

AMY KLOBUCHAR  
MINNESOTA

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JUDICIARY

RULES AND ADMINISTRATION

# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

October 10, 2019

The Honorable William P. Barr  
Attorney General  
U.S. Department of Justice  
950 Pennsylvania Avenue NW  
Washington, DC 20530

Commissioner Ellen L. Weintraub, Chair  
Commissioner Caroline Hunter, Vice-Chair  
Commissioner Steven Walther, Commissioner  
Federal Election Commission  
1050 First Street NE  
Washington, D.C. 20463

Dear Attorney General Barr and Commissioners:

As the Ranking Member of the Senate Rules Committee with jurisdiction over federal elections, I write to express significant concern regarding the recent arrests of Lev Parnas and Igor Fruman, associates of Rudy Giuliani, for violations of U.S. campaign finance laws and to urge you to investigate who is financing Mr. Giuliani's efforts and determine whether he also violated the law by soliciting foreign assistance in U.S. elections.

Today's Department of Justice indictment details how Parnas and Fruman "conspired to circumvent the federal laws against foreign influence by engaging in a scheme to funnel foreign money to candidates for federal and state office so that the defendants could buy potential influence with the candidates, campaigns, and the candidates' governments."<sup>1</sup> These men allegedly worked to undermine our democracy by setting up fake corporations to launder foreign money and funnel it into our election system. Their goal was to influence U.S. policy related to Ukraine, and in furtherance of that effort they contributed to several candidates for office, including to President Trump's 2016 campaign, and to a pro-Trump super PAC.<sup>2</sup> The goal of the defendants and their ties to Ukrainian politicians and Russian businessmen should not be considered in a vacuum.

Recent public reports, whistleblower complaints, and official documents from the White House detail the President's efforts to solicit Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky to investigate a political rival. In the White House's report of the July 25 call, the President makes it clear that he

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<sup>1</sup> *United States of America v. Lev Parnas, Igor Fruman, David Correia, Andrey Kukushkin*, 19 Cr. 725 (S.D.N.Y.).

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*

would direct Mr. Giuliani to coordinate with the Ukrainians in any potential investigation. News reports connect Parnas and Fruman directly to Mr. Giuliani and his efforts to follow through on the President's orders.

Reports indicate that in the spring of 2019, Mr. Giuliani provided documents containing information on the President's political rivals to the Department of State.<sup>3</sup> These documents also reportedly contained allegations of impropriety against former Ambassador to Ukraine, Marie Yovanovitch.<sup>4</sup> Today's indictment makes it clear that it was a primary goal of defendants Parnas and Fruman to remove Ambassador Yovanovitch from office. Reports also indicate that in May, Mr. Giuliani attempted to arrange a meeting with Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky, but failed.<sup>5</sup> In August, Mr. Giuliani, with assistance from Ambassador Volker, arranged and held a meeting with Andriy Yermak, a top aide to President Zelensky.<sup>6</sup> Mr. Giuliani has claimed he was acting on behalf of the Department of State and that he received no payment for his services.<sup>7</sup>

As you know, 52 U.S.C. § 30121, bans on foreign contributions to U.S. elections and the solicitation of such contributions. Federal law also places limitations on donations to campaigns and requires campaigns to disclose their expenditures. While Mr. Giuliani has stated that he is not paid by the federal government or the Trump Campaign, we have no information regarding who is funding his work. Mr. Giuliani's actions on behalf of President Trump may constitute political activity, and yet reports indicate that there are no Federal Election Commission filings of Mr. Giuliani's services being paid for by the campaign.<sup>8</sup> These discrepancies point to possible criminal or civil violations of federal campaign finance laws, which is why I am asking you to investigate the sources of Mr. Giuliani's financing.

Today's unsealed indictment reveals a conspiracy that offends the most basic principles of our democracy. When the Framers were drafting our Constitution there was significant concern over foreign interference in our elections and a recognition that foreign powers would want to influence our democracy. A healthy democracy demands transparency and meaningful regulations that limit the corrupting influence of money in politics. A democracy also requires equal enforcement of the law. The indictment raises questions regarding Mr. Giuliani's

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<sup>3</sup> Rebecca Ballhaus, Michael C. Bender, and Vivian Salama, *Trump Ordered Ukraine Ambassador Removed After Complaints from Giuliani, Others*, WSJ (Oct. 3, 2019), [https://www.wsj.com/articles/trump-ordered-ukraine-ambassador-removed-after-complaints-from-giuliani-others-11570137147?mod=hp\\_lead\\_pos1&ns=prod/accounts-wsj](https://www.wsj.com/articles/trump-ordered-ukraine-ambassador-removed-after-complaints-from-giuliani-others-11570137147?mod=hp_lead_pos1&ns=prod/accounts-wsj).

<sup>4</sup> *Id.*

<sup>5</sup> Josh Rogin, *In May, Ukrainian oligarch said Giuliani was orchestrating a 'clear conspiracy against Biden'*, Wash. Post (Oct. 3, 2019), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/10/03/may-ukrainian-oligarch-said-giuliani-was-orchestrating-clear-conspiracy-against-biden/>.

<sup>6</sup> Aaron Blake, Danielle Rindler, Tim Meko, Kevin Schaul, and Kevin Uhrmacher, *Read the text message excerpts between U.S. diplomats, Giuliani and a Ukrainian aide*, Wash. Post (Oct. 4, 2019), <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/10/04/read-text-message-excerpts-between-us-diplomats-giuliani-ukrainian-aide/?arc404=true>.

<sup>7</sup> Brian Slodysko, *How Trump's Ukraine call could violate campaign finance laws*, AP (Sept. 25, 2019), <https://www.apnews.com/560b20b139d943969e17c82eda77ca8d>.

<sup>8</sup> *Id.*

connections to the defendants and Americans deserve to know whether the President's lawyer is illegally soliciting the help of foreign citizens to the detriment of our democracy.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Amy Klobuchar". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Amy" and last name "Klobuchar" clearly legible.

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Amy Klobuchar  
United States Senator