In early May 2019, Parnas reached out to Ivan Bakanov, a close aide to Zelensky, asking for help in connecting with President Volodymyr Zelensky. Bakanov, a childhood friend of Zelensky, ran his campaign in 2019. Once Zelensky became president, he appointed Bakanov to head the SBU, Ukraine’s main secret service agency.

“Ivan, hello, we have to do this call[,] if you are currently on vacation please connect someone else who is close to President Volodymyr [and] who can call me back so that I can connect them with Giuliani[.] Thanks, I’m waiting”

“Lev, good evening! I shared the information you provided with Mr. President via the established channel, but I have not yet received confirmation. Yes, I’m currently not in Ukraine, but as soon as I hear something back, I will immediately get in touch with you.”

“Thanks, I’ll convey this”
“Good evening Ivan[,] please let me know what’s happening and why we have not been able to do the call yet?”

“In Russian:
Добрый вечер! Тут новости нет особой. Все ожидаемое.
Status: Read
Platform: Mobile
5/6/2019 5:43:15 PM(UTC+0)

“Good evening! No news here. Waiting.”

“In Russian:
Добрый вечер Ivan, пожалуйста, дайте знать что происходит по какой причине еще мы не смогли сделать телефонный звонок?
Status: Sent
Platform: Mobile
5/7/2019 7:07:29 PM(UTC+0)

Parnas sent Bakanov *The New York Times* article from May 9, which outlined Giuliani’s agenda in Ukraine, including investigations into the Bidens and Ukraine’s alleged meddling in 2016. Parnas tried connecting with Bakanov again on May 15, but there was no reply.
Rudolph W. Giuliani

May 10, 2019

President-Elect Volodymyr Oleksandrovych Zelensky
c/o Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine
10 Bogomoltsa str. 01601
Kyiv, Ukraine

Dear President-Elect Zelensky:

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

Congratulations on a truly impressive victory in the recent election. I have a great fondness for your country and have visited there often. I have even had the privilege of being there most recently on 2017. Along with many others, I am very hopeful that your election is a real turning point and allows the Ukraine to prosper and overcome some of the long-standing problems of the past. Anything I can do to help you or your country would be a great honor.

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

Please have your office let me know what time or times are convenient for you, and Victoria and I will be there.

Sincerely,

Rudolph W. Giuliani

Cc: Arsen Avakov
Minister of Internal Affairs

“Good evening Serhiy[.] my name is Lev Parnas and I’m a friend of Mayor Rudy Giuliani[.] Please call me back[.] thank you”

“This is copy of a letter shared via Avakov on the subject of the meeting”

“Understood thanks”
Parnas connected with Serhiy Shefir, a close aide to President Zelensky, in May in preparation for Giuliani’s trip. Shefir has known Zelensky for many years and they both worked together in entertainment. When Zelensky became president, he named Shefir his principal advisor. Parnas met with Shefir in Kyiv after Giuliani cancelled his trip.

“Restaurant Prague”

“Good morning Serhiy[,] I’m on my way but am running late about 15 minutes[,] I’ll be there at about 10:15 or 10:20[,] thanks”
"Serhiy[,] good evening[,] is there any news!"

"Hello Serhiy[,] let me know when it would be convenient to speak"

This was the last communication in the thread with Shefir.
The first WhatsApp message from Parnas to Arsen Avakov, Ukraine’s Minister of the Interior, was sent on April 15, 2019. Avakov is a well-connected politician who survived Petro Poroshenko’s loss and remained in power under Zelensky, Ukraine’s new president. In this message, Parnas wrote that he was in Kyiv and wanted to meet. Avakov proposed a meeting at noon the following day. It is not clear if they met then, but they stayed in touch and met at the end of April.

\[\text{Until we meet}\]

\[\text{I was happy to see you[,] my friend[,] I’m flying to Washington now and will call you later tomorrow…}\]

Parnas continued to send Avakov articles about the Bidens and the Ukrainian collusion allegations.
In early May 2019, Parnas reached out to Avakov, asking for his help in facilitating Giuliani’s trip to Ukraine. They connected several times. Parnas continued to send him various thematic articles including from the *The Hill* and *Fox News*. On May 9, Parnas sent Avakov *The New York Times* article about Giuliani’s trip, with Giuliani saying they have a right to “meddle” in investigations (“Giuliani Plans Ukraine Trip to Push for Inquiries That Could Help Trump”)

![WhatsApp screenshot](image)

“Good evening[,] my friend[,] I will call you later today or tomorrow to let you know about a trip to Ukraine we’re planning[,] There will be some people from Congress[,] Giuliani[,] I would love for you to be the main person in helping to organize this trip so I will call you and together we can plan[,] Ok, hugs”

*HPSCI Rough Translation*
Giuliani cancelled his trip on May 11, but Parnas and Avakov stayed touch, spoke by phone, and likely met in person, based on the WhatsApp communications. Parnas wanted Avakov’s help in connecting with Zelensky’s team. In a couple of instances Parnas and Avakov referred to connecting with “Sh” or “Sergey,” possibly referring to Serhiy Shefir, Zelensky’s close aide.

“Hi, good day”

“Hi, please let me know what is happening”

“I’ll let you know once I speak with Sh”
"Hello. Everything is ok. We’re sitting at the President’s. Will talk tomorrow."

"I’m waiting for your call[.] Thanks"

"Hi!!! Sergey won’t connect!!!! And there’s no message from the relevant person!!!! It is imperative that we talk today!!!"

Avakov, like Shefir, did not reply to the last message.
Parnas was in touch with Andriy Yermak during the week Zelensky traveled to New York for the UN General Assembly.

"Please let me know when would be convenient to meet so that I can organize one more meeting today"

"With whom?"

"Our friend?"

"Yes"
Prosecutor General Lutsenko

Parnas frequently communicated with former Prosecutor General Lutsenko, who fed Parnas information about the Bidens. Lutsenko frequently made references to Ambassador Yovanovitch, whom he wanted removed from her post in Kyiv.

"The Ambassador openly calls for the firing of SAP [Special Anti-Corruption Prosecutor]."

"Now the Ambassador points to bad selection of judges for the Superior court 😊"

"And Nazar [likely Kholodnitsky] is waiting. I explained everything. He's ready to tell you about the bias."
“Yuriy please send the names of the people she said”

“All are vocal NABU activists”
“It’s just that if you don’t make a decision about Madam—you are bringing into question all my allegations. Including about B”
"My Zlochevsky matter is progressing well. There is testimony about transfers to B"

"And here you can’t even get rid of one [female] fool 🙄"

"She’s not a simple fool[,] trust me"

"But she’s not getting away"
"Yura[,] I was asked to personally convey to you that America supports you and will not let you be harmed no matter how things look now[,] soon everything will turn around and we'll be on the right course. Just so you know[,] here people are talking about you as a true Ukrainian hero"

3/28/2019 3:03:35 PM(UTC+0)

@s.whatsapp.net Lp

Юра меня попросили лично тебе передать что Америка тебя поддерживает и в обиду не даст как бы не выглядело сейчас это скоро все обернётся и будет правильных руслах Чтоб ты знала тебе здесь разговаривает как настоящий герой Украины
Status: Sent
Platform: Mobile

3/28/2019 3:08:40 PM(UTC+0)

@s.whatsapp.net Ura Lusenka Atty General Ukraine
У меня есть распечатка платежей burisma на seneca
Status: Read
Platform: Mobile

"I have copies of payments from Burisma to Seneca"
"Advisors and public speakers for Zelensky, presidential candidate:
- Leshchenko (parliamentarian from Masha’s list)
- Shabunin (AntAC associated with Soros and Masha)
- Danyliuk (Former Minister of Finance)"

"Together with Bogdan (Kolomoisky’s attorney)[..] Leshchenko and Shabunin visited NABU and reached a total agreement about support for criminal matters"

"Hi. Avakov awaits you at 12 tomorrow"
"Here they are saying that you’ll be sending a high-level delegation to the inaugural"

"Well, you understand who’s working on this"
Prosecutor General Lutsenko

"I don’t have a choice[,] I need to speak to you urgently because Rudy wants to speak to you very much[,] he said so today[;] this is very important"

“I’m 30 km outside Kyiv”

“Can we speak by phone?”
"When do you expect Ze? I want to move forward by then"

"10 minutes"

"Is Kushner meeting with Ze today?"
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.

On June 21, 2019, Parnas sent Lutsenko this tweet from Giuliani. In response, Lutsenko texted the following:

"I think it is time for us to speak to the Mayor. I have about 2-2.5 months [likely a reference to his remaining tenure as prosecutor general]. I have a plan."
Parnas also communicated with Igor Kolomoisky, a Ukrainian oligarch, in September and October 2019. Recall that they had a falling out in May 2019, following which Igor Fruman and Parnas filed a lawsuit against him. And Giuliani called him out on Twitter for “threatening” his clients, Parnas and Fruman.

“Will you be in the US during Ze’s visit?”

“There’s news”

“I’m currently flying[:I’ll call you when I land.”