a Ukraine-related story.<sup>381</sup> Solomon claimed he was simply fact-checking the piece before it was published. But Toensing, diGenova, and Parnas are not mentioned in the article, raising the possibility that the trio, who had been working to find evidence of wrongdoing by the Bidens in Ukraine, had been working directly with Solomon on the story.<sup>382</sup> The Daily Beast reported that the email was later included in a State Department Inspector General’s Office package of material turned over to lawmakers.<sup>383</sup> In Oct. 2019, Giuliani told CNN that some of the documents provided to Congress by the State Department’s inspector general originated with him.<sup>384</sup>

**March 26, 2019:** Sec. Pompeo speaks with Giuliani via phone for about four minutes.<sup>385</sup>

**March 26, 2019:** John Solomon publishes his article in The Hill, saying Yuriy Lutsenko was “widely regarded as a hero in the West for spending two years in prison after fighting Russian aggression in his country.” And Solomon repeated Lutsenko’s claims that Ambassador Yovanovitch had given him “a list of people whom we should not prosecute.” Most of the article focused on George Soros’s support for the Anti-Corruption Action Centre (AntAC) in Ukraine and Yovanovitch’s support of AntAC. Firtash’s name also appears. Solomon mentions how early collaborations between AntAC and U.S. law enforcement “inside Ukraine led to highly visible U.S. actions against the oligarch Dmitri Firtash, a major target of the Soros group, and Manafort”<sup>386</sup> – meant to call those investigations into question.

**March 26, 2019:** Melinda Haring, the editor of the UkraineAlert blog at the Atlantic Council and a senior fellow at the Foreign Policy Research Institute, writes in the Washington Post: “The mechanics of the information operation that Poroshenko’s minions pulled off are obvious. Lutsenko used Solomon to get to Hannity to get to Trump, whose Twitter feed set thousands

chattering about nonexistent collusion... If a bunch of obscure foreigners few Americans have ever heard of can play Trump so easily, and so obviously, what's to stop others from doing the same?"<sup>387</sup> David Holmes, Political Counselor at the U.S. Embassy in Kyiv, later said, "The barrage of allegations directed at Ambassador Yovanovitch, a career ambassador, is unlike anything I have seen in my professional career."<sup>388</sup>

**March 27, 2019:** Giuliani's assistant reached out to President Trump's assistant seeking "a good number" for Sec. Pompeo. "I've been trying and getting nowhere through regular channels," Giuliani's assistant wrote. Trump's assistant forwarded the inquiry to a State Department official, and one call between Giuliani and Pompeo took place within days.<sup>389</sup>

**March 27, 2019:** An email sent from George Kent warns that a story published by John Solomon the night before is picking up steam. "The Hill story last night, which broke nothing new but repackaged an element from last week to focus on an alleged Soros angle is being retweeted by folks who have many followers (one below 640k)" Kent, chargé d'affaires for the U.S. mission to Ukraine, writes. Referring to another story on the "totally manufactured/fake list of alleged untouchables" Kent points out that the names are misspelled in English. "I know Embassy Moscow has in the past derided fake letters by circling in red all of the misspellings and grammar mistakes and reposting it," Kent writes. "If we wanted to push back hard(er), we could consider a similar approach."<sup>390</sup> Kent calls the "do not prosecute" list that Lutsenko claimed was given to him by Yovanovitch "complete poppycock."<sup>391</sup>

**March 28, 2019:** Giuliani later told the Wall Street Journal that he mentioned Ambassador Yovanovitch to the president in the spring of 2019 and that Trump "remembered he had a problem with her earlier and thought she had been dismissed."<sup>392</sup> "The president fired her three times and thought she was gone," Giuliani later said. "The president thought she was gone long before she was actually fired." Giuliani said he subsequently received a call from a White House official—whom he declined to identify to the WSJ—asking him to list his concerns about the ambassador again. It was later revealed that Secretary Pompeo called Giuliani on March 28. Giuliani said he gave Pompeo a nine-page document dated March 28 that included a detailed timeline of the Bidens' dealings in Ukraine and allegations of impropriety against Yovanovitch, including that she was "very close" to Biden. "He called me back and he said they were going to investigate," Giuliani said of the secretary of state, telling the Wall Street Journal that Pompeo asked for additional documents to back up the allegations. "The reason I gave the information to the secretary was I believed that he should know that the president's orders to fire her were being blocked by the State Department."<sup>393</sup> Giuliani later said he also sent details of his interviews from earlier in the year with the incumbent and former top prosecutors in Ukraine, who helped provide him with the information in his outline.<sup>394</sup>

**March 29, 2019:** Secretary Pompeo calls Giuliani again, the second time in two days.<sup>395</sup> The call was scheduled to last 20 minutes, but appears to only last four minutes.<sup>396</sup>

**March 31, 2019:** Phil Reeker forwarded an email to Ulrich Brechbuhl, the Counselor of the U.S. State Department. The email was an accounting of articles, put together by George Kent, including the "basic fake narrative" that then Yovanovitch is a Democratic agent. John Solomon's articles are included in the state department officials daily updates on the disinformation campaign.<sup>397</sup> Not long after, Reeker followed up with another email of US



coverage on Ukraine to Brechbuhl, highlighting a particular paragraph as an example that "captures the basic fake narrative." "(The) assumption that (Yovanovitch) is some kind of 'liberal outpost ... leading a political struggle' really is without merit or validation," he wrote.<sup>398</sup> Also in late March, David Hale, the State Dept. Undersecretary for Political Affairs, was also forwarded an email from Kent. Kent conveyed information from two Ukrainian journalists who were quoting Giuliani saying to a Ukrainian that President Trump really wants Ambassador Yovanovitch to go. Hale later said, "And this seemed to be—the implication was that this was a roundabout way the President was trying to get rid of the Ambassador through this smear campaign."<sup>399</sup>

**March 31, 2019:** The National Council of Young Israel, an Orthodox Jewish organization, bestowed honors on Lev Parnas and Igor Fruman. Their gala dinner in Midtown Manhattan featured House Minority Leader Rep. Kevin McCarthy (R-CA) as the keynote speaker. RNC Co-Chairman Tommy Hicks Jr. received the Guardian of Israel Award. Fruman and Parnas were each honored with the Chovevei Zion Award, or Lovers of Zion Award.<sup>400</sup> The president of Young Israel, Farley Weiss, said Parnas and Fruman were given an award at that event in exchange for bringing Giuliani. Josh Nass, owner of a New York-based public relations agency, approached Parnas and Fruman, who introduced themselves as entrepreneurs in the gas business. Parnas boasted to Nass of "incredibly vast" connections "in the pro-Trump apparatus, and they go all the way up to the senior-most echelons of the party." Nass said the conversation was cut short when Parnas got a phone call from Giuliani.<sup>401</sup>

**March 31, 2019:** The first round of presidential elections take place in Ukraine. Volodymyr Zelensky, a comedian who once played a president on television, comes out ahead of incumbent President Poroshenko. The race goes to a runoff.<sup>402</sup>

**End of March or Early April (date unknown), 2019:** Ambassador Yovanovitch said Phil Reeker told her it would not be possible to extend her service as ambassador and they'd have to talk about departure dates. Her new understanding became that she'd stay through the July 4<sup>th</sup> holiday. Prior to the public campaign against her, Yovanovitch had expected to be asked to extend for another year.<sup>403</sup>

**April 1-7, 2019:** Phone records obtained by the House investigatory Committees show that, between April 1 and April 7, Lev Parnas exchanged approximately 16 calls with Giuliani (longest duration approximately seven minutes) and approximately 10 calls with John Solomon (longest duration approximately nine minutes). Over the same, April 1-7, period, Victoria Toensing exchanged approximately five calls with Parnas and two calls with Giuliani.<sup>404</sup>

**April 1, 2019:** After speaking with Yuriy Lutsenko, John Solomon reports that a probe into Biden's push to fire Lutsenko's predecessor is underway.<sup>405</sup> Solomon wrote that Lutsenko said some of the evidence he knows about in the Burisma case may interest U.S. authorities and he'd like to present that information to. Attorney General Barr, particularly about Biden's intervention. "I would be happy to have a conversation with him about this issue," he quoted Lutsenko. Solomon wrote that Nazar Kholodnytsky (now Ukraine's top anti-corruption prosecutor, but once caught on tape coaching witnesses, among other things) confirmed to Solomon in an interview that part of the Burisma investigation was reopened in 2018. "We were able to start this case again," Kholodnytsky said.<sup>406</sup>

**April 1, 2019:** Sec. Pompeo has a scheduled phone call with Rep. Nunes (R-CA).<sup>407</sup>

**April 2, 2019:** Philip Reeker, the acting assistant secretary of state for European and Eurasian affairs, asked David Hale, the State Department's No. 3 official, via email why Ambassador Sondland was so involved in Ukraine. Hale replied, "Yes, Sondland angle is irregular."<sup>408</sup>

**April (unspecified date), 2019:** Former Ukrainian prosecutor Kostiantyn H. Kulyk (a former Lutsenko deputy) told The New York Times in an interview that Ambassador Yovanovitch had thwarted his efforts to meet with the FBI to deliver damaging information about the Bidens by denying him a visa.<sup>409</sup>

**April 7, 2019:** In The Hill, John Solomon writes: "Ukrainian law enforcement officials believe they have evidence of wrongdoing by American Democrats and their allies in Kiev, ranging from 2016 election interference to obstructing criminal probes." Solomon quotes Kostiantyn Kulyk, deputy head of the Prosecutor General's International Legal Cooperation Department — and also one of the deputies Ambassador Yovanovitch had asked Yuriy Lutsenko to dismiss at their first meeting. "We were supposed to share this information during a working trip to the United States," Kulyk told Solomon. "However, the [U.S.] ambassador blocked us from obtaining a visa. She didn't explicitly deny our visa, but also didn't give it to us." Solomon goes on to again attack NABU and revisits many of his other usual claims.<sup>410</sup>

**April 7, 2019:** In an interview on Fox News, Giuliani, unprompted, brings up a Biden-Ukraine connection. Giuliani says, "I got information about three or four months ago that a lot of the explanations for how this whole phony investigation started will be in the Ukraine, that there were a group of people in the Ukraine that were working to help Hillary Clinton and were colluding really -- with the Clinton campaign. And it stems around the ambassador and the embassy, being used for political purposes. So I began getting some people that were coming forward and telling me about that. And then all of a sudden, they revealed the story about Burisma and Biden's son Biden's son." When Howard Kurtz says Giuliani is bringing the issue up because Biden is about to run for president, Giuliani responds, "I want that Ukraine investigated. Because I think in the Ukraine, we are going to find a lot of answers for how the Steele dossier was put together, how Manafort -- case was revised."<sup>411</sup> Fiona Hill later said she'd watch Fox News and YouTube when she got home to keep up with what Giuliani was saying. "And it was clearly starting to create this, you know, meta-alternate narrative about Ukraine," Hill said.<sup>412</sup>

**April 8-11, 2019:** Over the course of the four days following John Solomon's April 7 article, phone records show contacts between Giuliani, Lev Parnas, Rep. Devin Nunes (R-CA), and John Solomon. Specifically, Giuliani and Parnas were in contact with one another, as well as with Solomon. Phone records also show contacts on April 10 between Giuliani and Rep. Nunes, consisting of three short calls in rapid succession, followed by a text message, and ending with a nearly three minute call. Later that same day, Parnas and Solomon had a four minute, 39 second call. On April 10, Victoria Toensing and Giuliani spoke for approximately six minutes, 19 seconds.<sup>413</sup>

**April 8, 2019:** An email from six former U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine is circulated among David Hale (State Dept. Undersecretary for Political Affairs), T. Ulrich Brechbuhl (Counselor of the

Department), and Philip Reeker (Acting Assistant Secretary of State). The letter states that the “underground attack” on Ambassador Yovanovitch comes from Yuriy Lutsenko and was prompted by Yovanovitch’s advocacy on reform issues. The former ambassadors to Ukraine say the charges against Yovanovitch “are simply wrong” and that “she is a professional of the highest integrity.” They say John Solomon was wrong to take Lutsenko’s claims at face value. They write that “if the attack on Ambassador Yovanovitch were to gain traction, it would be an injustice against her and against reformers in Ukraine.”<sup>414</sup>

**April 11, 2019:** On his Instagram account, Lev Parnas posted a picture of himself next to President Trump at The White House along with Igor Fruman, Pence, Giuliani, and others.<sup>415</sup>



**April 12, 2019:** Dale Perry wrote a detailed memo about Ukrainian gas executive Andrey Favorov’s account of his early March meeting with Igor Fruman, Lev Parnas, and Harry Sargeant III in which they advocated for the ouster of Ambassador Yovanovitch. The memo was shared with a State Department official. Dale Perry later provided a copy of the memo to the AP.<sup>416</sup>

**April 12, 2019:** Charles Faulkner, who worked in the State Department’s legislative affairs bureau, forwards a letter from House Majority Leader Hoyer (D-MD) and House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Eliot Engel (D-NY) to Sec. Pompeo’s office and others at State. The letter says “certain political actors within Ukraine have criticized Ambassador Yovanovitch” and that it is critical that the State Dept. supports her from “politically motivated attacks” and “spurious disparagements.”<sup>417</sup>

**On and around April 12, 2019:** Yuriy Lutsenko reappeared as a potential client in some new versions of legal retainer documents, along with one of his deputies. Under a proposal signed on April 12, which were signed only by Victoria Toensing and printed on her law firm’s letterhead, she and Joe diGenova would represent the officials “in connection with recovery and return to the Ukraine government of funds illegally embezzled from that country.” The proposed

agreement between Lutsenko and Toensing and diGenova also referenced another assignment: helping the Ukrainians meet with American officials about “the evidence of illegal conduct in Ukraine regarding the United States, for example, interference in the 2016 U.S. elections.”<sup>418</sup> Lutsenko was to pay diGenova & Toensing, LLP \$25,000 per month, plus costs, for four months for this work.<sup>419</sup> The proposals noted that Toensing and diGenova might have to register as foreign agents under American law.<sup>420</sup>

**April 12, 2019:** On the same day Victoria Toensing signed the retainer agreement with Yuriy Lutsenko, phone records show contacts between Toensing, Giuliani, and Lev Parnas, as well as contacts between Parnas and John Solomon, and Parnas and Rep. Nunes (R-CA). In addition, among these calls are contacts between Giuliani and a phone number associated with the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), an unidentified number (“-1”; who Congressional investigators suspect may be President Trump), and a phone number associated with the White House.<sup>421</sup>

**April 15, 2019:** In another agreement signed by Victoria Toensing in April, the client would have been Victor Shokin, the top Ukrainian prosecutor before Lutsenko. Toensing proposed that, for \$25,000 a month, she and her partner represent Shokin “for the purpose of collecting evidence regarding his March 2016 firing as Prosecutor General of Ukraine and the role of then-Vice President Joe Biden in such firing, and presenting such evidence to U.S. and foreign authorities.” Mark Corallo, a representative for the law firm of Toensing and diGenova, said in a Nov. 2019 statement that the business proposals were “unaccepted” and the lawyers never represented the Ukrainians. “No money was ever received and no legal work was ever performed,” he said.<sup>422</sup>

**April 15, 2019:** After a week of consideration, David Hale (State Dept. Undersecretary for Political Affairs) writes an email, to a redacted recipient, saying he’s “not sure what to do with this” regarding the email from six former U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine in support of Ambassador Yovanovitch.<sup>423</sup>

**April 17, 2019:** Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko told the Ukrainian online publication TheBabel that Ambassador Yovanovitch did not give him a do not prosecute list, which he had previously stated. Lutsenko said, “I listed some so-called anti-corruption activists under investigation. [Yovanovitch] said it was unacceptable, as it would undermine the credibility of anti-corruption activists. I took a piece of paper, put down the listed names and said: ‘Give me a do not prosecute list.’ She said: ‘No, you got me wrong.’ I said: ‘No, I didn’t get you wrong. Such lists were earlier drawn up on Bankova Street [the presidential administration’s address, Lutsenko meant the Yanukovich administration], and now you give new lists on Tankova Street [where the U.S. Embassy is located]. The meeting ended. I’m afraid the emotions were not very good,” Lutsenko said.<sup>424</sup> John Solomon later said in an email to the NY Times that Lutsenko was adamant he had not changed his story when the two spoke for a follow-up interview. The back-and-forth over the existence of a formal list, he said, is a “classic he-said, she-said dispute,” which he believes his coverage accurately reflected. But what Lutsenko is quoted describing in Solomon’s report — “a list of people whom we should not prosecute” given to him by Yovanovitch — did not actually exist.<sup>425</sup>

**April 21, 2019:** Volodymyr Zelensky is elected president of Ukraine and President Trump calls to congratulate him. A White House readout of the call says Trump "expressed his commitment to work together with President-elect Zelenskyy and the Ukrainian people to implement reforms that strengthen democracy, increase prosperity, and root out corruption."<sup>426</sup> However, Trump on Nov. 15 released a memorandum of telephone conversation he had with Zelensky that differed from the summary of the call released by the White House in April 2019. According the later White House memo, Trump did not discuss corruption during the call. In the call.<sup>427</sup> "To the best of my knowledge, he did not," Lt. Col. Vindman testified later when asked if Trump followed "talking points" urging him to bring up the issue of corruption during the call. Instead, he touted the strength of the U.S. economy and brought up his previous ownership of the Miss Universe pageant. "When I owned Miss Universe, they always had great people," the president said. "Ukraine was always very well represented."<sup>428</sup> Trump did tell Zelensky, "When you're settled in and ready, I'd like to invite you to the White House."<sup>429</sup> The NY Times later reported that President Poroshenko was poised to announce the investigations Giuliani sought, when the political situation changed, when Zelensky defeated Poroshenko.<sup>430</sup>

**April 21, 2019:** Vice President Pence's chief of staff says that the President had asked the Vice President to attend Zelensky's inauguration.<sup>431</sup>

**April 21, 2019:** President Zelensky publicly said he wanted a new general prosecutor to replace incumbent Yuriy Lutsenko.<sup>432</sup>

**April (date not specified), 2019:** Army Lt. Col. Alexander Vindman, an aide on Trump's National Security Council, became aware of Giuliani's involvement in a narrative that "had to do with the 2016 elections and Ukrainian—supposed Ukrainian involvement in partisan support of candidate Clinton and in opposition to President Trump." In Oct. 2019, Vindman still said, "I am unaware of any factual basis for the accusations against Ambassador Yovanovitch, and I am, frankly, unaware of any authoritative basis for Ukrainian interference in 2016 elections, based on my knowledge."<sup>433</sup>

**April (date not specified), 2019:** Yuriy Lutsenko once said Giuliani dropped the Biden requests at some point in 2018 but apparently saw a new opportunity with the election in April of Zelensky. In a Sept. 2019 interview with the LA Times, Lutsenko said Giuliani again began contacting him to sound him out about the new president and gauge whether Zelensky might be more cooperative in going after Democrats.<sup>434</sup>

**April 23, 2019:** Vice President Pence confirmed directly to President Zelensky his intention to attend during a phone conversation.<sup>435</sup>

**April 23, 2019:** Lev Parnas had a call with John Solomon, and multiple phone contacts with Giuliani. On that same day, Giuliani had a series of short phone calls (ranging from 11 to 18 seconds) with a phone number associated with the White House, followed shortly thereafter by an eight minute, 28 second call with an unidentified number that called him. Approximately half an hour later, Giuliani had a 48 second call with a phone number associated with National Security Advisor John Bolton.<sup>436</sup>

**April 23, 2019:** Giuliani tweets about a Ukrainian investigation into alleged foreign collusion by the Democrats. “Now Ukraine is investigating Hillary campaign and DNC conspiracy with foreign operatives including Ukrainian and others to affect 2016 election,” he says. “And there’s no [former FBI director James B.] Comey to fix the result.”<sup>437</sup>

**April 23, 2019:** Lev Parnas and Igor Fruman went to visit Ukrainian business tycoon Ihor Kolomoisky in Israel to, as Kolomoisky later claimed, “demand” he set up a meeting between Giuliani and Volodymyr Zelensky. He rejected Giuliani’s request for help, Kolomoisky later told Ukrainian media.<sup>438</sup> The exchange, Kolomoisky later told the NY Times, went like this: “I say, ‘Did you see a sign on the door that says, ‘Meetings with Zelensky arranged here’? ‘They [Parnas and Fruman] said, ‘No.’ Kolomoisky recounts, “I said, ‘Well then, you’ve ended up in the wrong place.’”<sup>439</sup> Kolomoisky owned the television station that distributed the comedy show in which Zelensky played the role of the president of Ukraine. He was living in Israel after the government in Kyiv nationalized his bank amid accusations he embezzled billions of dollars.<sup>440</sup> Giuliani would later suggest that Kolomoisky could control Zelensky.<sup>441</sup> And Parnas’s lawyer, Joseph A. Bondy, later told the NY Times that Giuliani’s assessment was that Kolomoisky’s legal problems made him vulnerable to pressure.<sup>442</sup>

**April 24, 2019:** Giuliani appeared on Fox and Friends and said: “And I ask you to keep your eye on Ukraine, because in Ukraine, a lot of the dirty work was done in digging up the information. American officials were used, Ukrainian officials were used. That’s like collusion with the Ukrainians. And, or actually in this case, conspiracy with the Ukrainians. I think you’d get some interesting information about Joe Biden from Ukraine. About his son, Hunter Biden. About a company he was on the board of for years, which may be one of the most crooked companies in Ukraine.”<sup>443</sup>

**April 24, 2019:** Giuliani had three phone calls with a number associated with OMB, and eight calls with a White House number. One of the calls with the White House was four minutes, 53 seconds, and another was three minutes, 15 seconds.<sup>444</sup>

**April 24, 2019:** In a phone calls, State Department Counselor Ulrich Brechbuhl and Director General of the Foreign Service Carol Perez told Philip Reeker, the acting assistant secretary of state for European and Eurasian affairs, that “things had gotten, in their words, suddenly much worse” for Ambassador Yovanovitch. Reeker recounts, “There was a lot of unhappiness – without anything explicit, because we were speaking on open lines – there was unhappiness from the White House that Ambassador Yovanovitch was still there, and the belief that she needed to come back, the belief in the State Department that she needed to come back to Washington for consultations.”<sup>445</sup>

**April 24, 2019:** Ambassador Reeker told Ambassador Yovanovitch that State Department Counselor Brechbuhl had said things had suddenly “changed for the worse,” but he couldn’t share anything on an open line. Reeker said to Yovanovitch in text message: “So I’m largely in the dark, but it doesn’t sound good. Let me know if you want to talk.”<sup>446</sup>

**April 24, 2019:** Around 10pm Ukraine time, Director General of the Foreign Service Carol Perez informed Ambassador Yovanovitch that “things were going wrong” and that there was “a lot of nervousness on the seventh floor and up the street [at the White House].”<sup>447</sup>

**April 25, 2019:** Around 1am Ukraine time, Carol Perez called Ambassador Yovanovitch said, “there was a lot of concern for me, that I needed to be on the next plane home to Washington. And I was like, what? What happened? And she said, I don’t know, but this is about your security. You need to come home immediately. You need to come home on the next plane.”<sup>448</sup>

**April 25, 2019:** David Hale, the State Dept. Undersecretary for Political Affairs, attends a meeting chaired by the Deputy Secretary of State with Counselor Brechbuhl and the Director General of the Foreign Service, Carol Perez, to discuss how to end Ambassador Yovanovitch’s assignment as the President had lost confidence in her. Hale believes it was Secretary Pompeo who told him that Trump had lost confidence in Yovanovitch, but no reason was given.<sup>449</sup>

**April 25, 2019:** At 7:14 p.m. ET, Giuliani once again received a call from an unknown “-1” number (who Congressional investigators suspect may be President Trump), which lasted four minutes and 40 seconds. Minutes later, Giuliani held a brief 36 second call with Sean Hannity.<sup>450</sup>

**April 25, 2019:** On his TV show, Hannity features John Solomon, who discusses his theories about the Obama White House using Ukraine to start “the Russian collusion narrative.” Hannity then brings on President Trump to discuss the issue. Hannity says “Ukraine is offering this evidence to the United States” and he prods Trump “does America need to see that information?” Trump responds saying, “I think we do. And, frankly, we have a great new attorney general [Barr]... I would imagine he would want to see this.” Trump later adds, “People have been saying this whole -- the concept of Ukraine, they have been talking about it actually for a long time. You know that, and I would certainly defer to the attorney general [Barr]. And we’ll see what he says about it.”<sup>451</sup>

**April 25, 2019:** David Correia retweeted a tweet by John Solomon, about Solomon's report that said the White House under Obama engaged Ukraine to boost a narrative about suspected Russia "collusion" with the Trump campaign during the 2016 presidential election.<sup>452</sup>

**April 25, 2019:** Ivan Bakanov, who was President Zelensky's childhood friend, campaign chair, and ultimately appointed head of the Security Services of Ukraine, indicated to David Holmes privately that he had been contacted by "someone named Giuliani who said he was an advisor to the Vice President."<sup>453</sup>

**April 29, 2019:** Once Ambassador Yovanovitch is home, she meets with Phil Reeker. He told Yovanovitch that she needed to leave her post as soon as possible. He told her that Trump had wanted her to leave since the summer of 2018 and that Secretary Pompeo “had tried to protect me but was no longer able to do that.” It was the first time she had heard Trump had such long-standing objections to her. Deputy Secretary of State John Sullivan informs her that her time as ambassador is being curtailed but said, according to Yovanovitch, “you’ve done nothing wrong.” And Sullivan said that, “he had had to speak to ambassadors who had been recalled for cause before and this was not that.” As Reeker had told her, Sullivan said this was coming from Trump. Sullivan said, “the reason they pulled me back is that they were worried that if I wasn’t, you know, physically out of Ukraine, that there would be, you know, some sort of public either tweet or something else from the White House. And so this was to make sure that I would be



treated with as much respect as possible.” She could stay until after July Fourth, but they could not guarantee what would happen. Yovanovitch says “I told [Sullivan] I thought that this was a dangerous precedent, that as far as I could tell, since I didn’t have any other explanation, that private interests and people who don’t like a particular American ambassador could combine to, you know, find somebody who was more suitable for their interests.” And stating that she they were influenced by Yuriy Lutsenko, who was untrustworthy. Yovanovitch asked to speak with Counselor to the State Department Ulrich Brechbuhl, who had been the “point person” for her recall, but he refused to accept Yovanovitch’s request for a meeting and she never heard from Secretary Pompeo either.<sup>454</sup> Reeker later confirmed to House investigators that he had never heard any complaints within the State Department about the job Yovanovitch was doing as U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine.<sup>455</sup>

**May 1, 2019:** The New York Times publishes a story tying Joe Biden’s pressure campaign in Ukraine to Viktor Shokin having investigated Burisma, portraying it as a potential liability in his 2020 campaign.<sup>456</sup> The story was written by NY Times reporter Kenneth Vogel and freelance contributor Iuliia Mendel. On May 3, Mendel entered a competition to be Ukrainian president Zelensky’s official representative. The competition began on April 30, and Mendel announced June 3 that she had accepted the position. “Ms. Mendel wrote one story for The Times in May while she was a candidate for the government position, about the dissolution of Parliament,” The Times said in a statement. “Had she informed editors of her job application, they would not have given her that assignment, and we would have stopped working with her immediately given this serious conflict of interest.” However, the paper’s editors said they were confident that the reporting was fair and accurate.<sup>457</sup>

**May 1, 2019:** President Trump retweets the NY Times article by Ken Vogel from the day before.<sup>458</sup>

**Spring (unknown dates), 2019:** Giuliani consulted several times with Paul Manafort through the federal prisoner’s lawyer in pursuit of information about the Black Ledger that would bolster his theory that the real story of 2016 is not Russian interference to elect Trump, but Ukrainian efforts to support Clinton. Giuliani said he needed to consult with Manafort through the latter’s lawyer in the spring of 2019 to ask whether a black ledger ever existed. “I said, ‘Was there really a black book? If there wasn’t, I really need to know. Please tell him I’ve got to know,’” Giuliani recalled asking Manafort’s lawyer. “He came back and said there wasn’t a black book.” Giuliani said he was interested in the matter to prove his theory that the ledger’s release, which he has claimed was done in conjunction with U.S. officials, was part of a falsified pretext for U.S. authorities to reopen a case against Manafort.<sup>459</sup>

**May 2, 2019:** Giuliani tweets, “Biden conflicts are too apparent to be ignored and should be investigated quickly and expeditiously. But the more important question is how deep and how high did the alleged Ukraine conspiracy go?”<sup>460</sup>

**May 2, 2019:** When asked about the Bidens in Ukraine, during an appearance on Fox News, President Trump says, “I’m hearing it’s a major scandal, major problem, very bad things happen. And we’ll see what that is. They even have him on tape talking about it. They have Joe Biden on tape talking about the prosecutor, and I’ve seen that tape, a lot of people are talking about that tape. But that’s up for them. They have to solve that problem.”<sup>461</sup>

**May 3, 2019:** The State Department's acting legal adviser, Richard Vissek, provided the Inspector General with a 79-page packet.<sup>462</sup> The packet contained several folders marked "Trump Hotel" containing notes and newspaper clippings Democratic lawmakers said were designed to smear Yovanovitch, packaged in an envelope marked "White House," according to documents viewed by the Wall Street Journal. The packet is largely the work of Giuliani. The nine-page document Giuliani said he gave to Pompeo dated March 28 was part of that packet, according to a person who saw the packet.<sup>463</sup> The documents appeared in Trump Hotel folders and included "interview" notes Giuliani and his team conducted with Viktor Shokin. Also included are notes of an in-person interview with Yuriy Lutsenko – the five pages of interview notes paint the picture of the narrative that Giuliani has been pushing involving the Bidens. And they include timelines attempting to make connections between Biden's conversations with Ukrainian officials and his son Hunter's work with Burisma as well as a glimpse of an intricate media strategy to spread the story including segments being placed on Fox News. Also included in the packet are nearly 20 pages of communications between State Department employees working to push back against the "fake narrative" that Giuliani was pushing.<sup>464</sup>

**May 3, 2019:** In a phone call, President Trump asked Russian President Putin about his impressions of President Zelensky, Western official familiar with the conversation later told the Washington Post. Putin derided Zelensky as a comedian with ties to an oligarch despised by the Kremlin. In the call, Putin "did what he always does" in seeking to undercut the United States' relationship with Ukraine, said a former U.S. official familiar with details of the conversation. "He has always said Ukraine is just a den of corruption." The efforts to poison Trump's views toward Zelensky were anticipated by national security officials at the White House, officials said.<sup>465</sup>

**Early May (dates unknown), 2019:** Officials at the U.S. Embassy in Kyiv, including Ambassador Yovanovitch, were told Zelensky was seeking advice on how to navigate the difficult position he was in, two people later told the AP. He was concerned President Trump and associates were pressing him to take action that could affect the 2020 U.S. presidential race, the two individuals told the AP. State Department officials in Kyiv and Washington were briefed on Zelensky's concerns at least three times, the two sources said. Notes summarizing his worries were circulated within the department, they said.<sup>466</sup>

**May 6, 2019:** Yovanovitch, the U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine, ends her assignment in Kyiv.<sup>467</sup> Yovanovitch will later say in her deposition that President Trump pressured the State Department to remove her. George Kent would later say that Yovanovitch was removed as ambassador because, "Lutsenko, as prosecutor general, vowed revenge, and provided information to Rudy Giuliani in hopes that he would spread it and lead to her removal."<sup>468</sup> Fiona Hill would later say, "the accusations against her had no merit whatsoever" and that the allegations against her were "a mishmash of conspiracy theories" that she said "I believe firmly to be baseless." Hill also said, "I understood this to be the result of the campaign that Mr. Giuliani had set in motion in conjunction with people who were writing articles and, you know, publications that I would have expected better of, and also, you know, just the constant drumbeat of these accusations that he was making on the television."<sup>469</sup> Hill also said, "We all firmly believed that Mr. Giuliani and others, including the people who were recently indicted, the Ukrainian-American gentleman had for some reason decided that Ambassador Yovanovitch was some kind of personal problem for them."<sup>470</sup>

**May 7, 2019:** It is reported in the press that Ambassador Yovanovitch has been recalled by the State Department, two months before her scheduled departure date.<sup>471</sup>

**(Unspecified date after Yovanovitch dismissal), 2019:** In private messages to a Ukrainian anti-corruption campaigner, Yuriy Lutsenko gloated about his role in ending Yovanovitch's career in Kyiv. In the exchange — with Daria Kaleniuk, the head of Ukraine's Anticorruption Action Center — Lutsenko used mafia slang to rejoice at how the American ambassador's removal had undercut activists campaigning against corruption in Ukraine. Lutsenko told Kaleniuk that he had "eliminated your roof." "Roof," a term derived from Russian mafia slang, is used throughout the former Soviet Union to designate a protector or guardian. The "roof" in this instance, Kaleniuk said, was Ambassador Yovanovitch. "Lutsenko hated Yovanovitch," Kaleniuk said.<sup>472</sup>

**May 7, 2019:** Zelensky met with former U.S. diplomat Amos Hochstein, now a member of Naftogaz's supervisory board, and top aides (Andriy Yermak and Andriy Bogdan) in which Zelensky voiced dismay about Giuliani and US Ambassador to the European Union Gordon Sondland included Andriy Kobolev, Naftogaz's CEO. The meeting came the day after Ambassador Yovanovitch was removed. "The message was clear: 'You better listen to us. If we tell you to investigate Biden, you better do it. Look at what happened to (Yovanovitch),'" one individual familiar with the outlook of Zelensky's office later told NBC News. "They saw that Giuliani went after her — and he won."<sup>473</sup> The group spent most of the three-hour discussion talking about how to navigate the insistence from Trump and Giuliani for a probe of the Bidens and how to avoid becoming entangled in the American elections, three people familiar with the details of the meeting later told the AP.<sup>474</sup> Notes circulated internally at the State Department indicated that Zelensky tried to mask the real purpose of his May 7 meeting — which was to talk about political problems with the White House — by saying it was about energy, two people with knowledge of the matter later told the AP. Ahead of the meeting, Hochstein told Ambassador Yovanovitch why he was being called in. After the meeting with Zelensky, Hochstein separately briefed two U.S. Embassy officials, Suriya Jayanti and Joseph Pennington, about Zelensky's concerns, said the two people who spoke to the AP.<sup>475</sup>

**May 8, 2019:** Giuliani called the White House Switchboard and connected for six minutes and 26 seconds with someone at the White House. That same day, Giuliani also connected with John Solomon for almost six minutes, with Lev Parnas, and with Derek Harvey, a member of Rep. Nunes' staff on the Intelligence Committee.<sup>476</sup>

**May 8, 2019:** During a meeting, Ukraine Minister of Interior Arsen Avakov disclosed to Deputy Assistant Secretary of State George Kent that Lev Parnas and Igor Fruman would soon visit Kyiv "and that they were coming with their associate, the Mayor Giuliani." Avakov confided to Kent that "Mayor Giuliani had reached out to him and invited him to come and meet the group of them in Florida" in February 2019. Although he declined that offer, Avakov indicated that he intended to accept their new invitation to meet in Kyiv.<sup>477</sup>

**May 9, 2019:** Giuliani tells the NY Times that he plans to travel to Kyiv in the coming days to meet with Volodymyr Zelensky. "There's nothing illegal about it," Giuliani said. "Somebody could say it's improper. And this isn't foreign policy — I'm asking them to do an investigation that

they're doing already and that other people are telling them to stop. And I'm going to give them reasons why they shouldn't stop it because that information will be very, very helpful to my client [Trump], and may turn out to be helpful to my government." If the meeting does occur, Giuliani said, "I am going to tell [Zelensky] what I know about the people that are surrounding him, and how important it is to do a full, complete and fair investigation." He declined to say specifically whether he had briefed Trump on the planned meeting with Zelensky, but added, "He basically knows what I'm doing, sure, as his lawyer." The NY Times reported that Giuliani had been working on the effort with other allies of Trump whose involvement has not been previously reported, including Victoria Toensing and her husband, Joe diGenova. Toensing was planning to accompany Giuliani to Ukraine, Giuliani said, explaining that she was "concerned" for Lutsenko and wanted Zelensky to "promptly understand what he's [Lutsenko is] trying to do." (Giuliani had previously said that Toensing was representing Lutsenko, but the May 9 NY Times article published, he said that he had been mistaken.) Asked by the NY Times about the trip and her interactions with of Lutsenko, which have not been previously disclosed, Toensing responded, "I'm not going to talk to you about this matter." Lev Parnas was also involved in planning the trip.<sup>478</sup> The Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project later reported that the official reason for Giuliani's visit was to give a paid speech for American Friends of Anatevka, a New York-based charity run by Igor Fruman. The meeting with Zelensky was intended to take place on the sidelines of the event.<sup>479</sup> Giuliani told The Washington Post that he was planning to give a paid speech in Ukraine and had heard from a connection there that he could have a meeting with President Zelensky. "What I'm pushing for — don't let the crooks bury the case for the second time — it's all part of a corrupt arrangement between United States political officials of the Democratic Party and Ukrainian officials to dig up dirt on Republicans," Giuliani said. "I'm going to make sure that nothing scuttles the investigation that I want."<sup>480</sup>

**May 9, 2019:** Following public revelation of his trip by the New York Times, Giuliani connected in quick succession with John Solomon and then Lev Parnas for several minutes at a time. Giuliani then made brief connections with the White House Switchboard and Situation Room several times, before connecting at 1:43 p.m. Eastern Time with someone at the White House for over four minutes. He connected, separately, thereafter with Parnas several times in the afternoon and into the evening.<sup>481</sup>

**May 9, 2019:** Giuliani appears on Laura Ingraham's Fox News show and says: "Well, the fact is this was a massive collusion between the Democratic National Committee, officials of the Obama administration, Clinton people, and the Ukrainian officials, corrupt officials -- who, by the way, were pro-Russian corrupt officials -- to create false information about Trump, about Manafort. This is -- this is real -- not collusion, conspiracy to present false information, and to leak it to the press, and to give it to the FBI. The Ukrainian government is presently investigating it. My aim is to make sure that Soros' representatives, who have a lot of influence in that government, and a very highly corrupt Ukrainian who actually participated in creating a false document about Paul Manafort, actually, he has been found guilty of bad by the Ukrainian court... That they do not prevent the continuation of this investigation, which they are trying to do."<sup>482</sup>

**May 9, 2019:** Giuliani tweets, "If you doubt there is media bias and corruption then when Democrats conspiring with Ukrainian officials comes out remember much of press, except for

Fox, the Hill and NYT, has suppressed it. If it involved @realDonaldTrump or his son it would have been front page news for weeks.”<sup>483</sup>

**May 10, 2019:** Giuliani had another flurry of calls with Lev Parnas.<sup>484</sup>

**May 10, 2019:** The Independent reports that Volodymyr Zelensky may now refuse to meet Giuliani when he arrives in Kyiv. Two separate sources in Zelensky’s circle told The Independent that it was now unlikely the president-elect would choose to personally attend the meeting, and would instead send representatives. By this time, Giuliani’s union with Yuriy Lutsenko has come under fire, with activists asking why the American politician had chosen to associate himself with him. “Everyone understands it is a desperate attempt from a bankrupt prosecutor,” said Serhiy Leshchenko, a reformist MP connected to the Zelensky team, and who has also been attacked by Trump allies over his role in publishing the Manafort ledger data. Leshchenko said, “Lutsenko doesn’t want to leave the prosecutors office because he has nowhere else to go to.” In regards to Lutsenko’s allegations of “improper” Ukrainian interference to aid the Clinton campaign, “Lutsenko has decided his only way to cling onto the prosecutor’s office is with the help of a Trump ally,” Leshchenko said. “It may not be the last fairytale we hear from him.”<sup>485</sup> Andriy Bohdan, who heads the Office of President Zelensky, later said, “We were simply not planning to have a meeting with [Giuliani]. There were no arrangements whatsoever and we did not even know that he was expected to fly here.”<sup>486</sup>

**May 10, 2019:** Call records show that around midday, Giuliani began trading aborted calls with Kashyap “Kash” Patel, an official at the National Security Council who previously served on Rep. Devin Nunes’ staff on the Intelligence Committee. Patel successfully connected with Giuliani less than an hour after Giuliani’s call with Ambassador Volker. Beginning at 3:23 p.m., ET, Patel and Giuliani spoke for over 25 minutes. Five minutes after Patel and Giuliani disconnected, an unidentified “-1” number (who Congressional investigators suspect may be President Trump) connected with Giuliani for over 17 minutes. Shortly thereafter, Giuliani spoke with Lev Parnas for approximately 12 minutes.<sup>487</sup>

**May 10, 2019:** President Trump told Politico that it would be “appropriate” for him to speak to Attorney General Barr about launching an investigation into Biden or his son. “Certainly it would be an appropriate thing to speak to him about, but I have not done that as of yet. ... It could be a very big situation,” Trump said. Trump said he didn’t know much about Giuliani’s planned trip to Ukraine but wanted to speak with him about it. “I have not spoken to him at any great length, but I will,” Trump said. “I will speak to him about it before he leaves.”<sup>488</sup>

**May 10, 2019:** Giuliani announced that he had canceled a trip to Kyiv. “I’m convinced that [Zelensky] is surrounded by people who are enemies of the president, and people who are, at least in one case, clearly corrupt and involved in this scheme,” Giuliani told Fox News.<sup>489</sup> Giuliani said he was not going to Ukraine because he thinks he would be “walking into a group of people that are enemies of the president...in some cases enemies of the United States.” “In one case, [there’s] one already convicted person, who has been found to be involved in assisting the Democrats with the 2016 election. ...I’ll give you his name: a gentleman by the name of [Serhiy] Leshchenko, who supplied a ‘black book’ [the so-called ‘black ledger’] that was found to be fraudulent and [it was] never used because it was fraudulent, incriminating statement that was totally untrue,” he said.<sup>490</sup>

**May 10, 2019:** “He is pulling Ukraine into this dangerous game in order to save his post,” Serhiy Leshchenko, a Ukrainian member of parliament and a prominent Zelensky backer, said of Yuriy Lutsenko. “He is pulling Ukraine into a front of a domestic political war in America.”<sup>491</sup> A spokeswoman for Lutsenko told the Washington Post that the prosecutor had nothing to do with Giuliani’s potential visit to Ukraine.<sup>492</sup>

**May 10, 2019:** Giuliani further explained that he felt as if he was being “set up” by Ukrainians critical of his efforts, and he blamed Democrats for trying to “spin” the trip. “My only purpose was to make sure the investigation continued,” told the NY Times. The change of plans came as advisers were urging the incoming Zelensky not to meet with Giuliani, according to a person familiar with the conversations. Giuliani had requested the meeting with Zelensky through intermediaries, but it had not been confirmed. Giuliani said he feared he would have been “walking into a trap” had the meeting with Zelensky occurred.<sup>493</sup> Giuliani said he had canceled his trip, explaining his change of plans in a text message to Politico that the original offer for a meeting was a “set up” orchestrated by “several vocal critics” of Trump who are advising Zelensky. “Only got name yesterday and told pres elect is in hands of avowed enemies of Pres Trump,” Giuliani wrote. “Useless meeting.” “I just want to tell him, ‘Don’t let these crooks talk you out of the investigation. There are real facts there they’ve got to investigate,’” Giuliani told Politico. “A lot of this stuff is a lot easier for them to get. They do get nervous if they think the government is going to scuttle this investigation.”<sup>494</sup>

**May 10, 2019:** Kurt Volker spoke with Giuliani. Volker later recalled, “So I had learned through the media that he was going to go to Ukraine and he was intending to pursue these allegations that Lutsenko had made, and he was going to go investigate these things. And I reached out to him to brief him, a couple of key points. Lutsenko is not credible. Don’t listen to what he is saying.”<sup>495</sup>

**May 11, 2019:** According to Yuriy Lutsenko, Giuliani called him the next morning after the cancellation of his visit to Ukraine, was emotional and stressed that it was not a question of Giuliani-Leschenko, but a question of Ukraine-U.S. Speaking about the reasons for the cancellation of Giuliani’s visit, Lutsenko noted that he could not disclose everything, but “this is not about the usual cancellation of the visit of one of the U.S. lawyers.”<sup>496</sup> “My purpose was to share information to assist their on-going investigation of Ukrainian officials being used by Americans to gather information to assist Clinton in last election and to alert them to the very real dangers that there are people involved in the investigation ... who are attempting to shut it down before it reaches a conclusion,” Giuliani said in a statement. And writing in the *Ukrainska Pravda* online newspaper, Serhiy Leshchenko said Lutsenko “came up with the story” that Biden had pressured Ukraine to close the case involving Burisma.<sup>497</sup>

**May (unknown dates; after Giuliani trip cancellation), 2019:** The Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project later reported that, though Giuliani cancelled his trip, Lev Parnas and Igor Fruman managed to hold meetings with two figures close to Zelensky: Serhiy Shefir, who has since been appointed as an aide to the president, and Ivan Bakanov, once Zelensky’s campaign chairman and now acting head of Ukraine’s secret police. (Bakanov was named in the whistleblower’s complaint as one of several Ukrainian Giuliani reached out to.) The meetings failed to lead to a meeting between Giuliani and Zelensky. The two men also held a

meeting with Ukraine's national gas monopoly, Naftogaz, in order to pitch their plan to sell liquified natural gas (LNG) to the country.<sup>498</sup>

**May 11, 2019:** Serhiy Leshchenko was dismissed from consideration for Zelensky's team. He had been in line for a top position in the Ukrainian president's new administration. Zelensky's advisors understood that Giuliani was a mouthpiece for Trump, and the last thing the new Ukrainian president wanted was a sour start with the White House. "For the new president, it was impossible to have such a negative narrative with an American president at the very beginning," Leshchenko later said. "So, it of course had a bad impact on my political prospects with Zelensky's team."<sup>499</sup>

**May 13, 2019:** Serhiy Leshchenko said he had been given parts of a letter written by Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko with the intent of currying favor with the Trump administration. The letter was sent by the prosecutor through unofficial channels to Giuliani, the lawmaker told journalists in Kyiv as he distributed copies of two pages. The letter, purportedly written by Lutsenko, said that Biden, while U.S. vice president, personally received income from a Ukrainian natural gas company in exchange for "lobbying activities and political support." Leshchenko said those allegations were false. As Leshchenko explained it, Lutsenko was trying to hold onto his job in a new administration as Zelensky had said he would name a new prosecutor general. "I can assume that Lutsenko's plan is simple" -- that is, to build intrigue around Biden to show U.S. authorities that the prosecutor can be a useful partner, Leshchenko told reporters. Larysa Sargan, a spokeswoman for the prosecutor general, denied to Bloomberg that Lutsenko or anyone in his circle had written such a letter.<sup>500</sup>

**May 13, 2019:** It's reported that Attorney General William Barr has tapped John H. Durham, the U.S. attorney for the District of Connecticut, to investigate the origins of the special counsel's probe into Russian interference in the 2016 election.<sup>501</sup> As part of the early Russia inquiry, the FBI investigated several Trump associates, including Paul Manafort.<sup>502</sup>

**May 13, 2019:** Volodymyr Zelensky was not in touch with Giuliani about his planned visit to Ukraine, and neither did he know that the visit was cancelled, a spokesman for Zelensky, Dmitry Razumkov, said. "Zelensky learned that Rudy Giuliani is both visiting and not visiting [Ukraine] from media reports. This is why I am puzzled by reports in US media that someone from the team [of Zelensky] commented on some pitfalls. This is not true. We are hoping that this misunderstanding between Zelensky's team and the US representatives will be overcome," Razumkov said.<sup>503</sup>

**May 13, 2019:** President Trump met, over the objections of his national security adviser, with one of Ukraine's most virulent critics, Prime Minister Viktor Orban of Hungary, and heard a sharp assessment that bolstered his hostility toward the country, several people informed about the situation later told the New York Times. Echoing Putin's view, Orban has publicly accused Ukraine of oppressing its Hungarian minority and has cast his eye on a section of Ukraine with a heavy Hungarian population. His government has accused Ukraine of being "semi-fascist" and sought to block important meetings for Ukraine with the European Union and NATO.<sup>504</sup> One official, familiar with Orban's controversial encounter with Trump, told The Washington Post that it became "clear that the meeting with Orban had solidified" Trump's pessimistic view about President Zelensky and Kyiv.<sup>505</sup> George P. Kent, a senior State Department official in charge of



Ukraine policy, later recounted: “Fiona [Hill] assessed [Trump’s] conversations [with Putin and Orban] as being similar in tone and approach. And both leaders, both Putin and Orban, extensively talked Ukraine down, said it was corrupt, said Zelensky was in the thrall of oligarchs, specifically mentioning this one oligarch Kolomoisky, negatively shaping a picture of Ukraine, and even President Zelensky personally.”<sup>506</sup>

**May 13, 2019:** Jennifer Williams, the special adviser on Europe and Russia for Vice President Pence, received a call from an assistant to the Vice President’s chief of staff. President Trump, the assistant relayed, had “decided that the Vice President would not attend the inauguration in Ukraine,” despite the fact that Pence previously had accepted the invitation.<sup>507</sup> The whistleblower says it was “made clear” to them that “the President did not want to meet with Mr. Zelenskyy until he saw how Zelenskyy ‘chose to act’ in office.”<sup>508</sup>

**May 13, 2019:** Vice President Pence’s office says it told Ukrainian officials that the vice president would not attend Zelensky’s inauguration, even though the date for that inauguration had not yet been set. Jennifer Williams, a special adviser to Vice President Pence, says her understanding from Pence’s chief of staff’s office “was that the President [Trump] asked the Vice President not to attend.”<sup>509</sup> The White House ultimately whittled back an initial proposed list for the official Presidential Delegation to Zelensky’s inauguration from over a dozen individuals to just five.<sup>510</sup>

**May 14, 2019:** Giuliani tells a Ukrainian journalist that Ambassador Yovanovitch was “removed ... because she was part of the efforts against the president.”<sup>511</sup>

**May 14, 2019:** Yuriy Lutsenko responded to Serhiy Leshchenko’s earlier comments by calling him a “skunk” and saying that he would be questioned and charged with unlawfully revealing the details of the Paul Manafort investigation. Leshchenko had argued that the December 2018 court ruling against him (which was later canceled) was unlawful and part of an attempt by Poroshenko and Lutsenko to curry favor with Trump.<sup>512</sup>

**May 14, 2019:** Yuriy Lutsenko changed his tune. “I do not want Ukraine to again be the subject of U.S. presidential elections,” Lutsenko said in an interview in Kyiv. “Hunter Biden did not violate any Ukrainian laws -- at least as of now, we do not see any wrongdoing. A company can pay however much it wants to its board.” He said if there is a tax problem, it’s not in Ukraine. Lutsenko said he was planning to offer details to Attorney General Barr about Burisma board payments so American authorities could check whether Biden paid U.S. taxes on the income. Lutsenko said that neither Hunter Biden nor Burisma were now the focus of an investigation in Ukraine.<sup>513</sup> Lutsenko retracted the allegation about the “do not prosecute” list he had once alleged Ambassador Yovanovitch had given to him. “At the end of the day, [Viktor] Shokin submitted his own resignation,” Lutsenko also said.<sup>514</sup>

**May 15 or 16, 2019:** Victoria Toensing (later Firtash’s attorney and already John Solomon’s attorney) suggested Andriy Telizhenko call Giuliani, who had him fly to New York the next day and interviewed him, Telizhenko later told NBC News.<sup>515</sup>

**May 16 or 17, 2019:** Giuliani had a lengthy meeting with Andriy Telizhenko, a former Ukrainian diplomat. Telizhenko had made unproven claims that the DNC worked with the Kyiv government

in 2016 to dig up incriminating information about Paul Manafort. The DNC has denied Telizhenko's claims. "He was in Washington and he came up to New York, and we spent most of the afternoon together," Giuliani later told the Washington Post, referring to his meeting with Telizhenko. Giuliani declined to say what the two men discussed. "I can't tell you a thing about the meeting," he said. "When I have something to say, I'll say it."<sup>516</sup> Telizhenko said he was interviewed for five hours. Telizhenko later told BuzzFeed News that Giuliani said that he was representing Trump, that he was the president's personal lawyer, and that he was working on proving that the DNC had colluded with Ukraine in 2016 and that Hunter Biden had sought the dismissal of the country's top prosecutor, Viktor Shokin.<sup>517</sup> Asked what was discussed, Telizhenko told CNN: "My insights on what's happening with the US-Ukrainian relationship and the DNC Ukraine collusion was also mentioned. Mr. Giuliani also asked me about Vice President Biden, what my thoughts was, what were my insights on him."<sup>518</sup>



**May (date unknown), 2019:** Andriy Telizhenko met Rep. Devin Nunes (R-CA) at a housewarming party, Telizhenko later told The Daily Beast. The two chatted for about 15 minutes, he said, and didn't follow up after the party. "Congressman Nunes had a really interesting and good impact on me as a very positive and influential politician who loves America and is interested in Ukraine and developments on fighting Russia," Telizhenko told The Daily Beast. "We talked about how to fight Russian aggression in Ukraine and Russian propaganda."<sup>519</sup> In an interview with The Washington Post around the end of Oct. 2019, Telizhenko said that Nunes had told him to get in touch about his claims with Giuliani. Telizhenko met with Giuliani on May 16 or 17 in New York, though it is unclear whether that meeting happened before or after he spoke to Nunes. When asked for further details about their conversation one week after making the claim, and after The Post made inquiries to Nunes and Republican lawmakers close to Nunes, Telizhenko retracted the claim that Nunes had told him to pursue Giuliani.<sup>520</sup>

**May 16, 2019:** In the middle of Serhiy Leschenko's fight with Yuriy Lutsenko and Giuliani, Ukraine's Special Anti-Corruption Prosecutor's Office (SACPO) opened criminal proceedings against Leschenko. Nazar Kholodnytsky, head of SACPO even though he himself

has been accused of helping suspects avoid corruption charges, would also meet with Giuliani within a week of opening the proceedings. In response to the proceedings, Leshchenko on Facebook said, “Two days ago, tragic Prosecutor General Lutsenko promised to serve me a notice of suspicion for involvement in the [Paul] Manafort case. Today he announces opening a criminal investigation for receiving a bribe in the form of an apartment. I am interested in how this fantasy will continue.”<sup>521</sup> John Solomon wrote, on the same day, about Leshchenko’s new troubles and interviewed Kholodnytsky. Solomon cited Kholodnytsky suggesting Leshchenko might have been bribed to “leak” the so-called black ledger used against, or “smeared” as Solomon says, Paul Manafort. “Absolutely that is one of the things they are going to be investigating,” Kholodnytsky told Solomon.<sup>522</sup>

**A few days before May 20 (exact date unknown), 2019:** Lev Parnas, Igor Fruman, and Serhiy Shefir, a member of the inner circle of Zelensky, then the Ukrainian president-elect, met at an outdoor café in Kyiv. Parnas claims he told Shefir that the incoming government had to announce an investigation into Biden and his son, or else Vice President Pence would not attend the swearing-in of the new president, and the United States would freeze aid, a lawyer for Parnas said. Parnas’s lawyer, Joseph A. Bondy, said the message to the Ukrainians was given at the direction of Giuliani, but Giuliani said he “never authorized such a conversation.” “Categorically, I did not tell him to say that,” Giuliani said. Fruman also said Parnas’s claim was false; the men never raised the issues of aid or the vice president’s attendance at the inauguration, lawyers for Fruman later said. A lawyer for Fruman, John M. Dowd, said his client told him the men were seeking only a meeting with Zelensky. “There was no mention of any terms, military aid or whatever they are talking about it — it’s false,” said Dowd. On Nov. 8, Shefir acknowledged the meeting with Parnas and Fruman. But he said they had not raised the issue of military aid. Shefir said he briefed the incoming president on the meeting. “We did not treat Mr. Parnas and Mr. Fruman as official representatives, and therefore we did not consider that they could speak on behalf of the U.S. government,” Shefir said. He added Parnas and Fruman had requested that Zelensky meet with Giuliani. Shefir said in his Nov. 8 statement that he had told Parnas and Fruman “that we could consider meeting with Mr. Giuliani, but only publicly and officially and only after the inauguration of the newly elected president.”<sup>523</sup>

**May 18, 2019:** Giuliani attacks Ukrainian billionaire Ihor Kolomoisky on Twitter: “Billionaire Ukrainian Oligarch Ihor Kolomoisky Under Investigation by FBI He has now returned to Ukraine from exile in Israel and the first thing he did is threaten American citizens. This is real test for President. Will he be arrested?” and Giuliani linked to a story from April on Kolomoisky.<sup>524</sup> Giuliani also tweeted, “An American analyst describes Kolomoisky as ‘super dangerous.’ The notorious oligarch returned from a long exile and immediately threatened and defamed two Americans, Lev Parnas and Igor Fruman. They are my clients and I have advised them to press charges.”<sup>525</sup>

**May 19, 2019:** In an interview with Fox News’ Steve Hinton, President Trump says of Ukraine, “Biden, he calls them and says ‘Don’t you dare persecute, if you don’t fire this prosecutor’ -- The prosecutor was after his son. Then he said ‘If you fire the prosecutor, you’ll be OK. And if you don’t fire the prosecutor, we’re not giving you \$2 billion in loan guarantees,’ or whatever he was supposed to give.”<sup>526</sup>

**Shortly before May 20, 2019:** At one point during a preliminary meeting of the inauguration Delegation, David Holmes recalls Ambassador Sondland stating, "Dammit Rudy. Every time Rudy gets involved he goes and fucks everything up."<sup>527</sup>

**May 20, 2019:** Ambassador Yovanovitch left Ukraine permanently.<sup>528</sup>

**May 20, 2019:** Volodymyr Zelensky is inaugurated as president of Ukraine. During a meeting with the U.S. delegation (not clear if it was on May 20), according to David Holmes, Secretary Perry passed President Zelensky a list of "people he trusts" from whom Zelensky could seek advice on energy sector reform, which was the topic of subsequent meeting between Perry and key Ukrainian energy-sector contacts, from which U.S. Embassy personnel were excluded by Perry's staff.<sup>529</sup> Perry pressed the Ukrainian president to fire members of the Naftogaz advisory board. Attendees left the meeting with the impression that Perry wanted to replace the American representative, Amos Hochstein, a former diplomat and energy representative who served in the Obama administration, with someone "reputable in Republican circles," according to someone who was in the room.<sup>530</sup> Hochstein is a defender of Naftogaz CEO Andriy Kobolyev, who came under attack by Parnas and Fruman in March 2019. "Kobolyev is one of the most remarkable anti-corruption leaders in Ukraine," Hochstein later said.<sup>531</sup> A second meeting during Sec. Perry's trip, at a Kyiv hotel, included Ukrainian officials and energy sector people. There, Perry made clear that the Trump administration wanted to see the entire Naftogaz supervisory board replaced, according to a person who attended both meetings. Perry again referenced the list of advisers that he had given Zelenskiy, and it was widely interpreted that he wanted Michael Bleyzer, a Ukrainian-American businessman from Texas, to join the newly formed board, a person later told AP. Also on the list was Robert Bensch, another Texan who frequently works in Ukraine, the Energy Department confirmed. The person, who spoke to AP on condition of anonymity due to fear of retaliation, said he was floored by the American requests because the person had always viewed the U.S. government "as having a higher ethical standard."<sup>532</sup>

**On or shortly after May 20, 2019:** Giuliani meets with Ukrainian officials who are allied with Yuriy Lutsenko and who made allegations included in Solomon's reporting.<sup>533</sup>

**May 21, 2019:** On his Instagram account, Lev Parnas posted pictures of himself and Giuliani taking what appears to be a private tour of the fire-damaged Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris.<sup>534</sup> BuzzFeed News later reported that, while in Paris (exact date not indicated), Parnas and Igor Fruman joined Giuliani in talks with Nazar Kholodnytsky, the prosecutor who had been caught sharing investigative records with suspects. Parnas later said they managed to extract a key promise from Kholodnytsky: If they needed someone to testify about the black ledger and the efforts to damage the Trump campaign, he would do so.<sup>535</sup> When later asked by the Washington Post, Kholodnytsky declined to comment on the contents of his conversation with Giuliani, which he described as that of a "prosecutor to a former prosecutor." But he has said that he believed something didn't add up with the 2016 release of the "black ledger" that forced Trump campaign chairman Paul Manafort to resign, and that the investigation into Burisma, the energy company of which Hunter Biden was a board member, needed to be reopened.<sup>536</sup>



**May 22, 2019:** The Ukrainian publication Strana.ua ran an interview Giuliani gave to them in Paris (Note: Translated excerpts here). Giuliani was asked directly about allegations, by Serhiy Leshchenko, that Giuliani had become a victim of Yuriy Lutsenko's misinformation and that, in exchange for help in promoting disinformation, Giuliani had agreed to put pressure on the new Ukrainian authorities for Lutsenko to stay in his position. Giuliani replied, "How can you imagine that I can somehow influence the Ukrainian authorities? The USA does not interfere in the internal affairs of foreign states." When asked about accusations he was interfering in investigations in Ukraine to help Trump in 2020, Giuliani said, "I do not deal with Trump's election campaign, especially 17 months before the election." Giuliani went on to say, "I am not interested in either the Biden case or Kolomoisky."

And yet, in great detail, Giuliani went on to explain his mission in Ukraine, "Trump was accused of conspiring with Russia, but Mueller's investigation over two years did not find a single proof of this. So someone invented and twisted it all. We think that Ukraine knows the answers to some questions related to this. This is a very serious thing - an attempt to remove the President of the United States through a trumped-up case against him. We need to know which of the Americans was involved in this. And Ukraine, as a friend of the United States, should help us figure this out, and not issue statements that I heard including from the then-elected president [Zelensky], and now assuming office, that the investigation should be closed. This would be a big step back in relations between Ukraine and the United States. Therefore, I wanted to come to Kiev and tell them [Zelensky's administration] how important this investigation is. And its holding is in the interests of both Ukraine and the USA."

Giuliani offered more detail of his allegations against Yovanovitch than he had in the U.S. press, saying, "As for Yovanovitch, she acted against Trump, slowed down the investigation of the case of Kiev's interference in the American elections and urged the Attorney General not to touch Leschenko, Sytnik [the head of the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine] and the

NGO sponsored by George Soros. She went and convinced the former Ukrainian authorities that Trump should be removed, campaigning for impeachment. Yovanovitch acted very inappropriately. This behavior is unacceptable to the American ambassador.”

Giuliani called on Ukrainian authorities to investigate Ihor Kolomoisky for making threats against Parnas and Fruman, allegedly forcing them to flee Ukraine. “These are American citizens, businessmen. I don’t know the motives why, in the very first interview after returning to Ukraine from a long exile, he began to denigrate them,” Giuliani told Strana. “I have no idea why he is so angry. But he must answer for his words.”<sup>537</sup> The reporter asked, “Kolomoisky himself calls Parnas and Fruman ‘swindlers’ who allegedly act in Ukraine on your behalf without your knowledge, trying to solve their problems at the Prosecutor General. What do you say to that?” and Giuliani replied, “It is not true. Kolomoisky defames my clients; again, his motivation is not clear to me. And for this slander he must answer according to the law. Let’s see if a case will be brought against him.” Giuliani also suggested that Zelensky’s actions would be “a test for whether Kolomoisky really controls him.”<sup>538</sup>

**May 22, 2019:** In an interview with Censor.Net (a Ukrainian news site), Giuliani said, “The reason I wanted to meet with the president [Zelensky] was to say ‘Mr. President, please, don’t let them talk you out of these investigations. Please go forward with it. We’ve got to get over once and for all. And a critical piece in putting together the picture of how they developed these false charges on President Trump is going to be this.’” But Giuliani said he “was told by people in my country that I shouldn’t go, because it was a trap that was being worked out with Democrats, people loyal to Soros.” Of Zelensky, Giuliani said, “I’m still waiting to hear him say that the investigation is going forward. And that it’s going to be full and complete and they’re not going to be afraid to do it. I mean it’s sensible for the President of Ukraine to work out a strong, good and honest relationship with the US.” He went on to disparage Ambassador Yovanovitch, stating, “Somehow she’ll go working for Soros, directly or indirectly. All I can tell you is the things I heard about her. Which is that her embassy was involved heavily in finding dirty information and creating it on people in the Trump campaign. That they were heavily involved in helping Soros.”<sup>539</sup> George Kent would later say, “Giuliani, at that point [when the Censor.Net article was published], had been carrying on a campaign for several months full of lies and incorrect information about Ambassador Yovanovitch, so this was a continuation of his campaign of lies.” And Kent said that Giuliani’s “assertions and allegations against former Ambassador Yovanovitch were without basis, untrue, period.”<sup>540</sup>

**May 22, 2019:** Fiona Hill learned of President Zelensky’s concerns from Amos Hochstein. Hochstein had just returned from a pre-inauguration meeting with Zelensky and his advisers in Kyiv in which they discussed Giuliani’s and Sondland’s overtures and how to inoculate Ukraine from getting dragged into domestic U.S. politics.<sup>541</sup> At this meeting, Hochstein told Hill that “it had come to his attention that there was a lot of pressure being put on the officials of Naftogaz,” who had also reached out to talk to Hill and her NSC colleagues. Hochstein said officials at Naftogaz were pressured to, as Hill recalls, “have other board members put in place and this seemed to be at the direction of Giuliani.” Hochstein also said there was pressure in the Ukrainian energy sector to open up corruption investigations into Burisma. Hochstein warned Hill that a number of Ukrainian officials had come to him very concerned that they were getting pressure from Giuliani and his associates, Parnas and Fruman, to open up investigations and also to change the composition of the Naftogaz board.<sup>542</sup> Hill was also told that Ambassador

Sondland was giving Zelensky unsolicited advice on who should be elevated to influential posts in his new administration, the individuals said. One of them said it struck the Ukrainians as "inappropriate."<sup>543</sup>

**May 23, 2019:** Ambassador Sondland, Energy Secretary Perry, and Kurt Volker meet with President Trump in the White House. Volker says they urged Trump to invite Zelensky to the White House.<sup>544</sup> Sondland says they "asked the White House for two things: first, a working phone call between Presidents Trump and Zelensky; and, second, a working Oval Office visit."<sup>545</sup> According to Volker, Trump said that Ukraine was a corrupt country, full of "terrible people." He said they "tried to take me down."<sup>546</sup> Sondland said Trump "even mentioned that Ukraine tried to take him down in the last election." Sondland said Trump directed us to "talk with Rudy." And Sondland says the group chose to do as directed and "talk to Rudy." Sec. Perry later volunteered to make the initial calls with Giuliani, given his prior relationship.<sup>547</sup> Volker recalled that Trump said that he'd heard Zelensky has "some terrible people around him. And he referenced that he hears from Mr. Giuliani as part of that."<sup>548</sup> The three (Sondland, Volker, and Perry) begin to identify themselves as the "three amigos" on Ukraine issues.<sup>549</sup> George Kent later said that Sondland, Perry, and Volker "felt they had the mandate to take the lead on coordinating efforts to engage the new Ukrainian leadership."<sup>550</sup> David Holmes, Political Counselor at the U.S. Embassy in Kyiv, later said that Sondland, "made clear that he had direct and frequent access to President Trump and Chief of Staff Mick Mulvaney, and portrayed himself as the conduit to the President and Mr. Mulvaney for the group."<sup>551</sup> During his public hearing appearance, Sondland said, "Secretary Perry, Ambassador Volker and I worked with Mr. Rudy Giuliani on Ukraine matters at the express direction of the President of the United States. We did not want to work with Mr. Giuliani. Simply put, we played the hand we were dealt. We all understood that if we refused to work with Mr. Giuliani, we would lose an important opportunity to cement relations between the United States and Ukraine. So we followed the President's orders."<sup>552</sup> Sondland later recounted his version of the general progression of events to Congress, "You know, this whole thing was sort of a continuum, starting at the May 23rd meeting, ending up at the end of the line when the transcript of the call came out. And as I said to counsel, it started as talk to Rudy, then others talk to Rudy. Corruption was mentioned. Then, as time went on—and, again, I can't nail down the dates—then let's get the Ukrainians to give a statement about corruption. And then, no, corruption isn't enough, we need to talk about the 2016 election and the Burisma investigations. And it was always described to me as ongoing investigations that had been stopped by the previous administration and they wanted them started up again."<sup>553</sup> National Security Council official Timothy Morrison said, "[Sondland, at some point] related to me he was acting—he was discussing these matters with the President."<sup>554</sup>

**May 23, 2019:** Lt. Col. Alexander Vindman, the National Security Council's top Ukraine expert, was excluded from the briefing. Vindman was instructed, by Fiona Hill, "at the last second" not to attend the debriefing, Vindman told lawmakers, because Trump's advisers worried it might confuse the president: Trump believed at the time that Kashyap Patel, a longtime Rep. Nunes staffer who joined the White House in February 2019 and had no discernible Ukraine experience or expertise, was actually the NSC's top Ukraine expert instead of Vindman. Vindman also testified that he was told Patel had been circumventing normal NSC process to get negative material about Ukraine in front of the president, feeding Trump's belief that Ukraine was brimming with corruption and had interfered in the 2016 election on behalf of Democrats.



It's still not clear what materials Patel was giving Trump, or where he was getting them. But he was not interacting with Ukraine experts at the State Department and Pentagon on the issue, and never had a conversation with Vindman, the NSC's director for Ukraine, about Ukraine — or about anything for that matter, Vindman testified.<sup>555</sup> Patel later told CBS News he was "never a back channel to President Trump on Ukraine matters, at all, ever. Never — no meetings, no shuttling of documents, no meetings in secret. Never happened. I have no idea where they got that from." And Patel, asked in Dec. 2019 whether he has ever discussed Ukraine with the president, categorically denied this was the case. "Absolutely not. Not ever," he said.<sup>556</sup>

**May 23, 2019:** DOD again certified that Ukraine had taken substantial actions to decrease corruption (specific to the defense sector), increase accountability, and sustained improved combat capability enabled by U.S. assistance. DOD recommended providing \$125 million in military assistance, including for counter-artillery radars and defensive weapons.<sup>557</sup>

**May 24, 2019:** On the way to Tokyo, President Trump said that Attorney General Barr "can look and I hope he looks at the UK and I hope he looks at Australia and I hope he looks at Ukraine. I hope he looks at everything because there was a hoax that was perpetrated on our country. It's the greatest hoax--excuse me. Excuse me. It's the greatest hoax probably in the history of our country and somebody has to get to the bottom of it. We'll see."<sup>558</sup>

**May 26, 2019:** U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Bill Taylor sent Kurt Volker a message saying, "I am still struggling with the decision whether to go [to Ukraine]. Can anyone hope to succeed with the Giuliani-Biden issue swirling for the next 18 months?"<sup>559</sup>

**May 27, 2019:** In an interview with Ukrayinska Pravda, fugitive tycoon Ihor Kolomoysky discussed his conflict with Parnas and Fruman, saying, "I read yesterday that they had filed a report complaining about a threat to organise a murder. Two clowns. Look, there is Giuliani, and there two clowns, Lev Parnas and Igor Fruman, who were milking the bull here. They are Giuliani's clients. Parnas is close to Giuliani. But he is just a villain, an international adventurer. And the second one [Fruman] is the same. But he is a trace horse. They came here and told us that they would organise a meeting with Zelensky. They allegedly struck a deal with [Prosecutor-general Yuriy] Lutsenko about the fate of this criminal case - Burisma, [former US Vice President Joe] Biden, meddling in the US election and so on. I do not know all the details but they came to me with a demand that I organise a meeting with Zelensky." Kolomoysky said Parnas and Fruman were trying to set up a meeting between Giuliani and Zelensky, because, "Giuliani needs to promote this investigation. And as far as I understand, there was some story since Poroshenko is leaving." Kolomoysky expanded further, "If we put aside conspiracy theories and some comedy staff, the situation was about their willingness to make both Lutsenko and Zelensky interested in continuing the investigation. And taking into account that this [prosecutor Kostyantyn] Kulyk has been suspended from the investigation and he and his group have all materials in the Burisma case... There is such a mess in this case. I was reading this exchange o messages until o'clock. A big scandal may break out. (pause) And not only in Ukraine but in the USA. That is, it may turn out to be a clear conspiracy against Biden."<sup>560</sup> Soon after, a lawyer for Parnas and Fruman filed a claim for damages and told police in Kyiv that the oligarch had threatened their lives. Kolomoisky later told BuzzFeedNews that he did not threaten their lives and that he was in the process of filing a court response to fight their claim.<sup>561</sup>

**May 27, 2019:** George P. Kent, the senior State Department official in charge of Ukraine, spoke to Ambassador Yovanovitch. Kent relayed some of the details of that conversation to Ambassador Philip Reeker. Yovanovitch asked Kent to “stand up for the Embassy” because Giuliani had “denigrated the whole embassy.”<sup>562</sup>

**May 28, 2019:** Ambassador Taylor meets with Secretary Pompeo, who asks him to lead the embassy in Ukraine. Aware of the circumstances surrounding Yovanovitch’s ouster, Taylor tells Pompeo that he would hold the position only if there is a continuance of existing policy toward Ukraine.<sup>563</sup>

**May 28, 2019:** On his Instagram account, Lev Parnas posted pictures of himself, Giuliani, and Igor Fruman at Giuliani’s birthday party at Yankee Stadium with the caption “Happy birthday my brother !!!”<sup>564</sup>



**May 29, 2019:** President Trump signs a congratulatory letter to President Zelensky and promises him a visit to the White House.<sup>565</sup>

**May 30, 2019:** While appearing on Hannity on Fox News, Giuliani said, “Poroshenko didn't want to fire the guy [Viktor Shokin]. He was the godfather of the guy's kid. He did it because he was extorted. That's the crime, Joe. Extorted. And, by the way, when he took the money from Ukraine, we call that, under all laws, bribery. Bribery? Not to sound ridiculous obstruction where there's no underlying crime, and no acts of obstruction. Here, we've got the money. We've got the pressure. We've got the result. We've got the official action. Offering money or withholding money for an official action is the classical common-law crime of bribery.”<sup>566</sup>

**May 31, 2019:** While appearing on Laura Ingraham's show on Fox News, Giuliani explained, "I didn't go over [to Ukraine] because they surrounded the present president of Ukraine with Soros people, Democrats and people that were trying to set us up. I was going over there because I want to make sure the Ukrainian collusion, conspiracy with Hillary Clinton's people." Ingraham asked Giuliani if he was still trying to go to Ukraine and he replied, "I will go when I am sure they won't misstate why I'm going there. The Biden thing fell into my lap. I was not looking for it. In fact, I was a little annoyed by it."<sup>567</sup>

**June 4, 2019:** In Brussels, Ambassador Sondland hosted an (early) American Independence Day event. Sondland hosted a dinner in President Zelensky's honor following the reception, which included Zelensky, Jared Kushner, Ulrich Brechbuhl, Federica Mogherini, and comedian Jay Leno, among others. In the week leading up to the event, David Holmes says, "Ambassador Sondland, Secretary Perry, and Secretary Perry's staff were taking a very active and unconventional role in formulating our priorities for the new Zelensky Administration and personally reaching out to President Zelensky and his senior team."<sup>568</sup>

**June 11, 2019:** President Zelensky formally sends Ukrainian parliament a proposal for the dismissal of Yuriy Lutsenko as prosecutor general.<sup>569</sup>

**June 11, 2019:** The State Department finally responds to the April 12 letter, in support of Ambassador Yovanovitch, from House Majority Leader Hoyer (D-MD) and House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Eliot Engel (D-NY). State's response says only that Yovanovitch was due to complete her three-year diplomatic mission and that her May 20 departure aligned with Zelensky's presidential transition. The letter doesn't address any of the House's concerns about the political attacks on Yovanovitch or State's lack of public support for her.<sup>570</sup>

**June 12, 2019:** Asked by ABC News in the Oval Office whether his campaign would accept information from foreigners -- such as China or Russia -- or hand it over the FBI, President Trump said, "I think maybe you do both." "I think you might want to listen, there isn't anything wrong with listening," Trump continued. "It's not an interference, they have information -- I think I'd take it," Trump said. "If I thought there was something wrong, I'd go maybe to the FBI -- if I thought there was something wrong. But when somebody comes up with oppo research, right, they come up with oppo research, 'oh let's call the FBI.' The FBI doesn't have enough agents to take care of it. When you go and talk, honestly, to congressman, they all do it, they always have, and that's the way it is. It's called oppo research."<sup>571</sup>

**June 13, 2019:** Kurt Volker and Christopher J. Anderson, who preceded Croft as Volker's adviser, met with Bolton. According to Anderson, John Bolton cautioned that Giuliani was a key voice with the Trump on Ukraine which could be an obstacle to increased White House engagement.<sup>572</sup> Bolton made a joke about "every time Ukraine is mentioned, Giuliani pops up and that the President was listening to Giuliani about Ukraine."<sup>573</sup>

**June 17, 2019:** Ambassador Taylor arrives in Kyiv. He brings with him a letter from President Trump congratulating Zelensky on his election and inviting the new Ukrainian president to visit him in Washington.<sup>574</sup>

**June 18, 2019:** Sec. Rick Perry hosted a meeting at the Department of Energy, which included Kurt Volker, Ambassador Sondland, Chris Anderson and others. Ambassador Taylor participated by phone from Ukraine. The group agrees that a Trump-Zelensky meeting should be a goal.<sup>575</sup> According to Anderson, there were some vague discussions about how to address Giuliani's continued calls for a corruption investigation. After the meeting Anderson spoke with Taylor in a phone call where they "agreed on the importance of not calling for any specific investigations."<sup>576</sup>

**June 18, 2019:** Fiona Hill, Trump's top adviser on Russia and Europe, met with Ambassador Sondland at the White House. She "asked him quite bluntly" what his role was in Ukraine. Ambassador Sondland replied that "he was in charge of Ukraine." Hill was taken aback and a bit irritated. She prodded Ambassador Sondland again and asked, "Who put you in charge of Ukraine?" Hill testified: "And, you know, I'll admit, I was a bit rude. And that's when he told me the President, which shut me up." Hill tried to impress upon Sondland the "importance of coordinating" with other national security officials in the conduct of Ukraine policy, including the NSC staff and the State Department. Sondland "retorted" that he was "coordinating with the President" and acting chief of staff Mulvaney, "filling in" Ambassador Bolton, and talking to State Department Counselor Ulrich Brechbuhl. Sondland asked: "Who else did he have to inform?" But in November, Hill said she realized that Sondland "was absolutely right. Because he was being involved in a domestic political errand, and we were being involved in national security foreign policy, and those two things had just diverged. So he was correct." Hill does recall saying to Sondland at the time, "Gordon, I think this is all going to blow up."<sup>577</sup>

**June 19, 2019:** Mark Sandy, a career official at OMB, learns that President Trump had seen a media report and had questions about military assistance to Ukraine. Sandy says that Mike Duffey, an OMB political appointee, emailed him to get a description of the program from DoD.<sup>578</sup>

**June 19, 2019:** John Solomon appears on Hannity to discredit the papers, known in Ukraine as the "black ledger," which listed cash payments to Manafort. Solomon told Hannity, "We now know that the FBI used to justify the early Trump investigation for which they were warned early on the information was likely suspect and perhaps fake." President Trump follows shortly after Solomon on the show and expresses his belief that Ukraine was linked to the 2016 hack of the DNC. Trump says, "And Ukraine. Take a look at Ukraine. How come the FBI didn't take this server? Podesta told them to get out. He said, get out. So, how come the FBI didn't take the server from the DNC?"<sup>579</sup>

**June 20, 2019:** Fox Business Network's Lou Dobbs has John Solomon on to discuss, as Dobbs described it, "the low-life standards of the FBI and pursuing -- and the Special Counsel in pursuing Manafort through the black cash ledger." Solomon contended that the black ledger was "likely false, likely fake, a fraud." Dobbs concluded that "the only corrupt figures that are revealed here are the investigators themselves." Dobbs discussed the Bidens in Ukraine with his next guests, Victoria Toensing and Joe diGenova, who said that "the FBI and DOJ remain today politically corrupt organizations," which Bill Barr was going to clean up.<sup>580</sup>

**June 21, 2019:** Giuliani tweets: "New Pres of Ukraine still silent on investigation of Ukrainian interference in 2016 election and alleged Biden bribery of Pres Poroshenko. Time for leadership

and investigate both if you want to purge how Ukraine was abused by Hillary and Obama people.”<sup>581</sup> Not indicating specific dates, Ambassador Sondland later said, “Giuliani conveyed to Secretary Perry, Ambassador Volker, and others that President Trump wanted a public statement from President Zelensky committing to investigations of Burisma and the 2016 election. Mr. Giuliani expressed those requests directly to the Ukrainians. Mr. Giuliani also expressed those requests directly to us. We all understood that these pre-requisites for the White House call and White House meeting reflected President Trump’s desires and requirements.”<sup>582</sup>

**June 25, 2019:** Austria’s Supreme Court of Justice ruled that Dymitro Firtash can be extradited to the United States. The decision comes days after a Chicago federal judge rejected a motion to dismiss an indictment accusing Firtash of a conspiracy to pay bribes in India to mine titanium, which is used in jet engines.<sup>583</sup> Around the same time, Firtash’s lawyers told TIME that the extradition looked imminent, and they were preparing to defend Firtash before a jury in Chicago. They also said, however, that they were ready to produce evidence that would embarrass officials from the Obama Administration. “This will be very tough against the previous Administration,” one of Firtash’s lawyers said at the end of June. “With the current Administration, I think they will like it.”<sup>584</sup>

**June 27, 2019:** According to Ambassador Taylor’s Oct. 22 testimony, Ambassador Sondland told Taylor during a phone conversation that “President Zelenskyy needed to make clear to President Trump that he, President Zelenskyy, was not standing in the way of ‘investigations.’”<sup>585</sup>

**June 28, 2019:** According to Ambassador Taylor’s testimony, he “sensed something odd when Ambassador Sondland told me on June 28 that he did not wish to include most of the regular interagency participants in a call planned with President Zelenskyy later that day.” Sondland said, “he wanted to make sure no one was transcribing or monitoring as they added President Zelenskyy to the call.” And Kurt Volker separately told the U.S. participants that he, “planned to be explicit with President Zelenskyy in a one-on-one meeting in Toronto on July 2 about what President Zelenskyy should do to get the White House meeting.” Volker noted that “he would relay that President Trump wanted to see rule of law, transparency, but also, specifically, cooperation on investigations to ‘get to the bottom of things.’” During the call, Zelensky said he looked forward to the White House visit President Trump had offered in his May 29 letter.<sup>586</sup> When asked by Congress about the call, Sondland did not recall having a call with President Zelensky and could offer not details.<sup>587</sup> David Holmes later said that Taylor told him, “it was made clear that some action on a Burisma/Biden investigation was a precondition for an Oval Office meeting.”<sup>588</sup>

**Late June (unknown date), 2019:** Dmytro Firtash met Lev Parnas in Vienna through a mutual Ukrainian friend, a person familiar with the episode told the Washington Post. At the time, Firtash was considering switching lawyers and asked about Victoria Toensing and Joe diGenova. Parnas vouched for the couple, whom he had met through Giuliani, and urged Firtash to hire them, the person said.<sup>589</sup> There was a brief discussion about Giuliani’s taking on that role of Firtash’s lawyer himself, but Giuliani later told the NY Times that he decided against it. According to Parnas’s lawyer, that is when Giuliani charged Parnas with persuading Firtash to replace his lawyer, Lanny Davis, with Toensing and diGenova. “[Parnas and Fruman] said, ‘We

may help you, we are offering to you good lawyers in D.C. who might represent you and deliver this message to the U.S. D.O.J.,” Firtash recalled to the NY Times. Toensing and diGenova, Parnas and Fruman told him, “are in a position to insist to correct the record and call back” of some evidence used against him, Firtash recalled.<sup>590</sup> diGenova says he’s known Attorney General Barr for 30 years— connections that could prove valuable in Firtash’s ongoing extradition fight. Parnas played a pivotal role in Firtash’s decision to replace Davis with diGenova and Toensing, a source with direct knowledge of the situation later told CNN.<sup>591</sup> (Note: Given the reported earlier advocacy with Naftogaz that would benefit Firtash, it seems unlikely this is when they actually first met.) Parnas later described offering Firtash help with his Justice Department problems — if Firtash hired Toensing and diGenova. Firtash later told the NY Times that the offer was made in late June when he met with Parnas and Fruman. Parnas’s lawyer, Joseph A. Bondy, confirmed that account to the NY Times and added that his client had met with Firtash at Giuliani’s direction and encouraged the oligarch to help in the hunt for compromising information on the Bidens “as part of any potential resolution to his extradition matter.” “Mr. Parnas reasonably believed Giuliani’s directions reflected the interests and wishes of the president, given Parnas having witnessed and in several instances overheard Mr. Giuliani speaking with the president,” Parnas’s lawyer, Bondy, said. Parnas, he added, “is remorseful for involving himself and Mr. Firtash in the president’s self-interested political plot.” Asked if he had then directed his associates to meet with Firtash, Giuliani later told the NY Times, “I don’t think I can comment,” but later said, “I did not tell Parnas to do anything with Firtash.” To help his legal case, Firtash later said, he had paid his new lawyers \$1.2 million through late November 2019, with a portion set aside as something of a referral fee for Parnas. Firtash said their contract was for \$300,000 a month, including Parnas’s referral fee. A person with direct knowledge of the arrangement told the NY Times that Parnas’s total share was \$200,000 – Toensing has said that fee was for case-related translation.<sup>592</sup>

**June 29-30, 2019:** Giuliani photographed with Lev Parnas and someone who looks to be Igor Fruman at Yankees games in London.<sup>593</sup>



**Around July (exact dates not disclosed), 2019:** Giuliani and The Hill actively pursued a deal to create a podcast together, with John Solomon acting as an intermediary, according to emails obtained by ProPublica. Giuliani told ProPublica that the podcast grew out of discussions with The Hill’s owner, Jimmy Finkelstein, a Republican and longtime friend who served as a



fundraiser for Giuliani's failed 2008 presidential run. "I was talking to Jimmy about a podcast that didn't happen," Giuliani said in an email, adding that "John Solomon was just trying to help Jimmy get it done." The Hill, confirming the Giuliani discussions, said it was planning to create a "podcast network with a multitude of political voices from all sides." Giuliani said he was "never paid" for his podcast work.<sup>594</sup>

**July 3, 2019:** Giuliani went to a London cigar shop with Lev Parnas and Igor Fruman. Giuliani later emailed a photo of the moment to John Solomon, with a subject line that began: "Smoked Filled Room." Giuliani also sent a second photo of himself seated in Winston Churchill's chair at the Fox cigar bar to Solomon.<sup>595</sup>



**July 3, 2019:** Kurt Volker met with President Zelensky in Toronto, Canada. In a private conversation with Zelensky, Volker says that he "made clear that Mayor Giuliani does not speak for the U.S. government, but is a private citizen and the President's personal attorney."<sup>596</sup> But Volker, just days before, had said he intended to "be explicit" with Zelensky about what he needed to do in order to get the White House meeting. Ambassador Taylor later recounted being told "Kurt suggested to President Zelensky that President Trump would like to hear about the investigations."<sup>597</sup> George Kent recounted that "prior to the meeting, Ambassador Volker told me that he would need to have a private meeting separately with the President [Zelensky], that



he would pull him aside. And he explained to me that the purpose of that private conversation was to underscore the importance of the messaging that Zelensky needed to provide to President Trump about his willingness to be cooperative. And that happened—as the meeting broke up, he announced that he needed to have a private meeting. He went around to the Ukrainian side of the table and pulled Zelensky, his chief of staff, Bohdan, and the translator.” Kent said that Volker had suggested “Zelensky needed to be signaling something in his cooperative attitude towards something the President was interested in.”<sup>598</sup>

**About July 3, 2019:** Lieutenant Colonel Vindman “was concretely made aware” by July 3 that a hold had been placed on military aid to Ukraine following “abnormal” questions from OMB. Vindman said “ultimately, all security assistance [to Ukraine] was put on hold.” Then, between July 3 and July 18, Vindman says there were multiple memos from people trying unsuccessfully to get to the bottom on why OMB was applying this hold.<sup>599</sup>

**July 10, 2019:** Ukrainian officials Alexander Danyliuk (the Ukrainian national security advisor), Andriy Yermak, Secretary Perry, John Bolton, Kurt Volker, and Ambassador Sondland met at the White House. Fiona Hill and Lt. Col. Vindman later told Ambassador Taylor that, during the July 10 meeting, Sondland had connected “investigations” with an Oval Office meeting for Zelensky, which so irritated Bolton that he abruptly ended the meeting, telling Hill and Vindman that they should have nothing to do with domestic politics.<sup>600</sup> Vindman later said “Sondland started to speak about Ukraine delivering specific investigations in order to secure the meeting with the President, at which time Ambassador Bolton cut the meeting short.”<sup>601</sup> Bolton opposed a call between Zelensky and Trump out of concern that it “would be a disaster” (according to Taylor’s Oct. 22 testimony).<sup>602</sup> Bolton ended the meeting after Sondland said (according to Hill), “Well, we have an agreement with the chief of staff for a [Trump-Zelensky] meeting if these investigations in the energy sector start.” As the meeting ended, Hill says, “Ambassador Sondland said to Ambassador Volker and also Secretary Perry and the other people who were with him, including the Ukrainians, to come down to—there’s room in the White House, the Ward Room, to basically talk about next steps. And that’s also unusual. I mean, he meant to talk to the Ukrainians about next steps about the [Trump-Zelensky] meeting.” After this, Bolton sent Hill down to the Ward Room to see what Sondland was doing. Hill recounts, “And Ambassador Sondland, in front of the Ukrainians, as I came in, was talking about how he had an agreement with Chief of Staff Mulvaney for a meeting with the Ukrainians if they were going to go forward with investigations. And my director for Ukraine was looking completely alarmed.” When Hill pressed Sondland to stop the discussion, “he started to basically talk about discussions that he had had with the chief of staff. He mentioned Mr. Giuliani, but then I cut him off because I didn’t want to get further into this discussion at all.” Hill confirmed to Congress that she “heard Ambassador Sondland mention Burisma.”<sup>603</sup> According to Vindman’s recounting, “[Sondland] emphasized the importance that Ukraine deliver the investigations into the 2016 election, the Bidens, and Burisma.” Vindman says he “stated to Amb. Sondland that his statements were inappropriate, that the request to investigate Biden and his son had nothing to do with national security, and that such investigations were not something the NSC was going to get involved in or push.” Hill then entered the room and asserted to Sondland that his statements were inappropriate.<sup>604</sup> Vindman also confirmed that Sondland said the “deliverable” that was demanded of Ukraine “had been coordinated with White House Chief of Staff Mr. Mick Mulvaney.” And Vindman confirmed that Sondland “was talking about the 2016 elections and an investigation into the Bidens and Burisma.” Vindman says that, in the Ward Room meeting,

Sondland told the Ukrainians they “would have to deliver an investigation into the Bidens” and that “there was no ambiguity” about what Sondland was asking for.<sup>605</sup> Sondland later told Congress that “demands” were indeed made of Zelensky. “If you mean that those conditions would have to be complied with prior to getting a meeting, that was my understanding,” Sondland said.<sup>606</sup> In his public testimony, Sondland said, “I recall mentioning the pre-requisite of investigations before any White House call or meeting. But I do not recall any yelling or screaming as others have said.”<sup>607</sup>

**July 10, 2019:** John Bolton told Fiona Hill to notify John Eisenberg, the chief lawyer for the NSC, about a rogue effort by Ambassador Sondland, Giuliani, and Mick Mulvaney. Hill says, in what she called a direct quote, Bolton told her “You go and tell Eisenberg that I am not part of whatever drug deal Sondland and Mulvaney are cooking up on this, and you go and tell him what you’ve heard and what I’ve said.” Hill says she then told Eisenberg that “Sondland had basically indicated that there was agreement with the chief of staff that they would have a White House meeting or, you know, a Presidential meeting if the Ukrainians started up these investigations again” and “that he did this in front of the Ukrainians.” Hill says Bolton believed Sondland, Giuliani, and Mulvaney were making “an improper arrangement to have a meeting in the White House” if the Ukrainians agreed to restart investigations into Burisma.<sup>608</sup> It was not the first time Bolton expressed concerns to Hill about the campaign being run by Giuliani. “Giuliani’s a hand grenade who’s going to blow everybody up,” Hill quoted Bolton as saying during an earlier conversation.<sup>609</sup> Vindman also says he reported his concerns to the NSC’s lead counsel, Eisenberg.<sup>610</sup> Hill says she also talked to Deputy National Security Advisor Charlie Kupperman and told him “this was the company that Hunter Biden was associated with. And we were concerned that—not at this particular juncture, again, not specifically about the Bidens per se, but that Ukraine was going to be played by Giuliani in some way as part of the [2020] campaign.” Eisenberg told Hill that he would follow up with White House Counsel Pat Cipollone.<sup>611</sup>

**July 10, 2019:** In Kyiv, Ambassador Taylor met with President Zelensky’s chief of staff, Andrei Bohdan, and then-foreign policy advisor Vadym Prystaiko, who told Taylor that they had heard from Giuliani that the phone call between the two presidents was unlikely to happen and that they were alarmed and disappointed. Taylor relayed their concerns to Counselor Brechbuhl.<sup>612</sup>

**July 10, 2019:** In Washington, Kurt Volker met with Andriy Yermak, a top advisor to President Zelensky. Yermak asked Volker to connect him with Guilianai. Volker wrote Giuliani that day.<sup>613</sup>

**July 10, 2019:** In the evening, Ambassador Kurt Volker provided Ambassador Taylor an update on meetings at the White House with the Ukrainian delegation, saying it was “not good” and “let’s talk.”<sup>614</sup>

**July 10, 2019:** Ambassador Taylor received a communication that Giuliani was still talking with Yuriy Lutsenko. In WhatsApp messages with Ambassador Volker and Ambassador Sondland, Taylor wrote:

- 7:56 Bill Taylor: Just had a meeting with Andriy and Vadym. Very concerned about what Lutsenko told them -- that, according to RG, the ZE-POTUS meeting will not happen. Advice?
- 7:57 Kurt Volker: Good grief. Please tell Vadym to let the official USG representatives speak for the U.S. lutsenko has his own self-Interest here
- 7:58 Bill Taylor: Exactly what I told them.
- 7:59 Bill Taylor: And I said that RG is a private citizen.
- 11:43 Bill Taylor: I briefed Ulrich this afternoon on this.

Sondland later said he, Taylor, and Volker were surprised to find out “Giuliani was communicating with the reportedly corrupt Ukrainian prosecutor Lutsenko and discussing whether a Zelensky-Trump meeting was going to happen, again without our knowledge.”<sup>615</sup>

**July 12, 2019:** A top aide to White House chief of staff Mick Mulvaney, Robert Blair, emails Mike Duffey, an OMB political appointee, to inform him, according to Mark Sandy’s recollection, “the President is directing a hold on military support funding for Ukraine.”<sup>616</sup>

**July 13, 2019:** Ambassador Sondland urged NSC official Timothy Morrison to schedule the call between President Trump and President Zelensky before Ukrainian parliamentary elections on July 21. “Sole purpose is for Zelensky to give Potus assurances of ‘new sheriff’ in town. Corruption ending, unbundling moving forward and any hampered investigations will be allowed to move forward transparently,” Sondland wrote in an email. Morrison replied that he was “tracking.”<sup>617</sup>

**On or around July 15, 2019:** Deputy National Security Advisor Charlie Kupperman told NSC official Timothy Morrison that “the chief of staff’s office had informed OMB that it was the President’s direction to hold the [Ukrainian military] assistance.”<sup>618</sup>

**July 16, 2019:** Austria's justice minister approved the extradition to the U.S. of Dymitro Firtash, but he can stay in Austria while a court considers a defense motion to reopen the case, authorities said. A Vienna state court judge ruled the extradition could only take place after that court has decided on the defense motion to reconsider the matter, and a court spokeswoman said the defense provided “extremely extensive material.” Dieter Boehmdorfer, an Austrian lawyer for Firtash, told Oe1 radio the defense aims to prove “that the U.S. does have a far-reaching political motivation” to secure Firtash.<sup>619</sup>

**July 16, 2019:** Ukraine’s Sixth Administrative Court of Appeals canceled a court ruling from Dec. 2018 that found that independent lawmaker Serhiy Leshchenko and Artem Sytnyk, head of the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine, unlawfully interfered in the 2016 U.S. presidential election.<sup>620</sup> “The court concluded that all the charges against me were unfounded, and even obliged my opponents to reimburse me for \$100 in legal costs,” Leshchenko later wrote in The Washington Post.<sup>621</sup>

**July 17 or 18, 2019:** Mike Duffey, an OMB political appointee, emailed Robert Blair, a top aide to White House chief of staff Mick Mulvaney, to ask him the reason for the hold on security assistance to Ukraine. Mark Sandy, a career official at OMB, says Blair “didn’t provide an

explicit response on the reason. He simply said, we need to let the hold take place –and I’m paraphrasing here – and then revisit this issue with the President.”<sup>622</sup>

**July 18, 2019:** Mark Sandy, a career official at OMB, returns from leave and says Mike Duffey, an OMB political appointee, informed him on President Trump’s decision to withhold military support funding for Ukraine. Duffey wanted to create an apportionment that would implement the hold. Sandy says he raised the concern that withholding the funds could create a violation of the Impoundment Control Act and said he would want to consult with the General Counsel first. Sandy says, “I asked about the duration of the hold and was told that there was not clear guidance on that.”<sup>623</sup>

**July 18, 2019:** In a regular NSC secure video-conference call, Ambassador Taylor heard a staff person from the OMB say that there was a hold on security assistance to Ukraine but could not say why. Toward the end of an otherwise normal meeting, a voice on the call — the person was off-screen — said that she was from OMB and that her boss had instructed her not to approve any additional spending of security assistance for Ukraine until further notice. Taylor says he and others sat in astonishment. All that the OMB staff person said was that the directive had come from the President to the Chief of Staff to OMB.<sup>624</sup> Catherine Croft, another foreign service officer and Ukraine expert, said, “The only reason given was that the order came at the direction of the President.” Croft said she had heard about the hold before that date, but does not remember the specific date.<sup>625</sup> Kurt Volker confirmed this as the date that he became aware of the hold and later said that no reason had been given for the hold.<sup>626</sup> In the days after this call, after asking why military assistance to Ukraine was frozen, Ambassador Sondland “kept getting different answers from different people” and “could not get a straight answer.”<sup>627</sup> George Kent remembers the OMB representative stating “that the head of the Office of Management and Budget who was the acting chief of staff, Mick Mulvaney, at the direction of the President had put a hold on all security assistance to the Ukraine.”<sup>628</sup>

**July 18, 2019:** Members of Congress are told that the hold on Ukraine funding is part of an “interagency delay.”<sup>629</sup>

**July 19, 2019:** Fiona Hill and Lt. Col. Vindman tried to reassure Ambassador Taylor, over the phone, that they were not aware of any official change in U.S. policy toward Ukraine. Taylor testified that, “They did confirm that the hold on security assistance for Ukraine came from Chief of Staff Mick Mulvaney and that the Chief of Staff maintained a skeptical view of Ukraine.” Hill informed Taylor that Volker had met with Giuliani to discuss Ukraine. Taylor said, “This caught me by surprise.”<sup>630</sup>

**July 19, 2019:** Kurt Volker, Giuliani, and Lev Parnas had breakfast at the Trump Hotel in DC. According to Volker, Giuliani “mentioned both the accusations about Vice President Biden and about interference in the 2016 election, and stressed that all he wanted to see was for Ukraine to investigate what happened in the past and apply its own laws.”<sup>631</sup> Volker further advised Giuliani during the breakfast that Prosecutor General, Yuriy Lutsenko was promoting a “self-serving narrative to preserve himself in power.” Giuliani agreed with Volker and stated that he had come to that conclusion as well.<sup>632</sup> Volker later texted Giuliani to thank him for breakfast and to introduce him to Yermak.<sup>633</sup>

**July 19, 2019:** Call records reviewed by the House investigatory committees show repeated contact between Ambassador Sondland and the White House around this time. At 10:43 a.m. ET, a number associated with the White House dialed Sondland. Four minutes later, at 10:47 a.m., Sondland called a White House phone number and connected for approximately seven minutes.<sup>634</sup>

**July 19, 2019:** Kurt Volker, Ambassador Sondland, and Ambassador Taylor had the following three-way WhatsApp exchange about the specific goal for the upcoming telephone call between President Trump and Zelensky:

[7/19/19, 4:49:42 PM] Volker: Can we three do a call tomorrow—say noon WASHINGTON? .

[7/19/19, 6:50:29 PM] Sondland: Looks like Potus call tomorrow. I spike [sic] directly to Zelensky and gave him a full briefing. He's got it.

[7/19/19, 6:52:57 PM] Sondland: Sure!

[7/19/19, 7:01:22 PM] Volker: Good. Had breakfast with Rudy this morning—teeing up call w Yermak Monday. Must have helped. Most imp't is for Zelensky to say that he will help investigation—and address any specific personnel issues—if there are any<sup>635</sup>

**July 19, 2019:** A day before President Trump was initially scheduled to speak to President Zelensky, Ambassador Sondland emailed a group of administration officials including Mick Mulvaney and Sec. Perry to say that Zelensky was prepared to assure the president that he would open investigations. “I talked to Zelensky just now. He is prepared to receive Potus’ call,” Sondland wrote. “Will assure him that he intends to run a fully transparent investigation and will ‘turn over every stone.’ ” He added that Zelensky was eager for the call to take place before the parliamentary elections. Mulvaney responded: “I asked NSC to set it up for tomorrow.”<sup>636</sup>

**July 20, 2019:** Ambassador Taylor had a phone conversation with Ambassador Sondland while he was on a train from Paris to London during which Sondland told Taylor that he had recommended to Zelensky that he use the phrase, “I will leave no stone unturned” with regard to “investigations” when Zelensky spoke with Trump.<sup>637</sup>

**July 20, 2019:** Ambassador Taylor asked Kurt Volker about his meeting with Giuliani, but received no response.<sup>638</sup>

**July 20, 2019:** Ambassador Taylor had a phone conversation with then-Ukrainian national security adviser Oleksandr Danyliuk, during which he conveyed to Taylor that President Zelensky did not want to be used as a pawn in a U.S. re-election campaign.<sup>639</sup>

**July 21, 2019:** David Hale, the State Dept. Undersecretary for Political Affairs, first learned that “OMB had stopped the aid” to Ukraine.<sup>640</sup>

**July 21, 2019:** Ambassador Taylor texted both Kurt Volker and Ambassador Sondland about Zelensky’s concern, about used as a pawn in a U.S. re-election campaign.<sup>641</sup>

[7/21/19, 1:45:54 AM] Taylor: Gordon, one thing Kurt and I talked about yesterday was Sasha Danyliuk's point that President Zelenskyy is sensitive about Ukraine being taken seriously, not merely as an instrument in Washington domestic, reelection politics.

[7/21/19, 4:45:44 AM] Sondland: Absolutely, but we need to get the conversation started and the relationship built, irrespective of the pretext. I am worried about the alternative.

642

**July 22, 2019:** Andriy Yermak and Giuliani agreed to speak in the morning. Later that evening, Kurt Volker informed Ambassador Sondland and Ambassador Taylor that Giuliani was now "advocating" for a phone call between Trump and Zelensky:

[7/22/19 4:27:55 PM] Volker: Orchestrated a great phone call w Rudy and Yermak. They are going to get together when Rudy goes to Madrid in a couple of weeks.

[7/22/19 4:28:08 PM] Volker: In the meantime Rudy is now advocating for phone call.

[7/22/19 4:28:26 PM] Volker: I have call into Fiona's replacement and will call Bolton if needed.

[7/22/19 4:28:48 PM] Volker: But I can tell Bolton and you can tell Mick that Rudy agrees on a call if that helps.

[7/22/19 4:30:10 PM] Sondland: I talked to Tim Morrison Fiona's replacement. He is pushing but feel free as well. <sup>643</sup>

**July (unknown date), 2019:** A meeting took place at the Trump International Hotel in DC. Present were Lev Parnas, Igor Fruman, Joe diGenova, Victoria Toensing and two other Firtash representatives, a source with knowledge told CNN. Also in attendance, the source said, was David Correia. At some point shortly before that meeting, the deal was sealed. Toensing and diGenova joined Firtash's legal team. <sup>644</sup>

**July 22, 2019:** John Solomon, who it was later revealed is also represented by diGenova and Toensing, wrote an article in The Hill in which he alleges that Andrew Weissmann, one of the top prosecutors for Mueller on the Russia investigation, made an offer to Dmytro Firtash in June 2017, "Give us some dirt on Donald Trump in the Russia case, and Team Mueller might make his 2014 U.S. criminal charges go away." Solomon went on to cite sealed court filings in Austria made by Firtash's legal team and quoted statements he received from Firtash's team. <sup>645</sup> Solomon then, again, went on Hannity's Fox News show to discuss the story. Hannity, introducing the story, said, "Weissmann promised to make all of the prior charges in the United States just go away, just give me any dirt you have on President Trump or his family or the campaign." "It's a very sad day when a Ukrainian oligarch has more integrity than the U.S. federal prosecutor," Hannity concluded. Solomon went on to state, "In the case against the oligarchs, behind the scenes, Weissmann's team knew that there was about to be some very ugly discoveries for the Justice Department, wrongdoing. Admission of evidence that was miscast. And other things like that." <sup>646</sup>

**July 22, 2019:** Lev Parnas told BuzzFeed, in an interview at the Trump International Hotel in DC, that he expected the information that he and Igor Fruman advanced to become an important focus of Attorney General Barr's inquiry, and to dominate the debate in the run-up to the 2020 election. "It's all going to come out," he said. "Something terrible happened and we're finally going to get to the bottom of it." Parnas insisted he and Fruman were not paid for acting

as intermediaries between the Ukrainian officials and Giuliani. “All we were doing was passing along information,” he said. “Information was coming to us — either I bury it or I pass it on. I felt it was my duty to pass it on.” He said the back channel was initiated by Ukrainian officials who wanted to meet US authorities and had trouble making the right connections. “They knew I was friends with the mayor,” he said, referring to Giuliani.<sup>647</sup>

**Week of July 22, 2019:** OMB’s Budget Review Division meets to craft a footnote to implement the hold on military assistance funding to Ukraine through apportionment. The footnote was to preclude obligation of the funds for a limited period of time but enable planning and casework to continue. Mark Sandy, a career official at OMB, later said that, “normally apportionments enable departments and agencies to obligate their funding.” And, in his experience approving apportionments since 2013, Sandy said, “I do not recall another event like it.”<sup>648</sup>

**July (week of 21-27) , 2019:** Olena Zerkal, deputy minister of foreign affairs of Ukraine, serving in Kyiv, reads a cable from the Ukrainian embassy in Washington that said the Trump administration had frozen military aid for Ukraine. “We had this information,” Zerkal said in Dec. 2019. “It was definitely mentioned there were some issues.” “This information caught my attention,” she said. “Without your clear support and stance against Russian aggression we won’t be able, alone, to protect ourselves.” Zerkal’s account confirms that senior figures in Kyiv knew about the aid freeze during the Trump administration’s pressure campaign in July. The Ukrainian presidential administration was copied as a recipient of the cable from the embassy in Washington, Zerkal said, adding: “We received it simultaneously.” In Dec. 2019, Zerkal could not confirm the precise date it had been transmitted.<sup>649</sup> The day after the New York Times posted the story revealing this incident, Zerkal clarified that the cable stated only that the issue of military assistance wasn’t completely agreed at the time. “It caught my attention because it was really unclear to me why it had not been agreed yet. But I didn’t have a feeling it was a crisis, that it could lead to any consequences,” the diplomat said.<sup>650</sup>

**July 23, 2019:** A higher level interagency meeting (PCC) was held to discuss the hold on Ukrainian security assistance funding.<sup>651</sup> At this meeting, the representatives of OMB said that the hold had been imposed by the chief of staff’s office, and they had been informed it was at the direction of the President. The OMB reps did not provide a reason for the hold.<sup>652</sup> Jennifer Williams, a special adviser to Vice President Pence, later said the unanimous view of all the agencies that participated in the PCC was that the hold should be lifted.<sup>653</sup>

**July 23, 2019:** Dmytro Firtash officially changed legal teams, replacing longtime Democratic lawyer Lanny Davis with the husband-and-wife team of Victoria Toensing and Joseph diGenova, who appear frequently on Fox News to defend Trump and have served as informal advisers to Trump’s legal team, including Giuliani. Davis, who had been registered as a foreign agent to represent Firtash, filed paperwork indicating that he was no longer working for the Ukrainian. In a statement, he said he had been replaced by Toensing and diGenova. Unlike Davis, they did not register with the Justice Department as foreign agents.<sup>654</sup> One of the reasons for his departure, according to two people close to Firtash, was that Davis had been representing Trump’s former lawyer, Michael Cohen, since July 2018. That relationship had made Davis an enemy of Trump.<sup>655</sup> Toensing later said her firm hired Parnas as a paid translator, though people familiar with Firtash’s business say he has plenty of translators and key aides who speak fluent English.<sup>656</sup> A person familiar with Parnas and Fruman’s business affairs told Reuters that



both men had been working for Firtash for several months before Parnas joined the Ukrainian mogul's legal team, and that Firtash has paid their expenses in the past. Their costs include private jet charters in the United States and foreign travel to Vienna, according to the source, who is familiar with their finances.<sup>657</sup> Alongside Toensing and DiGenova, another long-time Republican operative began representing Firtash in July: Mark Corallo, the former spokesman for Trump's private defense team during the Mueller investigation.<sup>658</sup> Time reporter Simon Shuster later says about the change in counsel, "Well, the connection goes through a couple of Giuliani's close associates, these two lawyers and TV personalities that would be familiar to any frequent viewer of Fox News - Victoria Toensing and Joe diGenova. These two lawyers have been reportedly helping Giuliani in his kind of global search for dirt on Joe Biden and his efforts to discredit the Mueller investigation. Now, in July, Toensing and diGenova were officially hired as lawyers for Dmytro Firtash, so they now formally work for him and they represent him. And again, they are close allies and associates of Giuliani. So in July, those two teams, effectively, were linked, or even merged, in their various efforts - Firtash on his side trying to avoid extradition, and Giuliani trying to dig up dirt on Trump's enemies."<sup>659</sup>

**July 24, 2019:** A Ukrainian TV report, on Inter TV, said that John Solomon's reporting, about Andrew Weismann's alleged offer to Firtash, and his appearances on television "gives [Firtash] additional arguments in the Austrian courts, since it proves the political nature of the US request for his extradition."<sup>660</sup>

**July 25, 2019:** In the morning – ahead of the planned call between President Trump and President Zelensky – Kurt Volker advised Yermak:

[7/25/19, 8:36:45 AM] Volker: Good lunch - thanks. Heard from White House—assuming President Z convinces trump he will investigate / "get to the bottom of what happened" in 2016, we will nail down date for visit to Washington. Good luck! See you tomorrow-kurt<sup>661</sup>

**July 25, 2019:** Ambassador Sondland spoke with President Trump to prepare him for the Zelensky call.<sup>662</sup>

**July 25, 2019:** President Trump and President Zelensky had the long-awaited phone conversation. Trump said that Ambassador Yovanovitch was "bad news" and that she is "going to go through some things." On the call, Trump proceeds to ask Zelensky to open the two desired investigations and discusses Biden. Trump repeatedly suggests Attorney General Barr will be involved in working with the Ukrainian government on the investigations. Zelensky tells Trump that his yet-to-be-named new prosecutor general "will look into the situation, specifically to the company that you mentioned in this issue" — apparently referring to Burisma.<sup>663</sup> Trump appears to urge Zelensky to keep Yuriy Lutsenko, saying that he "heard the prosecutor was treated very badly and he was a very fair prosecutor." Others think Trump could have been talking about Viktor Shokin.

According to the non-verbatim memorandum of the call, Zelensky said: "I would also like to thank you for your great support in the area of defense. We are ready to continue to cooperate for the next steps specifically we are almost ready to buy more Javelins from the United States for defense purposes."

Trump directly responded: “I would like you to do us a favor though because our country has been through a lot and Ukraine knows a lot about it. I would like you to find out what happened with this whole situation with Ukraine, they say CrowdStrike... I guess you have one of your wealthy people... The server, they say Ukraine has it. There- are a lot of things that went on, the whole situation. I think you’re surrounding yourself with some of the same people. I would like to have the Attorney General call you or your people and I would like you to get to the bottom of it. As you saw yesterday, that whole nonsense ended with a very poor performance by a man named Robert Mueller, an incompetent performance, but they say a lot of it started with Ukraine. Whatever you can do, it’s very important that you do it if that’s possible.”

After a few other statements, Zelensky said, “I will personally tell you that one of my assistants spoke with Mr. Giuliani just recently and we are hoping very much that Mr. Giuliani will be able to travel to Ukraine and we will meet once he comes to Ukraine.” Also stating, “I guarantee as the President of Ukraine that all the investigations will be done openly and candidly. That I can assure you.”

Trump replied: “Good because I heard you had a prosecutor who was very good and he was shut down and that’s really unfair. A lot of people are talking about that, the way they shut your very good prosecutor down and you had some very bad people involved. Mr. Giuliani is a highly respected man. He was the mayor of New York City, a great mayor, and I would like him to call you. I will ask him to call you along with the Attorney General. Rudy very much knows what’s happening and he is a very capable guy. If you could speak to him that would be great. The former ambassador from the United States, the woman, was bad news and the people she was dealing with in the Ukraine were bad news so I just want to let you know that. The other thing, There’s a lot of talk about Biden’s son, that Biden stopped the prosecution and a lot of people want to find out about that so whatever you can do with the Attorney General would be great. Biden went around bragging that he stopped the prosecution so if you can look into it... It sounds horrible to me.”

In his response, Zelensky said Ukraine will have a new prosecutor in September and “He or she will look into the situation, specifically to the company that you mentioned in this issue.”

Trump moved on to other subjects after saying, “I will have Mr. Giuliani give you a call and I am also going to have Attorney General Barr call and we will get to the bottom of it. I’m sure you will figure it out. I heard the prosecutor was treated very badly and he was a very fair prosecutor so good luck with everything.” But near the end of the call Trump said, once more, “I will tell Rudy and Attorney General Barr to call.”<sup>664</sup>

(NOTE: On Oct. 29, Lt. Col. Vindman told House investigators that the White House transcript of the call omitted crucial words and phrases, and that his attempts to include them failed. The omissions, Vindman said, included Trump’s assertion that there were recordings of Biden discussing Ukraine corruption, and an explicit mention by Zelensky of Burisma Holdings.<sup>665</sup> NSC official Timothy Morrison also says he recalls hearing

Trump mention “Bidens.”<sup>666</sup> Jennifer Williams, a special adviser to Vice President Pence, also said her notes on the call “reflect that the word Burisma had come up in the call, that the President had mentioned Burisma.”<sup>667</sup>)

**July 25, 2019:** Lt. Col. Vindman, who listened to President Trump’s call with Zelensky, says he “did not think it was proper to demand that a foreign government investigate a U.S. citizen” and again reported his concerns to deputy White House counsel, John A. Eisenberg.<sup>668</sup> Vindman brought with him his twin brother, Yevgeny, an ethics attorney on the National Security Council. Michael Ellis, a deputy legal adviser to the National Security Council, also joined the discussion, an unnamed person later told the Washington Post. Vindman told Eisenberg, the White House’s legal adviser on national security issues, that what the president did was wrong, said people who later spoke to the Washington Post. Scribbling notes on a yellow legal pad, Eisenberg proposed a step that other officials have said is at odds with long-standing White House protocol: moving a transcript of the call to a highly classified server and restricting access to it, according to two people familiar with Vindman’s account.<sup>669</sup> Eisenberg later placed a rough transcript of the call in a computer system typically reserved for the country’s most closely guarded secrets. Eisenberg made the decision without consulting with his supervisor, Pat A. Cipollone.<sup>670</sup> NSC Official Timothy Morrison also says he briefed Eisenberg and his deputy, Michael Ellis, and asked them to review the call. Morrison says he “was concerned about whether or not they would agree that [the Trump-Zelensky call] would be damaging” if its contents leaked.<sup>671</sup>

**July 25, 2019:** Ambassador Taylor receives no readout of the Trump-Zelensky call. <sup>672</sup>

**July 25, 2019:** Following President Trump's call, Kurt Volker received the following readout from Yermak and confirmed his intent to meet Giuliani in Madrid:

[7/25/19, 10:15:06 AM] Yermak: Phone call went well. President Trump proposed to choose any convenient dates. President Zelensky chose 20,21,22 September for the White House Visit. Thank you again for your help! Please remind Mr. Mayor to share the Madrid's dates

[7/25/19, 10:16:42 AM] Volker: Great-thanks and will do! <sup>673</sup>

**July 25, 2019:** Staffers for Laura K. Cooper, the deputy assistant secretary of defense for Russia, Ukraine and Eurasia, received an email from the State Department that said the Ukrainian embassy and the House Foreign Affairs Committee are asking about security assistance. About two hours later, a second email from the State Department said that the Hill (Congress) knows about the Foreign Military Financing (FMF) situation, to an extent, and so does the Ukrainian Embassy. Cooper herself says she did not receive these emails or recall being briefed about them.<sup>674</sup>

**July 25, 2019:** A staffer for Laura K. Cooper, the deputy assistant secretary of defense for Russia, Ukraine and Eurasia, got a question from a Ukraine embassy contact asking what was going on with Ukraine security assistance. Her office did not yet know the true status of the assistance, the OMB notice of apportionment arrived that day but this staff member did not find out about it until later, Cooper says the staffer told the Ukrainian official that we were moving

forward on the USAI aid, but recommended that the Ukraine embassy check and with State regarding the Foreign Military Financing (FMF).<sup>675</sup>

**July 25, 2019:** The White House Office of Management and Budget began the process for implementing the hold on security assistance funding to Ukraine by issuing its first written apportionment with a footnote restricting the obligation of the security assistance funds. The footnote read: "Amounts apportioned but not obligated as of the date of this reapportionment for the Ukraine Security Assistance Initiative are not available for the Ukraine Assistance Initiative are not available for obligation until August 5th, 2019, to allow for an interagency process to determine the best use of such funds." At this time, Mark Sandy, a career official at OMB, says they believed they could temporarily hold the funds without violating the Impoundment Control Act.<sup>676</sup>

**July 25, 2019:** A senior Trump administration budget lawyer crafted a memo that defended the hold on military aid to Ukraine for at least a short period of time, an administration official later told the Washington Post.<sup>677</sup>

**July 25, 2019:** Lt. Col. Vindman tells George Kent about the Trump-Zelensky call and "a back and forth about the prosecutor general, that would be Lutsenko, saying, you've got a good guy, your prosecutor general, and he's being attacked by bad guys around you." Vindman also mentioned that the characterization of the Ambassador as bad news.<sup>678</sup>

**July 26, 2019:** Ambassador Taylor, Ambassador Volker, Ambassador Sondland, and David Holmes had a brief meeting with Andriy Bohdan, the Chief of Staff to President Zelensky. Bohdan told them, "that President Trump had expressed interest during the previous day's phone call in President Zelensky's personnel decisions related to the Prosecutor General's Office."<sup>679</sup>

**July 26, 2019:** During a planned meeting with President Zelensky, the Ukrainian president asks Kurt Volker and Ambassador Taylor about the face-to-face meeting with Trump.<sup>680</sup> They could give him no firm answer. Zelensky told Volker and Taylor that he was happy with the July 25 call but did not elaborate.<sup>681</sup> Zelensky stated that during the July 25 call, Trump had "three times" raised "some very sensitive issues," and that he would have to follow up on those issues when they met "in person."<sup>682</sup>

**July 26, 2019:** David Holmes is dispatched as a note-taker to a meeting between Ambassador Sondland and Andriy Yermak, a top aide to President Zelensky. At Yermak's office, Holmes told Yermak's assistant that he was supposed to join the meeting as the Embassy's representative and "strongly urged her" to let him in, but she told him that that Sondland and Yermak had insisted that the meeting be one-on-one, with no note-taker.<sup>683</sup>

**July 26, 2019:** Following the meeting between Ambassador Sondland and Andriy Yermak, in the presence of David Holmes at a restaurant, Ambassador Sondland placed a call to President Trump. (Sondland did not tell Congress about this call during his initial testimony.) While Ambassador Sondland's phone was not on speakerphone, Holmes could hear the Trump's voice through the earpiece of the phone. "The President's voice was very loud and recognizable, and Ambassador Sondland held the phone away from his ear for a period of time,

presumably because of the loud volume,” Holmes later said. Holmes recounted that Sondland “went on to state that President Zelensky ‘loves your ass.’” Holmes then heard President Trump ask, “So, he’s gonna do the investigation?” Sondland replied that “he’s gonna do it,” adding that Zelensky will do “anything you ask him to.” Even though Holmes did not take notes of these statements, he says he has a clear recollection that these statements were made. After the call ended, Sondland remarked that the President was in a bad mood, as Sondland stated was often the case early in the morning. Holmes asked Sondland if it was true that the President did not “give a s—t about Ukraine.” Sondland agreed that the President did not “give a s—t about Ukraine.” Holmes asked why not, and Sondland stated that the President only cares about “big stuff.” I noted that there was “big stuff” going on in Ukraine, like a war with Russia, and Sondland replied that he meant “big stuff” that benefits the President, like the “Biden investigation” that Giuliani was pushing. Upon returning to the Embassy, Holmes immediately told the Deputy Chief of Mission and others at the Embassy about the call with the President and his conversation with Sondland.<sup>684</sup> Suriya Jayanti, a foreign service officer based in Kyiv, also overheard the call between Trump and Sondland, the AP learned. Tara Maher was another witness.<sup>685</sup> Trump on Nov. 13 said he did not recall the July 26 call with Sondland. “No, not at all, not even a little bit,” Trump said.<sup>686</sup> During his public testimony, Sondland said, “Other witnesses have recently shared their recollection of overhearing this call. For the most part, I have no reason to doubt their accounts.” He also said, “I would have been more surprised if President Trump had not mentioned investigations, particularly given what we were hearing from Mr. Giuliani about the President’s concerns. However, I have no recollection of discussing Vice President Biden or his son on that call or after the call ended.”<sup>687</sup> “Obviously, making a phone call from Kyiv to the president of the United States means that not just the Russian intelligence services will be on the call, but a whole lot of other people, too,” Michael McFaul, a former U.S. ambassador to Russia who is now at Stanford University, said.<sup>688</sup> On Nov. 22, President Trump says the call, overheard by three people, never happened. “How about the guy with the telephone? How about that one? I guarantee you that never took place,” Trump said. Trump continued, “That was a total phony deal. That was a phony -- you know, again, call it deep state.”<sup>689</sup>

**July 26, 2019:** At a National Security Council Policy Coordination Committee meeting, Timothy Morrison recalls, “I believe at that meeting OMB represented that—and the Chief of Staff’s Office was present—that the President was concerned about corruption in Ukraine, and he wanted to make sure that Ukraine was doing enough to manage that corruption.”<sup>690</sup> David Hale, the State Dept. Undersecretary for Political Affairs, remembers the OMB representatives saying, “they had guidance from the President and from Acting Chief of Staff Mulvaney to freeze the assistance.”<sup>691</sup> Hale later said, “The only agency represented in the meeting that indicated that they supported the hold was OMB.”<sup>692</sup> Hale sent a note to Sec. Pompeo, through his staff, saying the Ukraine funding issue “would have to be resolved, if he wished to have it resolved, directly with the President.”<sup>693</sup>

**July 28, 2019:** Ambassador Taylor had a phone call with Tim Morrison, Hill’s recent replacement at the NSC, in which Morrison told Taylor that the call “could have been better” and that Trump had suggested that Zelensky or his staff meet with Giuliani and Barr.<sup>694</sup>

**July 30, 2019:** Mike Duffey, an OMB political appointee, notified Mark Sandy, a career official at OMB, that he was taking over responsibilities for apportionments of military assistance funding to Ukraine. Russell Vought, OMB's acting director, changed the delegation of authority.<sup>695</sup>

**July 30, 2019:** Olena Zerkal, deputy minister of foreign affairs of Ukraine, asked for a meeting with a senior aide to President Zelensky to discuss the diplomatic cable, which she had read the week before, from Ukrainian officials in Washington. That cable said the Trump administration had frozen military aid for Ukraine.<sup>696</sup>

**July 31, 2019:** Mark Sandy's division at OMB had a meeting with Mike Duffey. Sandy says Duffy "explained that there was interest among the leadership in tracking the issues of moneys closely." Duffey told Sandy he "had an interest in being more involved in daily operations."<sup>697</sup>

**July 31, 2019:** Defense Department officials told the White House that if \$250 million in Ukrainian security assistance was not released by August 6, it would not be able to spend it all by the end of the fiscal year (on September 30). The Pentagon was alerting the White House that if the funding wasn't released in time, the Pentagon would be at risk of violating the Impoundment Control Act, which punishes the executive branch when it doesn't spend money that Congress has appropriated. But, the White House did not heed the Pentagon's warnings. It continued to withhold the money through August and into September.<sup>698</sup> Laura K. Cooper, the deputy assistant secretary of defense for Russia, Ukraine and Eurasia, said, "I made clear to the interagency leadership my understanding that, once DOD reaches the point at which it does not have sufficient time to obligate all the funding by the end of the fiscal year, there were only two ways to discontinue obligation of USAI; a president directed rescission or a DOD directed reprogramming action, either of which would need to be notified to Congress. I never heard that either was being pursued." Cooper also said, "I did express that I believed it would require a notice to Congress and that then there was no such notice to my knowledge or preparation of such a notice to my knowledge."<sup>699</sup>

**July 31, 2019:** In a phone interview with TIME, soon after joining the legal team, Victoria Toensing and Joe diGenova said Dmytro Firtash should never risk facing an American jury. "Trust me, it would be a disaster," Toensing said. "That's called a riverboat gamble," added diGenova. The two repeated the claim that had already been given to John Solomon, that one of Mueller's top deputies in the special counsel investigation, Andrew Weissmann, offered to drop the bribery case against Firtash in 2017 in exchange for testimony that could be damaging to Trump. They declined to provide TIME with documents to back up those claims.<sup>700</sup>

**August 2, 2019:** Giuliani travels to Madrid, where he meets with Andriy Yermak.<sup>701</sup> Giuliani later told CNN that Yermak asked him questions and that he didn't ask the Ukrainian lawyer to do anything because he "didn't need to." The focus of their conversation was on Biden's possible role as then-vice president in the prosecutor's dismissal and how Ukraine may have tried to damage Trump's campaign, Giuliani said. The State Department confirmed later that it had assisted in connecting Yermak and Giuliani.<sup>702</sup>

**August (unknown date), 2019:** Andriy Telizhenko later told Bloomberg (on Sept. 26) that he met with Giuliani again in August.<sup>703</sup>

**Early August (dates unknown), 2019:** In email exchanges, acting chief of staff Mick Mulvaney asked acting OMB director Russell Vought for an update on the legal rationale for withholding aid to Ukraine and how much longer it could be delayed. President Trump had made the decision the prior month without an assessment of the reasoning or legal justification, two White House officials later told the Washington Post. Emails show Vought and OMB staffers arguing that withholding aid was legal, while officials at the National Security Council and State Department protested. OMB lawyers said that it was legal to withhold the aid, as long as they deemed it a “temporary” hold, the Washington Post was later told by people familiar with a White House review of Trump’s decision to place a hold on military aid to Ukraine.<sup>704</sup>

**August 6, 2019:** Yuriy Lutsenko claims that the so-called “black ledger,” a list of secret payments made by Viktor Yanukovich’s Party of Regions, does not mention the name of Paul Manafort. “There is no name of Manafort in the ‘black ledger,’” he said on Radio NV, answering a corresponding question. Answering a clarifying question whether it means that there is no proven fact that Manafort received funds from the Party of Regions, the prosecutor general said, “There is no signature belonging to Manafort in the ledger.”<sup>705</sup> However, Manafort disclosed, in a belated June 2017 U.S. government filing, that his consulting firm had indeed received more than \$17 million over two years from Ukraine’s Party of Regions, a political party with links to the Kremlin.<sup>706</sup>

**August 7 (possible date), 2019:** Giuliani called Kurt Volker and Ambassador Sondland to talk about his meeting with Yermak in Madrid. According to Volker, Giuliani said “he believed the Ukrainian President needed to make a statement about fighting corruption, and that he had discussed this with Mr. Yermak.” Volker followed up with Yermak who said they would issue a statement and that the statement would reference Burisma and 2016, but there was no mention of Biden.<sup>707</sup> Sondland says that, in early August, “Giuliani emphasized that the President wanted a public statement from President Zelensky committing Ukraine to look into corruption issues. Mr. Giuliani specifically mentioned the 2016 election (including the DNC server) and Burisma as two topics of importance to the President.” Sondland also said, “We kept the leadership of the State Department and the NSC informed of our activities.”<sup>708</sup>

**August 7, 2019:** An OMB memo – a joint effort by National Security Division, International Affairs Division, and Office of Legal Counsel – is sent to OMB’s acting director, Russell Vought, recommending that the hold on military assistance to Ukraine be lifted because the assistance to Ukraine is consistent with the national security strategy, because the program opposed Russian aggression, and because the program had bipartisan support.<sup>709</sup>

**August 8, 2019:** Giuliani connected with the White House Situation Room switchboard in the early afternoon, Eastern Time, for 42 seconds, and then again for one minute, 25 seconds. The same day, Giuliani texted several times with a number associated with the White House. The House Committees were unable to identify the official associated with the phone number. In the mid-afternoon, someone using a telephone number associated with the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) called Giuliani, and the call lasted for nearly 13 minutes. Giuliani called the OMB number and the White House Situation Room several more times that evening, but each time connected for only a few seconds or not at all.<sup>710</sup>



**August 8, 2019:** Later on the evening of August 8, Eastern Time, Giuliani sent a text message to a phone number associated with the White House. Approximately one hour 15 minutes later, someone using an unidentified number (“-1”; who Congressional investigators suspect may be President Trump) dialed Giuliani three times in rapid succession. Less than three minutes later, Giuliani dialed the White House switchboard for the White House Situation Room. When the call did not connect, Giuliani immediately dialed another general number for the White House switchboard and connected for 47 seconds. Approximately 16 minutes later, someone using the “-1” number called Giuliani and connected for just over four minutes.<sup>711</sup>

**August 8, 2019:** Giuliani tells Fox News that U.S. Attorney John Durham, the Justice Department official in charge of investigating the origins of the Russia probe, is “spending a lot of time in Europe” to investigate what happened in Ukraine, Italy, U.K., and Australia. John Solomon, making another appearance on the same Hannity show, goes on to say, “Here is the most important revelation. It is clear now that the State Department was a major conspirator in building this story. Going back to when the State Department invited Ukrainian prosecutors here in January of `16 and met with them, along with National Security Council and the Justice Department, asked them to go find dirt on Paul Manafort, all the way through facilitating these contacts with Christopher Steele, John Winer, Victoria Nuland, Kathleen Kavalec, three people that probably need to be deposed by Congress now so we can find out exactly what they were doing.”<sup>712</sup>

**Sometime between August 6-10, 2019:** A Ukraine embassy officer told a member of Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (for Russia, Ukraine, and Eurasia) Laura K. Cooper’s staff that a Ukrainian official might raise concerns about security assistance in an upcoming meeting. Her understanding is that the issue was not in fact raised.<sup>713</sup>

**August 9, 2019:** Text messages and call records obtained by the House Committees show that Ambassador Volker and Giuliani connected by phone twice around noon ET for several minutes each.<sup>714</sup>

**August 9, 2019:** Call records obtained by the House Committees show that Ambassador Sondland twice called numbers associated with the White House, once in early afternoon for approximately 18 minutes, and once in late afternoon for two minutes, 25 seconds with a number associated with OMB.<sup>715</sup>

**August 9, 2019:** Kurt Volker had the following exchange with Ambassador Sondland (minutes after his second call with OMB number) about arranging a White House meeting after President Zelensky makes a public statement:

[8/9/19, 5:35:53 PM] Sondland: Morrison ready to get dates as soon as Yermak confirms.

[8/9/19, 5:46:21 PM] Volker: Excellent!! How did you sway him?:(

[8/9/19, 5:47:34 PM] Sondland: Not sure i did. I think potus really wants the deliverable

[8/9/19, 5:48:00 PM] Volker: But does he know that?

[8/9/19, 5:48:09 PM] Sondland: Yep

[8/9/19, 5:48:37 PM] Sondland: Clearly lots of convos going on

[8/9/19, 5:48:38 PM] Volker: Ok-then that's good it's coming from two separate sources

[8/9/19, 5:51:18 PM] Sondland: To avoid misunderstandings, might be helpful to ask Andrey for a draft statement (embargoed) so that we can see exactly what they propose to cover. Even though Ze does a live presser they can still summarize in a brief statement. Thoughts?

[8/9/19, 5:51:42 PM] Volker: Agree! <sup>716</sup>

**August 9, 2019:** After Giuliani met with Andriy Yermak, Kurt Volker asked to speak with Giuliani about the Ukrainian statement:

[8/9/19, 11:27 AM] Volker: Hi Mr Mayor! Had a good chat with Yermak last night. He was pleased with your phone call. Mentioned Z making a statement. Can we all get on the phone to make sure I advise Z correctly as to what he should be saying? Want to make sure we get this done right. Thanks!

Sondland: Good idea Kurt. I am on Pacific time.

Giuliani: Yes can you call now going to Fundraiser at 12:30<sup>717</sup>

Giuliani later told The Washington Post that Ambassador Sondland “seemed to be in charge” of the overall effort to get the statement from Ukraine. Giuliani said that Volker first raised the idea of getting the Ukrainians to issue a statement, and that Volker and Sondland were involved in the specifics of getting Ukraine to name Burisma. “I said it should include collusion and Burisma,” Giuliani later told The Washington Post. “It’s quite possible we never mentioned Biden. Of course, Biden was part of that.” Giuliani said that Sondland and Volker were often on conference calls together and that Sondland was keeping tabs on Giuliani’s work on the effort, speaking with him about six times over the summer of 2019.<sup>718</sup>

**August 10, 2019:** Andriy Yermak, pressed Ambassador Volker and Ambassador Sondland for a date for the White House visit before committing to a statement announcing an investigation explicitly referencing the 2016 election and Burisma:

[8/10/19, 4:56:15 PM] Yermak: Hi Kurt. Please let me know when you can talk. I think it's possible to make this declaration and mention all these things. Which we discussed yesterday. But it will be logic to do after we receive a confirmation of date. We inform about date of visit and about our expectations and our guarantees for future visit. Let discuss it

[8/10/19, 5:01 :32 PM] Volker: Ok! It's late for you- why don't we talk in my morning, your afternoon tomorrow? Say 10am/5pm?

[8/10/19, 5:02:18 PM] Volker: I agree with your approach. Let's iron out statement and use that to get date and then Prez can go forward with it?

[8/10/19, 5:26:17 PM] Yennak: Ok

[8/10/19, 5:38:43 PM] Volker: Great. Gordon is available to join as well

[8/10/19, 5:41:45 PM] Yennak: Excellent

[8/10/ 19, 5:42: 10 PM] Yermak: Once we have a date, will call for a press briefing, announcing upcoming visit and outlining vision for the reboot of US-UKRAINE relationship, including among other things Burisma and election meddling in investigations

[8/10/19, 5:42:30 PM] Volker: Sounds great! <sup>719</sup>

**August 11, 2019:** Ambassador Sondland sent an email to Counselor Brechbuhl and Lisa Kenna, addressing Secretary Pompeo with the subject “Ukraine.” Sondland wrote: “Mike – Kurt and I negotiated a statement from Ze[lensky] to be delivered for our review in a day or two. The contents will hopefully make the boss happy enough to authorize an invitation. Ze plans to have a big presser on the openness subject (including specifics) next week.” Lisa Kenna replied: “Gordon, I’ll pass to S,” meaning Secretary Pompeo. “Thank you.”<sup>720</sup>

**August 12, 2019:** The inspector general for the intelligence community, Michael Atkinson, receives the anonymous whistleblower complaint now at the center of the impeachment inquiry. It alleges “the President of the United States is using the power of his office to solicit interference from a foreign country in the 2020 U.S. election.”<sup>721</sup> The complaint discusses a July 25 phone call in which Trump prodded Zelensky to work with Barr and Giuliani to dig up dirt on Biden’s son. The complaint details how Ukrainian leaders met with the U.S. special representative for Ukraine negotiations and others on how to “navigate” the demands made by Trump. “The President’s personal lawyer, Mr. Rudolph Giuliani, is a central figure in this effort,” the whistleblower said. The whistleblower learned that senior White House officials had intervened to “lock down” all records of the July 25 call. The whistleblower said the NSC and OMB didn’t know why Trump held up millions of dollars in aid for Ukraine.<sup>722</sup> In the complaint, Solomon’s stories were cited as part of a narrative about the alleged effort by Trump and his allies to pressure Ukraine’s government into digging up dirt on Clinton and Biden.<sup>723</sup> The complaint also says that Lutsenko “has no legal training and has been widely criticized in Ukraine for politicizing criminal probes and using his tenure as prosecutor general to protect corrupt Ukrainian officials.”

**August 12, 2019:** In the evening, Andriy Yermak texted Ambassador Volker an initial version of the draft statement, which read: “Special attention should be paid to the problem of interference in the political processes of the United States, especially with the alleged involvement of some Ukrainian politicians. I want to declare that this is unacceptable. We intend to initiate and complete a transparent and unbiased investigation of all available facts and episodes, which in turn will prevent the recurrence of this problem in the future.” The draft statement did not explicitly mention Burisma or 2016 election interference, as the Trump administration officials expected.<sup>724</sup>

**August 13, 2019:** Around 10 a.m. ET, Ambassador Volker texted Giuliani: “Mr mayor—trying to set up call in 5 min via state Dept. If now is not convenient, is there a time later today?” Phone records show that, shortly thereafter, someone using a State Department number called Giuliani and connected for more than nine minutes. Volker told the House Committees that, during the call, Giuliani stated: “If [the statement] doesn’t say Burisma and 2016, it’s not credible, because what are they hiding?” Volker asked whether inserting references to “Burisma and 2016” at the end of the statement would make it “more credible.” Giuliani confirmed that it would.<sup>725</sup>

**August 13, 2019:** Two minutes after his call with Giuliani ended, Ambassador Volker sent a WhatsApp message to Ambassador Sondland and Andriy Yermak: “Hi Andrey—we spoke with Rudy. When is good to call you?” Sondland replied that it was, “Important. Do you have 5 mins.” They agreed to a call approximately 10 minutes later. When Sondland suggested having his “operator” in Brussels dial in the group, Volker asked if they could “do this one on what’s App?”<sup>726</sup>

**August 13, 2019:** Kurt Volker and Ambassador Sondland had following exchange regarding the proposed Ukrainian statement:

[8/13/19, 10:26:44 AM] Volker: Special attention should be paid to the problem of interference in the political processes of the United States especially with the alleged involvement of some Ukrainian politicians. I want to declare that this is unacceptable. We intend to initiate and complete a transparent and unbiased investigation of all available facts and episodes, including those involving Burisma and the 2016 U.S. elections, which in turn will prevent the recurrence of this problem in the future.

[8/13/19, 10:27:20 AM] Sondland: Perfect. Lets send to Andrey [Yermak] after our call<sup>727</sup>

**August 13, 2019:** Following the call, Ambassador Volker texted Ambassador Sondland and Andriy Yermak: “Andrey—good talking—following is text with insert at the end for the 2 key items.”<sup>728</sup>

**August 13, 2019:** Shortly after Ambassador Volker sent the revised statement to Andriy Yermak, Ambassador Sondland called Giuliani and connected for nearly four minutes.<sup>729</sup>

**August 13, 2019:** Andriy Yermak asked Ambassador Volker “whether any request had ever been made by the U.S. to investigate election interference in 2016.” He appeared interested in knowing whether the U.S. Department of Justice had made an official request to Ukraine’s law enforcement agency for legal assistance in such a matter. When Ambassador Volker sent Giuliani’s approved draft statement to Yermak, he stated that he would “work on official request.”<sup>730</sup>

**August 13, 2019:** Giuliani was at New York’s Grand Havana Room meeting with another potential client, the National Bank of Ukraine. The National Bank had taken over a bank once owned by Ukrainian businessman Ihor Kolomoisky, a person familiar with the meeting later told the Washington Times. Giuliani suggested that lawyers with the law firm Quinn Emanuel, which represents the Ukrainian state-owned bank, hire him to wage a public campaign against Kolomoisky, with whom the bank is engaged in a complicated legal battle. Kolomoisky is also considered a political supporter of Zelensky. Giuliani told Bloomberg, which first reported the meeting, that he was approached by the lawyers for the bank to see whether he could help them with a civil suit. He said the timing was not right.<sup>731</sup>

**Mid-August (exact date not indicated), 2019:** Ukrainian anti-corruption investigators, the National Anti-Corruption Bureau (NABU), opened a probe of Prosecutor-General Lutsenko, prior to his Aug. 29 resignation. The probe relates to allegations of abuse of power by Lutsenko. As indicated earlier, Lutsenko met with Giuliani at least twice in 2019. Lutsenko also made false allegations, which he later retracted, as part of an effort to force out Yovanovitch.<sup>732</sup>

**Mid-August (exact date not indicated), 2019:** In private conversations with would-be business associates before his arrest, Lev Parnas boasted that his newfound luxurious lifestyle was bankrolled by Dmytro Firtash, two sources told CNN. “I’m the best-paid interpreter in the world,” Parnas joked to the sources who spoke to CNN on the condition of anonymity. Beginning in mid-August, this included around-the-clock bodyguards, two luxury SUVs for his entourage, and

at least six private charter flights in the past several months, according to the sources as well as documents exclusively obtained by CNN. Giuliani was on at least one of those flights, according to the documents.<sup>733</sup>

**August (dates not indicated), 2019:** Whereas one year earlier, Lev Parnas was telling his wealthy contacts that he was short on cash and needed loans, quite suddenly, Parnas was able to settle an old debt with local businessman Felix Vulis, whose lawyer previously told CNN that he lent \$100,000 to Parnas in October 2018, partly because Parnas claimed to be so poor he could not afford to pay for his own son's bris. Three sources told CNN that a January invoice for about \$30,000 from a charter jet company in Florida was left unpaid for months. But in August, after the Vienna trips, Parnas started using the company again and agreed to a payment plan, the sources said.<sup>734</sup>

**Mid-August (date unknown), 2019:** Before it was made public, the Ukrainian Deputy Chief of Mission asked Lt. Col. Vindman why the U.S. was withholding military aid from Ukraine.<sup>735</sup>

**August 14, 2019:** An Atlantic Council report on are currently underway for a US-Ukraine summit in September further emphasizes that the OMB hold on U.S. military assistance funding to Ukraine is widely known. The report says, "High on Kyiv's to-do list while in Washington is getting the US to unlock the \$115 million appropriated by Congress for Foreign Military Sales to Ukraine (FMF). The Office of Management and Budget is currently blocking those sales but has not advanced any public rationale to justify its actions. Zelenskyy and his ministers must persuade Trump to break the logjam as a matter of some urgency."<sup>736</sup>

**August 14, 2019:** Two congressional aides, working for the Democratic leadership of the House Appropriations Committee, learn from U.S. embassy officials in Kyiv that there was no new money coming into Ukraine, a congressional aide familiar with their trip told NBC News. What's more, the two Appropriations staffers, Becky Leggieri and Hayden Milberg, couldn't even get an explanation for the holdup, because embassy officials didn't know the reason, the aide said. "As soon as Appropriations Committee staff learned that Ukraine Security Assistance Initiative funding had been held up, the committee began making urgent inquiries of the Defense Department to understand the situation," House Appropriations Committee Chair Nita Lowey, D-N.Y., said in a statement to NBC News.<sup>737</sup>

**Mid-August (exact date unknown), 2019:**<sup>738</sup> After taking on Dmytro Firtash's case, Victoria Toensing and Joe diGenova secured a rare face-to-face meeting with Attorney General Barr and other Justice Department officials to argue against the charges, three people familiar with the meeting said. Barr declined to intercede, the people told the Washington Post.<sup>739</sup> By the time Toensing and diGenova met with Barr, the ground had shifted since they took Firtash on as a client: The whistle-blower's complaint laying out Trump's phone call with Zelensky, and Giuliani's activities in Ukraine, had been forwarded to the Justice Department and described in detail to Barr. What's more, concerns about intervening in the Firtash case had been raised by some inside the Justice Department, two people with knowledge of the matter told the NY Times. Firtash said the attorney general ultimately told the lawyers to "go back to Chicago," where the case had initially been brought, and deal with prosecutors there.<sup>740</sup> Chicago prosecutors suspect there might be a broader relationship among Firtash, Parnas, and Fruman, people familiar with the matter told the Washington Post.<sup>741</sup>

**August 15, 2019:** Ambassador Volker texted Ambassador Sondland that Andriy Yermak wanted to “know our status on asking them to investigate.”<sup>742</sup>

**August 15, 2019:** Catherine Croft, the new special assistant to Kurt Volker, spoke to George Kent and asked him, “Have we ever asked the Ukrainians to investigate anybody?” In his response, Kent said, “And if you’re asking me have we ever gone to the Ukrainians and asked them to investigate or prosecute individuals for political reasons, the answer is, I hope we haven’t, and we shouldn’t because that goes against everything that we are trying to promote in post-Soviet states for the last 28 years, which is the promotion of the rule of law.”<sup>743</sup>

**August 16, 2019:** Andriy Yermak shared a draft statement on corruption with Kurt Volker, which did not mention Burisma or the 2016 elections. Volker sent the draft to Ambassador Sondland. Volker and Sondland then had a further conversation with Giuliani, who said that “in his view, the statement should include specific reference to ‘Burisma’ and ‘2016.’” Volker edited the draft statement to include those points, but when he discussed the issue with Yermak he said “they do not want to mention Burisma and 2016.” Volker said the statement was then shelved.<sup>744</sup> He said the draft statement “died” because the Ukrainians did not want to refer to Burisma and 2016, but “Rudy was not going to be convinced.”<sup>745</sup>

**August 16, 2019:** Ambassador Taylor exchanged text messages with Kurt Volker in which he learned that Andriy Yermak had asked that the U.S. submit an official request for an investigation into Burisma’s alleged violations of Ukrainian law, if that is what the U.S. desired. Taylor says he recommended to Volker that we “stay clear.”<sup>746</sup>

**August 16, 2019:** In a conversation with George Kent, Ambassador Taylor told him that Kurt Volker had been engaging Andriy Yermak and communicating that “the President and his private attorney, Rudy Giuliani, were interested in the initiation of investigations.” Taylor told Kent how uncomfortable Yermak was and that he had requested the U.S. put the request in writing. Kent says, “I told Bill Taylor, that’s wrong, and we shouldn’t be doing that as a matter of U.S. policy.”<sup>747</sup>

**August 16, 2019:** George Kent memorialized these conversations in a memorandum, in which he expressed “concerns that there was an effort to initiate politically motivated prosecutions that were injurious to the rule of law, both Ukraine and U.S.”<sup>748</sup>

**August 16, 2019:** There is a meeting between President Trump, John Bolton, Secretary Pompeo, and Defense Secretary Mark Esper. Lt. Col. Vindman says “the President didn’t act on the recommendation” to “release the security assistance funding to Ukraine” during the meeting.<sup>749</sup>

**August 17, 2019:** Kurt Volker and Ambassador Sondland had the following exchange in which they discussed their message to Ukraine:

[8/17/19, 3:06:19 PM] Sondland: Do we still want Ze to give us an unequivocal draft with 2016 and Burisma?

[8/17/19, 4:34:21 PM] Volker: That’s the clear message so far...

[8/17/19, 4:34:39 PM] Volker: I'm hoping we can put something out there that causes him to respond with that

[8/17/19, 4:41:09 PM] Sondland: Unless you think otherwise I will return Andreys call tomorrow and suggest they send us a clean draft. <sup>750</sup>

**Around August 18, 2019:** Ambassador Volker claimed that he “stopped pursuing” the statement from the Ukrainians around this time because of concerns raised by Andriy Yermak that Yuriy Lutsenko was still the Prosecutor General. Lutsenko was likely to be replaced by President Zelensky, and because was alleging the same claims that President Trump and Giuliani were demanding of President Zelensky, Ukrainian officials “did not want to mention Burisma or 2016.” Volker testified that he “agreed” and advised Yermak that “making those specific references was not a good idea” because making those statements might “look like it would play into our domestic politics.” Yermak agreed and, according to Volker, plans to put out a statement were “shelved.”<sup>751</sup>

**Third week of August (date unknown), 2019:** John Eisenberg, the White House's legal adviser on national security, tells NSC official Timothy Morrison that he hadn't directed that the July 25 Trump-Zelensky call memo be moved to a highly classified server. Eisenberg says the Situation Room executive secretary had mistaken his instruction to restrict access to the call as a direction to move it to a classified server. Yet, as of the third week of September, Morrison said the call still remained on the same highly classified server.<sup>752</sup>

**August 19, 2019:** Lev Parnas and David Correia appeared at a cigar bar, Club Monte Cristo, in Boca Raton, two people with knowledge of the meeting later told CNN. Igor Fruman was supposed to attend but was stuck in traffic. At that meeting, Parnas and Correia tried to sell an American energy magnate, whom Parnas cultivated through Giuliani, on a deal involving their new patron. Correia asked if the businessman would open a letter of credit to buy gas from Qatar, where they claimed to have a contact. Dmytro Firtash, Correia explained, would in turn sign a letter of credit to him and buy the gas at a mark-up. Correia, Parnas and Fruman would take a share of the profits. Firtash, they claimed, would be a natural partner for the project given his history selling Russian gas into Ukraine. While Parnas gave the impression the Qatar deal was Firtash's idea and had his blessing, according to two sources who spoke to CNN, it's unclear what if anything Firtash actually knew of the proposal. In the end, the American businessman balked over concerns about working with an indicted oligarch, and ultimately declined the offer.<sup>753</sup>

**August 20, 2019:** OMB changes the language on the apportionment notes because the Department of Defense could no longer guarantee fully obligating military assistance funds to Ukraine by the end of the fiscal year. This raised a potential violation of the Impoundment Control Act. Mark Sandy, a career official at OMB, says he and his associates “continued to express concerns about the potential implications vis-à-vis the Impoundment Control Act.” They expressed those concerns to Mike Duffey, an OMB political appointee, “on every occasion, we advised him to speak to the general counsel.” From late July through pretty much all of August, Sandy says Duffey was not able to give him a reason for the hold on security assistance. At some point, around this time, an OMB attorney resigned because, at least in part, of concerns over the hold on Ukraine security assistance violating the law.<sup>754</sup>



**August 20, 2019:** Ambassador Volker told Laura Cooper, a deputy assistant secretary of defense, that he was talking to an aide to President Zelensky about making a statement, "disavowing election interference." She said Volker told her about "the path that he was pursuing to lift the hold" on security aid was to "get them to make this statement."<sup>755</sup>

**August 20, 2019:** As news of his activities is breaking, Giuliani unsuccessfully attempt to contact Kurt Volker, who says he did not return his call.<sup>756</sup>

**August 21, 2019:** The NY Times reports that, over the last few weeks, Giuliani had spoken on the phone and held an in-person meeting, in Madrid (on Aug. 2), with Andriy Yermak, encouraging Ukraine to ramp up investigations into whether Ukrainian officials took steps during the 2016 election to damage Trump's campaign and whether there was anything improper about the overlap between Biden's diplomatic efforts in Ukraine and his son's role with Burisma. In an Aug. 20 interview, Giuliani told the NY Times that he had "strongly urged" Yermak to "just investigate the darn things." He said he came away from his interactions with Yermak "pretty confident they're going to investigate it." Giuliani said he was acting on his own as a private citizen, with the knowledge and assistance of the State Department. He would not say whether President Trump approved — or is aware of — the effort. Giuliani said he briefed State Department officials on the back-channel communications. They were arranged with assistance from the State Department, including Kurt Volker. Yermak said he asked Volker to arrange the talks.<sup>757</sup>

**August 21, 2019:** Ambassador Taylor called Ulrich Brechbuhl, the counselor to the State Department, to discuss the withholding of security assistance from Ukraine. Brechbuhl said that he was not aware of a change of U.S. policy but would check on the status of the security assistance.<sup>758</sup>

**August 22, 2019:** Giuliani sent a number of text messages to Kurt Volker. Secretary Pompeo told Volker that Giuliani had called him and asked that the State Department confirm that it had arranged the meeting between himself and Yermak. Volker then spoke with Pompeo who asked him to call Giuliani back and he did so to tell him a statement had already been given to the press confirming that State had set up the Giuliani-Yermak meeting.<sup>759</sup>

**August 22, 2019:** During a phone conversation with Tim Morrison, a Europe and Russia expert on the National Security Council, Ambassador Taylor asked him if there had been a change in policy of strong support for Ukraine, to which he responded, "it remains to be seen." Morrison also told Taylor during this call that the "President doesn't want to provide any assistance at all."<sup>760</sup>

**August 22, 2019:** Ambassador Sondland emailed Secretary Pompeo directly, writing: "Should we block time in Warsaw for a short pull-aside for Potus to meet Zelensky? I would ask Zelensky to look him in the eye and tell him that once Ukraine's new justice folks are in place ([in] mid-Sept[ember]), that Ze should be able to move forward publicly and with confidence on those issues of importance to Potus and to the US. Hopefully, that will break the logjam." Secretary Pompeo replied, "Yes."<sup>761</sup>

**August 23, 2019:** Ambassador Sondland emailed Secretary Pompeo's office again, asking to "get 10-15 min on the Warsaw sched[ule] for this." I said, "I'd like to know when it is locked so that I can call Zelensky and brief him." Executive Secretary Kenna replied, "I'll try for sure."<sup>762</sup>

**Between August 23 and October 6, 2019:** Lev Parnas and Igor Fruman used their company, Global Energy Producers, to pay for six private flights up and down the East Coast, according to documents obtained by CNN. Parnas also told some of them that Dmytro Firtash was now paying all the expenses for Global Energy Producers.<sup>763</sup>

**Late August (exact date unknown), 2019:** Ambassador Bolton had a "one-on-one meeting" with President Trump related to Ukraine security assistance, but the "President was not yet ready to approve the release of the assistance," according to NSC official Timothy Morrison.<sup>764</sup>

**August 26, 2019:** Michael Atkinson, the inspector general for the intelligence community, sends a letter to the acting director of national intelligence informing him that the IG's office has received a complaint addressed to Congress of "urgent concern" about a call between President Trump and President Zelenskiy. The inspector general says he believes the conversation could have amounted to a federal campaign finance crime.<sup>765</sup>

**Late August (date unknown), 2019:** Lawyers from the White House counsel's office told President Trump about the complaint, explaining that they were trying to determine whether they were legally required to give it to Congress, two people familiar with the matter later told the NY Times.<sup>766</sup>

**August 26, 2019:** Just before his visit to Kyiv, John Bolton's office requested Giuliani's contact information from Ambassador Sondland. Sondland sent Bolton the information directly.<sup>767</sup>

**August 27, 2019:** John Bolton arrived in Kyiv and met with President Zelensky. During their meeting, security assistance was not discussed (according to Taylor's Oct. 22 testimony).<sup>768</sup> Ambassador Taylor raises his concerns about the aid stoppage, and Bolton recommends that he send a cable to Secretary Pompeo.<sup>769</sup>

**August 27, 2019:** At John Bolton's meeting with President Zelensky and Chief of Staff Bohdan. Bolton told Bohdan that the meeting between President Trump and Zelensky in Warsaw (on Sept. 1) would be "crucial to cementing their relationship." Between meetings that day, David Holmes heard Bolton express to Ambassador Taylor and National Security Council Senior Director Tim Morrison his frustration about Giuliani's influence with the President, making clear there was nothing he could do about it. Bolton recommended that new Prosecutor General Ruslan Ryaboshapka, who would replace Lutsenko, open a channel with Attorney General Barr in place of Yermak's channel with Giuliani. Bolton indicated the hold on security assistance would not be lifted prior to the Warsaw meeting, where it would hang on whether Zelensky was able to "favorably impress" President Trump.<sup>770</sup>

**Sometime before August 28 (date unknown), 2019:** Two separate individuals from the Ukrainian Embassy approached State Department officials Catherine Croft quietly and in confidence, roughly a week apart, to ask about an OMB hold on Ukraine security assistance. Croft was surprised at how early they found out about the hold, before it became public.<sup>771</sup>

**August 28, 2019:** News of the hold on security assistance to Ukraine hits headline level with Politico publishing an article titled “Trump holds up Ukraine military aid meant to confront Russia.” The article says “The Trump administration is slow-walking \$250 million in military assistance to Ukraine.” “We are aware of an [Office of Management and Budget] hold on funding for the Ukraine Security Assistance Initiative,” House Appropriations Committee spokesperson Evan Hollander said in a statement. “We have serious concerns about a freeze on these important appropriated funds, and we are urgently inquiring with the administration about why they are holding up these resources.”<sup>772</sup>

**August 28, 2019:** As news of the hold on assistance to Ukraine goes wide, Ambassador Taylor sends a first-person cable to Pompeo directly, relaying his concerns, calling the withholding of security funds a “folly.” Andriy Yermak also contacts Taylor and was very concerned, asking about the withheld security assistance.<sup>773</sup>

**August 29, 2019:** Ukraine’s prosecutor general, Yuriy Lutsenko, was fired by President Zelensky.<sup>774</sup>

**August 29, 2019:** Andriy Yermak texted Kurt Volker a Politico story entitled, “Trump Holds Up Ukraine Military Aid Meant to Confront Russia”:

[8/29/19, 2:28:19 AM] Yermak: Need to talk with you

[8/29/19, 3:06:14 AM] Yennak: <https://www.politico.com/story/2019/08/28/trump-ukraine-military-aid-russia-1689531>

[8/29/19, 6:55:04 AM] Volker: Hi Andrey- absolutely. When is good for you?<sup>775</sup>

**August 29, 2019:** David Holmes drafted and transmitted a cable at Ambassador Taylor’s direction, which further attempted to explain Ukraine’s importance and the importance of the security assistance to U.S. national security. Holmes later said, “By this point, however, my clear impression was that the security assistance hold was likely intended by the President either to express dissatisfaction that the Ukrainians had not yet agreed to the Burisma/Biden investigations or as an effort to increase the pressure on them to do so.”<sup>776</sup>

**August 30, 2019:** Ambassador Sondland tells Sen. Ron Johnson (R-WI) that Trump was withholding the Ukraine military aid to “get to the bottom of what happened in 2016 — if President Trump has that confidence, then he’ll release the military spending,” according to Johnson’s later recollection to the Wall Street Journal. “At that suggestion, I winced,” Johnson said. “My reaction was: Oh, God. I don’t want to see those two things combined.”<sup>777</sup> Ambassador Sondland, in his public testimony, said that, “In the absence of any credible explanation for the suspension of aid, I later came to believe that the resumption of security aid would not occur until there was a public statement from Ukraine committing to the investigations of the 2016 election and Burisma, as Mr. Giuliani had demanded. I shared concerns of the potential quid pro quo regarding the security aid with Senator Ron Johnson. And I also shared my concerns with the Ukrainians.”<sup>778</sup>

**August 30, 2019:** Multiple sources familiar with the issue tell CNN that President Trump has floated the idea of halting the program funding military assistance to Ukraine for weeks. CNN

reports that the White House recently notified relevant agencies and congressional committees of its intent to block the aid to Ukraine, one source said.<sup>779</sup>

**August 30, 2019:** When asked about further financial support for Ukraine, President Trump says, cryptically, “Well, we’re looking at Ukraine right now.”<sup>780</sup>

**August 31, 2019:** Alarmed by what Ambassador Sondland had told him, Sen. Johnson, who supports aid to Ukraine and is the chairman of a Senate subcommittee with jurisdiction over the region, said he raised the issue with Trump in a phone call, days before the senator was to meet with Zelensky. In the call, Trump flatly rejected the notion that he directed aides to make military aid to Ukraine contingent on a new probe by Kyiv, Johnson said. “He said, ‘Expletive deleted—No way. I would never do that. Who told you that?’” Johnson recalled in an Oct. 4 interview with the Wall Street Journal. Johnson said he told the president he had learned of the arrangement from Sondland. In the call, Johnson said he also asked Trump if he could be authorized to tell the Ukrainians that support was coming. “He did not give me that authority,” Johnson said in an Oct. 2 interview. He said Trump assured him: “I hear what you’re saying; you’ll probably be happy with my decision.”<sup>781</sup>

**September (unknown date), 2019:** Andriy Telizhenko later told Bloomberg (on Sept. 26) that he met with Giuliani again in September.<sup>782</sup>

**September 1, 2019:** Ambassador Sondland says he “mentioned to Vice President Pence before the meetings with the Ukrainians that I had concerns that the delay in aid had become tied to the issue of investigations. I recall mentioning that before the Zelensky meeting [later that day].”<sup>783</sup> Sondland says Pence “nodded like, you know, he heard what I said.”<sup>784</sup> Marc Short, Pence’s chief of staff, denied in a Nov. 20 statement that Pence spoke to Sondland “about investigating the Bidens, Burisma, or the conditional release of financial aid to Ukraine based upon potential investigations.” Short added that Sondland was “never alone” with Pence during the Sept. 1 trip to Poland. “This alleged discussion recalled by Ambassador Sondland never happened,” Short said.<sup>785</sup>

**September 1, 2019:** President Zelensky met Vice President Pence at a bilateral meeting in Warsaw. President Trump had planned to travel to Warsaw but cancelled because of Hurricane Dorian. In a readout of the Pence-Zelensky meeting over the phone, Morrison told Ambassador Taylor that Zelensky had opened the meeting by asking Pence about security assistance. Pence did not respond substantively, but said that he would talk to Trump that night. Pence did say that Trump wanted the Europeans to do more to support Ukraine and that he wanted the Ukrainians to do more to fight corruption.<sup>786</sup> The Ukrainians were flummoxed by Pence’s evasion, the Washington Post reports. “You’re the only country providing us military assistance,” one of Zelensky’s aides told Pence. “You’re punishing us.”<sup>787</sup> Pence told reporters the next day that he didn’t discuss Biden with Zelenskiy. But he says they did discuss “corruption” and “the upcoming decision the President will make on the latest tranche of financial support.”<sup>788</sup>

**September 1, 2019:** Ambassador Sondland told Andriy Yermak in Warsaw that the security assistance money would not come until President Zelensky committed to pursue the Burisma investigation.<sup>789</sup> “I said that resumption of the U.S. aid would likely not occur until Ukraine provided the public anticorruption statement that we had been discussing for many weeks,”

Sondland said (according to later updates to his original testimony).<sup>790</sup> He also says that soon after, he came to understand the publican statement would need to come from Zelensky himself.<sup>791</sup> National Security Council official Timothy Morrison said, “[Sondland] told me that in his—that what he communicated was that he believed the—what could help them move the aid was if the prosecutor general would to go the mike and announce that he was opening the Burisma investigation.”<sup>792</sup> Sondland would later say that Zelensky “had to announce the investigations. He didn’t actually have to do them, as I understood it.”<sup>793</sup>

**September 1, 2019:** Ambassador Taylor sent Ambassador Sondland a text message asking “Are we now saying that security assistance and WH meeting are conditioned on investigations?” Sondland responded asking Taylor to “call me,” which he did. During that phone call, Sondland told Taylor that Trump had told him that he wants Zelensky to state publicly that Ukraine will investigate Burisma and alleged Ukrainian interference in the 2016 U.S. election. Sondland also told Taylor that he now recognized that he had made a mistake by earlier telling the Ukrainian officials to whom he spoke that a White House meeting with Zelensky was dependent on a public announcement of investigations—in fact, Sondland said, “everything” was dependent on such an announcement, including security assistance. He said that Trump wanted Zelensky “in a public box” by making a public statement about ordering such investigations. Taylor asked Sondland to push back on Trump’s demand and Sondland pledged to try.<sup>794</sup> Taylor later said it was his “clear understanding, security assistance money would not come until the President [of Ukraine] committed to pursue the investigation.”<sup>795</sup>

**September 1-2, 2019:** Tim Morrison called to inform Ambassador Taylor that Oleksandr Danyliuk had asked him to come to his hotel room in Warsaw, where Danyliuk expressed concern about the possible loss of U.S. support for Ukraine. Morrison briefed John Bolton, Taylor, and NSC lawyers on what Ambassador Sondland had told him on Sept. 1.<sup>796</sup>

**September 3, 2019:** The Justice Department’s office of legal counsel sends a memorandum about the whistleblower’s complaint to a lawyer at the Office of the Director of National Intelligence, finding that the “alleged misconduct does not involve any member of the intelligence community” and concludes that the Aug. 12 complaint does not meet the statutory requirement as a matter of “urgent concern” that would require it to be forwarded to Congress.<sup>797</sup>

**September 4, 2019:** In Ukraine, fired Ukrainian prosecutor Viktor Shokin swore out a 12-page affidavit attesting to that his firing was connected to his Biden work, a document Giuliani has waved on television as proof of his allegations. According to the document, it was prepared “at the request of lawyers acting for Dmytro Firtash.”<sup>798</sup> A spokesperson for Joe diGenova and Victoria Toensing, in a statement provided to The Daily Beast, said Firtash’s Austrian legal team sought Shokin’s sworn statement to submit to the Austrian court. The statement said “The former Vice President’s role in Mr. Firtash’s extradition is materially relevant to the Austrian lawyers’ argument that the prosecution is political.”<sup>799</sup> Shokin had been promised his statement wouldn’t be made public, people later told Bloomberg, but it soon ended up being reported by Solomon and cited by Giuliani.<sup>800</sup> In October, Time reporter Simon Shuster said about Firtash’s lawyers, “I’ve been asking them that question since September. They have consistently refused to answer, you know, whether they’ve been promised anything by Giuliani or others perhaps close to the U.S. administration.”<sup>801</sup> Toensing and diGenova later declined to tell the NY Times

whether they had played a role in leaking the documents. In late Nov. 2019, Firtash told the NY Times he had not authorized the document's release to Solomon and Giuliani and hoped his lawyers had not either. He said the affidavit had been filed confidentially with the Austrian court because it also included the former prosecutor's statement that Biden had been instrumental in blocking Firtash's return to political life in Ukraine — an assertion that Firtash believes speaks to the political nature of the case against him.<sup>802</sup>

**September 5, 2019:** Ambassador Taylor brings Sens. Johnson (R-WI) and Chris Murphy (D-CT) to meet President Zelensky. Zelensky asks about assistance, and the senators assured him that Ukraine had bipartisan support that should not be risked by his getting involved in domestic politics.<sup>803</sup> Johnson cautioned Zelensky that President Trump has a negative view of Ukraine and that Zelensky would have a difficult time overcoming it.<sup>804</sup>

**September 5, 2019:** The Washington Post editorial board writes that it had been “reliably told” that President Trump was “attempting to force Mr. Zelensky to intervene in the 2020 U.S. presidential election by launching an investigation of the leading Democratic candidate, Joe Biden.”<sup>805</sup>

**September 5, 2019:** Laura K. Cooper, deputy assistant secretary of defense for Russia, Ukraine and Eurasia, and other senior Defense Department leaders were informed that over \$100 million in military assistance for Ukraine could not be obligated by the end of the 2019 fiscal year on September 30<sup>th</sup> – the hold had been in place for too long.<sup>806</sup> (Ultimately, approximately \$35 million of Ukraine military assistance—14% of the total funds—remained unspent by the end of fiscal year 2019, but the thinking at this point was that the amount would be higher.<sup>807</sup>) Again, on this day, a Ukrainian official raised the security assistance funding hold issue with Cooper at a reception at the Ukrainian embassy. Of the Ukrainian official, Cooper said, “There was an awareness of [the hold] and there was a question of concern.”<sup>808</sup>

**Early September (date unknown), 2019:** An email from Mike Duffey, an OMB political appointee, attributed the hold on military assistance funding to Ukraine “to the President's concern about other countries not contributing more to Ukraine.” Duffey asked other OMB staff for data on other countries' contributions to Ukraine.<sup>809</sup>

**September 7, 2019:** According to Tim Morrison, President Trump told Ambassador Sondland that he was not asking for a “quid pro quo.” But Trump did insist that President Zelensky go to a microphone and say he is opening investigations of Biden and 2016 election interference, and that Zelensky should want to do this himself. Morrison said that he told Bolton and the NSC lawyers of this phone call between Trump and Sondland.<sup>810</sup>

**September 7, 2019:** George Kent gets a WhatsApp message from Ambassador Taylor relaying the story that Ambassador Sondland “had talked to the President, POTUS in sort of shorthand, and POTUS wanted nothing less than President Zelensky to go to microphone and say investigations, Biden, and Clinton.”<sup>811</sup>

**September 8, 2019:** Ambassador Sondland and Ambassador Taylor spoke on the phone. Sondland said that President Trump was adamant that President Zelensky, himself, had to “clear things up and do it in public.” Trump said it was not a “quid pro quo.” Sondland said that

he had talked to Zelensky and Yermak and told them that, although this was not a quid pro quo, if Zelensky did not “clear things up” in public, we would be at a “stalemate.” Taylor says he understood a “stalemate” to mean that Ukraine would not receive military assistance. Sondland said that this conversation concluded with Zelensky agreeing to make a public statement in an interview with CNN. Taylor later testified, “Sondland tried to explain to me that President Trump is a businessman. When a businessman is about to sign a check to someone who owes him something, he said, the businessman asks that person to pay up before signing the check.” [Taylor later recounted Volker using the same terms several days later.] After their call, Taylor sent Sondland a text message stating that my “nightmare is they (the Ukrainians) give the interview and don’t get the security assistance. The Russians love it. (And I quit.)”<sup>812</sup> Taylor told David Holmes, “now they’re insisting Zelensky commit to the investigation in an interview with CNN.”<sup>813</sup>

**September 9, 2019:** Ambassador Taylor sent a text message to Ambassador Sondland and Kurt Volker saying that “[t]he message to the Ukrainians (and Russians) we send with the decision on security assistance is key. With the hold, we have already shaken their faith in us.” Taylor also said, “As I said on the phone, I think it’s crazy to withhold security assistance for help with a political campaign.” Sondland responded about five hours later.<sup>814</sup>

[9/9/19, 5:19:35 AM] Sondland: Bill, I believe you are incorrect about President Trump's intentions. The President has been crystal clear no quid pro quo's of any kind. The President is trying to evaluate whether Ukraine is truly going to adopt the transparency and reforms that President Zelensky promised during his campaign I suggest we stop the back and forth by text If you still have concerns I recommend you give Lisa Kenna or S a call to discuss them directly. Thanks.<sup>815</sup>

Sondland recalled that President Trump raised the possible existence of a quid pro quo on his own, without any prompting. However, testimony from other witnesses and documents available to the House Committees do not confirm that Sondland and Trump spoke on Sept. 9. Sondland testified that he “may have even spoken to him on September 6<sup>th</sup>” And he amended his testimony to say, “I cannot specifically recall if I had one or two phone calls with President Trump in the September 6-9 time frame.”<sup>816</sup>

**September 9, 2019:** Before responding to Ambassador Taylor, Ambassador Sondland spoke with President Trump. He asked Trump, “What do you want from Ukraine? And as I recall, he was in a very bad mood. It was a very quick conversation. He said: I want nothing. I want no quid pro quo. I want Zelensky to do the right thing. And I said: What does that mean? And he said: I want him to do what he ran on. And that was the end of the conversation.”<sup>817</sup>

**September 9, 2019:** Ambassador Taylor tells George Kent that “Sondland was pushing a line that included having President Zelensky give an interview potentially with CNN during the YES Conference that weekend in which he would send this public signal of announcing a willingness to pursue investigations.” Kent later said, “the anticipation or the hope was that sending that signal would clear the way for both the White House visit as well as the resumption or the clearing of the administrative hold on security assistance, which had been placed by OMB.” But Taylor told Kent that both Morrison and Sondland still claimed to believe that the security assistance and public commitment to investigations weren’t linked.<sup>818</sup>

**September 9, 2019:** The inspector general for the intelligence community sends a letter to Rep. Adam Schiff (D-CA), chairman of the House Intelligence Committee, and Rep. Devin Nunes (R-CA), ranking member of the committee, about the whistleblower's complaint, saying that withholding it "does not appear to be consistent with past practice" because the acting DNI, Joseph Maguire, is not permitting its release to Congress. Atkinson, the inspector general, said in the letter that he is working with Maguire to try to bring the whistleblower's concerns to Congress.<sup>819</sup>

**September 9, 2019:** House Democrats announce a probe into Giuliani's efforts in Ukraine.<sup>820</sup>

**September 10, 2019:** President Trump announced on Twitter that he had fired Bolton, his third national security adviser, only to be rebutted by Bolton, who insisted he had resigned of his own accord.<sup>821</sup>

**September and October, 2019:** Giuliani told Reuters in October that Lev Parnas and Igor Fruman had been to Vienna - where Dmytro Firtash lives - three to six times in the last two months. Giuliani declined to comment on the reasons for their travels. He said he did not know about any business relationship between Firtash and the two men that helped him investigate Biden. "They could be involved in business with each other," Giuliani said. "It's possible. I don't know. They may be involved in his defense." In an interview with Reuters in Sept. 2019, well before his arrest, Parnas said Firtash had been framed by U.S. prosecutors and diplomats. "They took an innocent man like Dmytro Firtash and they painted him out to be this bad old Mafia guy, which he's obviously not. He's one of the most honest businessmen out there. Incredible businessman." Parnas told Reuters that Firtash was the victim of a cabal that he alleges was involved in suppressing corruption by Joe Biden and his son in Ukraine. "Same people involved," he said. "Same characters." Parnas declined to comment to Reuters on the specific work he performed for Firtash, referring questions to the oligarch's lawyers, Toensing and diGenova.<sup>822</sup>

**Around September 11, 2019:** Giuliani invited Lev Parnas and Igor Fruman to an annual commemoration he organizes of the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks, people familiar with the event told the Washington Post, leaving Giuliani's longtime colleagues in New York government scratching their heads.<sup>823</sup>

**September 11, 2019:** President Trump, Vice President Pence, Chief of Staff Mick Mulvaney, and Senator Rob Portman had a meeting to discuss lifting the freeze on Ukraine aid, but neither Ambassador Bolton nor Secretary of State Pompeo are believed to have participated.<sup>824</sup>

**September 11, 2019:** Ambassador Taylor learned that the hold on the money for Ukraine had been lifted and that the security assistance would be provided.<sup>825</sup> (This was the day before the Senate Appropriations Committee was scheduled to vote to force the release of funds to Ukraine.<sup>826</sup>) Taylor personally conveyed the news to President Zelensky and Ukrainian Foreign Minister Vadym Prystaiko. Taylor sought to confirm through Oleksandr Danyliuk that Zelensky was not planning to give such an interview to the media where he make a statement regarding "investigations," as Sondland said he had agreed to do.<sup>827</sup>



**September 12, 2019:** After the lifting of the hold on military assistance funding to Ukraine, the Department of Defense was unable to fully obligate those funds prior to the end of the fiscal year. Mark Sandy, a career official at OMB, later said, “I know that they did not fully obligate the full amount of the appropriations and that \$35, roughly \$35 million, was left unobligated by the end of the year.” Language in the Fiscal 2019 continuing resolution was needed to extend the deadline so that the \$35 million could be obligated.<sup>828</sup>

**September 12, 2019:** “Why was [the Ukraine funding] released?” asked Sen. Lindsey Graham (R-SC) of Sen. Dick Durbin (D-IL) during a committee markup of the spending bill on Sept. 12. “Because of your amendment. That’s why it was released, because I [Graham] was going to vote for it,” said Graham.<sup>829</sup> Durbin had offered an amendment that would protect fiscal 2020 funds allocated for military assistance to Ukraine. Durbin ultimately withdrew the amendment. “If you’re listening in Ukraine on C-SPAN,” Graham said, “you’re gonna get the money.”<sup>830</sup>

**September 13, 2019:** David Holmes, Political Counselor at the U.S. Embassy in Kyiv, says an Embassy colleague of his received a phone call from a colleague at the U.S. Embassy to the European Union (under Ambassador Sondland). Holmes’s colleague texted him regarding the call, “Sondland said the [Zelensky] interview is supposed to be today or Monday [Sept 16] and they plan to announce that a certain investigation that was 'on hold' will progress.” The text also explained that the European Union Embassy employee did not know if this was decided or if Sondland was advocating for it.<sup>831</sup>

**September 13, 2019:** During a meeting at President Zelensky’s office, Ambassador Taylor noticed that Andriy Yermak looked uncomfortable in response to a question confirming that Zelensky did not intend to do give an interview to the media where he would make a statement regarding “investigations.” Again, Taylor asked Danyliuk to confirm that there would be no CNN interview, which he did, according to Taylor.<sup>832</sup> David Holmes said Yermak shrugged in resignation and did not answer, as if to indicate they had no choice. Holmes said, “In short, everyone thought there was going to be an interview, and that the Ukrainians believed they had to do it.”<sup>833</sup>

**September 13, 2019:** House Intelligence Committee Chairman Adam B. Schiff (D-CA) issues a subpoena to compel the administration to disclose the whistleblower complaint.<sup>834</sup>

**September 18, 2019:** The Washington Post reports on the standoff over the whistleblower complaint, thrusting its substance into public view. Media reports later indicate the complaint was prompted by a call involving the Ukrainian president.<sup>835</sup>

**September 18, 2019:** The Washington Examiner reports that John Solomon has announced his departure from the Hill newspaper and the Hill.TV to start his own media firm. In a memo to his team, Solomon wrote, “After two-plus amazing years at Hill.TV I am moving on next month to build my own startup media company.”<sup>836</sup>

**September 18, 2019:** According to Lt. Col. Vindman, Vice President Pence told President Zelensky that “the security assistance has been lifted.”<sup>837</sup>

**September 18 or 19, 2019:** President Zelensky cancelled his scheduled interview with CNN.<sup>838</sup>

**September 19, 2019:** During an appearance with Fox News' Laura Ingraham, Giuliani stated, "What I was urging the Ukrainian government to do was not to do something embarrassing to Joe Biden. I was urging the government of the Ukraine to investigate extraordinarily serious allegations of corruption." Later adding, "If you can't investigate allegations of how George Soros put people in to take his complete ridiculous NGO out of an investigation, Biden's son was let go and you can't investigate that, then how can we have any confidence in you as a government?" Giuliani again, ironically, added, "The crime of bribery is defined in the Ukraine, as well as all over the world, as the following: you cannot offer something of value in exchange for official action." Explaining explicitly, "Joe Biden said, I told him I will hold back your \$1.2 billion unless you fire the prosecutor. And the guy reluctantly fired the prosecutor. That's a thing of value for official action. That's the crime of bribery."<sup>839</sup>

**September 19, 2019:** At one point, during a combative interview on CNN, Chris Cuomo stated to Giuliani, "So, you did ask Ukraine to look into Joe Biden." To which he replied, "Of course I did." A confused Cuomo responded, "You just said you didn't." And Giuliani clarified, "No, I asked them to look into the allegations which related to my client which tangentially involved Joe Biden in a massive bribery scheme." After further verbal sparring with Cuomo, Giuliani said, "Joe Biden can be involved in bribery. Joe Biden's son can get \$1.5 billion from China and you won't cover it. And you want to cover some ridiculous charge that I urged the Ukrainian government to investigate corruption. Well, I did and I'm proud of it."<sup>840</sup>

**September 20, 2019:** A Reuters reporter photographed Giuliani and Lev Parnas having lunch with Victoria Toensing at the Trump International Hotel in DC.



**September 22, 2019:** Departing the White House, President Trump tells reporters the call with President Zelensky was "absolutely perfect" and "a beautiful, warm, nice conversation." He also says he brought up corruption accusations against Biden. "We had a great conversation. The conversation I had was largely congratulatory. It was largely corruption — all of the corruption taking place. It was largely the fact that we don't want our people, like Vice President Biden and his son, creating to the corruption already in the Ukraine. And Ukraine — Ukraine has got a lot of problems," Trump says.<sup>841</sup>

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**September 22, 2019:** On Fox News Sunday, Secretary Pompeo says, “We’re going to see President Zelensky this week. I do hope -- I do hope that if Vice President Biden engaged in behavior that was inappropriate, if he had a conflict of interest or entered -- or allowed something to take place in Ukraine which may have interfered in our elections in 2016, I do hope that we get to the bottom of that.”<sup>842</sup>

**September 23, 2019:** President Trump tried to explain what he wanted of Ukraine: “what I want is I want--you know, we’re giving a lot of money away to Ukraine and other places. You want to see a country that’s going to be not corrupt. The president is a good man. He got elected on the fact that he was going to get rid of corruption in Ukraine. That’s I think the primary reason he got elected. So, he gets elected on the basis of ending corruption in Ukraine. Well, I think that’s good and that’s what I want to see. But when Biden does anything like that, then there’s still corruption, and that’s not good.”<sup>843</sup>

**September 24, 2019:** President Trump again elaborated on what he believes happened during the Zelensky call, saying, “There was no pressure put on them whatsoever. But there was pressure put on with respect to Joe Biden. What Joe Biden did for his son, that’s something they should be looking at.”<sup>844</sup>

**September 24, 2019:** In a WhatsApp message, Ambassador Volker told Ambassador Sondland in part: “Spoke w Rudy [Giuliani] per guidance from S [Sec. Pompeo].”<sup>845</sup>

**September 24, 2019:** In a Fox News interview with Laura Ingraham, Giuliani said, “I never talked to a Ukrainian official until the State Department called me and asked me to do it. And then I reported every conversation back to them.” “But it’s all here, right here. The -- the first call from the State Department, the debriefing of the State’s attorney,” Giuliani said, waving his phone as if to suggest he had messages proving it.<sup>846</sup>

**September 25, 2019:** At the UN General Assembly session in New York City, President Trump met President Zelensky face-to-face. Trump also released the transcript of the July 25 call. “I’m sorry, but I don’t want to be involved, to democratic, open elections of U.S.A.,” Zelensky said. “We had, I think, good phone call. It was normal. We spoke about many things, and I think, and you read it, that nobody push it. Push me.” Trump then chimed in: “In other words, no pressure.”<sup>847</sup> However, when asked if he’d like Zelensky to investigate Biden, Trump replied, “No. I want him to do whatever he can. This was not his fault; he wasn’t there. He’s just been here recently. But whatever he can do in terms of corruption, because the corruption is massive. Now, when Biden’s son walks away with millions of dollars from Ukraine, and he knows nothing, and they’re paying him millions of dollars, that’s corruption.”<sup>848</sup> Ambassador Taylor later said that the U.S. “gave the Ukrainians virtually no notice of the release, and they were livid.”<sup>849</sup>

**September 25, 2019:** After the meeting with Trump, Zelensky met with Ukrainian journalists, who immediately asked him for clarification. He said that for him, it was simple: He didn’t want his words to be interpreted to mean that Ukraine would interfere in another country’s elections. Still speaking Ukrainian, he added: “That’s why I said, ‘No one can pressure me. And no one will pressure me.’” Jessica Pisano, an associate professor of politics at the New School for Social Research in New York, wrote in the Washington Post that, in both colloquial Ukrainian and in

colloquial Russian, "he pressured me" does not mean merely "I felt pressured." Instead, it implies you've actually been compelled to do something. In Ukrainian politics, "pressure" (tysk) means not just applying pressure; it usually means that the person being pressured cooperated. In Zelensky's statement to Ukrainian journalists that "no one can pressure me," he was not commenting on Trump's action; he was clarifying his own response.<sup>850</sup>

**September 25 (or shortly after), 2019:** Ambassador McKinley proposed issuing a public statement in support of Ambassador Yovanovitch in the aftermath of the release of the President's July 25 call record. State Department spokesperson Morgan Ortagus told him by phone that Secretary Pompeo had decided that it was better not to release a statement. McKinley thinks he had three conversations with Pompeo on the subject.<sup>851</sup> (On Oct. 20, Pompeo told ABC News, "You know, from the time that Ambassador Yovanovitch departed Ukraine until the time that he came to tell me that he was departing, I never heard him say a single thing about his concerns with respect to the decision that was made." The interviewer asked, "So you were never asked --" And Pompeo responded, "Not -- not -- not once -- not once, George, did Ambassador McKinley say something to me during that entire time period.")<sup>852</sup>

**September 26, 2019:** The House Intelligence Committee releases a redacted version of the whistleblower complaint, now at the center of Democrats' impeachment probe.<sup>853</sup>

**September 26, 2019:** Appearing with Fox News' Laura Ingraham, Giuliani again stated he was acting at the request of the Trump administration while in Ukraine. He said, "The whistle-blower falsely alleges that I was operating on my own. Well, I wasn't operating on my own. I went to meet Mr. Zelensky's aide at the request of the State Department. Fifteen memos make that clear." When asked if Pompeo was unhappy with him, Giuliani responded, "So, Mike, if you're unhappy with me, I'm sorry but I accomplished my mission." Later adding, "I have no idea if [Pompeo] is unhappy with me or not. Frankly, I don't care."<sup>854</sup>

**September 26, 2019:** John Solomon was the first to report on an affidavit made by former Ukrainian Prosecutor General Viktor Shokin and obtained from Firtash by his lawyers, Victoria Toensing and Joe diGenova (who were also Solomon's lawyers but that wasn't disclosed at the time). Shokin swore the affidavit attesting to that his firing was connected to his Biden work and Giuliani later presented it on television.<sup>855</sup>

**September 26, 2019:** John Solomon, Toensing, and diGenova all appear on Hannity again to discuss Shokin's affidavit, filed at the request of Firtash's attorneys. At no time during the program does Hannity, Toensing, and diGenova mention who requested the statement nor do they discuss that they are Firtash's attorneys. Solomon also doesn't mention that he shares attorneys with Firtash. diGenova says "we've known from the very beginning that Mr. Shokin was not a corrupt prosecutor."<sup>856</sup> Later that night, President Trump tweets a clip of diGenova from Hannity.<sup>857</sup>

**September 26, 2019:** Yuriy Lutsenko declared to The Washington Post that "on the territory of Ukraine, Hunter Biden did not violate Ukrainian legislation." Giuliani was livid. "He flipped because he was trying to protect Poroshenko," he said in an interview the same day.<sup>858</sup>

**September 27, 2019:** A Ukrainian investigation of gas company Burisma is focused solely on activity that took place before Hunter Biden, Ukraine's anti-corruption investigation agency said. Separately, a senior official at the General Prosecutor's office said that neither of the Bidens had been called for questioning in relation to this investigation. Ukraine would open an investigation into the period when Hunter Biden was involved with Burisma if there were compelling new testimony in Ukraine, Nazar Kholodnytsky, the head of anti-corruption investigations at Ukraine's Prosecutor's Office, said on Novoye Vremya radio. (Note: This appears to be a change in tune for Kholodnytsky.) "At the moment, this case is up in the air, so to speak. Up in the air means that there is no active investigative work ongoing. At the moment, detectives and prosecutors do not understand what they are supposed to be investigating," Kholodnytsky said. Kholodnytsky said that were Poroshenko to make a statement about being pressured into removing Shokin from his post, then an investigation must be launched. However, he said, neither his agency nor the NABU had received such a statement thus far. Likewise, he said his department couldn't initiate an investigation based solely on comments it had heard from the U.S. side.<sup>859</sup>

**September 27, 2019:** Yuriy Lutsenko told NBC News he has known Giuliani for "many years" and met him while vacationing in New York. Lutsenko said he was friends with Giuliani and that the pair had spoken "maybe 10 times."<sup>860</sup>

**September 27, 2019:** Giuliani abruptly canceled his scheduled paid appearance at a Kremlin-backed conference in Armenia the next week. Giuliani, who confirmed to The Washington Post on the morning of Sept. 27 that he would attend the event, reversed himself that evening after The Post reported on his participation in the meeting, which Russian President Putin and other top Russian officials are expected to attend. The two-day conference is sponsored by Russia and the Moscow-based Eurasian Economic Union, a trade alliance launched by Putin in 2014 as a counterweight to the European Union. According to an agenda for the event posted online, Giuliani was set to participate in a panel led by Sergey Glazyev, a longtime Putin adviser who has been under U.S. sanctions since Russia's invasion of Ukraine five years ago. Giuliani said that he was no longer planning to attend the meeting. "I didn't know Putin was going," Giuliani said. Giuliani confirmed that he intended to accept payment for his appearance but declined to say how much he would have received or which group or person was going to pay him.<sup>861</sup> Ara Abramyan, member of TriGlobal Strategic Ventures's advisory board, later told Bloomberg News that he was the one who invited Giuliani to a conference. (Triglobal was involved in some of Giuliani's earlier trips to Ukraine.) A biography on TriGlobal's website in June 2016 listed Abramyan as a "very close adviser to the Russian government's inner circle including the President and the Prime Minister." The description disappeared from the site the next year. Abramyan denied that Giuliani's cancellation this year had anything to do with Putin's appearance. "We never paid him for a speech or for a visit," Abramyan said on the sidelines of the conference in Yerevan. "He agreed to come as my friend, my good friend." He declined to discuss whether anyone else paid Giuliani to attend.<sup>862</sup>

**September 27, 2019:** The Washington Post reports that Valentin Nalyvaichenko, another Ukrainian member of parliament with connections to Dmytro Firtash (covered earlier in this timeline; he knows him personally), is leading the push for a parliamentary inquiry into some of the same allegations at the heart of the Trump administration's dirt-digging efforts, including possibly reopening inquiries into the Ukrainian natural gas firm with connections to Hunter

Biden. Ukrainian law allows parliament to start a formal inquiry if one-third of the 450-member legislature agrees. Nalyvaichenko was trying to gather enough signatures. Even if Nalyvaichenko falls short, he said he would still press for regular parliamentary hearings. Those could involve alleged Ukrainian interference in the 2016 U.S. election and inquests into claims of money laundering and abuse by the gas company Burisma Holdings, whose board once included the younger Biden. Nalyvaichenko also said that he wanted to get to the bottom of a “black ledger.” He also said he wanted to study the actions of Ukrainian diplomats in Washington, whom he said may have favored Clinton. Nalyvaichenko made an appearance in the Jan. 2017 Politico article that started the DNC-Ukraine story. And among the witnesses Nalyvaichenko said he was interested in speaking to was Andrii Telizhenko, the star of that Politico article.<sup>863</sup> Nalyvaichenko is a staunch ally of Andriy Artemenko, who appeared in the Jan. 2017 Politico article and later employed Andriy Telizhenko.<sup>864</sup>

**September 28, 2019:** In an interview with the LA Times, Yuriy Lutsenko said he repeatedly rebuffed demands by Giuliani to investigate Biden and his son, insisting he had seen no evidence of wrongdoing that he could pursue. Lutsenko said he had urged Giuliani to launch a U.S. inquiry and go to court if he had any evidence but not to use Ukraine to conduct a political vendetta that could affect the U.S. election. “I said, ‘Let’s put this through prosecutors, not through presidents,’ ” Lutsenko told The Times. “I told him I could not start an investigation just for the interests of an American official,” he said. He described Giuliani as obsessed with possible misconduct by Biden or his son Hunter. Lutsenko said his hands were tied and he could not reopen the case just because Trump wanted it.<sup>865</sup> (Note: Lutsenko has often contradicting his previous public statements.)

**September 29, 2019:** During an appearance on CBS’s Face the Nation, Giuliani was pressed on his actions in Ukraine and he responded, “I did not do this on my own. I did it at the request of the State Department. And I have all of the text messages to prove it. And I also have a thank you from them from doing a good job. So I don’t know why the State Department is running away from it.” When asked who sent him materials and asked him to do these things, Giuliani replied, “Volker did and then Mr. Sondland did. But when I talked to the secretary [Pompeo] last week, he said he was aware of it. He told me that he was aware of it.”<sup>866</sup>

**September 29, 2019:** Fox News’ Chris Wallace reported that, in addition to Giuliani, Joe diGenova and Victoria Toensing worked alongside the former New York City mayor to get damaging information on Biden from Ukrainian officials. “According to a top U.S. official, all three were working off the books apart from the administration,” Wallace said. “The only person in government who knows what they were doing is President Trump.” In a tweet, Toensing denied that her husband and she were working with Giuliani and called the reporting “categorically false.” Wallace later responded, “We stand by our story.”<sup>867</sup> Andriy Bohdan, who heads the Office of President Zelensky, later said, “It is true, information was coming from all my acquaintances and friends about those two lawyers [an apparent reference to diGenova and Toensing] who worked for Giuliani and wanted to meet. Different people recommended them as being very influential. Well, a lawyer myself, I understand what status a person has, so we decided not to meet with any persons who did not have an official status... Neither I nor Zelensky met with those people.”<sup>868</sup>

**September 29, 2019:** “The DNC server and that conspiracy theory has got to go,” Tom Bossert, a former homeland security adviser in the Trump administration, said on ABC’s “This Week With George Stephanopoulos.” “It’s not only a conspiracy theory. It is completely debunked,” said Bossert, who served as homeland security adviser from January 2017 to April 2018. He added that if Trump continues with that focus, “it’s going to bring him down.” “At this point, I am deeply frustrated with what [Giuliani] and the legal team are doing and repeating that debunked theory to the president.” “It sticks in his mind when he hears it over and over again, and for clarity let me just repeat that it has no validity,” Bossert added. Giuliani, who appeared on ABC after Bossert, said, “With all due respect to Tom Bossert, he doesn’t know what he’s talking about.”<sup>869</sup>

**September 29, 2019:** Yuriy Lutsenko left Ukraine for Britain, saying he wanted to improve his English.<sup>870</sup>

**September 30, 2019:** At the White House, President Trump says, “Now, the new President of Ukraine [Zelensky] ran on the basis of no corruption. That’s how he got elected. And I believe that he really means it. But there was a lot of corruption having to do with the 2016 election against us. And we want to get to the bottom of it, and it’s very important that we do.”<sup>871</sup>

**September 30, 2019:** U.S. House committees sent letters to Lev Parnas and Igor Fruman requesting they produce documents by Oct. 7 and appear for depositions by Oct. 10, for Parnas, and Oct. 11, for Fruman.<sup>872</sup>

**October 2, 2019:** Ukrainian authorities announced that they had opened a criminal case against Yuriy Lutsenko over accusations that he had abused his power in dealings with politicians and others involved in illegal gambling. Lutsenko dismissed the latest case as “a big fantasy.”<sup>873</sup>

**October 2, 2019:** Giuliani again appears on Hannity and talked again about the affidavit Viktor Shokin wrote in support of Dmytro Firtash. During the interview, Giuliani says, “Shokin has direct evidence. Kalluke (ph-perhaps he meant Kholodnitskiy) has direct evidence. Kaleniuk has direct evidence. Lutsenko has direct evidence. [Andrii] Telizhenko has direct evidence. I have six witnesses who can give direct, admissible evidence of Ukrainian collusion, participation in the Steele dossier with phony information, the creation of false evidence, and a very clear corruption scheme by the Vice President of the United States and that has to be vindicated and all of it was exposed before he was a candidate for president.”<sup>874</sup>

**October 2, 2019:** President Trump signed off on Lev Parnas and Igor Fruman hiring of John Dowd, a lawyer who had earlier represented the president at one stage of the Mueller investigation, according to an email reviewed by The New York Times. “I have discussed the issue of representation with the president. The president consents to allowing your representation of Mr. Parnas and Mr. Furman,” Jay Sekulow, another lawyer for Trump, wrote to Dowd, misspelling Fruman’s surname. Dowd later said in an interview that Trump’s approval was sought “simply as a courtesy to the president.”<sup>875</sup>

**October 3, 2019:** John Dowd, attorney for Parnas and Fruman, sent a letter to Congress asking for additional time to respond to the committees’ request.<sup>876</sup> In a letter to the House Intelligence Committee, Dowd said his clients “assisted Mr. Giuliani in connection with his representation of President Trump. Mr. Parnas and Mr. Furman have also been represented by Mr. Giuliani in

connection with their personal and business affairs.” Dowd said they also worked with another pair of Washington power lawyers — Joseph DiGenova and Victoria Toensing — “in their law practice.” As a result, Dowd wrote, some of the information the Intelligence Committee wants “is protected by the attorney-client, attorney work product and other privileges.”<sup>877</sup>

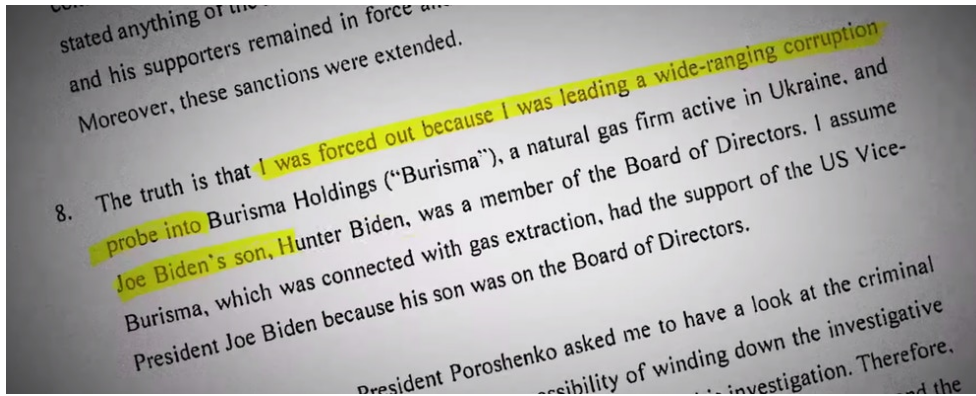
**October 3, 2019:** When asked about Ambassador Yovanovitch's removal, President Trump told reporters: "I don't know if I recalled her or somebody recalled her but I heard very, very bad things about her for a long period of time. Not good."<sup>878</sup> When asked, “what exactly did you hope Zelensky would do about the Bidens after your phone call?” Trump replied, “Well, I would think if they were honest about it they would start a major investigation into the Bidens. It's a very simple answer. They should investigate the Bidens because how does a company that's newly formed and all of these companies if you look at and by the way likewise China should start an investigation into the Bidens because what happened in China is just about as bad as what happened with Ukraine. So I would say that President Zelensky if it were me I would recommend that they start an investigation into the Bidens because nobody has any doubt that they weren't crooked. That was a crooked deal 100 percent. He had no knowledge of energy, didn't know the first thing about it, all of the sudden he's getting \$50,000 a month plus a lot of other things. Nobody has any doubt and they got rid of a prosecutor who is a very tough prosecutor they got rid of him. Now they are trying to make it the opposite way but they got rid-- so if I were the president I would certainly recommend that of Ukraine.”<sup>879</sup>

**October 4, 2019:** During a conference call with House members, President Trump threw Energy Secretary Rick Perry into the mix regarding his July 25 phone call to President Zelensky. Trump said something to the effect of: "Not a lot of people know this but, I didn't even want to make the call. The only reason I made the call was because Rick asked me to. Something about an LNG [liquefied natural gas] plant," one source on the call later told Axios, recalling the president's comments. Two other sources confirmed the first source's recollection.<sup>880</sup>

**October 4, 2019:** Shortly after House Democrats requested documents from Lev Parnas and Igor Fruman, flight records show that Parnas chartered a jet to Cape Cod. Parnas told two sources that he was there to meet his lawyer John Dowd, who previously represented Trump during the Mueller investigation.<sup>881</sup>

**October 4, 2019:** Trump's reelection campaign goes on the offensive with a TV ad that features quotes from the statement by former Ukraine Prosecutor General Viktor Shokin – a statement that was made at the at the request of Dmytro Firtash's lawyers. “Fact: The prosecutor said he was forced out for leading a corruption probe into Hunter Biden's company,” the ad announcer says. While the announcer speaks, viewers see a blurry English-language translation of a “witness statement” from Shokin, and an abbreviated quote from the statement superimposed on the document that says, “I was forced out because I was leading a wide-ranging corruption probe into Burisma ... Joe Biden's son, Hunter Biden, was a member of the Board of Directors.”<sup>882</sup>





**October 5, 2019:** Several press outlets report that John Solomon has joined Fox News as a contributor. Fox News confirmed the recent hire.

**October 5, 2019:** Former Ukrainian officials who worked in the Prosecutor General's office when Yuriy Lutsenko was in charge say they had no knowledge of his contacts with Giuliani. A deputy prosecutor under Lutsenko, Eugene Yenin, told CNN that "speaking to anybody informally or contacting private lawyers goes beyond the criminal procedure code of Ukraine." "He never agreed this interview with the international legal cooperation department nor me, his deputy," Yenin said.<sup>883</sup>

**October 5, 2019:** The NY Times publishes a background article on Yuriy Lutsenko and his many past controversies. In an interview with the NY Times from London, Lutsenko said that he told Giuliani from the start that there was no basis for a case against Biden or his son. "Sometimes the mayor is very wise, but sometimes he gets carried away," he said of Giuliani. Asked about this, Giuliani had a simple retort: "Liar."<sup>884</sup>

**October 6, 2019:** Viktor Shokin, according to Bloomberg, had been promised his affidavit from Sept. 4 wouldn't be made public. Giuliani later suggesting he had a role in making it public.<sup>885</sup> "The witness I'm relying on," Giuliani told Fox News, was Shokin. "That's the affidavit I put out," Giuliani added. He did not mention that the affidavit was obtained by the Firtash legal team.<sup>886</sup>

**October 8, 2019:** John Down, attorney for Parnas and Fruman, sent another letter to Congress stating that his clients would not appear for the demanded depositions on Oct. 10 and Oct. 11.<sup>887</sup>

**October 8, 2019:** Flight records indicate that Lev Parnas and Igor Fruman chartered a private jet from Fort Lauderdale, Florida, to Washington on the day before they were arrested at Dulles.<sup>888</sup> Fruman bought an \$8,000 one-way ticket said prosecutor Nicholas Roos — who added that the observant Jew had oddly booked a flight for Yom Kippur, one of the holiest days on the Jewish calendar. "What is clear is he was subpoenaed by Congress, and indicated he was not going to comply," said Roos.<sup>889</sup>

**October 8, 2019:** Ihor Kolomoisky, the Ukrainian billionaire reported to be under investigation by the FBI and who had earlier feuded publicly with Parnas, Fruman, and Giuliani, later told the NY Times he had made peace with Parnas and had spoken to him several times, including the

night before he was detained. In their conversations, Kolomoisky said, Parnas made no secret that he was helping Dmytro Firtash with his legal case. And while Kolomoisky insisted that neither Parnas nor Fruman had mentioned his own legal travails, he added: “Had they, I would have said: ‘Let’s watch Firtash and train on Firtash. When Firtash comes back here [to Ukraine], and everything is O.K., I will be your next client.’”<sup>890</sup>

**October 8, 2019:** President Trump tweets: “I would love to send Ambassador Sondland, a really good man and great American, to testify, but unfortunately he would be testifying before a totally compromised kangaroo court, where Republican’s rights have been taken away, and true facts are not allowed out for the public to see. Importantly, Ambassador Sondland’s tweet, which few report, stated, “I believe you are incorrect about President Trump’s intentions. The President has been crystal clear: no quid pro quo’s of any kind.” That says it ALL!”<sup>891</sup> When Sondland later appeared before Congress, he said, “Was there a ‘quid pro quo?’ As I testified previously, with regard to the requested White House call and White House meeting, the answer is yes.” “Giuliani’s requests were a quid pro quo for arranging a White House visit for President Zelensky,” Sondland said. Also stating, “I shared concerns of the potential quid pro quo regarding the security aid” with Sen. Ron Johnson and the Ukrainians.<sup>892</sup>

**October 9, 2019:** Andriy Derkach, a former member of the Ukrainian secret service who has now become a member of Ukraine’s parliament, repeated the allegation that money from a Burisma bank account was transferred to Rosemont Seneca Partners, a consultancy co-founded by Hunter Biden, in return for lobbying services by Vice President Biden. Derkach has close ties to Yuriy Lutsenko.<sup>893</sup> And Derkach’s father was a KGB officer and Derkach himself was once a student of the Academy of KGB in Moscow.<sup>894</sup> There is no evidence that this claim about Burisma is true.<sup>895</sup> Derkach provided no evidence to support these accusations. Derkach claimed he got his data from investigative journalists who were afraid to publish it. But a Kyiv Post source said that NABU official Polina Chizh’s inbox was hacked at the order of Lutsenko, then prosecutor general, who tried to oust NABU chief Sytnyk in 2017. The Kyiv Post theorized that it could be Lutsenko who supplied Derkach with the hacked emails. Neither man responded to the Kyiv Post’s request for comment.<sup>896</sup> The Kyiv Post called Derkach “dubious.” Hours later, Giuliani appeared on Sean Hannity’s show on Fox News and parroted Derkach’s claim.<sup>897</sup>

**October 9, 2019:** Lev Parnas and Igor Fruman had lunch with Giuliani at the Trump International Hotel in DC, a person who was in the hotel and saw the three together later told the Wall Street Journal. Giuliani later said that Parnas and Fruman were headed to Vienna, Austria, that evening for reasons related to their business. He said the two men had also left the country about two weeks ago and had traveled to Vienna between three and six times in the last two months. He said he had been scheduled to meet with the two when they were to return to Washington within days.<sup>898</sup>

**October 9, 2019:** Giuliani told The Atlantic staff writer Elaina Plott that couldn’t meet for an interview on Oct. 9 due to a Hannity appearance. When Plott suggested that evening instead, “his response was a bit more curious” she wrote. “We would have to aim for lunch, Giuliani told me, because he was planning to fly to Vienna, Austria” on the night of Oct. 10.<sup>899</sup>

**October 9, 2019:** Lev Parnas and Igor Fruman were arrested at Dulles International Airport. The two were preparing to fly to Vienna, Austria, to meet Giuliani and Viktor Shokin, four

sources familiar with their trip later told CNN. According to those four sources, they told others they were headed to Vienna to help with a planned interview the next day: Shokin, they said, was scheduled to do an interview from the Austrian capital with Fox News' Sean Hannity. A Fox News spokesperson would neither confirm nor deny that he had intentions of interviewing Shokin prior to Parnas and Fruman being arrested, according to CNN.<sup>900</sup>



**October 10, 2019:** In an indictment, unsealed on Oct. 10, federal prosecutors in Manhattan alleged Lev Parnas and Igor Fruman were engaged in political activities in the U.S. on behalf of one or more Ukrainian government officials. The two men were charged with four counts, including conspiracy, falsification of records and lying to the Federal Election Commission about their political donations. The indictment alleges that Parnas and Fruman conspired with two other men also named as defendants—David Correia, Parnas's longtime business partner and No. 2, and Andrey Kukushkin.<sup>901</sup> "[Parnas and Fruman] sought political influence not only to advance their own financial interests, but to advance the political interests of at least one foreign official — a Ukrainian government official who sought the dismissal of the U.S. ambassador to Ukraine," Geoffrey Berman, U.S. attorney for the Southern District of New York, said at a news conference.<sup>902</sup>

**October 10, 2019:** "I don't know those gentlemen," President Trump said about Parnas and Fruman when asked about the new charges, adding he hadn't discussed them with Giuliani. Trump also said he hoped Giuliani wouldn't be indicted.<sup>903</sup>

**October 10, 2019:** Ex-Security Service of Ukraine chief Valentyn Nalyvaichenko, who has known links to Dmytro Firtash (Nalyvaichenko knows Firtash personally<sup>904</sup>), wrote an op-ed in the Wall Street Journal calling for a full investigation of Ukraine's involvement in the 2016 presidential election Biden family's role in the Ukrainian energy company Burisma.<sup>905</sup>

**October 11, 2019:** NBC News reported that the unnamed Ukrainian official referenced in a federal indictment as directing a plot to Ambassador Yovanovitch is Yuriy Lutsenko, according to a U.S. official familiar with the events. The indictment says the efforts by Parnas and Fruman to remove Yovanovitch were "conducted, at least in part, at the request of one or more Ukrainian government officials." Federal prosecutors didn't detail in the indictment or at a press conference why the unnamed Ukrainian official or officials allegedly urged Parnas and Fruman to scheme to push out Yovanovitch. But two former U.S. officials told NBC News that Lutsenko had sharp disagreements with Yovanovitch over his handling of corruption cases, and was also seeking to curry favor with the Trump administration.<sup>906</sup>

**October (unspecified date), 2019:** Ukraine's Foreign Minister Vadym Prystaiko blocked a planned visit to Washington by Olena Zerkal, deputy minister of foreign affairs of Ukraine. Prystaiko's concern, Zerkal said, was that she would discuss information relevant to the impeachment proceedings — like when Ukraine learned military aid had been put on hold — with members of Congress. Zerkal says she had arranged meetings with politicians from both parties. The stated purpose of the meetings was to discuss American sanctions on Russia, but the Ukrainians expected that questions of when Ukraine became aware of the freeze on American aid could have come up. "His main message to me was to keep silent, to not comment without permission," Zerkal said of Andriy Yermak, an aide to Zelensky, who asked that she keep a low profile on all matters, not just those related to the United States. "They are in a very tricky situation and they understand this," Zerkal said.<sup>907</sup>

**October 17, 2019:** Acting White House chief of staff Mick Mulvaney said in a news conference that military aid was indeed withheld over Ukraine not investigating the conspiracy theory involving a DNC server. He later walked it back.<sup>908</sup> Mulvaney said, "Did [Trump] also mention to me in the past the--the--the corruption related to the DNC server? Absolutely, no question about that. But that's it, and that's why we held up the money." A reporter asked if "the demand for an investigation into the Democrats was part of the reason that he... ordered to withhold funding to Ukraine?" Mulvaney responded, "The look back to what happened in 2016 certainly was part of the thing that he was worried about in corruption with that nation, and that is absolutely appropriate." The reporter confirmed, "Withholding the funding?" And Mulvaney replied, "Yeah, which ultimately then flowed."<sup>909</sup>

**October 18, 2019:** Bloomberg reports that Joe diGenova and Victoria Toensing have billed Dmytro Firtash about \$1 million for their work. That includes costs for Lev Parnas as a translator and important contact, the person told Bloomberg.<sup>910</sup>

**October 18, 2019:** Giuliani, who has mentioned Dmytro Firtash and the Viktor Shokin affidavit in television interviews, told the NY Times: "I know who [Firtash] is and about him in general but have never talked to him." He said he had concluded "before this" that it wasn't useful to pursue Firtash's case in connection to his efforts to investigate purported interference by Ukraine in the 2016 U.S. election "for the simple reason he wasn't there in 2016."<sup>911</sup>

**October 21, 2019:** Kyiv's Pechersky District Court ruled in favor of the petition of Member of Parliament Andriy Derkach to annul the order of Ukraine's Prosecutor General's Office on closing the criminal case on the illegal interference of the National Anti-Corruption Agency of Ukraine (NABU) in the 2016 U.S. presidential campaign.<sup>912</sup> Derkach has close ties to Yuriy Lutsenko.<sup>913</sup> Lutsenko and Derkach know each other at least since 2005,<sup>914</sup> when he publicly endorsed Derkach's candidacy for parliament and urged his listing as a candidate.<sup>915</sup> On Oct. 21, Derkach said the criminal proceedings on interference in the 2016 U.S. elections, opened by the PGO in 2017 and closed in January 2019, will be resumed. Derkach also said U.S. elections interference was carried out by illegally publishing information against Paul Manafort. He said the information is suspicious and could be falsified by the staff of the U.S. Embassy in Ukraine and NABU.<sup>916</sup> Lutsenko had said that his office was investigating whether the NABU had deliberately released the "black ledger." NABU has dismissed Lutsenko's claims, calling them an "absurd attempt to discredit an independent anti-corruption institution."<sup>917</sup>

**October 23, 2019:** A reorganization, which includes fresh leadership for the agency and mandatory skills testing for prosecutors, caused an upheaval of Ukraine's General Prosecutor's Office. Serhii Horbatiuk, the former head of the Special Investigations Unit, who was fired on Oct. 23 for refusing to take the new test, said he believed Zelenskiy's overhaul was aimed at concentrating power in the hands of loyalists who could exercise more control over sensitive cases, including the probes linked to Paul Manafort. Many of those staffers view as insulting and an unfair. More than 200 have already been fired for refusing to take the exam, according to the prosecutor's office. "This entire reform is being done in order to take control of the General Prosecutor's Office... and have the guarantee that there will be no dissent," Horbatiuk told Reuters the day before he was fired. Among those who have been fired are 13 prosecutors from the Special Investigations Unit, which was overseeing corruption cases from the period of former President Viktor Yanukovich. Manafort, who worked as a political consultant in Ukraine for years, was implicated in two of those probes, one linked to a dossier of off-the-books payments made by a Ukrainian political party, and another looking at the alleged illicit use of state funds by Yanukovich's government. "In the fog of this reform you can create such a pile of cases... which will lead to an absence of results," Horbatiuk said. "At least 50% of the information... is in the investigator's head, it doesn't fit into the official paperwork," said Andriy Rodionov, a senior investigator in the unit who is still on staff after passing the mandatory exam. "Any handing over of these cases is an automatic burial of them." Rodionov said his team had been "within weeks" of announcing official suspects in the second probe linked to Manafort. "We were ready... to formally announce indictments of both Ukrainian and American citizens," Rodionov said. "I spent three years trying to put it all together and now they will crumple it up and stuff it all in a box and hand the box away." Many in Ukraine think a quiet end to investigations into Manafort would likely play well in the Trump White House.<sup>918</sup>

**October 23, 2019:** A lawyer for the recently indicted operative Lev Parnas said the White House might invoke executive privilege over evidence collected in the campaign finance investigation. That is because Giuliani was representing Parnas and President Trump at the same time, said the lawyer, Edward MacMahon Jr. "He was working for Mr. Giuliani and Mr. Giuliani was working for the president of the United States," McMahon told the judge, U.S. District Court Judge Paul Oetken.<sup>919</sup>

**October 23, 2019:** The Washington Post publishes quotes from an interview (from a week prior) with Giuliani where he calls Dmytro Firtash an "interesting" guy but said he never met him or worked on his behalf. "I did sort of look at Firtash to see if he had any relevant information," to assist his claims, Giuliani said. "As far as I can tell, he didn't. I looked at maybe 20 of these oligarchs." He said he did not know whether Firtash had a relationship with Lev Parnas and Igor Fruman. "It's none of my business," Giuliani said.<sup>920</sup>

**October 24, 2019:** Politico reveals that Joe diGenova and Victoria Toensing, who this year took on as a client Dmytro Firtash, also represent John Solomon, the conservative columnist who worked with Lev Parnas and Yuriy Lutsenko and first published many of the claims about corruption, against Trump, in Ukraine. "John Solomon has been a client of our firm for a very long time," Joe diGenova told Politico. Solomon also confirmed to that Toensing and diGenova were his attorneys.<sup>921</sup>

**October 29, 2019:** Andriy Telizhenko met with Giuliani in his Manhattan office. "We discussed what's happening in Ukraine, political updates, what the new (Ukrainian presidential) team is up to, what are the reforms going to be," Telizhenko said in an interview with NBC News. "We're friends now. He respects our country," Telizhenko said. "I'm not a Russian spy," Telizhenko said. "I'm doing this because I'm afraid for my security now, and I just want the story to be heard and questioned."<sup>922</sup>

**October 30, 2019:** Lutsenko continues to undercut his past claims. "Giuliani and especially these two guys [Parnas and Fruman] told me that they are against [Yovanovitch] as an ambassador long before our meeting," Yuriy Lutsenko said in a telephone interview with The Guardian from London (printed on Oct. 30). "Yes I had not a good relationship with her because she tried openly to control my activity and to interfere in our activity ... but I never asked about any deal."<sup>923</sup>

**November 4, 2019:** When asked why he has spent more than two years since his brief stint working in the Ukrainian Embassy in Washington, DC, pushing the Ukrainian collusion conspiracy, Andriy Telizhenko said he does so because the spotlight keeps him safe from threats to stay quiet about what he knows. "I'm doing this to protect myself," he said.<sup>924</sup>



**November 5, 2019:** Ukraine's top law enforcement official confirmed that Burisma is not under investigation. "There is no Burisma case," Prosecutor General Ruslan Ryaboshapka told a local news outlet (LB.ua). "It exists only in the mind of the person who made it up."<sup>925</sup>

**November 14, 2019:** Ukraine's Foreign Minister Vadym Prystaiko said that Ambassador Sondland did not explicitly link military aid with opening an investigation into Biden and his son, Interfax Ukraine reported. "Ambassador Sondland did not tell us, and did not tell me exactly, about the relation between the [military] assistance and the investigations. You should ask him. I do not recall any conversation with me as with foreign minister. It was not we, the Ukrainian officials (who were told this)," Prystaiko told the journalists in Kyiv. "I have never seen a direct link between investigations and security assistance. Yes, investigations were mentioned, you know, in a presidential conversation. But there was no clear connection between these events," Prystaiko said.<sup>926</sup>

**Week of November 10-16 (exact dates unknown), 2019:** Speaking to TIME, three politicians in Ukraine seen as closest to Russia echoed the call investigations into the Bidens and into whether Ukraine interfered in the 2016 elections to help Hillary Clinton. "We really need to get



clarity on this," says Yuri Boyko, the co-chairman of Opposition Platform – For Life, the second biggest party in Ukraine's parliament and a leading proponent of closer ties between Russia and Ukraine. "It happened before our eyes, when the Ukrainian politicians were trying to interfere and give their assessments of the elections in America," Boyko told TIME. "This happened. We all saw it." During 2019's presidential race in Ukraine, Boyko was the only major candidate to pay an official visit to Moscow, where he met in March with two of Putin's closest associates. Joining him on that trip was the other co-chairman of Boyko's political party, Viktor Medvedchuk, who is a personal friend of Putin – Putin is the godfather of Medvedchuk's teenage daughter. (Medvedchuk met with Paul Manafort in 2014, the same year Medvedchuk fell under U.S. sanctions.) Joining the calls for investigations have been two other members of Boyko's political party: Oleg Voloshyn, who previously worked in Ukraine's embassy in Moscow, and Nestor Shufrych, a longstanding defender of Russian interests in Ukraine. "Through its puppets in Ukraine, Russia is doing everything it can to keep the focus on this scandal," Konstantin Eliseev, who served as the top foreign policy adviser to Poroshenko throughout his tenure as President, told TIME.<sup>927</sup>

**November 15, 2019:** "Ukraine has no legal claims against Biden or his son," Anton Gerashenko, a deputy head of Ukraine's Interior Ministry, which oversees the national police, told TIME. "None," he added.<sup>928</sup>

**November 18, 2019:** The Hill Editor-In-Chief Bob Cusack sent an email out to staff announcing that the outlet is reviewing, updating, annotating, and when appropriate correcting columns by John Solomon.<sup>929</sup>

**November 20, 2019:** Russian President Putin says he's pleased that the "political battles" in Washington have put on the back-burner accusations that Russia interfered in U.S. elections. "Thank God," he told an economic forum in Moscow, "no one is accusing us of interfering in the U.S. elections anymore; now they're accusing Ukraine."<sup>930</sup>

**November 26, 2019:** President Trump undercut Giuliani's earlier claims. When asked on May 9 about his planned trip to Ukraine to meet with President Zelensky, Giuliani had said that Trump "basically knows what I'm doing, sure, as his lawyer."<sup>931</sup> Giuliani was pressed on his actions in Ukraine on Sept. 29 and he responded, "I did not do this on my own. I did it at the request of the State Department. And I have all of the text messages to prove it. And I also have a thank you from them from doing a good job."<sup>932</sup> And yet, on Nov. 26, President told Bill O'Reilly in an interview, "No, I didn't direct him but he's a warrior, Rudy's a warrior. Rudy went, he possibly saw something." Asked by O'Reilly what Giuliani was doing in Ukraine on Trump's behalf, the president said: "You have to ask that to Rudy, but Rudy, I don't, I don't even know. I know he was going to go to Ukraine and I think he canceled a trip. But, you know, Rudy has other clients other than me. I'm one person." Trump added that Giuliani had done "a lot of work in Ukraine over the years, and I think, I mean, that's what I heard, I might have even read that someplace."<sup>933</sup>

**December 2, 2019:** New charges are likely in a criminal campaign finance case against Lev Parnas and Igor Fruman, Assistant U.S. Attorney Douglas Zolkind said at a hearing in Manhattan federal court. "We think a superseding indictment is likely," Zolkind said. He did not say whether any additional defendants could expect to be charged.<sup>934</sup>

**December 3, 2019:** Andrii Telizhenko and Andrii V. Artemenko – both part of the Jan. 2017 Politico story on the DNC and the Ukrainian Embassy – along with a third former Ukrainian official, Mykhaylo Okhendovsky, recorded interviews at One America News’ studios in Washington in late November with OAN reporter Chanel Rion and Giuliani for an episode of the series that aired on Dec. 3. Telizhenko reiterated his claims that, while working in the Ukrainian Embassy in Washington in 2016, he was instructed to help a Democratic operative gather incriminating information about Manafort. The Ukrainian Embassy has denied his account. Artemenko, a former member of Parliament, and Okhendovsky, the former chairman of Ukraine’s Central Election Commission, both called into question the authenticity of the “black ledger” listing payments to Paul Manafort. Rion, the interviewer, falsely claimed on air that the former DNC operative connected to the Ukrainian Embassy, Alexandra Chalupa, provided the ledger to The New York Times.<sup>935</sup>



**December 3, 2019:** Giuliani met in Budapest with former Ukrainian prosecutor Yuriy Lutsenko. Giuliani had called Lutsenko a “liar” in Oct. 2019. The New York Times reported that Giuliani is using the trip to help prepare more episodes of a documentary series for One America News (OAN) promoting his pro-Trump, anti-impeachment narrative. His latest moves to advance the theories propounded by the prosecutors amount to an audacious effort to give the president’s supporters new material to undercut the House impeachment proceedings and an eventual Senate trial. The documentary series is being promoted as a Republican alternative to the impeachment hearings, including Ukrainian “witnesses” whom House Democrats running the inquiry declined to call. Also joining Giuliani and the OAN crew in Budapest were two former Ukrainian officials who have been supportive of Trump, Andriy Telizhenko and Andrii V. Artemenko – both part of the Jan. 2017 Politico story on the DNC and the Ukrainian Embassy.<sup>936</sup>

**December 4, 2019:** Giuliani traveled to Kyiv seeking to meet with other former Ukrainian prosecutors, including Viktor Shokin and Kostiantyn H. Kulyk, people familiar with the effort told



the New York Times.<sup>937</sup> Andriy Artemenko and Andrii Telizhenko accompanied Giuliani to Kyiv.<sup>938</sup>

**December 5, 2019:** Giuliani met in Ukraine with Andrei Derkach, an independent Ukrainian MP who was formerly aligned with a pro-Russian party (the Party of Regions with ties to Paul Manafort). Derkach is one of the key figures working to build a corruption case against Hunter Biden. Derkach posted photographs of himself meeting Giuliani in the Ukrainian capital Kyiv, vowing to set up an anti-corruption group in the Ukraine parliament. Derkach wrote on Facebook that Giuliani could help bring experts, journalists and analysts to investigate corruption in Ukraine and “benefit strategic relations between Kyiv and the United States.” Derkach said he had sent letters to key Republicans including Sen. Lindsay Graham (R-SC), Rep. Devin Nunes (R-CA), and White House acting chief of staff Michael Mulvaney, seeking their participation. The lawmaker, Andriy Derkach, posted photographs of himself meeting Giuliani in the Ukrainian capital Kyiv, vowing to set up an anti-corruption group in the Ukraine parliament.<sup>939</sup> Derkach has close ties to Yuriy Lutsenko.<sup>940</sup> Derkach’s father was a KGB officer and Derkach himself was once a student of the Academy of KGB in Moscow.<sup>941</sup>



**December 5, 2019:** Ukrainian lawmaker Aleksander Dubinsky, wrote on his Telegram blog he also had a meeting with Giuliani in Kyiv. According to Dubinsky, the two discussed an initiative to set up an investigative commission with Ukraine's parliament looking into corruption cases. Dubinsky and lawmaker Andrii Derkach are allies.<sup>942</sup>

**December 5, 2019:** Andriy Telizhenko continued to accompany Giuliani to his meeting in Kyiv.<sup>943</sup> “I don’t think that [Telizhenko] deserves much attention,” Borys Tarasiuk, who twice served as Ukraine’s foreign minister, said. “He’s a crook.”<sup>944</sup>



**December 5, 2019:** Giuliani tweets, from Ukraine: “The conversation about corruption in Ukraine was based on compelling evidence of criminal conduct by then VP Biden, in 2016, that has not been resolved and until it is will be a major obstacle ... to the US assisting Ukraine with its anti-corruption reforms.”<sup>945</sup>

**December 7, 2019:** President Trump says Giuliani plansto issue a report to the Justice Department and Congress detailing what he’d learned from his investigations in Ukraine. “He’s going to make a report, I think to the attorney general and to Congress,” Trump told reporters outside the White House. “He says he has a lot of good information. I have not spoken to him about that information yet.” “I hear he has found plenty,” Trump added.<sup>946</sup> In response to Trump’s comments, Giuliani told NBC News that he is “in process of still analyzing what I received.”<sup>947</sup>



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