

Congress of the United States
Washington, DC 20515

September 30, 2019

VIA U.S. AND ELECTRONIC MAIL

Rudolph (“Rudy”) W. L. Giuliani
Giuliani Partners LLC
5 Times Square, 24th Floor
New York, NY 10036

Dear Mr. Giuliani:

Pursuant to the House of Representatives’ impeachment inquiry, we are hereby transmitting a subpoena that compels you to produce the documents set forth in the accompanying schedule by **October 15, 2019**.

This subpoena is being issued by the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence under the Rules of the House of Representatives in exercise of its oversight and legislative jurisdiction and after consultation with the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Committee on Oversight and Reform. The subpoenaed documents shall be collected as part of the House’s impeachment inquiry and shared among the Committees, as well as with the Committee on the Judiciary as appropriate.¹ Your failure or refusal to comply with the subpoena, including at the direction or behest of the President or the White House, shall constitute evidence of obstruction of the House’s impeachment inquiry and may be used as an adverse inference against you and the President.

The Committees are investigating the extent to which President Trump jeopardized national security by pressing Ukraine to interfere with our 2020 election and by withholding security assistance provided by Congress to help Ukraine counter Russian aggression, as well as any efforts to cover up these matters.

Our inquiry includes an investigation of credible allegations that you acted as an agent of the President in a scheme to advance his personal political interests by abusing the power of the Office of the President. A growing public record, including your own statements, indicates that the President, you, and others appear to have pressed the Ukrainian government to pursue two politically-motivated investigations. The first is a prosecution of Ukrainians who provided evidence against Mr. Trump’s convicted campaign chairman, Paul Manafort. The second relates to former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr., who is challenging President Trump for the presidency in 2020.

¹ See Letter from Jerrold Nadler, Chairman, Committee on the Judiciary, to Adam B. Schiff, Chairman, Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence; Maxine Waters, Chairwoman, Committee on Financial Services; Elijah E. Cummings, Chairman, Committee on Oversight and Reform; and Eliot L. Engel, Chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs (August 22, 2019).

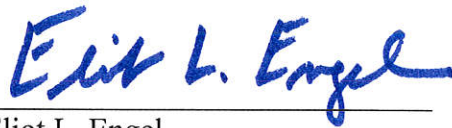
For example, on September 19, 2019, you admitted on national television that you personally asked the government of Ukraine to target Vice President Biden. During an interview on CNN, Chris Cuomo asked you, “So, you did ask Ukraine to look into Joe Biden?” You responded, “Of course I did.” In addition to this stark admission, you stated more recently that you are in possession of evidence—in the form of text messages, phone records, and other communications—indicating that you were not acting alone and that other Trump Administration officials may have been involved in this scheme. The subpoena requires you to produce all of those communications, and other related documents, to the Committees in order to determine the full extent of this effort by the President and his Administration to press Ukraine to interfere in our 2020 presidential election.

Please contact staff for the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence at (202) 225-7690 to arrange for the production of documents.

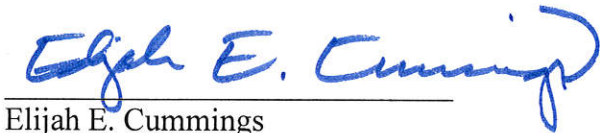
Sincerely,



Adam B. Schiff
Chairman
House Permanent Select Committee
On Intelligence



Eliot L. Engel
Chairman
House Committee on Foreign Affairs



Elijah E. Cummings
Chairman
House Committee on Oversight and Reform

Enclosures

cc: The Honorable Devin Nunes, Ranking Member
House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence

The Honorable Michael McCaul, Ranking Member
House Committee on Foreign Affairs

The Honorable Jim Jordan, Ranking Member
House Committee on Oversight and Reform

SCHEDULE

The House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence compels Rudy Giuliani to preserve and produce to the Committees all documents and communications for the period of **January 20, 2017, through the present** (unless otherwise noted), regardless of form and as defined below, referring or relating to:²

- (1) Hunter Biden, Mykola Zlochevsky, Burisma Holdings Ltd. (“Burisma”), or any employee or agent of Burisma;
- (2) Efforts, including but not limited to those by you, Igor Fruman, Lev Parnas, Vitaly Pruss, Semyon (“Sam”) Kislin, Joseph diGenova, or Victoria Toensing, to induce, compel, petition, press, solicit, suggest, or otherwise pressure current or former Ukrainian government officials, politicians, or any persons or entities associated with or acting in any capacity as a representative, agent, or proxy for any such individuals, to investigate matters related to Burisma, or any U.S. persons or entities, including but not limited to Paul Manafort, Hunter Biden, Joseph Biden, the Democratic National Committee, or Hillary Clinton, as well as any responses by current or former Ukrainian government officials, politicians, or other persons of influence, or any persons or entities associated with or acting in any capacity as a representative, agent, or proxy for any such individuals, concerning the same;
- (3) Serhiy Leschenko, Igor Kolomoisky, or any persons or entities associated with or acting in any capacity as a representative, agent, or proxy for these individuals, including but not limited to efforts to induce, compel, petition, press, solicit, suggest, or otherwise pressure current or former Ukrainian officials, politicians, or any persons or entities associated with or acting in any capacity as a representative, agent, or proxy for any such individuals, to investigate matters related to Leshchenko and Kolomoisky, and any documents, communications, or meetings with former Prosecutor General Yuri Lutsenko related to these matters;
- (4) United States foreign assistance to Ukraine, including but not limited to the Ukraine Security Assistance Initiative and any efforts to withhold, delay, or release security assistance to Ukraine;
- (5) Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky’s inauguration on May 20, 2019, including but not limited to possible attendance by Vice President Michael Pence and Secretary of Energy Rick Perry;
- (6) A meeting at the White House on May 23, 2019 involving former Ambassador Kurt Volker, Secretary Rick Perry, and/or Ambassador Gordon Sondland;
- (7) Meetings or telephone communications between President Trump and President Zelensky, including but not limited to an April 21, 2019 call (“April 21 Call”) and a July

² Any alternate spellings or transliterations of any names referenced herein would also render a document responsive to these requests.

25, 2019 call (“July 25 Call”), as well as any communications with the White House, the Department of Justice, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Department of Energy, the Office of the Director of National Intelligence, and the Office of the Inspector General of the Intelligence Community relating or referring to the April 21 Call or the July 25 Call;

- (8) Communications or meetings with Ukrainian government officials or politicians, or any persons or entities associated with or acting in any capacity as a representative, agent, or proxy for any such individuals;
- (9) Communications or meetings with Attorney General William Barr or any persons or entities associated with or acting in any capacity as a representative, agent, or proxy for Attorney General Barr;
- (10) Travel (whether completed or not) by you or by any individual at your direction or on your behalf to Ukraine, France, or Spain, including for any meeting between you and Andriy Yermak in Spain on or about August 2, 2019, including but not limited to any documents and communications regarding the planning, travel, funding, itineraries, schedules, agendas, meetings, call notes, or read-outs relating to the trip, as well as the identity of any Ukrainian officials or their agents, representatives, or proxies who met with trip participants;
- (11) TriGlobal Strategic Ventures and 45 Energy Group;
- (12) Potential or actual visits of President Zelensky or current or former Ukrainian officials to the United States;
- (13) A potential meeting between President Trump and President Zelensky in Poland in or around September 2019, including President Trump’s decision not to attend the meeting and the decision to send Vice President Pence in his stead;
- (14) Former U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Marie “Masha” Yovanovitch, including but not limited to the former Ambassador’s recall or dismissal;
- (15) Petro Poroshenko, Volodymyr Zelensky, Nazar Kholodnitsky, Andriy Telizhenko, Andriy Yermak, Yuri Lutsenko, Serhiy Shefir, Ivan Bakanov, Ruslan Ryaboshapka, Andriy Bogdan, Kostiantyn Kulyk, Victor Shokin, Lena (“Olena”) Zerkal, Andriy Favorov, Gennady Bogolyubov, or anyone who is or has been associated with Ukrainian law enforcement or anti-corruption organizations or entities, including but not limited to the office of the Prosecutor General, the Special Anti-Corruption Prosecutor’s Office, or the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine (NABU);
- (16) Semyon “Sam” Kislin, Igor Fruman, Victor Pruss, Sergey Probylov, or Lev Parnas, including but not limited to any agreements between the aforementioned individuals and you or any agent of yours or entity under your control or in which you maintain beneficial ownership; monies, funds, gifts, contributions, donations, or offers of anything of value that you have provided to the aforementioned individuals, or that they have

provided to you (directly or indirectly); the aforementioned individuals' travel to or from Ukraine; and meetings and communications involving the aforementioned individuals and former or present Ukrainian officials, politicians, or other persons of influence, or any persons or entities associated with or acting in any capacity as a representative, agent, or proxy for any such individuals; and any services performed or actions taken by the aforementioned individuals for you or at your direction;

- (17) Pavel Fuks, including but not limited to any agreements between Fuks and you or any agent of yours or entity under your control or in which you maintain beneficial ownership; monies, funds, gifts, contributions, donations, or offers of anything of value that you have provided to Fuks, or that he has provided to you (directly or indirectly); and any services performed or actions taken by you for or at the direction of or for the benefit of Fuks;
- (18) Gennady Kernes, the Mayor of the city of Kharkiv, including but not limited to any agreements between Mayor Kernes or the Kharkiv city government or related entities (collectively, "Kharkiv City") and you or any agent of yours or entity under your control or in which you maintain beneficial ownership; monies, funds, gifts, contributions, donations, or offers of anything of value that you have provided to Mayor Kernes or Kharkiv City, or that they have provided to you (directly or indirectly); and any services performed or actions taken by you for or at the direction of Mayor Kernes or Kharkiv City;
- (19) Vitaly Klitchko, the Mayor of the city of Kiev, including but not limited to any agreements between Mayor Klitchko or the Kiev city government or related entities (collectively, "Kiev") and you or any agent of yours or entity under your control or in which you maintain beneficial ownership; monies, funds, gifts, contributions, donations, or offers of anything of value that you have provided to Mayor Klitchko or Kiev, or that they have provided to you (directly or indirectly); and any services performed or actions taken by you for or at the direction of Mayor Klitchko or Kiev;
- (20) Any current or former officials or employees of the U.S. Government, including but not limited to former Ambassador Kurt Volker, Secretary Rick Perry, and Ambassador Gordon Sondland, regarding the subjects described in paragraphs 1 through 19;
- (21) Engagements, consulting, advising, or lobbying work for the benefit of or on behalf of Ukraine, Ukrainian officials, Ukrainian politicians, or state-owned enterprises undertaken by you or any of your firms, including, but not limited to Giuliani Partners LLC, Giuliani Security & Safety LLC, Giuliani Capital Advisors LLC, their affiliated entities, and any other entities in which you maintain beneficial ownership, or for which you serve as an officer, director, or advisor; and
- (22) Monies, funds, gifts, contributions, donations, or offers of anything of value made directly or indirectly to U.S. political campaigns, candidates, parties, political action committees (PACs) and super PACs by any foreign individuals or entities of any type (e.g., government, business, organization, etc.), individuals or entities on the Office of Foreign Assets Control's (OFAC) list of Specially Designated Nationals and Blocked

Persons (SDNs) or Sectoral Sanctions Identifications List, or any persons or entities associated with or acting in any capacity as a representative, agent, or proxy for any such individuals or entities.

The Committee also requires you to produce:

- (23) Any and all documents supplied by you in response to any subpoena, search warrant, seizure warrant, summons, or other legal writ, notice, investigation or order or request for information, property, or material, made by Congress or any U.S. federal or state agency, that could lead to discovery of any facts within the Committee's investigation, or efforts to obstruct authorized investigations into these matters.

To expedite the Committee's review, responsive materials should be produced immediately upon being identified, rather than waiting to submit all documents at one time, and all material produced be bates-stamped and provided in a searchable, Adobe PDF electronic format.

#

Responding to Committees' Document Requests

1. In complying with this request, produce all responsive documents that are in your possession, custody, or control, whether held by you or your past or present agents, employees, and representatives acting on your behalf. Produce all documents that you have a legal right to obtain, that you have a right to copy, or to which you have access, as well as documents that you have placed in the temporary possession, custody, or control of any third party.
2. Requested documents, and all documents reasonably related to the requested documents, should not be destroyed, altered, removed, transferred, or otherwise made inaccessible to the Committees.
3. In the event that any entity, organization, or individual denoted in this request is or has been known by any name other than that herein denoted, including alternate spellings or transliterations of any names, the request shall be read also to include that alternative identification.
4. The Committees' preference is to receive documents in electronic form (i.e., CD, memory stick, thumb drive, or secure file transfer) in lieu of paper productions.
5. Documents produced in electronic format should be organized, identified, and indexed electronically.
6. Electronic document productions should be prepared according to the following standards:
 - a. The production should consist of single page Tagged Image File ("TIF"), files accompanied by a Concordance-format load file, an Opticon reference file, and a file defining the fields and character lengths of the load file.
 - b. Document numbers in the load file should match document Bates numbers and TIF file names.
 - c. If the production is completed through a series of multiple partial productions, field names and file order in all load files should match.
 - d. All electronic documents produced to the Committees should include the following fields of metadata specific to each document, and no modifications should be made to the original metadata:

BEGDOC, ENDDOC, TEXT, BEGATTACH, ENDATTACH, PAGECOUNT, CUSTODIAN, RECORDTYPE, DATE, TIME, SENTDATE, SENTTIME, BEGINDATE, BEGINTIME, ENDDATE, ENDTIME, AUTHOR, FROM, CC, TO, BCC, SUBJECT, TITLE, FILENAME, FILEEXT, FILESIZE, DATECREATED, TIMECREATED, DATELASTMOD, TIMELASTMOD,

INTMSGID, INTMSGHEADER, NATIVELINK, INTFILPATH, EXCEPTION,
BEGATTACH.

7. Documents produced to the Committees should include an index describing the contents of the production. To the extent more than one CD, hard drive, memory stick, thumb drive, zip file, box, or folder is produced, each should contain an index describing its contents.
8. Documents produced in response to this request shall be produced together with copies of file labels, dividers, or identifying markers with which they were associated when the request was served.
9. When you produce documents, you should identify the paragraph(s) or request(s) in the Committees' letter to which the documents respond.
10. The fact that any other person or entity also possesses non-identical or identical copies of the same documents shall not be a basis to withhold any information.
11. The pendency of or potential for litigation shall not be a basis to withhold any information.
12. In accordance with 5 U.S.C. § 552(d), the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) and any statutory exemptions to FOIA shall not be a basis for withholding any information.
13. Pursuant to 5 U.S.C. § 552a(b)(9), the Privacy Act shall not be a basis for withholding information.
14. If compliance with the request cannot be made in full by the specified return date, compliance shall be made to the extent possible by that date. An explanation of why full compliance is not possible shall be provided along with any partial production.
15. In the event that a document is withheld on the basis of privilege, provide a privilege log containing the following information concerning any such document: (a) every privilege asserted; (b) the type of document; (c) the general subject matter; (d) the date, author, addressee, and any other recipient(s); (e) the relationship of the author and addressee to each other; and (f) the basis for the privilege(s) asserted.
16. If any document responsive to this request was, but no longer is, in your possession, custody, or control, identify the document (by date, author, subject, and recipients), and explain the circumstances under which the document ceased to be in your possession, custody, or control.
17. If a date or other descriptive detail set forth in this request referring to a document is inaccurate, but the actual date or other descriptive detail is known to you or is otherwise apparent from the context of the request, produce all documents that would be responsive as if the date or other descriptive detail were correct.

18. This request is continuing in nature and applies to any newly-discovered information. Any record, document, compilation of data, or information not produced because it has not been located or discovered by the return date shall be produced immediately upon subsequent location or discovery.
19. All documents shall be Bates-stamped sequentially and produced sequentially.
21. Upon completion of the production, submit a written certification, signed by you or your counsel, stating that: (1) a diligent search has been completed of all documents in your possession, custody, or control that reasonably could contain responsive documents; and (2) all documents located during the search that are responsive have been produced to the Committees.

Definitions

1. The term “document” means any written, recorded, or graphic matter of any nature whatsoever, regardless of how recorded, and whether original or copy, including, but not limited to, the following: memoranda, reports, expense reports, books, manuals, instructions, financial reports, data, working papers, records, notes, letters, notices, confirmations, telegrams, receipts, appraisals, pamphlets, magazines, newspapers, prospectuses, communications, electronic mail (email), contracts, cables, notations of any type of conversation, telephone call, meeting or other inter-office or intra-office communication, bulletins, printed matter, computer printouts, teletypes, invoices, transcripts, diaries, analyses, returns, summaries, minutes, bills, accounts, estimates, projections, comparisons, messages, correspondence, press releases, circulars, financial statements, reviews, opinions, offers, studies and investigations, questionnaires and surveys, and work sheets (and all drafts, preliminary versions, alterations, modifications, revisions, changes, and amendments of any of the foregoing, as well as any attachments or appendices thereto), and graphic or oral records or representations of any kind (including without limitation, photographs, charts, graphs, microfiche, microfilm, videotape, recordings and motion pictures), and electronic, mechanical, and electric records or representations of any kind (including, without limitation, tapes, cassettes, disks, and recordings) and other written, printed, typed, or other graphic or recorded matter of any kind or nature, however produced or reproduced, and whether preserved in writing, film, tape, disk, videotape, or otherwise. A document bearing any notation not a part of the original text is to be considered a separate document. A draft or non-identical copy is a separate document within the meaning of this term.
2. The term “communication” means each manner or means of disclosure or exchange of information, regardless of means utilized, whether oral, electronic, by document or otherwise, and whether in a meeting, by telephone, facsimile, mail, releases, electronic message including email (desktop or mobile device), text message, instant message, MMS or SMS message, message application, or otherwise.

3. The terms “and” and “or” shall be construed broadly and either conjunctively or disjunctively to bring within the scope of this request any information that might otherwise be construed to be outside its scope. The singular includes plural number, and vice versa. The masculine includes the feminine and neutral genders.
4. The term “including” shall be construed broadly to mean “including, but not limited to.”
5. The term “Company” means the named legal entity as well as any units, firms, partnerships, associations, corporations, limited liability companies, trusts, subsidiaries, affiliates, divisions, departments, branches, joint ventures, proprietorships, syndicates, or other legal, business or government entities over which the named legal entity exercises control or in which the named entity has any ownership whatsoever.
6. The term “identify,” when used in a question about individuals, means to provide the following information: (a) the individual’s complete name and title; (b) the individual’s business or personal address and phone number; and (c) any and all known aliases.
7. The terms “relating to” and “referring or relating to,” with respect to any given subject, means anything that constitutes, contains, embodies, reflects, identifies, states, refers to, deals with, or is pertinent to that subject in any manner whatsoever.
8. The term “involving”, with respect to any given subject, means sending, receiving, or being copied (CC or BCC), or being the subject matter on any documents or communications described in the request.
9. The term “employee” means any past or present agent, borrowed employee, casual employee, consultant, contractor, de facto employee, detailee, fellow, independent contractor, intern, joint adventurer, loaned employee, officer, part-time employee, permanent employee, provisional employee, special government employee, subcontractor, or any other type of service provider.
10. The term “individual” means all natural persons and all persons or entities acting on their behalf.