



U.S. House of Representatives
PERMANENT SELECT COMMITTEE ON
INTELLIGENCE

**OPEN HEARING WITH
AMBASSADOR
GORDON SONDLAND**

NOVEMBER 20, 2019

The New York Times

*Rudy Giuliani Plans Ukraine
Trip to Push for Inquiries
That Could Help Trump*



Rudolph W. Giuliani, President Trump's personal lawyer, plans to travel to Kiev, the Ukrainian capital, in coming days. Doug Mills/The New York Times

By **Kenneth P. Vogel** May 9, 2019

MAY 9, 2019 *THE NEW YORK TIMES*

Mr. Giuliani said he plans to travel to Kiev, the Ukrainian capital, in the coming days and wants to meet with the nation's president-elect to urge him to pursue inquiries that allies of the White House contend could yield new information about two matters of intense interest to Mr. Trump.

One is the origin of the special counsel's investigation into Russia's interference in the 2016 election. The other is the [involvement of former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr.'s son](#) in a gas company owned by a Ukrainian oligarch.

Mr. Giuliani's plans create the remarkable scene of a lawyer for the president of the United States pressing a foreign government to pursue investigations that Mr. Trump's allies hope could help him in his re-election campaign. And it comes after Mr. Trump spent more than half of his term facing questions about whether his 2016 campaign conspired with a foreign power.

Kenneth P. Vogel, "Rudy Giuliani Plans Ukraine Trip to Push for Inquiries That Could Help Trump," *The New York Times*, May 9, 2019.



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JULY 25, 2019 TRUMP-ZELENSKY CALL RECORD

TRUMP: "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."



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JULY 25, 2019 TRUMP-ZELENSKY CALL RECORD

TRUMP: "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."



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JULY 25, 2019



SONDLAND

7:54 AM

Call asap

9:35 AM

Hi Gordon – got your message. Had a great lunch with Yermak and then passed your message to him. He will see you tomorrow. Think everything in place



VOLKER



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JULY 25, 2019

8:36 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



YERMAK



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JULY 19, 2019

Exhibit 4 – Friday, July 19, 2019

Email	Robert Blair, Lisa Kenna, Brian McCormack, Mick Mulvaney, Rick Perry, Mike Pompeo, and Gordon Sondland	Subject: Re: I Talked to Zelensky just now 15:28 Gordon Sondland: He is prepared to receive Potus' call. Will assure him that he intends to run a fully transparent investigation and will “turn over every stone”. He would greatly appreciate a call prior to Sunday so that he can put out some media about a "friendly and productive call" (no details) prior to Ukraine election on Sunday. 21:30 Rick Perry (replying to McCormack and Sondland only): Mick just confirmed the call being set up for tomorrow by NSC. RP 22:25 Mick Mulvaney (replying to all): I asked NSC to set it up for tomorrow. MM
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SEPTEMBER 1, 2019

12:08 PM



TAYLOR

Are we now saying that security assistance and WH meeting are conditioned on investigations?

12:42 PM

Call me



SONDLAND



VOLKER



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SEPTEMBER 8, 2019



SONDLAND

11:20 AM

Guys, multiple convos with Ze, Potus. Lets talk

11:21 AM

Now is fine with me



TAYLOR



VOLKER



SEPTEMBER 8, 2019

11:40 AM

Gordon and I just spoke. I can brief you if you and Gordon don't connect



TAYLOR

12:37 PM

The nightmare is they give the interview and don't get the security assistance. The Russians love it. (And I quit.)

5:04 PM

I'm not in the loop. Talk Monday?



VOLKER



SONDLAND





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SEPTEMBER 9, 2019



TAYLOR

12:47 AM

As I said on the phone. I think it's crazy to withhold security assistance for help with a political campaign.

5:19 AM

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



SONDLAND



VOLKER





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AUGUST 9, 2019

5:35 PM

Morrison ready to get dates as soon as Yermak confirms.

5:46 PM

Excellent!! How did you sway him? :)

5:47 PM

Not sure i did. I think potus really wants the deliverable

5:48 PM

But does he know that?

5:48 PM

Yep Clearly lots of convos going on.



SONDLAND



VOLKER



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AUGUST 10, 2019



SONDLAND

5:01 PM

How was your conversation?

5:31 PM

Hello. Good. My proposal, we receive date and then make general statement with discussed things



YERMAK

5:41 PM

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



YERMAK

7:04 PM

Got it



SONDLAND



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AUGUST 11, 2019

Exhibit 7 – Sunday, August 11, 2019

Email

Thomas Brechbuhl, Lisa Kenna, and Gordon Sondland

Subject: Re: Ukraine

10:31 Gordon Sondland: Mike,

Kurt & I negotiated a statement from Ze 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.

16:51 Lisa Kenna: Gordon,

I'll pass to S. Thank you. Lisa



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AUGUST 13, 2019



SONDLAND

10:27 AM

Perfect. Lets send to Andrey after our call

10:27 AM

Yes



VOLKER



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AUGUST 22, 2019

Exhibit 8 – Thursday, August 22, 2019

Email

Lisa Kenna,
Mike
Pompeo, and
Gordon
Sondland

Subject: Re: Zelensky

August 22, 19:00 Gordon Sondland to Mike Pompeo:

Mike,

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 (mid-Sept) 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.

August 22, 19:03: Mike Pompeo to Gordon Sondland: Yes.

August 22, 19:05 Gordon Sondland forwards above to Lisa Kenna, adds: Can you get 10-15 min on the Warsaw sched for this? I'd like to know when it is locked so that I can call Zelensky and brief him.

August 23, 1:23 Lisa Kenna to Gordon Sondland: I'll try for sure.



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AUGUST 1, 2019

9:55 AM

Hi Mr Mayor — hope all is well, and that things are on track to see Yermak in Madrid.

Am copying Gordon Sondland, a friend of POTUS who is our Ambassador to the EU. He is also helping on Ukraine and would love to catch up with you at some point.

As always, let me know if I can be helpful on anything - Kurt



VOLKER



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AUGUST 1, 2019 CONTINUED



SONDLAND

Thanks Kurt. Hi Mayor. Working on a number of time sensitive EU issues. Would welcome your take? I'm in Brussels but in DC and NY regularly. Gordon

11:08 AM

Seeing Yermak in Madrid tomorrow. Would like to meet with Gordon also.

I will be near Madrid over weekend.



GIULIANI

SONDLAND

Rudy, great. [...]



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JULY 26, 2019 INTERVIEW WITH UA TV



SONDLAND: “I actually spoke with President Trump a few minutes before he placed the call. Not only did the President call to congratulate President Zelensky, but also to begin the collaboration of charting the pathway forward with the US’ support of Ukraine and a White House visit that’s upcoming for President Zelensky.”



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