

<b>From:</b>	"Kent, George P"
<b>To:</b>	(b)(6) Kyiv Senior Staff <KyivSeniorStaff@state.gov>; Kyiv POL Core <KyivPOLCore@state.gov>; Kyiv ECON FSOs <KYIVECONFOS@state.gov>; (b)(6)
<b>CC:</b>	Kyiv IOs <KyivIOs@state.gov>; EUR-Ukraine Desk-DL <EUR-UkraineDesk-DL@state.gov>; (b)(6)
<b>Subject:</b>	Derkach - bad news
<b>Date:</b>	Wed, 9 Oct 2019 13:03:26 +0000

(b)(5)

(b)(5)

## UNCLASSIFIED

**From:** (b)(6)**Sent:** Wednesday, October 9, 2019 9:02 AM**To:** (b)(6); Kent, George P (b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6); Kyiv Senior Staff  
 <KyivSeniorStaff@state.gov>; Kyiv POL Core <KyivPOLCore@state.gov>; Kyiv ECON FSOs  
 <KYIVECONFOS@state.gov>; (b)(6)

**Cc:** Kyiv IOs <KyivIOs@state.gov>; EUR-Ukraine Desk-DL <EUR-UkraineDesk-DL@state.gov>; (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Subject:** RE: MP press conference on U.S.-Ukraine relations (reference to Embassy staff member, etc.)

(b)(5)

(b)(6)

*Regional Security Officer  
 Department of State  
 Diplomatic Security Service  
 United States Embassy Kyiv, Ukraine*

(b)(6)

**From:** (b)(6)**Sent:** Wednesday, October 9, 2019 1:12 PM**To:** Kent, George P (b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6) Kyiv Senior Staff <KyivSeniorStaff@state.gov>; Kyiv POL Core  
 <KyivPOLCore@state.gov>; Kyiv ECON FSOs <KYIVECONFOS@state.gov>; (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)

**Cc:** Kyiv IOs <KyivIOs@state.gov>; EUR-Ukraine Desk-DL <EUR-UkraineDesk-DL@state.gov>; (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Subject:** Re: MP press conference on U.S.-Ukraine relations (reference to Embassy staff member, etc.)

(b)(5)

---

Sent from Workspace ONE Boxer

On October 9, 2019 at 1:02:40 PM GMT+3, Kent, George P (b)(6) wrote:

(b)(5)

---

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Wednesday, October 9, 2019 5:39:46 AM

**To:** (b)(6) Kyiv Senior Staff <KyivSeniorStaff@state.gov>;  
Kyiv POL Core <KyivPOLCore@state.gov>; Kyiv ECON FSOs <KYIVECONFSOs@state.gov>; (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Cc:** Kyiv IOs <KyivIOs@state.gov>; EUR-Ukraine Desk-DL <EUR-UkraineDesk-DL@state.gov>; Kent,  
George P (b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Subject:** RE: MP press conference on U.S.-Ukraine relations (reference to Embassy staff member, etc.)

All – I spoke with the LE staff who were named in the allegations (b)(5).

Here's the background on the story:

(b)(5)



(b)(1) The technical assessment was not a secret, we actually organized an event for its launch in early summer 2018.

(b)(5)

Thanks,

(b)(6)

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 9, 2019 11:54 AM  
**To:** Kyiv Senior Staff <KyivSeniorStaff@state.gov>; Kyiv POL Core <KyivPOLCore@state.gov>; Kyiv ECON FSOs <KYIVECONFSOs@state.gov>; (b)(6)  
**Cc:** Kyiv IOs <KyivIOs@state.gov>; EUR-Ukraine Desk-DL <EUR-UkraineDesk-DL@state.gov>; Kent, George P. (b)(6); (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
**Subject:** MP press conference on U.S.-Ukraine relations (reference to Embassy staff member, etc.)

Please find below a very rough translation of an article about a press conference today by an MP about U.S., Ukraine, elections interference, investigations, etc. Original text at <https://interfax.com.ua/news/general/617802.html>. Flagging for awareness that this article seems to specifically discuss a member of the U.S. Embassy staff by name. We'll be on the lookout for additional coverage as the day proceeds.

People's Deputy of Ukraine Andriy Derkach, initiator of a criminal case on interference in the US elections, released documents from which it follows that the first deputy director of the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine (NABU) Gizo Uglava for several years provided the US Embassy in Kyiv with information that negatively affected the course events in Ukraine and the USA.

At a press conference at the Interfax-Ukraine agency on Wednesday, he made public documents received from investigative journalists, including correspondence between NABU officers and representatives of diplomatic missions of foreign states in the framework of criminal proceedings opened under article 111 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine "High Treason". In particular, the documents that the people's deputy possesses indicate that Uglava, through assistant Polina Chizh, passed on to the US Embassy information that, according to him, is an important part of the "puzzle" of interference in US elections and international corruption.

According to Derkach, he has already transferred these documents to the State Bureau of Investigation (SBI) and the Prosecutor General of Ukraine. The parliamentarian also initiated the creation of a temporary investigative commission of the Verkhovna Rada, and filed a petition for the court to resume the investigation of interference in the US elections by divulging pre-trial investigation.

"According to the correspondence, repeatedly, starting from July 14, 2017, from the electronic mailbox of the assistant to the first deputy of NABU Gizo Uglavy Polina Chizh, the lists of criminal proceedings that NABU detectives are engaged in were sent to the legal specialist of the anti-corruption program of the US Department of Justice of the US Embassy in Ukraine Anna Iemelianova, "Derkach said.

Derkach issued a letter in which Polina Chizh, an NABU employee, received an order from Anna Iemelianova, an employee of the US Embassy, to provide information on the case of Nikolai Zlochevsky, the former Minister of Ecology and owner of the Burisma Group.

The MP also announced the amount of funds transferred to the representatives of the Burisma Group, among which Hunter Biden also appears. According to documents, Burisma paid at least \$ 16.5 million in favor of Hunter Biden, Alexander Kwasniewski, Alan Apter and Devon Archer.

At the same time, Derkach claims that international corruption of this magnitude could not take place without the participation of the fifth president of Ukraine Petro Poroshenko. "International corruption of this magnitude, as well as interference in the election of the US president, could not have occurred without the participation of Petro Poroshenko," he said.

"We see the conflict in which the new government of Ukraine fell due to the activities of the previous president Poroshenko. I want to emphasize that I'm practically sure, and not only I, but many journalists, that Petro Poroshenko personally bears responsibility for the situation in which Ukraine has ended up - for dragging Ukraine into interfering in the US presidential election, for a huge number of corruption scandals and international corruption that could not have occurred without his control or participation, "the deputy said.

"Due to the actions of the former President of Ukraine Petro Poroshenko, the new President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelensky was drawn into a scandal with interference in the US presidential election and the fact that Ukraine is accused of international corruption," Derkach believes.

Derkach also unveiled documents that he claims relate to illegally collected personal information from NABU on former prosecutor general Viktor Shokin and his family.

As noted in the press release, "since 2016, Polina Chizh has sent documents with the subject: "Text for a conversation with FBI officers on the "Black Bookkeeping Party of Regions" by e-mail to Guizo Uglov. From the documents, according to Derkach, the collection of data on the former prosecutor general Viktor Shokin and his wife follows.

According to a press release, Derkach initiated the removal of the assistant to the first deputy director of NABU Guizo Uglavy Polina Chizh from duties during the investigation.

Derkach also noted that he filed a lawsuit to resume the case of meddling in US elections by divulging pre-trial investigation data related to "synchronization of illegal actions by NABU, international corruption activities with the US presidential campaign in 2016." The lawsuit will be examined on October 21.

"According to the results of my appeal, a criminal proceeding was registered in 2017. On January 28, a senior investigator of the Main Investigation Department of the Prosecutor General's Office issued a decision to close this criminal proceeding. At the moment, this decision is appealed in civil procedure, the case is scheduled for October 21 in the Pechersk court "- said Derkach

## UNCLASSIFIED

<b>Sender:</b>	"Kent, George P"
<b>Recipient:</b>	<div>(b)(6)</div> <div>Kyiv Senior Staff &lt;KyivSeniorStaff@state.gov&gt;; Kyiv POL Core &lt;KyivPOLCore@state.gov&gt;; Kyiv ECON FSOs &lt;KYIVECONFSOs@state.gov&gt;; (b)(6) Kyiv IOs &lt;KyivIOs@state.gov&gt;; EUR-Ukraine Desk-DL &lt;EUR-UkraineDesk-DL@state.gov&gt;; (b)(6)</div>

<b>From:</b>	(b)(6)
<b>To:</b>	EUR-PD-Dirs-DL <EUR-PD-Dirs-DL@state.gov>
<b>Subject:</b>	FW: Countering disinfo: A crude fake list, and a genuine business card from 2015
<b>Date:</b>	Wed, 27 Mar 2019 20:10:59 +0000

George analysis on his card and the fake list of names...

(b)(6)

Public Diplomacy Desk Officer  
Ukraine, Moldova, and Belarus

U.S. Department of State | Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs

(b)(6)

**Official**  
**UNCLASSIFIED**

**From:** Kent, George P (b)(6)

**Sent:** Wednesday, March 27, 2019 4:04 PM

**To:** (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6) Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)

(b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** Countering disinfo: A crude fake list, and a genuine business card from 2015

+ (b)(6) minus those not in the disinformation trenches

(b)(5)

(b)(5)

(b)(6)

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Wednesday, March 27, 2019 8:25 AM

**To:** (b)(6)

(b)(6)

Kent, George P

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)

(b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

Freden, Bradley A

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Wednesday Updates on The Hill Article, Social Media Commentary, Etc.

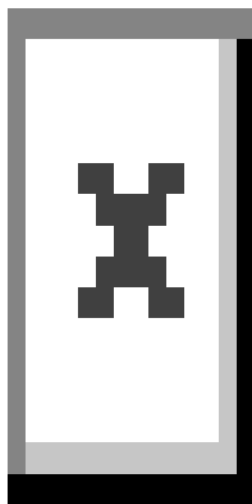
Below is a Medium article allegedly listing the names on the "Yovanovitch list")

### **The names of 'improsecutable' Ukrainians from the Yovanovitch list got out**

By Tony Sealy

The main thing appeared in the scandal around the Ukrainian Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko's statement on the list of individuals he should not prosecute given to him by the American Ambassador. That thing is the names. Ukrainians started to actively share the photo leaked out to the web on Facebook communities oppositional to the current President of Ukraine.

*(Note: Photo below – in case it doesn't display well for those reading on Blackberries, etc. -- lists the names: Sergej Leshchenko, Mustafa Najem, Svetlana Zalishchuk, Oleg Gladkovskij (Svinarchuk), Svyatoslav Vakarchuk, Valeriya Gontareva, Anatolij Gricenko, Boris Lozhkin, Aleksandr Pasenyuk, Sergej Berezenko, Dmitrij Gordon, Arsenij Yatsenuk, Sergej Pashinskij, and also displays what appears to be a business card of George Kent.)*



To recap, earlier on, the Prosecutor General of Ukraine stated in an interview to the Hill that in 2016 US Ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovitch had given him a list of individuals who should not be prosecuted by his department. However, Lutsenko did not mention any names.

The fact that such classified document could get out on the web behind the Trump Administration's back is now as hard to believe as the fact that a high ranked official like Lutsenko could even make such a revelation without the knowledge of Poroshenko.

Most likely Poroshenko himself ordered to set Yovanovitch up trying to gain support of both Donald Trump and the Republicans at the elections. However, Trump did not appreciate such an attempt. He made it clear he never forgave Poroshenko's support of Clinton at the elections in the United States. After receiving an aggressive reaction, Poroshenko instantly passed the buck to Lutsenko, and confirmed he completely backed Yovanovitch. Yet, the last move was still made by the White House. The list of the names that were not mentioned in the sensational interview by the Prosecutor General of Ukraine has magically appeared on the web.

<https://medium.com/@tosealy/the-names-of-improsecutable-ukrainians-from-the-yovanovitch-list-got-out-117b096b02ac>

**Official - SBU**  
**UNCLASSIFIED**

From: (b)(6)  
 Sent: Wednesday, March 27, 2019 2:10 PM  
 To: (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Kent, George P  
 (b)(6) Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Freden, Bradley A (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)

Cc: EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

Subject: RE: Wednesday Updates on The Hill Article, Social Media Commentary, Etc.

**Social Media Commentary:**

-

John Solomon, the Hill (a new tweet from this morning about yesterday evening's article):

Why was the Obama administration funding a Soros group in Ukraine during the 2016 election and Manafort probe? And why did US embassy seek to protect the group? *[link to last night's article]*

Chris Miller, RFE/RL (commenting on the abovementioned article):

This sentence alone makes it pretty clear @jsolomonReports hasn't the slightest clue what he's writing about: "...Yuri Lutsenko, widely regarded as a hero in the West for spending two years in prison after fighting Russian aggression in his country..."

Matthew Shaaf, Freedom House (commenting on the abovementioned article):

Ukrainian politicians try to play DC politics in an effort to weaken key anti-corruption institutions and distract from challenges at home. DC insiders respond, yes please! and throw in a little Soros bashing

Ukrainian journalist Volodymyr Boiko:

The American official publication - The Hill - continues to please its readers with a story about what's happening in Ukraine under the roof of the United States embassy. The next publication is about the activities of the conversion center entitled "ANTAC," which is registered as a public organization (ie the main source of income should be membership fees).

The article mentions how, through the accounts of this pseudo-public organization (and, incidentally, it has 20 accounts with bank institutions), American government assistance that was assigned to the Government of Ukraine, in particular for holding competitions for administrative posts in the prosecutor's office in Ukraine, has been stolen. This story is well known to me and if American journalists or law enforcement agencies turn to me, I would like to hand them documents, and tell them how a professional "public activist" Vitaliy Shabunin, [who should be in not only Ukrainian, but also American prison], international swindler David Sakvarelidze, FBI representative in Ukraine Karen Greenaway, and U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary George Kent stole US \$ 4 million, which were allocated by the U.S Government.

This money was supposed to arrive in the account of the General Prosecutor's Office of Ukraine to pay for the development of examinations and prosecutorial post selections. But in August 2015, Kent summoned Sakvarelidze to the embassy and, without any authority, Sakvarelidze signed a letter stating that the GPU refused these funds; instead they had to be redirected to the account of private lobbyist Shabunin's company and the Odesa regional state administration headed at that time by Saakashvili. After that, the American taxpayers' money was redirected and transferred to cash and settled in the pockets of "fighters of corruption."

It's telling that Karen Greenaway, who was party to this scam and mentioned by The Hill, after having left the FBI in December 2018 (this was the result of an investigation into NABU's involvement in the US presidential election in 2016), went to work at this very ANTAC.

I recommend reading the article in the American outlet close to the United States Department of State, The Hill

#### ANTAC/ Shabunin:

Lutsenko's lies continue to spread in the world. A new column appeared on The Hill. This time about us: <http://bit.ly/2uv2sUP>.

Most of all, we liked the part about Lutsenko, who fought Russian aggression in 2010 and was in prison for that.

And again, the article mentions a fake case involving theft of \$4 million, which Lutsenko himself called "idiotic" and closed. Again about "Yovanovitch's List" ....

If only part of what the current Prosecutor General tells the American media was true, he would go to testify to law enforcement in the United States.

But he does not go. Because in the United States you go to jail for lying. For several years.

We are reading and preparing refutations.

#### Vitaly Shabunin: (written with sarcasm)

The "ordered material" in the opinion section (not editorial material) of the American The Hill against ANTAC is direct acknowledgment [of the importance of our anti-corruption work] <http://bit.ly/2UYCIBo>. Yuriy Lutsenko, Petro Poroshenko, thank you.

Later, we will refute the message of the author, who (by the way, not for the first time), has mixed together Soros, Trump, Lutsenko, the U.S. ambassador, the State Department and millions of stolen dollars :)

I will quote from the article that demonstrates its "professionalism": "Yuri Lutsenko, widely regarded as a hero in the West for spending two years in prison after fighting aggression in his country."

Reminder: Yuriy Lutsenko went to jail (illegally, in my opinion) in 2010 - FOUR YEARS before the beginning of Russian aggression.

Yuriy Lutsenko is a pathological liar: if at least a part of what he said was true, he should have formally turned to the U.S. law enforcement agencies to demand an investigation to punish the perpetrators.

He did not do this for a simple reason - a lie to U.S. law enforcement is punishable by imprisonment. By the way, it is a good norm - it is necessary to implement in our legislation.

The campaign for discrediting ANTAC is gaining momentum. Petro Poroshenko, when you win, do not restrain yourself - just put us in jail, why these preludes?



And it's fun to watch what kind of media will disband this ordered material. A reminder that Lutsenko closed the case against the ANTAC THREE MONTHS before Yovanovitch arrived in Ukraine.

UPDATE: TheBabel first published the news in Ukrainian media <http://bit.ly/2UXuFiH>. I repeat - Lutsenko closed the case against the Center for the Fight Against Corruption THREE MONTHS before Yovanovitch arrives in Ukraine. L stands for "logic."

Dariya Kaleniuk, ANTAC:

I very much hope that Yuriy Lutsenko will be summoned for questioning by the U.S. Department of Justice or by Congress. And at this interrogation he will provide the same lies he is feeding Ukraine with. Because for lies in the United States you go to jail for several years.

And so a new lie from Lutsenko: a hint that Biden demanded the release of Shokin, because he very much wanted to investigate Zlochevsky.

Truth: the case against Zlochevsky dramatically poured into the GPU under Yarema, and then finished for Shokin and Lutsenko. Separately distinguished Nazar Kholodnitsky.

In December 2014, the GPU issued a certificate to Zlochevsky's lawyers, which they presented in a court in London, where British law enforcers froze 23.5 million dollars in Burisma accounts. This certificate is one of the main arguments for the freezing of these funds in Britain. After that, the Prosecutor General becomes Shokin, the case is sluggishly investigated.

The Americans and the British are outraged by such an apparent merger of criminal proceedings. In September 2015, Ambassador Pyatt publicly calls for the investigation of those officials of the GPU who have not provided the British prosecutor with evidence of Zlochevsky and who buried the case <http://bit.ly/2U8Q3o9>

In January 2016, the case with the GPU calls for the study by NABU, after the prosecutors do not find evidence of Zlochevsky's fault, but find evidence of a violation of the law in obtaining permits for gas extraction. NABU's evidence was transferred to the SAPO, but Nazar Holodnitsky magically missed the deadline in the 6 months of filing the lawsuit to cancel these permits. Ukraine loses the opportunity to return illegally issued permits for gas extraction to subsidiaries of Burisma. Here we describe in detail the role of Nazar Holodnitsky and Lutsenko in the storm of the proceedings against Zlochevsky.

<http://bit.ly/2Yp4WBV>

Daria Kaleniuk:

More lies and manipulations from Lutsenko, who turned out to be a hero who spent 2 years in prison for fighting Russian aggression.

Yuriy Lutsenko himself re-qualified the case against Zlochevsky for illegal enrichment and money laundering in tax evasion by one of Zlochevsky's companies in October 2016 and closed the criminal proceedings in the fall of 2016.

**Official - SBU**  
**UNCLASSIFIED**

**From:** Hawkins, Kristin K (Kyiv)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 27, 2019 11:48 AM

**To:**  (b)(6)

		(b)(6); Kent, George P
(b)(6)		(b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)
(b)(6)	Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv_EXEC@state.gov>;	(b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Wednesday Updates on The Hill Article, Social Media Commentary, Etc.

Yuriy Butusov, Editor-in-chief of Censor.net, posts on his Facebook page (rough translation):

<https://www.facebook.com/butusov.yuriy/posts/2798311563542455>

Ukraine directly affects the largest political scandals in the presidential elections of 2018-2020 in the United States! I studied the allegations of the Prosecutor General against the U.S. Ambassador [Yovanovitch], collected exclusive comments from Prosecutor General Lutsenko, Special Prosecutor Kholodnytskyi, SBU General Trepak and MP Leshchenko, and it turned out that Ukraine is now the main intrigue of the 2018 and 2020 elections in the United States.

I think that:

1. Lutsenko's allegations against US Ambassador Yovanovitch are agreed upon with the U.S. President Trump administration.
2. Poroshenko and Lutsenko are helping Trump to repel the Democrats' attack on Manafort and strike the democratic candidate Biden - Lutsenko's statement is related in time to the chronology of the announcement of Manafort's verdict.
3. I think the list of Marie Yovanovitch actually did not exist. But I fully admit that the U.S. Ambassador could have been asking the prosecutor general about the case of the illicit enrichment of the MP Sergey Leschenko, and he interpreted this in his own way. Neither there is evidence of the biased position of the U.S. Ambassador.
4. NABU has disclosed the investigation data about Manafort without the permission of the procedural curator, and most likely at the request of someone from the staff of the U.S. Embassy. But it doesn't mean that Yovanovitch herself asked to do it, I think she acted in good faith.
5. It turns out that Clinton's Democrats got Ukrainian politicians involved in discrediting Republican Trump, and Trump got Ukrainian politicians involved in discrediting Democrats and Biden. Ukrainian topic remains one of the main ones in American politics.

Link to the longer article about this by Butusov:

[https://censor.net.ua/resonance/3118475/poroshenko\\_podderjal\\_trampa\\_v\\_atake\\_na\\_demokraticheskuyu\\_partiyu\\_ssha\\_genprokuror\\_lutsenko\\_vse\\_chto](https://censor.net.ua/resonance/3118475/poroshenko_podderjal_trampa_v_atake_na_demokraticheskuyu_partiyu_ssha_genprokuror_lutsenko_vse_chto)

**Official**  
**UNCLASSIFIED**

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Wednesday, March 27, 2019 8:27 AM

**To:** (b)(6)

(b)(6)

Kent, George P

(b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6) Freden, Bradley A

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6) Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>: (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Wednesday Updates on The Hill Article, Social Media Commentary, Etc.

Just published by Kyiv Post:

**Anti-Corruption Action Center: Lutsenko's speculation regarding Burisma**

By **Daria Kaleniuk**, **Tetiana Shevchuk**, **Olena Halushka**.

Published March 27. Updated March 27 at 8:03 am

On March 20, 2019, Yuriy Lutsenko, the prosecutor general of Ukraine, gave a controversial interview to The Hill political new website. His comments were saturated with speculation. Apart from the groundless attack against National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine (NABU) director Artem Sytnyk and the U.S. Ambassador Marie L. Yovanovitch, Lutsenko also made some loud allegation claiming that Sytnyk closed criminal investigations against Mykola Zlochevsky's Burisma company. On March 25, Ukrainian media announced that Lutsenko and Special Anti-Corruption Prosecutor Nazar Kholodnytsky recorded other pieces of the interview for The Hill regarding Burisma.

Burisma appeared in this scandal not accidentally. This is an energy exploration and production company operating in the Ukrainian oil and gas market. During President Viktor Yanukovich's presidency, which ended on Feb. 22, 2014, amid the EuroMaidan Revolution, Zlochevsky used to be the minister of environmental protection in 2010-2012 and deputy secretary of the National Security and Defense Council in 2012-2014.

In order to gain international weight right after the EuroMaidan Revolution, the company appointed some well-known people to the board of directors, among whom is Hunter Biden, a son of former U.S. Vice President Joe Biden.

In his infamous interview, Lutsenko hinted on warm relations between Biden and Sytnyk and then claimed that NABU closed the case against Burisma.

The irony is that, actually, it was the Prosecutor General's Office (PGO) who repeatedly covered Zlochevsky up from the criminal prosecution. Moreover, the only ongoing investigations into activities of Zlochevsky's companies are conducted by NABU.

In total there were four criminal proceedings related to Burisma and Zlochevsky's time in office, two of which were watered down by the Prosecutor General's Office and two are still investigated by NABU. These are:

- the criminal case concerning the arrest of Zlochevsky's money in the U.K. and personally charging Zlochevskyi with illicit enrichment was sabotaged and later closed by prosecutors;
- in the other Prosecutor General's Office case, companies related to Burisma suddenly disappeared from the list of suspects;
- two cases regarding the extraction of licenses by Zlochevsky's companies and embezzlement of public funds at the ministry's procurements during Zlochevskyi's Ministerial tenure remain active and are investigated by NABU.
- 

None of the criminal proceedings against Burisma was closed by NABU. Let us explain to you more in details.

### **Prosecutors helped Zlochevsky to unfreeze assets in the U.K.**

In 2014-2015, the prosecutor's office, managed by then Prosecutor General Vitaliy Yarema, assisted Zlochevsky with unblocking \$23.5 million seized in the U.K.

In April 2014, British law enforcement officers opened a case into possible \$35 million money laundering allegedly committed by Zlochevsky. The Ukrainian party became aware of this in late July 2014.

However, instead of providing maximum support and evidence for British investigation, the PGO issued two controversial letters to Zlochevsky's defense party claiming "uncertain legal status and absence of notification of suspicion of Mykola Zlochevsky." In the meantime, the British law enforcers received just a partial response on their inquiry.

The PGO announced charges to Zlochevsky only in December 2014, but this was too late. The London court decided to unblock the seized assets, as the Prosecutor General's Office failed to provide evidence on illicit origin of \$23.5 million on the accounts of Zlochevsky's companies.

Back in September 2015, U.S. Ambassador Geoff Pyatt during a speech highlighted that the Prosecutor General's Office sabotaged cooperation with the U.K. authorities on the case and called that "the misconduct by the PGO officials who wrote those letters should be investigated, and those responsible for subverting the case by authorizing those letters should – at a minimum – be summarily terminated.' Such a statement shows anything but Joe Biden's alleged attempt to help Burisma avoid justice.

### **PGO blurred money laundering and illicit enrichment charges against Zlochevskyi**

In the course of the abovementioned investigation, on Dec. 29, 2014, Zlochevsky was notified of charges in illicit enrichment in large-scale and money laundering. To investigate this case, Ukrainian investigators had to establish the origin and legitimacy of significant funds on bank accounts of companies belonging to Zlochevskyi as a former top official.

However, despite considerable public attention, the illicit enrichment of Zlochevskiy was never properly investigated and sent to the court – in two years the investigation mystically transformed into the case of tax evasion by chief accountant of one the Burisma holding companies. This was done under the Yuriy Lutsenko's leadership at the PGO.

In the same criminal proceeding into alleged illicit enrichment, in October 2016, PGO investigators asked the State Fiscal Service to hold an unscheduled tax audit of Esko-Pivnich LLC, one of the companies of Burisma holding. The audit concerned the period of 8 months of 2016 and established some violations. As a result, the chief accountant of the company was declared a scapegoat and notified of suspicion of tax evasion.

The accountant paid outstanding taxes as prescribed by the audit, thus eliminating the grounds for criminal charges in tax evasion. The amount paid by accountant constituted 50 million UAH (approx. \$1.9 mln), which was only a fraction of alleged evasion.

However, this resulted also in closure in November 2016 of the criminal proceedings regarding possible illicit enrichment and money laundering allegedly committed by Zlochevsky. Available information shows no logic in the actions of PGO investigators who combined the episode of company's tax evasion in 2016 with the criminal proceedings on illicit enrichment and money laundering allegedly committed by Zlochevskyi in 2010-2014.

### **PGO covered up Burisma in the case of embezzlement of Ukgazvydobuvannya funds**

Since May 7, 2014, PGO was investigating alleged criminal activity of Ukrainian subsidiaries of Burisma, which in conspiracy with state-owned enterprise Ukgasvydobuvannya caused substantive loses to Ukrainian budget. Burisma subsidiaries were suspected of extracting and selling gas in Ukraine for significantly discounted prices to related companies to reduce official profits, which according to the agreements on joint activity had to be shared with the state-owned company.

On July 7, 2016, Lutsenko personally held a press briefing and accused Burisma subsidiaries of conspiracy and tax evasion amounting to Hr 1 billion (\$70 million) during 2014-2015.

Strangely enough, starting from October 2016 the criminal investigation abruptly stopped mentioning subsidiaries of Burisma. Thus, the company was cleared even without closing criminal investigation.

### **SAPO sabotaged justice for Burisma for illegal obtaining extraction licences**

The other criminal case related to Burisma concerns illegal natural resources extraction licenses issued to Burisma group companies by officials of the Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources during 2010-2015. The case was investigated by the PGO until the end of 2015 and in December 2015 transferred to NABU.

NABU established the violations during the issue of licences, namely absence of obligatory approval of the municipal authorities. The evidence confirming this was promptly transferred by NABU to the Specialized Anti-corruption Prosecution office (SAPO) to take administrative court actions to cancel these licences as illegal.

SAPO, however, groundlessly missed procedural deadlines for a lawsuit on cancelling extracting licences in question: having had complete grounds for lawsuit since January 2016, SAPO only filed the case in August 2016. SAPO avoided giving a thorough explanation of why it took so long to file a claim. The case was dismissed by the court due to missed deadlines and the Appellate Court upheld this decision. As a result, Burisma companies still benefiting from these highly questionable extraction licences.

Later, on August 1, 2017, SAPO closed the criminal case stating that there was not enough evidence to prove the crime. On June 15, 2018, the investigation was renewed following the appeal of MP Tetiana Chornovol. As of March 2019, the NABU investigation is ongoing.

In addition, as of March 2019, NABU has also an ongoing investigation into alleged embezzlement of state funds totaling to Hr 49 million (\$8 million) at public procurement of consulting services for implementing technologies of remote land exploration. The case does not directly concern Zlochevsky or Burisma, but regards the ministry's activity during his tenure. The case was transferred from the PGO to NABU at the beginning of 2016.

*Daria Kaleniuk is the executive director of the Anti-Corruption Action Center. She is experienced in international legal mechanisms for anti-corruption actions, particularly in stolen assets recovery and anti-money laundering initiatives. Kaleniuk holds a master's degree in financial services law from Chicago-Kent College of Law. She was a Fullbright program student in 2010-2011.*

*Tetiana Shevchuk is a lawyer with the Anti-Corruption Action Center in Kyiv.*

*Olena Halushka is the head of international relations at the Anti-Corruption Action Center.*

**Official**  
**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 27, 2019 8:17 AM  
**To:** (b)(6)  
 (b)(6); Kent, George P  
 (b)(6) (b)(6) (b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Freden, Bradley A (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6); Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov> (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** Wednesday Updates on The Hill Article, Social Media Commentary, Etc.

Below is some social media commentary from overnight, plus the latest Hill column published overnight for those who have not yet seen it.

**Tweets by John Solomon (author of The Hill piece)**

Many members of Congress I talked with today said they did not know US tax dollars were going to support a Soros group in Ukraine. [\[link to article\]](#)

1.8K retweets, 229 [comments](#)

US embassy pressed Ukraine to drop probe of George Soros group during 2016 election

2.2K retweets, 197 [comments](#)

**Sebastian Gorka** tweeted the latest Hill piece, with the comment: "Why @BarackObama?"

**Nina Jankowicz, Wilson Center, sharing yesterday's Washington Post column:**

Please, I am begging you, let this excellent piece by [@melindaharing](#) put the "Ukraine-Clinton collusion" narrative that is now targeting Amb. Yovanovitch to bed.

**Molly Montgomery of Brookings, sharing yesterday's Washington Post column:**

[.@melindaharing](#) is right. If we allow Ukraine to push out an ambassador they don't like because she's tough on them in all the right ways, it will be open season on every ambassador who does his/her job and doggedly pursues US interests. The Administration is getting played.

**Former Amb Pifer, responding to a critical tweet about Amb Y creating the “fake Kolchuga case” (before the latest Hill column):**

You are correct that Kolchuga case hit US-Ukraine relations hard. You are wrong that Amb Yovanovitch created it. What caused problem was recording in which President Kuchma was heard approving transfer of Kolchugas to Iraq.

**Former DRL A/S Melia, responding to a post in support of Amb Y:**

Agree 100%. This is absurd. Masha Yovanovitch is the gold standard in professionalism in diplomacy. Smart, battle-tested and accomplished.

**The Hill: US embassy pressed Ukraine to drop probe of George Soros group during 2016 election**

While the 2016 presidential race was raging in America, Ukrainian prosecutors ran into some unexpectedly strong headwinds as they pursued an investigation into the activities of a nonprofit in their homeland known as the Anti-Corruption Action Centre (AntAC).

The focus on AntAC — whose youthful street activists famously wore “Ukraine F\*&k Corruption” T-shirts — was part of a larger probe by Ukraine’s Prosecutor General’s Office into whether \$4.4 million in U.S. funds to fight corruption inside the former Soviet republic had been improperly diverted.

The prosecutors soon would learn the resistance they faced was blowing directly from the U.S. Embassy in Kiev, where the Obama administration took the rare step of trying to press the Ukrainian government to back off its investigation of both the U.S. aid and the group.

“The investigation into the Anti-Corruption Action Center (sic), based on the assistance they have received from us, is similarly misplaced,” then-embassy Charge d’Affaires George Kent wrote the prosecutor’s office in April 2016 in a letter that also argued U.S. officials had no concerns about how the U.S. aid had been spent.

At the time, the nation’s prosecutor general had just been fired, under pressure from the United States, and a permanent replacement had not been named.

A few months later, Yuri Lutsenko, widely regarded as a hero in the West for spending two years in prison after fighting Russian aggression in his country, was named prosecutor general and invited to meet new U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovitch.



Lutsenko told me he was stunned when the ambassador “gave me a list of people whom we should not prosecute.” The list included a founder of the AntAC group and two members of Parliament who vocally supported the group’s anti-corruption reform agenda, according to a source directly familiar with the meeting.

It turns out the group that Ukrainian law enforcement was probing was co-funded by the Obama administration and liberal mega-donor George Soros. And it was collaborating with the FBI agents investigating then-Trump campaign manager Paul Manafort’s business activities with pro-Russian figures in Ukraine.

The implied message to Ukraine’s prosecutors was clear: Don’t target AntAC in the middle of an America presidential election in which Soros was backing Hillary Clinton to succeed another Soros favorite, Barack Obama, Ukrainian officials said.

“We ran right into a buzzsaw and we got bloodied,” a senior Ukrainian official told me.

Lutsenko suggested the embassy applied pressure because it did not want Americans to see who was being funded with its tax dollars. “At the time, Ms. Ambassador thought our interviews of the Ukrainian citizens, of the Ukrainian civil servants who were frequent visitors in the U.S. Embassy, could cast a shadow on that anti-corruption policy,” he said.

State officials told me privately they wanted Ukraine prosecutors to back off AntAC because they feared the investigation was simply retribution for the group’s high-profile efforts to force anti-corruption reforms inside Ukraine, some of which took authorities and prestige from the Prosecutor General’s Office.

But it was an unusual intervention, the officials acknowledged. “We’re not normally in the business of telling a country’s police force who they can and can’t pursue, unless it involves an American citizen we think is wrongly accused,” one official said.

In the end, no action was taken against AntAC and it remains thriving today. Nonetheless, the anecdote is taking on new significance.

First, it conflicts with the State Department’s official statement last week after Lutsenko first mentioned the do-not-prosecute list. The embassy responded that the claim was a fabrication and a sign that corruption is alive and well inside Ukraine.

But Kent's letter unequivocally shows the embassy did press Ukrainian prosecutors to back off what normally would be considered an internal law enforcement matter inside a sovereign country. And more than a half-dozen U.S. and Ukrainian sources confirmed to me the AntAC case wasn't the only one in which American officials exerted pressure on Ukrainian investigators in 2016.

When I asked State to explain the letter and inclusion of the Soros-connected names during the meeting, it demurred. "As a general rule, we don't read out private diplomatic meetings," it responded. "Ambassador Yovanovitch represents the President of the United States in Ukraine, and America stands behind her and her statements."

Second, the AntAC anecdote highlights a little-known fact that the pursuit of foreign corruption has resulted in an unusual alliance between the U.S. government and a political mega-donor.

After the Obama Justice Department launched its Kleptocracy Asset Recovery Initiative a decade ago to prosecute corruption in other countries, the State Department, Justice Department and FBI outsourced some of its work in Ukraine to groups funded by Soros.

The Hungarian-American businessman is one of the largest donors to American liberal causes, a champion of the U.S. kleptocracy crackdown and a man with extensive business interests in Ukraine.

One key U.S. partner was AntAC, which received 59 percent (or \$1 million) of its nearly \$1.7 million budget since 2012 from U.S. budgets tied to State and Justice, and nearly \$290,000 from Soros's International Renaissance Foundation, according to the group's donor disclosure records.

The U.S.-Soros collaboration was visible in Kiev. Several senior Department of Justice (DOJ) officials and FBI agents appeared in pictures as participants or attendees at Soros-sponsored events and conferences.

One attendee was Karen Greenaway, then the FBI supervisor in charge of international fraud cases and one of the lead agents in the Manafort investigation in Ukraine. She attended multiple such events and won glowing praise in a social media post from AntAC's executive director.

In one event during 2016, Greenaway and Ambassador Yovanovitch participated alongside AntAC's executive director, Daria Kaleniuk, and Lutsenko was present. The message was clear: The embassy supported AntAC.

The FBI confirmed Greenaway's contacts with the Soros group, saying they were part of her investigative work: "In furtherance of the FBI's mission and in the course of their duties, FBI employees routinely travel and participated in public forums in an official capacity. At a minimum, all such travel and speaking engagements are authorized by the employee's direct supervisor and can receive further authorization all the way up to the relevant division head, along with an ethics official determination."

Greenaway recently retired, and Soros's AntAC soon after announced she was joining its supervisory board.

Internal memos from Soros's umbrella charity organization, Open Society Foundations, describe a concerted strategy of creating friendships inside key government agencies such as State, DOJ and the FBI that can be leveraged inside the countries Soros was targeting for anti-corruption activism.

"We have broadly recognized the importance of developing supportive constituencies in order to make headway in tightening the global web of anti-corruption accountability," a Feb. 21, 2014, memo states. "We first conceived of this in terms of fostering and helping to build a political environment favorable to high-level anti-corruption cases."

That same memo shows Soros's organization wanted to make Ukraine a top priority, starting in 2014, and planned to use the Anti-Corruption Action Centre as its lead.

"Ukraine: Behind the scenes advice and support to Ukrainian partner Anti-Corruption Action Centre's efforts to generate corruption litigation in Europe and the U.S. respecting state assets stolen by senior Ukrainian leaders," the memo states.

The memo included a chart of Ukrainians the Soros team wanted to have pursued, including some with ties to Manafort.

Senior U.S. law enforcement officials confirmed to me that the early kleptocracy collaborations inside Ukraine led to highly visible U.S. actions against the oligarch Dmitri Firtash, a major target of the Soros group, and Manafort. Firtash is now

represented by former Hillary Clinton lawyer Lanny Davis and former U.S. Attorney Dan Webb.

Documents posted online by Open Society Foundations show that after U.S. officials scored some early successes in corruption cases in Ukraine, such as asset forfeitures, AntAC requested to receive some of the seized money.

“Ukrainian NGO Anticorruption Action Centre (AntAC) petitioned the United States Justice Department on behalf of Ukrainian civil society to dedicate the nearly \$3 million in forfeited and seized assets allegedly laundered by former Ukrainian Prime Minister Pavlo Lazarenko, to creating an anti-corruption training facility,” a 2015 foundation document stated.

Spokespersons for AntAC and Open Society Foundations did not respond to repeated requests for comment.

Michael Vachon, a spokesman for Soros, deferred any comment about AntAC to the group. But he did he confirm his boss supported the continued investigation of Russia collusion allegations against Trump well past 2016.

Vachon said Soros wrote a sizable check from his personal funds in fall 2017 to a new group, Democracy Integrity Project, started by a former FBI agent and Senate staffer Daniel Jones to continue “investigation and research into foreign interference in American elections and European elections.”

Vachon said the group asked Soros not to divulge the size of his contribution, and Soros later learned the group hired Fusion GPS, the same firm that was paid by Hillary Clinton’s campaign and the Democratic Party to create the infamous “Steele dossier” alleging Trump-Russia collusion.

The he said-she said battle playing out between Ukraine’s chief prosecutor and the American ambassador doesn’t benefit either side, but an honest, complete and transparent account of what the embassy communicated to Ukraine’s law enforcement does.

And the tale of AntAC raises some cogent questions:

- Why would the U.S. Embassy intervene on a Ukrainian internal investigation and later deny it exerted such pressure?
- Did Soros’s role as a major political funder have any impact?

- Do Americans want U.S. tax dollars commingled with activists' private funds when it comes to anti-corruption probes?

Someone in State and Congress should try to get the answers.

**Official**  
**UNCLASSIFIED**

<b>Sender:</b>	(b)(6)
<b>Recipient:</b>	EUR-PD-Dirs-DL <EUR-PD-Dirs-DL@state.gov>

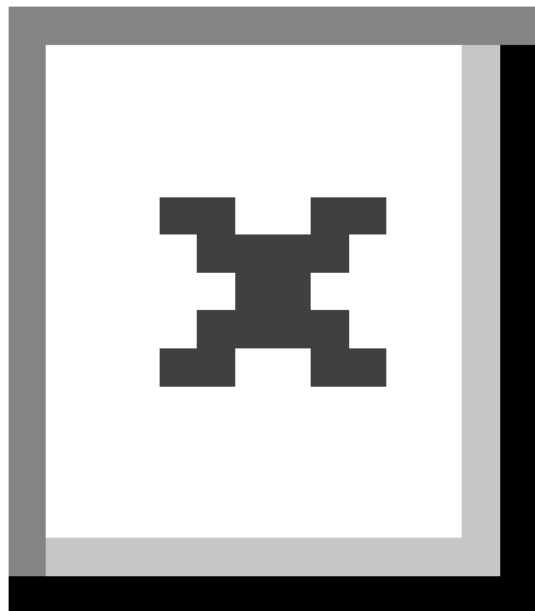
<b>From:</b>	"Kent, George P"
<b>To:</b>	(b)(6)
<b>Subject:</b>	FW: Sen. Shaheen tweet -- Wednesday Updates on The Hill Article, Social Media Commentary, Etc.
<b>Date:</b>	Wed, 27 Mar 2019 19:33:04 +0000

Naz lining up tweet support for Amb Y in Shaheen's name...

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 27, 2019 2:33 PM  
**To:** (b)(6)  
(b)(6) Kent, George P  
(b)(6) Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)  
(b)(6) (b)(6)  
(b)(6)  
(b)(6) Freden, Bradley A (b)(6)  
(b)(6)  
(b)(6)  
(b)(6) Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6)  
(b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Sen. Shaheen tweet -- Wednesday Updates on The Hill Article, Social Media Commentary, Etc.



(b)(6)

*Press & Policy Outreach Office--Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs*

*Department of State*

Office: (b)(6)

Cell: 2

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Wednesday, March 27, 2019 12:27 PM

**To:** (b)(6)

(b)(6)

Kent, George P

(b)(6) Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6)

; Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)

(b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6) Freden, Bradley A

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6) Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov> (b)(6);

(b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Wednesday Updates on The Hill Article, Social Media Commentary, Etc.

Flagging a couple tweets below for general awareness, from high-profile Twitter users (who have large numbers of followers). Below that is an article from RT from about 45 minutes ago recapping the latest Hill column (no significant new narratives in that RT piece, just flagging that it's been picked up by this outlet).

In general, a search for Ukraine + Soros on Twitter is quite active at this time (and has been since the RT article was tweeted), with one or more tweets coming per minute relating to last night's Hill report. However, there are relatively few tweets this evening mentioning AMB Y specifically by name (only about 5 tweets in the past eight hours.)

#### Tweets

- **Pamela Geller (200K followers)**  
CRIMINAL: Obama Admin Pressured **Ukraine** Not to Investigate “Mega-Donor” George **Soros**: The Obama administration was the most corrupt in American history while aiding and abetting America's worst enemies \_
- **Lou Dobbs** of “Lou Dobbs Tonight” at Fox Business Network retweeted John Solomon’s post from earlier today (Why was the Obama administration funding a Soros group in Ukraine during the 2016 election and Manafort probe? And why did US embassy seek to protect the group?)
- **Writer Tom Fitton (500K followers)** tweeted a link to the Hill piece with the topper: “Obama admin pressed Ukraine to drop probe of George Soros group during 2016 election”
- **Former AMB Michael McFaul Tweeted:** Those involved in running a presidential campaign should not seek assistance from foreign adversaries. Period. **Dan Bongino** retweeted with the topper: Then why were Ukrainians helping Hillary?

#### **RT Article: Washington told Ukraine to end probe into George Soros-funded group during 2016 US election – report**

An NGO co-funded by George Soros was spared prosecution in 2016 after the US urged Ukraine to drop a corruption probe targeting the group, the Hill reported, pointing to potential shenanigans during the US presidential election.



Bankrolled by the Obama administration and Hungarian-American billionaire George Soros, the Anti-Corruption Action Centre (AntAC) was under investigation as part of a larger probe by Ukraine's Prosecutor General's Office into the misallocation of \$4.4 million in US funds to fight corruption in the eastern European country.

As the 2016 presidential race heated up back in the United States, the US Embassy in Kiev gave Ukraine's Prosecutor General Yuri Lutsenko *"a list of people whom we should not prosecute"* as part of the probe, the Hill [reported](#). Ultimately, no action was taken against AntAC.

Lutsenko told the paper that he believes the embassy wanted the probe nixed because it could have exposed the Democrats to a potential scandal during the 2016 election.

A State Department official who spoke with the Hill said that while the request to nix the probe was unusual, Washington feared that AntAC was being targeted as retribution for the group's advocacy for anti-corruption reforms in Ukraine.

AntAC wasn't just the benefactor of well-connected patrons – at the time it was also collaborating with FBI agents to uncover then-Trump campaign manager Paul Manafort's business dealings in Ukraine. Manafort later became a high-profile target of Special Counsel Robert Mueller's probe into alleged Russian collusion, and was sentenced to seven-and-a-half years in prison for tax fraud and other financial crimes.

Lutsenko divulged in an interview with the Hill last week that he has opened an investigation into whether Ukrainian officials leaked financial records during the 2016 US presidential campaign in an effort to sway the election in favor of Hillary Clinton.

While AntAC may have failed to help the FBI find the Russia collusion smoking gun, the group's activities constitute yet another link between the anti-climactic Russiagate probe and Soros, a Democrat mega-donor who bet big on Hillary Clinton taking the White House in 2016.

In 2017, the billionaire philanthropist siphoned money into a new group, the Democracy Integrity Project, which later partnered with Fusion GPS to create the now-infamous Steele dossier.

Spokespersons for AntAC and the Soros umbrella group Open Society Foundations declined to comment on the Hill's scoop.

Ironically, the prosecutor general who had preceded Lutsenko, Viktor Shokin, resigned under pressure from Washington – which accused Shokin of corruption.

Virtuous US officials continue to make similar demands of Ukraine's justice system. Earlier this month, Washington urged the Ukrainian government to fire its special anti-corruption prosecutor, again over accusations of administrative abuse.

**Official - SBU**  
**UNCLASSIFIED**

From: (b)(6)

Sent: Wednesday, March 27, 2019 4:50 PM

To: (b)(6)

(b)(6)

Kent, George P

(b)(6); Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Freden, Bradley A (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Wednesday Updates on The Hill Article, Social Media Commentary, Etc.

Ukrainian media are now picking up the latest Hill column from last night. Here's a link to a sample article from Ukrainska Pravda (which notes the column was the personal opinion of journalist John Solomon, and highlights in the headline that Solomon called Lutsenko a "hero"). The UkrPravda article notes AntAC is preparing a refutation of the article. (Aside from the details just mentioned, the text of the article basically just recaps the Hill column.)

<https://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2019/03/27/7210380/>

**Official - SBU**  
**UNCLASSIFIED**

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 27, 2019 4:34 PM  
**To:** (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Kent, George P  
 (b)(6) Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6); Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Freden, Bradley A (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Wednesday Updates on The Hill Article, Social Media Commentary, Etc.

**Tweeted 20 minutes ago by Sara A Carter, 640K followers:**

Under @BarackObama, the @USEmbassyKyiv Pressured Ukraine Not To Investigate Liberal "Mega-Donor" @georgesoros. Why was Obama's @StateDept funding a #Soros group in Ukraine during the 2016 election and #Manafort probe? | via @jsolomonReports @thehill

This tweet links to an article on her website:

# The Hill: U.S. Embassy Pressured Ukraine Not To Investigate Liberal “Mega-Donor”

During the 2016 U.S. presidential race Ukrainian prosecutors said they were stymied by then-President Obama’s appointed U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine from pursuing investigations into the activities of a nonprofit known as the [Anti-Corruption Action Centre](#) (AntAC), according to John Solomon with The Hill.

Ukraine’s Prosecutor General Yuri Lutsenko, who is considered a hero in the West for spending [two years as a political prisoner](#) for fighting Russian aggression in Ukraine , told Solomon that he was invited to meet new U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovitch. He was appointed to this position in 2016 and it was then that he spoke to Yovanovitch, he said.

He said they, “gave me a list of people whom we should not prosecute.” According to Yovanovitch, it included a founder of the AntAC group and two members of Parliament. Those people “supported the group’s anti-corruption reform agenda, according to a source directly familiar with the meeting,” according to Solomon, who spoke to a source.

Ukrainian law enforcement was probing a group that was co-funded by the Obama administration, as well as billionaire donor George Soros. Further, according to Solomon the group was allegedly collaborating with the FBI agents investigating then-Trump campaign manager [Paul Manafort’s](#) business activities in Ukraine.

## From The Hill

*The focus on AntAC — whose youthful street activists famously wore “Ukraine F\*&k Corruption” T-shirts — was part of a larger probe by Ukraine’s Prosecutor General’s Office into whether \$4.4 million in U.S. funds to fight corruption inside the former Soviet republic had been improperly diverted.*

*he prosecutors soon would learn the resistance they faced was blowing directly from the U.S. Embassy in Kiev, where the Obama administration took the rare step of trying to press the Ukrainian government to back off its investigation of both the U.S. aid and the group.*

*"The investigation into the Anti-Corruption Action Center (sic), based on the assistance they have received from us, is similarly misplaced," then-embassy Charge d' Affaires George Kent wrote the prosecutor's office in April 2016 in a letter that also argued U.S. officials had no concerns about how the U.S. aid had been spent...*

<https://saraacarter.com/the-hill-u-s-embassy-pressured-ukraine-not-to-investigate-liberal-mega-donor/>

**Official - SBU**  
**UNCLASSIFIED**

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 27, 2019 2:25 PM  
**To:** (b)(6)  
(b)(6) Kent, George P  
(b)(6) Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)  
(b)(6) (b)(6)  
(b)(6)  
(b)(6) Freden, Bradley A (b)(6)  
(b)(6)  
(b)(6) Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov> (b)(6)  
(b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Wednesday Updates on The Hill Article, Social Media Commentary, Etc.

Below is a Medium article allegedly listing the names on the "Yovanovitch list")

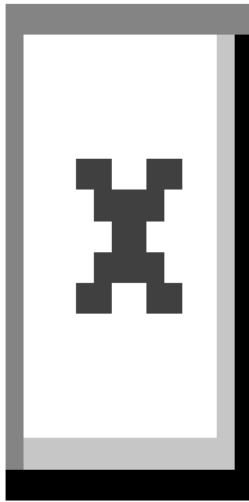
### **The names of 'improsecutable' Ukrainians from the Yovanovitch list got out**

By Tony Sealy

The main thing appeared in the scandal around the Ukrainian Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko's statement on the list of individuals he should not prosecute given to him by the American Ambassador. That thing is the names. Ukrainians started to actively share the photo leaked out to the web on Facebook communities oppositional to the current President of Ukraine.

*(Note: Photo below – in case it doesn't display well for those reading on Blackberries, etc. -- lists the names: Sergej Leshchenko, Mustafa Najem, Svetlana Zalishchuk, Oleg Gladkovskij (Svinarchuk), Svyatoslav Vakarchuk,*

*Valeriya Gontareva, Anatolij Gricenko, Boris Lozhkin, Aleksandr Pasenyuk, Sergej Berezenko, Dmitrij Gordon, Arsenij Yatsenuk, Sergej Pashinskij, and also displays what appears to be a business card of George Kent.)*



To recap, earlier on, the Prosecutor General of Ukraine stated in an interview to the Hill that in 2016 US Ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovitch had given him a list of individuals who should not be prosecuted by his department. However, Lutsenko did not mention any names.

The fact that such classified document could get out on the web behind the Trump Administration's back is now as hard to believe as the fact that a high ranked official like Lutsenko could even make such a revelation without the knowledge of Poroshenko.

Most likely Poroshenko himself ordered to set Yovanovitch up trying to gain support of both Donald Trump and the Republicans at the elections. However, Trump did not appreciate such an attempt. He made it clear he never forgave Poroshenko's support of Clinton at the elections in the United States. After receiving an aggressive reaction, Poroshenko instantly passed the buck to Lutsenko, and confirmed he completely backed Yovanovitch. Yet, the last move was still made by the White House. The list of the names that were not mentioned in the sensational interview by the Prosecutor General of Ukraine has magically appeared on the web.

<https://medium.com/@tosealy/the-names-of-improsecutable-ukrainians-from-the-yovanovitch-list-got-out-117b096b02ac>

**Official - SBU**  
**UNCLASSIFIED**

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 27, 2019 2:10 PM  
**To:** (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Kent, George P  
 (b)(6) Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6); Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Freden, Bradley A (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Wednesday Updates on The Hill Article, Social Media Commentary, Etc.

**Social Media Commentary:**

-

John Solomon, the Hill (a new tweet from this morning about yesterday evening's article):

Why was the Obama administration funding a Soros group in Ukraine during the 2016 election and Manafort probe? And why did US embassy seek to protect the group? *[link to last night's article]*

Chris Miller, RFE/RL (commenting on the abovementioned article):

This sentence alone makes it pretty clear @jsolomonReports hasn't the slightest clue what he's writing about: "...Yuri Lutsenko, widely regarded as a hero in the West for spending two years in prison after fighting Russian aggression in his country..."

Matthew Shaaf, Freedom House (commenting on the abovementioned article):

Ukrainian politicians try to play DC politics in an effort to weaken key anti-corruption institutions and distract from challenges at home. DC insiders respond, yes please! and throw in a little Soros bashing

Ukrainian journalist Volodymyr Boiko:

The American official publication - The Hill - continues to please its readers with a story about what's happening in Ukraine under the roof of the United States embassy. The next publication is about the activities of the conversion center entitled "ANTAC," which is registered as a public organization (ie the main source of income should be membership fees).

The article mentions how, through the accounts of this pseudo-public organization (and, incidentally, it has 20 accounts with bank institutions), American government assistance that was assigned to the Government of Ukraine, in particular for holding competitions for administrative posts in the prosecutor's office in Ukraine, has been stolen. This story is well known to me and if American journalists or law enforcement agencies turn to me, I would like to hand them documents, and tell them how a professional "public activist" Vitaliy Shabunin, [who should be in not only Ukrainian, but also American prison], international swindler David Sakvarelidze, FBI representative in Ukraine Karen

Greenaway, and U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary George Kent stole US \$ 4 million, which were allocated by the U.S Government.

This money was supposed to arrive in the account of the General Prosecutor's Office of Ukraine to pay for the development of examinations and prosecutorial post selections. But in August 2015, Kent summoned Sakvarelidze to the embassy and, without any authority, Sakvarelidze signed a letter stating that the GPU refused these funds; instead they had to be redirected to the account of private lobbyist Shabunin's company and the Odesa regional state administration headed at that time by Saakashvili. After that, the American taxpayers' money was redirected and transferred to cash and settled in the pockets of "fighters of corruption."

It's telling that Karen Greenaway, who was party to this scam and mentioned by The Hill, after having left the FBI in December 2018 (this was the result of an investigation into NABU's involvement in the US presidential election in 2016), went to work at this very ANTAC.

I recommend reading the article in the American outlet close to the United States Department of State, The Hill

#### ANTAC/ Shabunin:

Lutsenko's lies continue to spread in the world. A new column appeared on The Hill. This time about us: <http://bit.ly/2uv2sUP>.

Most of all, we liked the part about Lutsenko, who fought Russian aggression in 2010 and was in prison for that.

And again, the article mentions a fake case involving theft of \$4 million, which Lutsenko himself called "idiotic" and closed. Again about "Yovanovitch's List" ....

If only part of what the current Prosecutor General tells the American media was true, he would go to testify to law enforcement in the United States.

But he does not go. Because in the United States you go to jail for lying. For several years.

We are reading and preparing refutations.

#### Vitaly Shabunin: (written with sarcasm)

The "ordered material" in the opinion section (not editorial material) of the American The Hill against ANTAC is direct acknowledgment [of the importance of our anti-corruption work] <http://bit.ly/2UYCIBo>. Yuriy Lutsenko, Petro Poroshenko, thank you.

Later, we will refute the message of the author, who (by the way, not for the first time), has mixed together Soros, Trump, Lutsenko, the U.S. ambassador, the State Department and millions of stolen dollars :)

I will quote from the article that demonstrates its "professionalism": "Yuri Lutsenko, widely regarded as a hero in the West for spending two years in prison after fighting aggression in his country."

Reminder: Yuriy Lutsenko went to jail (illegally, in my opinion) in 2010 - FOUR YEARS before the beginning of Russian aggression.

Yuriy Lutsenko is a pathological liar: if at least a part of what he said was true, he should have formally turned to the U.S. law enforcement agencies to demand an investigation to punish the perpetrators.

He did not do this for a simple reason - a lie to U.S. law enforcement is punishable by imprisonment. By the way, it is a good norm - it is necessary to implement in our legislation.

The campaign for discrediting ANTAC is gaining momentum. Petro Poroshenko, when you win, do not restrain yourself - just put us in jail, why these preludes?

And it's fun to watch what kind of media will disband this ordered material. A reminder that Lutsenko closed the case against the ANTAC THREE MONTHS before Yovanovitch arrived in Ukraine.

UPDATE: TheBabel first published the news in Ukrainian media <http://bit.ly/2UXuFiH>. I repeat - Lutsenko closed the case against the Center for the Fight Against Corruption THREE MONTHS before Yovanovitch arrives in Ukraine. L stands for "logic."

Dariya Kaleniuk, ANTAC:

I very much hope that Yuriy Lutsenko will be summoned for questioning by the U.S. Department of Justice or by Congress. And at this interrogation he will provide the same lies he is feeding Ukraine with. Because for lies in the United States you go to jail for several years.

And so a new lie from Lutsenko: a hint that Biden demanded the release of Shokin, because he very much wanted to investigate Zlochevsky.

Truth: the case against Zlochevsky dramatically poured into the GPU under Yarema, and then finished for Shokin and Lutsenko. Separately distinguished Nazar Kholodnitsky.

In December 2014, the GPU issued a certificate to Zlochevsky's lawyers, which they presented in a court in London, where British law enforcers froze 23.5 million dollars in Burisma accounts. This certificate is one of the main arguments for the freezing of these funds in Britain. After that, the Prosecutor General becomes Shokin, the case is sluggishly investigated.

The Americans and the British are outraged by such an apparent merger of criminal proceedings. In September 2015, Ambassador Pyatt publicly calls for the investigation of those officials of the GPU who have not provided the British prosecutor with evidence of Zlochevsky and who buried the case <http://bit.ly/2U8Q3o9>

In January 2016, the case with the GPU calls for the study by NABU, after the prosecutors do not find evidence of Zlochevsky's fault, but find evidence of a violation of the law in obtaining permits for gas extraction. NABU's evidence was transferred to the SAPO, but Nazar Holodnitsky magically missed the deadline in the 6 months of filing the lawsuit to cancel these permits. Ukraine loses the opportunity to return illegally issued permits for gas extraction to subsidiaries of Burisma. Here we describe in detail the role of Nazar Holodnitsky and Lutsenko in the storm of the proceedings against Zlochevsky.

<http://bit.ly/2Yp4WBV>

Daria Kaleniuk:

More lies and manipulations from Lutsenko, who turned out to be a hero who spent 2 years in prison for fighting Russian aggression.

Yuriy Lutsenko himself re-qualified the case against Zlochevsky for illegal enrichment and money laundering in tax evasion by one of Zlochevsky's companies in October 2016 and closed the criminal proceedings in the fall of 2016.

**Official - SBU**  
**UNCLASSIFIED**



**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 27, 2019 11:48 AM  
**To:** (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Kent, George P  
 (b)(6) Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Freden, Bradley A (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6); Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov> (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Wednesday Updates on The Hill Article, Social Media Commentary, Etc.

Yuriy Butusov, Editor-in-chief of Censor.net, posts on his Facebook page (rough translation):

<https://www.facebook.com/butusov.yuriy/posts/2798311563542455>

Ukraine directly affects the largest political scandals in the presidential elections of 2018-2020 in the United States! I studied the allegations of the Prosecutor General against the U.S. Ambassador [Yovanovitch], collected exclusive comments from Prosecutor General Lutsenko, Special Prosecutor Kholodnytskyi, SBU General Trepak and MP Leshchenko, and it turned out that Ukraine is now the main intrigue of the 2018 and 2020 elections in the United States.

I think that:

1. Lutsenko's allegations against US Ambassador Yovanovitch are agreed upon with the U.S. President Trump administration.
2. Poroshenko and Lutsenko are helping Trump to repel the Democrats' attack on Manafort and strike the democratic candidate Biden - Lutsenko's statement is related in time to the chronology of the announcement of Manafort's verdict.
3. I think the list of Marie Yovanovitch actually did not exist. But I fully admit that the U.S. Ambassador could have been asking the prosecutor general about the case of the illicit enrichment of the MP Sergey Leschenko, and he interpreted this in his own way. Neither there is evidence of the biased position of the U.S. Ambassador.
4. NABU has disclosed the investigation data about Manafort without the permission of the procedural curator, and most likely at the request of someone from the staff of the U.S. Embassy. But it doesn't mean that Yovanovitch herself asked to do it, I think she acted in good faith.
5. It turns out that Clinton's Democrats got Ukrainian politicians involved in discrediting Republican Trump, and Trump got Ukrainian politicians involved in discrediting Democrats and Biden. Ukrainian topic remains one of the main ones in American politics.

Link to the longer article about this by Butusov:

[https://censor.net.ua/resonance/3118475/poroshenko\\_podderjal\\_trampa\\_v\\_atake\\_na\\_demokraticheskuy\\_u\\_partiyu\\_ssha\\_genprokuror\\_lutsenko\\_vse\\_cho](https://censor.net.ua/resonance/3118475/poroshenko_podderjal_trampa_v_atake_na_demokraticheskuy_u_partiyu_ssha_genprokuror_lutsenko_vse_cho)

**Official  
UNCLASSIFIED**

From: (b)(6)	
Sent: Wednesday, March 27, 2019 8:27 AM	
To: (b)(6)	
(b)(6)	Kent, George P
(b)(6)	Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)
(b)(6)	(b)(6)
(b)(6)	
(b)(6)	Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6)
(b)(6)	

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Wednesday Updates on The Hill Article, Social Media Commentary, Etc.

Just published by Kyiv Post:

**Anti-Corruption Action Center: Lutsenko's speculation regarding Burisma**

By **Daria Kaleniuk**, **Tetiana Shevchuk**, **Olena Halushka**.

Published March 27. Updated March 27 at 8:03 am

On March 20, 2019, Yuriy Lutsenko, the prosecutor general of Ukraine, gave a controversial interview to The Hill political new website. His comments were saturated with speculation. Apart from the groundless attack against National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine (NABU) director Artem Sytnyk and the U.S. Ambassador Marie L. Yovanovitch, Lutsenko also made some loud allegation claiming that Sytnyk closed criminal investigations against Mykola Zlochevsky's Burisma company. On March 25, Ukrainian media announced that Lutsenko and Special Anti-Corruption Prosecutor Nazar Kholodnytsky recorded other pieces of the interview for The Hill regarding Burisma.

Burisma appeared in this scandal not accidentally. This is an energy exploration and production company operating in the Ukrainian oil and gas market. During President Viktor Yanukovich's presidency, which ended on Feb. 22, 2014, amid the EuroMaidan Revolution, Zlochevsky used to be the minister of environmental protection in 2010-2012 and deputy secretary of the National Security and Defense Council in 2012-2014.

In order to gain international weight right after the EuroMaidan Revolution, the company appointed some well-known people to the board of directors, among whom is Hunter Biden, a son of former U.S. Vice President Joe Biden.

In his infamous interview, Lutsenko hinted on warm relations between Biden and Sytnyk and then claimed that NABU closed the case against Burisma.

The irony is that, actually, it was the Prosecutor General's Office (PGO) who repeatedly covered Zlochevsky up from the criminal prosecution. Moreover, the only ongoing investigations into activities of Zlochevskyi's companies are conducted by NABU.

In total there were four criminal proceedings related to Burisma and Zlochevsky's time in office, two of which were watered down by the Prosecutor General's Office and two are still investigated by NABU. These are:

- the criminal case concerning the arrest of Zlochevsky's money in the U.K. and personally charging Zlochevskyi with illicit enrichment was sabotaged and later closed by prosecutors;
- in the other Prosecutor General's Office case, companies related to Burisma suddenly disappeared from the list of suspects;
- two cases regarding the extraction of licenses by Zlochevsky's companies and embezzlement of public funds at the ministry's procurements during Zlochevskyi's Ministerial tenure remain active and are investigated by NABU.
- 

None of the criminal proceedings against Burisma was closed by NABU. Let us explain to you more in details.

### **Prosecutors helped Zlochevsky to unfreeze assets in the U.K.**

In 2014-2015, the prosecutor's office, managed by then Prosecutor General Vitaliy Yarema, assisted Zlochevsky with unblocking \$23.5 million seized in the U.K.

In April 2014, British law enforcement officers opened a case into possible \$35 million money laundering allegedly committed by Zlochevsky. The Ukrainian party became aware of this in late July 2014.

However, instead of providing maximum support and evidence for British investigation, the PGO issued two controversial letters to Zlochevsky's defense party claiming "uncertain legal status and absence of notification of suspicion of Mykola Zlochevsky." In the meantime, the British law enforcers received just a partial response on their inquiry.

The PGO announced charges to Zlochevsky only in December 2014, but this was too late. The London court decided to unblock the seized assets, as the Prosecutor General's Office failed to provide evidence on illicit origin of \$23.5 million on the accounts of Zlochevsky's companies.

Back in September 2015, U.S. Ambassador Geoff Pyatt during a speech highlighted that the Prosecutor General's Office sabotaged cooperation with the U.K. authorities on the case and called that "the misconduct by the PGO officials who wrote those letters should be investigated, and those responsible for subverting the case by authorizing those letters should – at a minimum – be summarily terminated." Such a statement shows anything but Joe Biden's alleged attempt to help Burisma avoid justice.

### **PGO blurred money laundering and illicit enrichment charges against Zlochevskyi**

In the course of the abovementioned investigation, on Dec. 29, 2014, Zlochevsky was notified of charges in illicit enrichment in large-scale and money laundering. To investigate this case, Ukrainian investigators had to establish the origin and legitimacy of significant funds on bank accounts of companies belonging to Zlochevskyi as a former top official.

However, despite considerable public attention, the illicit enrichment of Zlochevskiy was never properly investigated and sent to the court – in two years the investigation mystically transformed into the case of tax evasion by chief accountant of one the Burisma holding companies. This was done under the Yuriy Lutsenko's leadership at the PGO.

In the same criminal proceeding into alleged illicit enrichment, in October 2016, PGO investigators asked the State Fiscal Service to hold an unscheduled tax audit of Esko-Pivnich LLC, one of the companies of Burisma holding. The audit concerned the period of 8 months of 2016 and established some violations. As a result, the chief accountant of the company was declared a scapegoat and notified of suspicion of tax evasion.

The accountant paid outstanding taxes as prescribed by the audit, thus eliminating the grounds for criminal charges in tax evasion. The amount paid by accountant constituted 50 million UAH (approx. \$1.9 mln), which was only a fraction of alleged evasion.

However, this resulted also in closure in November 2016 of the criminal proceedings regarding possible illicit enrichment and money laundering allegedly committed by Zlochevsky. Available information shows no logic in the actions of PGO investigators who combined the episode of company's tax evasion in 2016 with the criminal proceedings on illicit enrichment and money laundering allegedly committed by Zlochevskyi in 2010-2014.

### **PGO covered up Burisma in the case of embezzlement of Ukrgezvydobuvannya funds**

Since May 7, 2014, PGO was investigating alleged criminal activity of Ukrainian subsidiaries of Burisma, which in conspiracy with state-owned enterprise Ukrgezvydobuvannya caused

substantive losses to Ukrainian budget. Burisma subsidiaries were suspected of extracting and selling gas in Ukraine for significantly discounted prices to related companies to reduce official profits, which according to the agreements on joint activity had to be shared with the state-owned company.

On July 7, 2016, Lutsenko personally held a press briefing and accused Burisma subsidiaries of conspiracy and tax evasion amounting to Hr 1 billion (\$70 million) during 2014-2015.

Strangely enough, starting from October 2016 the criminal investigation abruptly stopped mentioning subsidiaries of Burisma. Thus, the company was cleared even without closing criminal investigation.

### **SAPO sabotaged justice for Burisma for illegal obtaining extraction licences**

The other criminal case related to Burisma concerns illegal natural resources extraction licenses issued to Burisma group companies by officials of the Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources during 2010-2015. The case was investigated by the PGO until the end of 2015 and in December 2015 transferred to NABU.

NABU established the violations during the issue of licences, namely absence of obligatory approval of the municipal authorities. The evidence confirming this was promptly transferred by NABU to the Specialized Anti-corruption Prosecution office (SAPO) to take administrative court actions to cancel these licences as illegal.

SAPO, however, groundlessly missed procedural deadlines for a lawsuit on cancelling extracting licences in question: having had complete grounds for lawsuit since January 2016, SAPO only filed the case in August 2016. SAPO avoided giving a thorough explanation of why it took so long to file a claim. The case was dismissed by the court due to missed deadlines and the Appellate Court upheld this decision. As a result, Burisma companies still benefiting from these highly questionable extraction licences.

Later, on August 1, 2017, SAPO closed the criminal case stating that there was not enough evidence to prove the crime. On June 15, 2018, the investigation was renewed following the appeal of MP Tetiana Chornovol. As of March 2019, the NABU investigation is ongoing.

In addition, as of March 2019, NABU has also an ongoing investigation into alleged embezzlement of state funds totaling to Hr 49 million (\$8 million) at public procurement of consulting services for implementing technologies of remote land exploration. The case does not directly concern Zlochevsky or Burisma, but regards the ministry's activity during his tenure. The case was transferred from the PGO to NABU at the beginning of 2016.

*Daria Kaleniuk is the executive director of the Anti-Corruption Action Center. She is experienced in international legal mechanisms for anti-corruption actions, particularly in stolen assets recovery and anti-money laundering initiatives. Kaleniuk holds a master's degree in financial services law from Chicago-Kent College of Law. She was a Fullbright program student in 2010-2011.*

*Tetiana Shevchuk is a lawyer with the Anti-Corruption Action Center in Kyiv.*

*Olena Halushka is the head of international relations at the Anti-Corruption Action Center.*

**Official  
UNCLASSIFIED**

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 27, 2019 8:17 AM  
**To:** (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Kent, George P  
 (b)(6) Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6); Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Freden, Bradley A (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** Wednesday Updates on The Hill Article, Social Media Commentary, Etc.

Below is some social media commentary from overnight, plus the latest Hill column published overnight for those who have not yet seen it.

**Tweets by John Solomon (author of The Hill piece)**

Many members of Congress I talked with today said they did not know US tax dollars were going to support a Soros group in Ukraine. [\[link to article\]](#)

1.8K retweets, 229 [comments](#)

US embassy pressed Ukraine to drop probe of George Soros group during 2016 election

2.2K retweets, 197 [comments](#)

**Sebastian Gorka** tweeted the latest Hill piece, with the comment: "Why @BarackObama?"

**Nina Jankowicz, Wilson Center, sharing yesterday's Washington Post column:**

Please, I am begging you, let this excellent piece by [@melindaharing](#) put the "Ukraine-Clinton collusion" narrative that is now targeting Amb. Yovanovitch to bed.

**Molly Montgomery of Brookings, sharing yesterday's Washington Post column:**

.@melindaharing is right. If we allow Ukraine to push out an ambassador they don't like because she's tough on them in all the right ways, it will be open season on every ambassador who does his/her job and doggedly pursues US interests. The Administration is getting played.

**Former Amb Pifer, responding to a critical tweet about Amb Y creating the "fake Kolchuga case" (before the latest Hill column):**

You are correct that Kolchuga case hit US-Ukraine relations hard. You are wrong that Amb Yovanovitch created it. What caused problem was recording in which President Kuchma was heard approving transfer of Kolchugas to Iraq.

**Former DRL A/S Melia, responding to a post in support of Amb Y:**

Agree 100%. This is absurd. Masha Yovanovitch is the gold standard in professionalism in diplomacy. Smart, battle-tested and accomplished.

**The Hill: US embassy pressed Ukraine to drop probe of George Soros group during 2016 election**

While the 2016 presidential race was raging in America, Ukrainian prosecutors ran into some unexpectedly strong headwinds as they pursued an investigation into the activities of a nonprofit in their homeland known as the Anti-Corruption Action Centre (AntAC).

The focus on AntAC — whose youthful street activists famously wore "Ukraine F\*&k Corruption" T-shirts — was part of a larger probe by Ukraine's Prosecutor General's Office into whether \$4.4 million in U.S. funds to fight corruption inside the former Soviet republic had been improperly diverted.

The prosecutors soon would learn the resistance they faced was blowing directly from the U.S. Embassy in Kiev, where the Obama administration took the rare step of trying to press the Ukrainian government to back off its investigation of both the U.S. aid and the group.

"The investigation into the Anti-Corruption Action Center (sic), based on the assistance they have received from us, is similarly misplaced," then-embassy Charge d'Affaires George Kent wrote the prosecutor's office in April 2016 in a letter that also argued U.S. officials had no concerns about how the U.S. aid had been spent.

At the time, the nation's prosecutor general had just been fired, under pressure from the United States, and a permanent replacement had not been named.

A few months later, Yuri Lutsenko, widely regarded as a hero in the West for spending two years in prison after fighting Russian aggression in his country, was named prosecutor general and invited to meet new U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovitch.

Lutsenko told me he was stunned when the ambassador “gave me a list of people whom we should not prosecute.” The list included a founder of the AntAC group and two members of Parliament who vocally supported the group’s anti-corruption reform agenda, according to a source directly familiar with the meeting.

It turns out the group that Ukrainian law enforcement was probing was co-funded by the Obama administration and liberal mega-donor George Soros. And it was collaborating with the FBI agents investigating then-Trump campaign manager Paul Manafort’s business activities with pro-Russian figures in Ukraine.

The implied message to Ukraine’s prosecutors was clear: Don’t target AntAC in the middle of an America presidential election in which Soros was backing Hillary Clinton to succeed another Soros favorite, Barack Obama, Ukrainian officials said.

“We ran right into a buzzsaw and we got bloodied,” a senior Ukrainian official told me.

Lutsenko suggested the embassy applied pressure because it did not want Americans to see who was being funded with its tax dollars. “At the time, Ms. Ambassador thought our interviews of the Ukrainian citizens, of the Ukrainian civil servants who were frequent visitors in the U.S. Embassy, could cast a shadow on that anti-corruption policy,” he said.

State officials told me privately they wanted Ukraine prosecutors to back off AntAC because they feared the investigation was simply retribution for the group’s high-profile efforts to force anti-corruption reforms inside Ukraine, some of which took authorities and prestige from the Prosecutor General’s Office.

But it was an unusual intervention, the officials acknowledged. “We’re not normally in the business of telling a country’s police force who they can and can’t pursue, unless it involves an American citizen we think is wrongly accused,” one official said.

In the end, no action was taken against AntAC and it remains thriving today. Nonetheless, the anecdote is taking on new significance.



First, it conflicts with the State Department's official statement last week after Lutsenko first mentioned the do-not-prosecute list. The embassy responded that the claim was a fabrication and a sign that corruption is alive and well inside Ukraine.

But Kent's letter unequivocally shows the embassy did press Ukrainian prosecutors to back off what normally would be considered an internal law enforcement matter inside a sovereign country. And more than a half-dozen U.S. and Ukrainian sources confirmed to me the AntAC case wasn't the only one in which American officials exerted pressure on Ukrainian investigators in 2016.

When I asked State to explain the letter and inclusion of the Soros-connected names during the meeting, it demurred. "As a general rule, we don't read out private diplomatic meetings," it responded. "Ambassador Yovanovitch represents the President of the United States in Ukraine, and America stands behind her and her statements."

Second, the AntAC anecdote highlights a little-known fact that the pursuit of foreign corruption has resulted in an unusual alliance between the U.S. government and a political mega-donor.

After the Obama Justice Department launched its Kleptocracy Asset Recovery Initiative a decade ago to prosecute corruption in other countries, the State Department, Justice Department and FBI outsourced some of its work in Ukraine to groups funded by Soros.

The Hungarian-American businessman is one of the largest donors to American liberal causes, a champion of the U.S. kleptocracy crackdown and a man with extensive business interests in Ukraine.

One key U.S. partner was AntAC, which received 59 percent (or \$1 million) of its nearly \$1.7 million budget since 2012 from U.S. budgets tied to State and Justice, and nearly \$290,000 from Soros's International Renaissance Foundation, according to the group's donor disclosure records.

The U.S.-Soros collaboration was visible in Kiev. Several senior Department of Justice (DOJ) officials and FBI agents appeared in pictures as participants or attendees at Soros-sponsored events and conferences.

One attendee was Karen Greenaway, then the FBI supervisor in charge of international fraud cases and one of the lead agents in the Manafort investigation in Ukraine. She

attended multiple such events and won glowing praise in a social media post from AntAC's executive director.

In one event during 2016, Greenaway and Ambassador Yovanovitch participated alongside AntAC's executive director, Daria Kaleniuk, and Lutsenko was present. The message was clear: The embassy supported AntAC.

The FBI confirmed Greenaway's contacts with the Soros group, saying they were part of her investigative work: "In furtherance of the FBI's mission and in the course of their duties, FBI employees routinely travel and participated in public forums in an official capacity. At a minimum, all such travel and speaking engagements are authorized by the employee's direct supervisor and can receive further authorization all the way up to the relevant division head, along with an ethics official determination."

Greenaway recently retired, and Soros's AntAC soon after announced she was joining its supervisory board.

Internal memos from Soros's umbrella charity organization, Open Society Foundations, describe a concerted strategy of creating friendships inside key government agencies such as State, DOJ and the FBI that can be leveraged inside the countries Soros was targeting for anti-corruption activism.

"We have broadly recognized the importance of developing supportive constituencies in order to make headway in tightening the global web of anti-corruption accountability," a Feb. 21, 2014, memo states. "We first conceived of this in terms of fostering and helping to build a political environment favorable to high-level anti-corruption cases."

That same memo shows Soros's organization wanted to make Ukraine a top priority, starting in 2014, and planned to use the Anti-Corruption Action Centre as its lead.

"Ukraine: Behind the scenes advice and support to Ukrainian partner Anti-Corruption Action Centre's efforts to generate corruption litigation in Europe and the U.S. respecting state assets stolen by senior Ukrainian leaders," the memo states.

The memo included a chart of Ukrainians the Soros team wanted to have pursued, including some with ties to Manafort.

Senior U.S. law enforcement officials confirmed to me that the early kleptocracy collaborations inside Ukraine led to highly visible U.S. actions against the oligarch Dmitri Firtash, a major target of the Soros group, and Manafort. Firtash is now represented by former Hillary Clinton lawyer Lanny Davis and former U.S. Attorney Dan Webb.

Documents posted online by Open Society Foundations show that after U.S. officials scored some early successes in corruption cases in Ukraine, such as asset forfeitures, AntAC requested to receive some of the seized money.

“Ukrainian NGO Anticorruption Action Centre (AntAC) petitioned the United States Justice Department on behalf of Ukrainian civil society to dedicate the nearly \$3 million in forfeited and seized assets allegedly laundered by former Ukrainian Prime Minister Pavlo Lazarenko, to creating an anti-corruption training facility,” a 2015 foundation document stated.

Spokespersons for AntAC and Open Society Foundations did not respond to repeated requests for comment.

Michael Vachon, a spokesman for Soros, deferred any comment about AntAC to the group. But he did he confirm his boss supported the continued investigation of Russia collusion allegations against Trump well past 2016.

Vachon said Soros wrote a sizable check from his personal funds in fall 2017 to a new group, Democracy Integrity Project, started by a former FBI agent and Senate staffer Daniel Jones to continue “investigation and research into foreign interference in American elections and European elections.”

Vachon said the group asked Soros not to divulge the size of his contribution, and Soros later learned the group hired Fusion GPS, the same firm that was paid by Hillary Clinton’s campaign and the Democratic Party to create the infamous “Steele dossier” alleging Trump-Russia collusion.

The he said-she said battle playing out between Ukraine’s chief prosecutor and the American ambassador doesn’t benefit either side, but an honest, complete and transparent account of what the embassy communicated to Ukraine’s law enforcement does.

And the tale of AntAC raises some cogent questions:

- Why would the U.S. Embassy intervene on a Ukrainian internal investigation and later deny it exerted such pressure?
- Did Soros's role as a major political funder have any impact?
- Do Americans want U.S. tax dollars commingled with activists' private funds when it comes to anti-corruption probes?

Someone in State and Congress should try to get the answers.

**Official**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

<b>Sender:</b>	"Kent, George P"	
<b>Recipient:</b>	(b)(6)	

<b>From:</b>	(b)(6)
<b>To:</b>	
<b>CC:</b>	
<b>Subject:</b>	New info on Lutsenko's Interview to the Hill
<b>Date:</b>	Wed, 27 Mar 2019 10:12:50 +0000

Dear all,

New piece of info on Lutsenko's interview to the Hill

(b)(5)

(b)(5) In an interview with The Hill, Lutsenko also spoke about the business of the oligarch Nikolai Zlochevsky - Burisma company. Joe Biden, the son of US Vice President, joined the supervisory board of Burisma in 2014 year. (b)(5)

(b)(5)

Source: <https://censor.net.ua/r3118475>

Thank you

(b)(6)

<b>Sender:</b>	(b)(6)
<b>Recipient:</b>	

<b>From:</b>	(b)(6)
<b>To:</b>	PA Press <PAPress2@state.gov>
<b>CC:</b>	EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>
<b>Subject:</b>	RE: CNN inquiry
<b>Date:</b>	Thu, 10 Oct 2019 13:16:41 +0000

Thanks, (b)(6) I'll discuss with him.

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Thursday, October 10, 2019 4:11 PM  
**To:** (b)(6) PA Press <PAPress2@state.gov>  
**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>  
**Subject:** RE: CNN inquiry

(b)(6)

Our press posture is very restricted in terms of responses to any/all Ukraine-related queries. DAS Katie Martin is handling communication from the Department on this topic.

(b)(5)

Hope that helps.

(b)(6)

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Thursday, October 10, 2019 8:01 AM  
**To:** PA Press <PAPress2@state.gov>  
**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>  
**Subject:** RE: CNN inquiry

Hello Press colleagues,

We're finding this in international news reports:

[https://www.realclearinvestigations.com/articles/2019/10/08/the\\_giuliani-ukraine\\_files\\_120711.html](https://www.realclearinvestigations.com/articles/2019/10/08/the_giuliani-ukraine_files_120711.html)

...the prosecutor also said he "was warned to stop" by the then-U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine, Geoffrey R. Pyatt. The State Department declined to explain this assertion about Pyatt

(b)(5)

(b)(5)

Thanks!

(b)(

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Saturday, October 5, 2019 5:18 PM  
**To:** (b)(6); PA Press <PAPress2@state.gov>  
**Cc:** (b)(6); EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>  
**Subject:** Re: CNN inquiry

Hi (b)(6)

Thanks for reaching out! We are referring all these inquiries to my colleagues in DC, whom I've copied here.

Best,  
Bill

(b)(6)  
Press Attache  
U.S. Embassy Athens  
(b)(6)

---

**From:** Bohn, Kevin <(b)(6)>  
**Date:** October 5, 2019 at 4:46:10 PM GMT+3  
**To:** (b)(6)  
**Cc:** Lister, Tim <(b)(6)>  
**Subject:** CNN inquiry

Hi I am the weekend supervising producer for CNN. A colleague of mine who is temporarily working in Kiev, Tim Lister, is working on a story and asked me to pass this on. He is copied on this email. We are trying to see if Amb. Pyatt may have a response to this question for a story Tim is working on.

**Question:** Viktor Shokin alleges that you told him to handle the Burisma investigation with white gloves. Is that true, and did you in any other way seek to influence the course of investigations into the company and its owner?

Thank you

Kevin Bohn  
CNN Supervising Producer  
(b)(6)  
202-898-7954 – office

<b>Sender:</b>	(b)(6)	
<b>Recipient:</b>	PA Press <PAPress2@state.gov>; EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>	



<b>From:</b>	"Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)" (b)(6)
<b>To:</b>	Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6)
<b>Subject:</b>	Re: Countering disinfo: A crude fake list, and a genuine business card from 2015
<b>Date:</b>	Thu, 28 Mar 2019 14:12:11 +0000

And please tell (b)(6) thank you.

**From:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 28, 2019 4:11 PM  
**To:** Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv)  
**Subject:** Re: Countering disinfo: A crude fake list, and a genuine business card from 2015

I hope you and (b)(6) have an opportunity to call. (b)(5)  
(b)(5)

**From:** Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 28, 2019 2:45 PM  
**To:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)  
**Cc:** (b)(6)  
**Subject:** RE: Countering disinfo: A crude fake list, and a genuine business card from 2015

They did and (b)(6)'s readout is below. I spoke to him beforehand and sent him the latest press guidance.

As expected, the RF ambassador raised (b)(5)  
(b)(5) the prosecutor general's allegations as part of his weekly PC statement, specifically referencing our ambassador in Ukraine.

I felt the need to reply. In my right of reply, I reiterated the statement made by State you provide below. I added the points contained in paras 1-2 in the background section below.

The UA perm rep, who then took the floor, reiterated the UA president's statement of support for Amb Y, and emphasized the importance of the strong US-UA strategic partnership.

Many thanks for arming me with the points.

(b)(6)

Get [Outlook for iOS](#)

---

**From:** Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 28, 2019 10:47 AM  
**To:** (b)(6)  
**Subject:** RE: USOSCE request - PC today - AMB Y

ok

**Official**  
**UNCLASSIFIED**

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 28, 2019 11:18 AM  
**To:** Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
**Subject:** Re: USOSCE request - PC today - AMB Y

Many thanks. Will keep in my pocket and only deploy if needed. Thanks a ton.

This afternoon, I can get to a secure phone to chat. Will shoot you a note later to see if timing works for you.

Get [Outlook for iOS](#)

---

**From:** Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 28, 2019 10:05 AM  
**To:** (b)(6)  
**Subject:** FW: USOSCE request - PC today - AMB Y

Thanks for calling. Below is the statement put out by State. You can definitely say:

The allegations by the Ukrainian Prosecutor General are not true, and are intended to tarnish the reputation of Ambassador Yovanovitch.

(b)(5)

The message provided on background (attributed to a State Department spokesperson) by EUR-Press on March 20 is below. (b)(5)

(b)(5)

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. Such allegations only serve the corrupt. Ukraine, like the United States, is a free country with a free press. That is one of the fantastic and unifying qualities of U.S. and Ukrainian society. Politicians, pundits, and the media are entitled to share their opinions as part of the political process. It does not mean the claims are true. Such attacks redouble our resolve to help Ukraine win the struggle against corruption.

We have always emphasized the need for deep, comprehensive, and timely reforms that respond to the demands the Ukrainian people made during the Revolution of Dignity: an end to systemic corruption; faster economic growth; and a European future for all Ukrainians. We have consistently said that Ukraine's long-term success and resilience depends on its commitment to reform, in particular the fight to address corruption. To succeed, Ukraine needs committed government officials and strong anti-corruption institutions.

The United States is committed to engaging with our partners in Ukraine, including on efforts to roll back the persistent corruption that continues to threaten Ukraine's national security, prosperity, and democratic development. Where there is a lack of political will on Ukraine's part, such as by the prosecutor general's office, we exercise our fiduciary responsibility to the U.S. taxpayer and move assistance funds to where they can make a positive difference.

We are aware of news reports regarding the remarks by the head of NABU, one of Ukraine's critical anti-corruption institutions. We would refer you to NABU for comment on the alleged remarks.

Pam Tremont | DCM | U.S. Embassy Kyiv

(b)(6)

**Official**  
**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6)

**Sent:** Thursday, March 28, 2019 2:33 PM

**To:** Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6)

**Cc:** (b)(6)

**Subject:** Fwd: Countering disinfo: A crude fake list, and a genuine business card from 2015

(b)(5)

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 28, 2019 2:05 PM  
**To:** (b)(6) Kent, George P; (b)(6)  
(b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv); (b)(6)  
(b)(6)  
**Cc:** EUR-Press  
**Subject:** RE: Countering disinfo: A crude fake list, and a genuine business card from 2015

(b)(5)

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 28, 2019 4:24 AM  
**To:** Kent, George P (b)(6) (b)(6)  
(b)(6)  
(b)(6) Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)  
(b)(6) (b)(6)  
(b)(6)  
**Cc:** EUR-Press <[EUR-Press-DL@state.gov](mailto:EUR-Press-DL@state.gov)>  
**Subject:** RE: Countering disinfo: A crude fake list, and a genuine business card from 2015

Hi George,

(b)(5)

Regards,

(b)(6)

**Official - Transitory**  
**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** Kent, George P (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 27, 2019 10:04 PM

To: (b)(6)  
(b)(6)  
(b)(6) Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie  
L (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6)  
(b)(6)

Cc: EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

Subject: Countering disinfo: A crude fake list, and a genuine business card from 2015

+(b)(6) minus those not in the disinformation trenches

(b)(5)

(b)(6)

---

From: (b)(6)  
Sent: Wednesday, March 27, 2019 8:25 AM  
To: (b)(6)  
(b)(6) Kent, George P  
(b)(6) Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)  
(b)(6) (b)(6)  
(b)(6)

(b)(6) Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6)  
(b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Wednesday Updates on The Hill Article, Social Media Commentary, Etc.

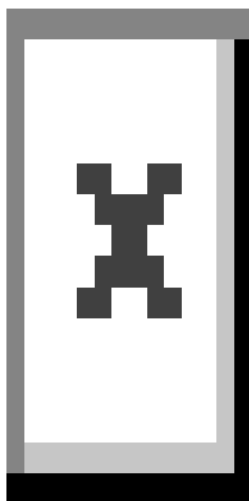
Below is a Medium article allegedly listing the names on the “Yovanovitch list”)

**The names of ‘improsecutable’ Ukrainians from the Yovanovitch list got out**

By Tony Sealy

The main thing appeared in the scandal around the Ukrainian Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko’s statement on the list of individuals he should not prosecute given to him by the American Ambassador. That thing is the names. Ukrainians started to actively share the photo leaked out to the web on Facebook communities oppositional to the current President of Ukraine.

*(Note: Photo below – in case it doesn’t display well for those reading on Blackberries, etc. -- lists the names: Sergej Leshchenko, Mustafa Najem, Svetlana Zalishchuk, Oleg Gladkovskij (Svinarchuk), Svyatoslav Vakarchuk, Valeriya Gontareva, Anatolij Gricenko, Boris Lozhkin, Aleksandr Pasenyuk, Sergej Berezenko, Dmitrij Gordon, Arsenij Yatsenuk, Sergej Pashinskij, and also displays what appears to be a business card of George Kent.)*



To recap, earlier on, the Prosecutor General of Ukraine stated in an interview to the Hill that in 2016 US Ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovitch had given him a list of individuals who should not be prosecuted by his department. However, Lutsenko did not mention any names.

The fact that such classified document could get out on the web behind the Trump Administration's back is now as hard to believe as the fact that a high ranked official like Lutsenko could even make such a revelation without the knowledge of Poroshenko.

Most likely Poroshenko himself ordered to set Yovanovitch up trying to gain support of both Donald Trump and the Republicans at the elections. However, Trump did not appreciate such an attempt. He made it clear he never forgave Poroshenko's support of Clinton at the elections in the United States. After receiving an aggressive reaction, Poroshenko instantly passed the buck to Lutsenko, and confirmed he completely backed Yovanovitch. Yet, the last move was still made by the White House. The list of the names that were not mentioned in the sensational interview by the Prosecutor General of Ukraine has magically appeared on the web.

<https://medium.com/@tosealy/the-names-of-improsecutable-ukrainians-from-the-yovanovitch-list-got-out-117b096b02ac>

**Official - SBU**  
**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 27, 2019 2:10 PM  
**To:** (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Kent, George P  
 (b)(6) Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6); Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Wednesday Updates on The Hill Article, Social Media Commentary, Etc.

**Social Media Commentary:**

John Solomon, the Hill (a new tweet from this morning about yesterday evening's article):

Why was the Obama administration funding a Soros group in Ukraine during the 2016 election and Manafort probe? And why did US embassy seek to protect the group? *[link to last night's article]*

Chris Miller, RFE/RL (commenting on the abovementioned article):

This sentence alone makes it pretty clear @jsolomonReports hasn't the slightest clue what he's writing about: "...Yuri Lutsenko, widely regarded as a hero in the West for spending two years in prison after fighting Russian aggression in his country..."

Matthew Shaaf, Freedom House (commenting on the abovementioned article):

Ukrainian politicians try to play DC politics in an effort to weaken key anti-corruption institutions and distract from challenges at home. DC insiders respond, yes please! and throw in a little Soros bashing

Ukrainian journalist Volodymyr Boiko:

The American official publication - The Hill - continues to please its readers with a story about what's happening in Ukraine under the roof of the United States embassy. The next publication



is about the activities of the conversion center entitled "ANTAC," which is registered as a public organization (ie the main source of income should be membership fees).

The article mentions how, through the accounts of this pseudo-public organization (and, incidentally, it has 20 accounts with bank institutions), American government assistance that was assigned to the Government of Ukraine, in particular for holding competitions for administrative posts in the prosecutor's office in Ukraine, has been stolen. This story is well known to me and if American journalists or law enforcement agencies turn to me, I would like to hand them documents, and tell them how a professional "public activist" Vitaliy Shabunin, [who should be in not only Ukrainian, but also American prison], international swindler David Sakvarelidze, FBI representative in Ukraine Karen Greenaway, and U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary George Kent stole US \$ 4 million, which were allocated by the U.S Government.

This money was supposed to arrive in the account of the General Prosecutor's Office of Ukraine to pay for the development of examinations and prosecutorial post selections. But in August 2015, Kent summoned Sakvarelidze to the embassy and, without any authority, Sakvarelidze signed a letter stating that the GPU refused these funds; instead they had to be redirected to the account of private lobbyist Shabunin's company and the Odesa regional state administration headed at that time by Saakashvili. After that, the American taxpayers' money was redirected and transferred to cash and settled in the pockets of "fighters of corruption."

It's telling that Karen Greenaway, who was party to this scam and mentioned by The Hill, after having left the FBI in December 2018 (this was the result of an investigation into NABU's involvement in the US presidential election in 2016), went to work at this very ANTAC.

I recommend reading the article in the American outlet close to the United States Department of State, The Hill

#### ANTAC/ Shabunin:

Lutsenko's lies continue to spread in the world. A new column appeared on The Hill. This time about us: <http://bit.ly/2uv2sUP>.

Most of all, we liked the part about Lutsenko, who fought Russian aggression in 2010 and was in prison for that.

And again, the article mentions a fake case involving theft of \$4 million, which Lutsenko himself called "idiotic" and closed. Again about "Yovanovitch's List" ....

If only part of what the current Prosecutor General tells the American media was true, he would go to testify to law enforcement in the United States.

But he does not go. Because in the United States you go to jail for lying. For several years.

We are reading and preparing refutations.

#### Vitaly Shabunin: (written with sarcasm)

The "ordered material" in the opinion section (not editorial material) of the American The Hill against ANTAC is direct acknowledgment [of the importance of our anti-corruption work] <http://bit.ly/2UYCIBo>. Yuriy Lutsenko, Petro Poroshenko, thank you.

Later, we will refute the message of the author, who (by the way, not for the first time), has mixed together Soros, Trump, Lutsenko, the U.S. ambassador, the State Department and millions of stolen dollars :)

I will quote from the article that demonstrates its "professionalism": "Yuri Lutsenko, widely regarded as a hero in the West for spending two years in prison after fighting aggression in his country."

Reminder: Yuriy Lutsenko went to jail (illegally, in my opinion) in 2010 - FOUR YEARS before the beginning of Russian aggression.

Yuriy Lutsenko is a pathological liar: if at least a part of what he said was true, he should have formally turned to the U.S. law enforcement agencies to demand an investigation to punish the perpetrators.

He did not do this for a simple reason - a lie to U.S. law enforcement is punishable by imprisonment. By the way, it is a good norm - it is necessary to implement in our legislation.

The campaign for discrediting ANTAC is gaining momentum. Petro Poroshenko, when you win, do not restrain yourself - just put us in jail, why these preludes?

And it's fun to watch what kind of media will disband this ordered material. A reminder that Lutsenko closed the case against the ANTAC THREE MONTHS before Yovanovitch arrived in Ukraine.

UPDATE: TheBabel first published the news in Ukrainian media <http://bit.ly/2UXuFiH>. I repeat - Lutsenko closed the case against the Center for the Fight Against Corruption THREE MONTHS before Yovanovitch arrives in Ukraine. L stands for "logic."

#### Dariya Kaleniuk, ANTAC:

I very much hope that Yuriy Lutsenko will be summoned for questioning by the U.S. Department of Justice or by Congress. And at this interrogation he will provide the same lies he is feeding Ukraine with. Because for lies in the United States you go to jail for several years.

And so a new lie from Lutsenko: a hint that Biden demanded the release of Shokin, because he very much wanted to investigate Zlochevsky.

Truth: the case against Zlochevsky dramatically poured into the GPU under Yarema, and then finished for Shokin and Lutsenko. Separately distinguished Nazar Kholodnitsky.

In December 2014, the GPU issued a certificate to Zlochevsky's lawyers, which they presented in a court in London, where British law enforcers froze 23.5 million dollars in Burisma accounts. This certificate is one of the main arguments for the freezing of these funds in Britain. After that, the Prosecutor General becomes Shokin, the case is sluggishly investigated.

The Americans and the British are outraged by such an apparent merger of criminal proceedings. In September 2015, Ambassador Pyatt publicly calls for the investigation of those officials of the GPU who have not provided the British prosecutor with evidence of Zlochevsky and who buried the case <http://bit.ly/2U8Q3o9>

In January 2016, the case with the GPU calls for the study by NABU, after the prosecutors do not find evidence of Zlochevsky's fault, but find evidence of a violation of the law in obtaining permits for gas extraction. NABU's evidence was transferred to the SAPO, but Nazar Holodnitsky magically missed the deadline in the 6 months of filing the lawsuit to cancel these permits. Ukraine loses the opportunity to return illegally issued permits for gas extraction to subsidiaries of Burisma. Here we describe in detail the role of Nazar Holodnitsky and Lutsenko in the storm of the proceedings against Zlochevsky.

<http://bit.ly/2Yp4WBV>

Daria Kaleniuk:

More lies and manipulations from Lutsenko, who turned out to be a hero who spent 2 years in prison for fighting Russian aggression.

Yuriy Lutsenko himself re-qualified the case against Zlochevsky for illegal enrichment and money laundering in tax evasion by one of Zlochevsky's companies in October 2016 and closed the criminal proceedings in the fall of 2016.

**Official - SBU**  
**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 27, 2019 11:48 AM  
**To:** (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Kent, George P  
 (b)(6) Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov> (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Wednesday Updates on The Hill Article, Social Media Commentary, Etc.

Yuriy Butusov, Editor-in-chief of Censor.net, posts on his Facebook page (rough translation):

<https://www.facebook.com/butusov.yuriy/posts/2798311563542455>

Ukraine directly affects the largest political scandals in the presidential elections of 2018-2020 in the United States! I studied the allegations of the Prosecutor General against the U.S. Ambassador [Yovanovitch], collected exclusive comments from Prosecutor General Lutsenko, Special Prosecutor

Kholodnytskyi, SBU General Trepak and MP Leshchenko, and it turned out that Ukraine is now the main intrigue of the 2018 and 2020 elections in the United States.

I think that:

1. Lutsenko's allegations against US Ambassador Yovanovitch are agreed upon with the U.S. President Trump administration.
2. Poroshenko and Lutsenko are helping Trump to repel the Democrats' attack on Manafort and strike the democratic candidate Biden - Lutsenko's statement is related in time to the chronology of the announcement of Manafort's verdict.
3. I think the list of Marie Yovanovitch actually did not exist. But I fully admit that the U.S. Ambassador could have been asking the prosecutor general about the case of the illicit enrichment of the MP Sergey Leschenko, and he interpreted this in his own way. Neither there is evidence of the biased position of the U.S. Ambassador.
4. NABU has disclosed the investigation data about Manafort without the permission of the procedural curator, and most likely at the request of someone from the staff of the U.S. Embassy. But it doesn't mean that Yovanovitch herself asked to do it, I think she acted in good faith.
5. It turns out that Clinton's Democrats got Ukrainian politicians involved in discrediting Republican Trump, and Trump got Ukrainian politicians involved in discrediting Democrats and Biden. Ukrainian topic remains one of the main ones in American politics.

Link to the longer article about this by Butusov:

[https://censor.net.ua/resonance/3118475/poroshenko\\_podderjal\\_trampa\\_v\\_atake\\_na\\_demokratic\\_heskuyu\\_partiyu\\_ssha\\_genprokuror\\_lutsenko\\_vse\\_chto](https://censor.net.ua/resonance/3118475/poroshenko_podderjal_trampa_v_atake_na_demokratic_heskuyu_partiyu_ssha_genprokuror_lutsenko_vse_chto)

**Official**  
**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Wednesday, March 27, 2019 8:27 AM

**To:** (b)(6)

(b)(6) Kent, George P

(b)(6) Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)

(b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6) Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Wednesday Updates on The Hill Article, Social Media Commentary, Etc.

Just published by Kyiv Post:

**Anti-Corruption Action Center: Lutsenko's speculation regarding Burisma**

By **Daria Kaleniuk**, **Tetiana Shevchuk**, **Olena Halushka**.

Published March 27. Updated March 27 at 8:03 am

On March 20, 2019, Yuriy Lutsenko, the prosecutor general of Ukraine, gave a controversial interview to The Hill political new website. His comments were saturated with speculation. Apart from the groundless attack against National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine (NABU) director Artem Sytnyk and the U.S. Ambassador Marie L. Yovanovitch, Lutsenko also made some loud allegation claiming that Sytnyk closed criminal investigations against Mykola Zlochevsky's Burisma company. On March 25, Ukrainian media announced that Lutsenko and Special Anti-Corruption Prosecutor Nazar Kholodnytsky recorded other pieces of the interview for The Hill regarding Burisma.

Burisma appeared in this scandal not accidentally. This is an energy exploration and production company operating in the Ukrainian oil and gas market. During President Viktor Yanukovich's presidency, which ended on Feb. 22, 2014, amid the EuroMaidan Revolution, Zlochevsky used to be the minister of environmental protection in 2010-2012 and deputy secretary of the National Security and Defense Council in 2012-2014.

In order to gain international weight right after the EuroMaidan Revolution, the company appointed some well-known people to the board of directors, among whom is Hunter Biden, a son of former U.S. Vice President Joe Biden.

In his infamous interview, Lutsenko hinted on warm relations between Biden and Sytnyk and then claimed that NABU closed the case against Burisma.

The irony is that, actually, it was the Prosecutor General's Office (PGO) who repeatedly covered Zlochevsky up from the criminal prosecution. Moreover, the only ongoing investigations into activities of Zlochevsky's companies are conducted by NABU.

In total there were four criminal proceedings related to Burisma and Zlochevsky's time in office, two of which were watered down by the Prosecutor General's Office and two are still investigated by NABU. These are:

- the criminal case concerning the arrest of Zlochevsky's money in the U.K. and personally charging Zlochevskyi with illicit enrichment was sabotaged and later closed by prosecutors;
- in the other Prosecutor General's Office case, companies related to Burisma suddenly disappeared from the list of suspects;
- two cases regarding the extraction of licenses by Zlochevsky's companies and embezzlement of public funds at the ministry's procurements during Zlochevskyi's Ministerial tenure remain active and are investigated by NABU.
- 

None of the criminal proceedings against Burisma was closed by NABU. Let us explain to you more in details.

### **Prosecutors helped Zlochevsky to unfreeze assets in the U.K.**

In 2014-2015, the prosecutor's office, managed by then Prosecutor General Vitaliy Yarema, assisted Zlochevsky with unblocking \$23.5 million seized in the U.K.

In April 2014, British law enforcement officers opened a case into possible \$35 million money laundering allegedly committed by Zlochevsky. The Ukrainian party became aware of this in late July 2014.

However, instead of providing maximum support and evidence for British investigation, the PGO issued two controversial letters to Zlochevsky's defense party claiming "uncertain legal status and absence of notification of suspicion of Mykola Zlochevsky." In the meantime, the British law enforcers received just a partial response on their inquiry.

The PGO announced charges to Zlochevsky only in December 2014, but this was too late. The London court decided to unblock the seized assets, as the Prosecutor General's Office failed to provide evidence on illicit origin of \$23.5 million on the accounts of Zlochevsky's companies.

Back in September 2015, U.S. Ambassador Geoff Pyatt during a speech highlighted that the Prosecutor General's Office sabotaged cooperation with the U.K. authorities on the

case and called that “the misconduct by the PGO officials who wrote those letters should be investigated, and those responsible for subverting the case by authorizing those letters should – at a minimum – be summarily terminated.’ Such a statement shows anything but Joe Biden’s alleged attempt to help Burisma avoid justice.

### **PGO blurred money laundering and illicit enrichment charges against Zlochevskyi**

In the course of the abovementioned investigation, on Dec. 29, 2014, Zlochevsky was notified of charges in illicit enrichment in large-scale and money laundering. To investigate this case, Ukrainian investigators had to establish the origin and legitimacy of significant funds on bank accounts of companies belonging to Zlochevskyi as a former top official.

However, despite considerable public attention, the illicit enrichment of Zlochevskyi was never properly investigated and sent to the court – in two years the investigation mystically transformed into the case of tax evasion by chief accountant of one the Burisma holding companies. This was done under the Yuriy Lutsenko’s leadership at the PGO.

In the same criminal proceeding into alleged illicit enrichment, in October 2016, PGO investigators asked the State Fiscal Service to hold an unscheduled tax audit of Esko-Pivnich LLC, one of the companies of Burisma holding. The audit concerned the period of 8 months of 2016 and established some violations. As a result, the chief accountant of the company was declared a scapegoat and notified of suspicion of tax evasion.

The accountant paid outstanding taxes as prescribed by the audit, thus eliminating the grounds for criminal charges in tax evasion. The amount paid by accountant constituted 50 million UAH (approx. \$1.9 mln), which was only a fraction of alleged evasion.

However, this resulted also in closure in November 2016 of the criminal proceedings regarding possible illicit enrichment and money laundering allegedly committed by Zlochevsky. Available information shows no logic in the actions of PGO investigators who combined the episode of company’s tax evasion in 2016 with the criminal proceedings on illicit enrichment and money laundering allegedly committed by Zlochevskyi in 2010-2014.

### **PGO covered up Burisma in the case of embezzlement of Ukgazvydobvannya funds**

Since May 7, 2014, PGO was investigating alleged criminal activity of Ukrainian subsidiaries of Burisma, which in conspiracy with state-owned enterprise Ukrgasvydobuvannya caused substantive losses to Ukrainian budget. Burisma subsidiaries were suspected of extracting and selling gas in Ukraine for significantly discounted prices to related companies to reduce official profits, which according to the agreements on joint activity had to be shared with the state-owned company.

On July 7, 2016, Lutsenko personally held a press briefing and accused Burisma subsidiaries of conspiracy and tax evasion amounting to Hr 1 billion (\$70 million) during 2014-2015.

Strangely enough, starting from October 2016 the criminal investigation abruptly stopped mentioning subsidiaries of Burisma. Thus, the company was cleared even without closing criminal investigation.

### **SAPO sabotaged justice for Burisma for illegal obtaining extraction licences**

The other criminal case related to Burisma concerns illegal natural resources extraction licenses issued to Burisma group companies by officials of the Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources during 2010-2015. The case was investigated by the PGO until the end of 2015 and in December 2015 transferred to NABU.

NABU established the violations during the issue of licences, namely absence of obligatory approval of the municipal authorities. The evidence confirming this was promptly transferred by NABU to the Specialized Anti-corruption Prosecution office (SAPO) to take administrative court actions to cancel these licences as illegal.

SAPO, however, groundlessly missed procedural deadlines for a lawsuit on cancelling extracting licences in question: having had complete grounds for lawsuit since January 2016, SAPO only filed the case in August 2016. SAPO avoided giving a thorough explanation of why it took so long to file a claim. The case was dismissed by the court due to missed deadlines and the Appellate Court upheld this decision. As a result, Burisma companies still benefiting from these highly questionable extraction licences.

Later, on August 1, 2017, SAPO closed the criminal case stating that there was not enough evidence to prove the crime. On June 15, 2018, the investigation was renewed following the appeal of MP Tetiana Chornovol. As of March 2019, the NABU investigation is ongoing.



In addition, as of March 2019, NABU has also an ongoing investigation into alleged embezzlement of state funds totaling to Hr 49 million (\$8 million) at public procurement of consulting services for implementing technologies of remote land exploration. The case does not directly concern Zlochevsky or Burisma, but regards the ministry's activity during his tenure. The case was transferred from the PGO to NABU at the beginning of 2016.

*Daria Kaleniuk is the executive director of the Anti-Corruption Action Center. She is experienced in international legal mechanisms for anti-corruption actions, particularly in stolen assets recovery and anti-money laundering initiatives. Kaleniuk holds a master's degree in financial services law from Chicago-Kent College of Law. She was a Fullbright program student in 2010-2011.*

*Tetiana Shevchuk is a lawyer with the Anti-Corruption Action Center in Kyiv.*

*Olena Halushka is the head of international relations at the Anti-Corruption Action Center.*

**Official  
UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 27, 2019 8:17 AM  
**To:** (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Kent, George P  
 (b)(6) Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** Wednesday Updates on The Hill Article, Social Media Commentary, Etc.

Below is some social media commentary from overnight, plus the latest Hill column published overnight for those who have not yet seen it.

### **Tweets by John Solomon (author of The Hill piece)**

Many members of Congress I talked with today said they did not know US tax dollars were going to support a Soros group in Ukraine. *[link to article]*

1.8K retweets, 229 [comments](#)

US embassy pressed Ukraine to drop probe of George Soros group during 2016 election

2.2K retweets, 197 [comments](#)

**Sebastian Gorka** tweeted the latest Hill piece, with the comment: "Why @BarackObama?"

### **Nina Jankowicz, Wilson Center, sharing yesterday's Washington Post column:**

Please, I am begging you, let this excellent piece by [@melindaharing](#) put the "Ukraine-Clinton collusion" narrative that is now targeting Amb. Yovanovitch to bed.

### **Molly Montgomery of Brookings, sharing yesterday's Washington Post column:**

[.@melindaharing](#) is right. If we allow Ukraine to push out an ambassador they don't like because she's tough on them in all the right ways, it will be open season on every ambassador who does his/her job and doggedly pursues US interests. The Administration is getting played.

### **Former Amb Pifer, responding to a critical tweet about Amb Y creating the "fake Kolchuga case" (before the latest Hill column):**

You are correct that Kolchuga case hit US-Ukraine relations hard. You are wrong that Amb Yovanovitch created it. What caused problem was recording in which President Kuchma was heard approving transfer of Kolchugas to Iraq.

### **Former DRL A/S Melia, responding to a post in support of Amb Y:**

Agree 100%. This is absurd. Masha Yovanovitch is the gold standard in professionalism in diplomacy. Smart, battle-tested and accomplished.

### **The Hill: US embassy pressed Ukraine to drop probe of George Soros group during 2016 election**

While the 2016 presidential race was raging in America, Ukrainian prosecutors ran into some unexpectedly strong headwinds as they pursued an investigation into the activities of a nonprofit in their homeland known as the [Anti-Corruption Action Centre](#) (AntAC).

The focus on AntAC — whose youthful street activists famously wore "Ukraine F\*&k Corruption" T-shirts — was part of a larger probe by Ukraine's Prosecutor

General's Office into whether \$4.4 million in U.S. funds to fight corruption inside the former Soviet republic had been improperly diverted.

The prosecutors soon would learn the resistance they faced was blowing directly from the U.S. Embassy in Kiev, where the Obama administration took the rare step of trying to press the Ukrainian government to back off its investigation of both the U.S. aid and the group.

"The investigation into the Anti-Corruption Action Center (sic), based on the assistance they have received from us, is similarly misplaced," then-embassy Charge d' Affaires George Kent wrote the prosecutor's office in April 2016 in a letter that also argued U.S. officials had no concerns about how the U.S. aid had been spent.

At the time, the nation's prosecutor general had just been fired, under pressure from the United States, and a permanent replacement had not been named.

A few months later, Yuri Lutsenko, widely regarded as a hero in the West for spending two years in prison after fighting Russian aggression in his country, was named prosecutor general and invited to meet new U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovitch.

Lutsenko told me he was stunned when the ambassador "gave me a list of people whom we should not prosecute." The list included a founder of the AntAC group and two members of Parliament who vocally supported the group's anti-corruption reform agenda, according to a source directly familiar with the meeting.

It turns out the group that Ukrainian law enforcement was probing was co-funded by the Obama administration and liberal mega-donor George Soros. And it was collaborating with the FBI agents investigating then-Trump campaign manager Paul Manafort's business activities with pro-Russian figures in Ukraine.

The implied message to Ukraine's prosecutors was clear: Don't target AntAC in the middle of an America presidential election in which Soros was backing Hillary Clinton to succeed another Soros favorite, Barack Obama, Ukrainian officials said.

“We ran right into a buzzsaw and we got bloodied,” a senior Ukrainian official told me.

Lutsenko suggested the embassy applied pressure because it did not want Americans to see who was being funded with its tax dollars. “At the time, Ms. Ambassador thought our interviews of the Ukrainian citizens, of the Ukrainian civil servants who were frequent visitors in the U.S. Embassy, could cast a shadow on that anti-corruption policy,” he said.

State officials told me privately they wanted Ukraine prosecutors to back off AntAC because they feared the investigation was simply retribution for the group’s high-profile efforts to force anti-corruption reforms inside Ukraine, some of which took authorities and prestige from the Prosecutor General’s Office.

But it was an unusual intervention, the officials acknowledged. “We’re not normally in the business of telling a country’s police force who they can and can’t pursue, unless it involves an American citizen we think is wrongly accused,” one official said.

In the end, no action was taken against AntAC and it remains thriving today. Nonetheless, the anecdote is taking on new significance.

First, it conflicts with the State Department’s official statement last week after Lutsenko first mentioned the do-not-prosecute list. The embassy responded that the claim was a fabrication and a sign that corruption is alive and well inside Ukraine.

But Kent’s letter unequivocally shows the embassy did press Ukrainian prosecutors to back off what normally would be considered an internal law enforcement matter inside a sovereign country. And more than a half-dozen U.S. and Ukrainian sources confirmed to me the AntAC case wasn’t the only one in which American officials exerted pressure on Ukrainian investigators in 2016.

When I asked State to explain the letter and inclusion of the Soros-connected names during the meeting, it demurred. “As a general rule, we don’t read out private diplomatic meetings,” it responded. “Ambassador Yovanovitch

represents the President of the United States in Ukraine, and America stands behind her and her statements.”

Second, the AntAC anecdote highlights a little-known fact that the pursuit of foreign corruption has resulted in an unusual alliance between the U.S. government and a political mega-donor.

After the Obama Justice Department launched its Kleptocracy Asset Recovery Initiative a decade ago to prosecute corruption in other countries, the State Department, Justice Department and FBI outsourced some of its work in Ukraine to groups funded by Soros.

The Hungarian-American businessman is one of the largest donors to American liberal causes, a champion of the U.S. kleptocracy crackdown and a man with extensive business interests in Ukraine.

One key U.S. partner was AntAC, which received 59 percent (or \$1 million) of its nearly \$1.7 million budget since 2012 from U.S. budgets tied to State and Justice, and nearly \$290,000 from Soros’s International Renaissance Foundation, according to the group’s donor disclosure records.

The U.S.-Soros collaboration was visible in Kiev. Several senior Department of Justice (DOJ) officials and FBI agents appeared in pictures as participants or attendees at Soros-sponsored events and conferences.

One attendee was Karen Greenaway, then the FBI supervisor in charge of international fraud cases and one of the lead agents in the Manafort investigation in Ukraine. She attended multiple such events and won glowing praise in a social media post from AntAC’s executive director.

In one event during 2016, Greenaway and Ambassador Yovanovitch participated alongside AntAC’s executive director, Daria Kaleniuk, and Lutsenko was present. The message was clear: The embassy supported AntAC.

The FBI confirmed Greenaway’s contacts with the Soros group, saying they were part of her investigative work: “In furtherance of the FBI’s mission and in the course of their duties, FBI employees routinely travel and participated in public

forums in an official capacity. At a minimum, all such travel and speaking engagements are authorized by the employee's direct supervisor and can receive further authorization all the way up to the relevant division head, along with an ethics official determination."

Greenaway recently retired, and Soros's AntAC soon after announced she was joining its supervisory board.

Internal memos from Soros's umbrella charity organization, Open Society Foundations, describe a concerted strategy of creating friendships inside key government agencies such as State, DOJ and the FBI that can be leveraged inside the countries Soros was targeting for anti-corruption activism.

"We have broadly recognized the importance of developing supportive constituencies in order to make headway in tightening the global web of anti-corruption accountability," a Feb. 21, 2014, memo states. "We first conceived of this in terms of fostering and helping to build a political environment favorable to high-level anti-corruption cases."

That same memo shows Soros's organization wanted to make Ukraine a top priority, starting in 2014, and planned to use the Anti-Corruption Action Centre as its lead.

"Ukraine: Behind the scenes advice and support to Ukrainian partner Anti-Corruption Action Centre's efforts to generate corruption litigation in Europe and the U.S. respecting state assets stolen by senior Ukrainian leaders," the memo states.

The memo included a chart of Ukrainians the Soros team wanted to have pursued, including some with ties to Manafort.

Senior U.S. law enforcement officials confirmed to me that the early kleptocracy collaborations inside Ukraine led to highly visible U.S. actions against the oligarch Dmitri Firtash, a major target of the Soros group, and Manafort. Firtash is now represented by former Hillary Clinton lawyer Lanny Davis and former U.S. Attorney Dan Webb.

Documents posted online by Open Society Foundations show that after U.S. officials scored some early successes in corruption cases in Ukraine, such as asset forfeitures, AntAC requested to receive some of the seized money.

“Ukrainian NGO Anticorruption Action Centre (AntAC) petitioned the United States Justice Department on behalf of Ukrainian civil society to dedicate the nearly \$3 million in forfeited and seized assets allegedly laundered by former Ukrainian Prime Minister Pavlo Lazarenko, to creating an anti-corruption training facility,” a [2015 foundation document](#) stated.

Spokespersons for AntAC and Open Society Foundations did not respond to repeated requests for comment.

Michael Vachon, a spokesman for Soros, deferred any comment about AntAC to the group. But he did he confirm his boss supported the continued investigation of Russia collusion allegations against Trump well past 2016.

Vachon said Soros wrote a sizable check from his personal funds in fall 2017 to a new group, Democracy Integrity Project, started by a former FBI agent and Senate staffer Daniel Jones to continue “investigation and research into foreign interference in American elections and European elections.”

Vachon said the group asked Soros not to divulge the size of his contribution, and Soros later learned the group hired Fusion GPS, the same firm that was paid by Hillary Clinton’s campaign and the Democratic Party to create the infamous “[Steele dossier](#)” alleging Trump-Russia collusion.

The he said-she said battle playing out between Ukraine’s chief prosecutor and the American ambassador doesn’t benefit either side, but an honest, complete and transparent account of what the embassy communicated to Ukraine’s law enforcement does.

And the tale of AntAC raises some cogent questions:

- Why would the U.S. Embassy intervene on a Ukrainian internal investigation and later deny it exerted such pressure?
- Did Soros’s role as a major political funder have any impact?

- Do Americans want U.S. tax dollars commingled with activists' private funds when it comes to anti-corruption probes?

Someone in State and Congress should try to get the answers.

**Official**  
**UNCLASSIFIED**

<b>Sender:</b>	"Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)"	(b)(6)
<b>Recipient:</b>	Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv)	(b)(6)



<b>From:</b>	(b)(6)	
<b>To:</b>		
<b>Subject:</b>	RE: George -- time to discuss? FW: thanks and quick question	
<b>Date:</b>	Tue, 2 Apr 2019 19:16:50 +0000	

(b)(6) he is still in the meeting. Please come in 10 minutes.

Thanks!

(b)(6)



(b)(6)

Executive Assistant

(b)(6)

Department of State

(b)(6)

**Official**  
**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 2, 2019 3:16 PM  
**To:** (b)(6)  
**Cc:** (b)(6)  
**Subject:** RE: George -- time to discuss? FW: thanks and quick question

Ack-coming up.

(b)(6)

*Press & Policy Outreach Office--Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs*

*Department of State*

(b)(6)

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 2, 2019 1:01 PM  
**To:** (b)(6) Kent, George P (b)(6)  
**Cc:** (b)(6)  
**Subject:** RE: George -- time to discuss? FW: thanks and quick question

Is this happening now

**Official  
UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 2, 2019 12:55 PM  
**To:** Kent, George P (b)(6) (b)(6)  
**Cc:** (b)(6)  
**Subject:** George -- time to discuss? FW: thanks and quick question

I can come up if useful. Adding (b)(6) as well (b)(6)

(b)(6)

*Press & Policy Outreach Office--Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs  
 Department of State*

(b)(6)

**From:** Vogel, Kenneth (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 2, 2019 11:51 AM  
**To:** (b)(6)  
**Subject:** Re: thanks and quick question

I'm curious about the truth behind the circumstances characterized in The Hill piece, including:  
 --Why the US wanted Shokin fired (I heard he was fishing for bribes from potential prosecution targets, including Zlochevsky).  
 --What role, if any, US officials (up to and including Joe Biden) played in the firing.  
 --Who is pushing this stuff into the conservative media now, and why.

On Tue, Apr 2, 2019 at 11:47 AM (b)(6) wrote:

Hi—sorry, busy day with the NATO ministerial. Let me check and get back to you. Likely specifics you want to cover (I saw the Hill piece). (b)(6)

(b)(6)

*Press & Policy Outreach Office--Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs  
 Department of State*

(b)(6)

**From:** Vogel, Kenneth (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Tuesday, April 2, 2019 11:41 AM  
**To:** (b)(6)  
**Subject:** Re: thanks and quick question

Would George have a chance to chat about this at some point today or tomorrow?  
 I will agree to whatever attribution guidelines make you and him comfortable.

On Mon, Apr 1, 2019 at 11:41 PM Kenneth Vogel <(b)(6)> wrote:

Now we may have to move faster because of this:

<https://thehill.com/opinion/white-house/436816-joe-bidens-2020-ukrainian-nightmare-a-closed-probe-is-revived>

On Apr 1, 2019, at 7:12 PM, Vogel, Kenneth <(b)(6)> wrote:

Sorry for the slow response.

I've gotten some interesting information that has caused this story to focus more on why this is getting renewed attention now, in a manner that comports with what George and I discussed off the record.

It's also gotten a lot more complicated, though, so it's looking like it might take several more days to nail it all down.

I'd welcome the chance to talk you through some of the reporting to see if it's something you thought George might be willing to discuss further.

And (b)(6)

On Mon, Apr 1, 2019 at 5:45 PM (b)(6)

wrote:

Hi Ken,

Thanks for making time to talk to George on last minute's notice last Friday.

When do you expect your piece to run?

Thanks, (b)(6)

Also – nice to meet another (b)(6) there a long time ago.

(b)(6)

*Press & Policy Outreach Office--Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs  
Department of State*

(b)(6)

**From:** Vogel, Kenneth (b)(6)

**Sent:** Friday, March 29, 2019 3:05 PM

**To:** (b)(6)

**Subject:** Re: call at 1600 with George Kent

ok, i'll make 4 pm work thx

On Fri, Mar 29, 2019 at 3:04 PM (b)(6)

(b)(6) wrote:

He has a bunch of meetings. We could shorten the call or try for next week.

Get [Outlook for iOS](#)

---

**From:** Vogel, Kenneth <(b)(6)>

**Sent:** Friday, March 29, 2019 2:59 PM

**To:** (b)(6)

**Subject:** Re: call at 1600 with George Kent

we just had some breaking news.  
any chance he could do later in the day?  
if not, i will try to make that work.

On Fri, Mar 29, 2019 at 2:58 PM (b)(6)

(b)(6) wrote:

If you are still available, George is available do a call on deep background (no attribution whatsoever) from 1600-1630 today. If that works for you, let me know what number we should reach you at. Thanks! (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Press & Policy Outreach Office--Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs  
Department of State**

(b)(6)

**From:** Vogel, Kenneth (b)(6)

**Sent:** Friday, March 29, 2019 11:48 AM

**To:** (b)(6)

**Subject:** Re: possible call with George Kent

Great, thanks.

On Fri, Mar 29, 2019 at 11:47 AM (b)(6)

(b)(6) wrote:

Thanks. Will get back to you shortly.

(b)(6)

**Press & Policy Outreach Office--Bureau of European and Eurasian  
Affairs**

**Department of State**

(b)(6)

**From:** Vogel, Kenneth (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Friday, March 29, 2019 11:45 AM  
**To:** (b)(6)  
**Subject:** Re: possible call with George Kent

Thanks for offering this deep background briefing, for which I would be grateful.

Among the options that would work for me:

- This afternoon by phone
- Saturday or Sunday by phone after 11 a.m.
- Monday 4/1 anytime after 11:30 a.m. by phone or in person
- Tuesday 4/2 anytime between 10:30 a.m. and 5:30 p.m. by phone or in person

On Fri, Mar 29, 2019 at 11:40 AM (b)(6)  
(b)(6) wrote:

Hi Ken,

If George could do something on deep background for you, when would work given your deadline?

M

(b)(6)

*Press & Policy Outreach Office--Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs  
Department of State*

(b)(6)

**From:** Vogel, Kenneth (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 28, 2019 4:38 PM  
**To:** (b)(6)  
**Subject:** Re: canceling tomorrow's meeting with George Kent

OK, thanks.

In the meantime, we're going to run a story next week that will include reporting on the secret meeting that Mr. Kent held on Feb. 3, 2015 at the Kiev office of then-Prosecutor General of Ukraine Vitaly Yarema.

At this meeting -- which was also attended by Mr. Yarema's deputy Anatoliy Danylenko and Justice Department official Jeff Cole -- Mr. Kent accused Mr. Yarema of letting Mykola Zlochevsky off the hook.

Mr. Kent suggested that the FBI had investigated Zlochevsky and his company Burisma, and suspected that they

(Zlochevsky and Burisma) had paid Mr. Yarema or others in office to derail investigations in the U.K. and elsewhere. Please let me know if you or Mr. Kent would like to provide any background/off-record guidance or on-record comment on this reporting.

On Thu, Mar 28, 2019 at 2:53 PM (b)(6)

(b)(6) wrote:

Hi, sorry for the delay getting back to you. With everything going on right now, it's just not possible. If you reach out in a few weeks, I can try again.

Kind regards, (b)(6)

(b)(6)

*Press & Policy Outreach Office--Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs  
Department of State*

(b)(6)

**From:** Vogel, Kenneth (b)(6)

**Sent:** Tuesday, March 26, 2019 10:42 AM

**To:** (b)(6)

**Subject:** Re: canceling tomorrow's meeting with George Kent

Argh, ok.

I had RSVP'd for that lunch before we set up our meeting, and I didn't want to bail because the head of the American Foreign Policy Council had to jump through a bunch of hoops to get me on the list.

I mainly just listened at the lunch, because it wasn't about the subjects in which I was interested.

So I'd really welcome the chance to chat with George -- even if it's just by phone -- about those subjects I passed along to you, if at all possible.

On Tue, Mar 26, 2019 at 10:17 AM (b)(6)

(b)(6) wrote:

Ken,

Apologies, but we're going to have to cancel this discussion tomorrow. George did say you had a chance to chat briefly last week.

Best regards, (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Press & Policy Outreach Office--Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs**  
**Department of State**

(b)(6)

---

**From:** Kenneth Vogel (b)(6)

**Sent:** Tuesday, March 19, 2019 7:31 PM

**To:** (b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** Re: NYTs + DoS DAS George Kent - Let's pencil in 3 p.m. Weds. May 27

You mean March, right?

On Mar 19, 2019, at 6:26 PM, Kenneth Vogel

(b)(6) wrote:

Yes that's great thx

On Mar 19, 2019, at 3:01 PM, (b)(6)

dG (b)(6) wrote:

(b)(6)

**Press & Policy Outreach Office--  
Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs**

**Department of State**

(b)(6)

Ken,

Let's pencil in 3 p.m. Wednesday, May 27. If that works for you, I can meet you at 1450 in the lobby of the State Department at 2201 C St. NW. Best number to reach me at is (office) (b)(6)

Kind regards (b)(6)

**From:** Vogel, Kenneth

(b)(6)

**Sent:** Tuesday, March 19, 2019

1:59 PM

**To:** (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Subject:** Re: For Ken -- Re: hoping  
to connect to EUR DAS GPK

Sure, that works for me.

I can do next week:

Monday (3/25): after 12:30 pm

Tuesday (3/26): after 2:30 pm

Wednesday (3/27): after 11 am

On Tue, Mar 19, 2019 at 1:30

PM (b)(6)

(b)(6)

wrote:

Ken, If we were to do this, I'd  
suggest 10 minutes on  
background up front and 20-30  
minutes off record after that  
(to avoid haggling over what  
can be attributed). If you're ok  
with this, what days/times  
work for you in the next week  
or so and I'll find a slot of  
George's calendar. Is it safe to  
assume you would come to  
Main State? Thanks, (b)(6)

(b)(6)

*Press & Policy Outreach  
Office--Bureau of European  
and Eurasian Affairs  
Department of State*

(b)(6)

---

**From:** Kenneth Vogel

(b)(6)

**Sent:** Tuesday, March 19,  
2019 12:37 PM

**To:** (b)(6)



(b)(6)

**Subject:** Re: getting back to you: NYTimes Ken Vogel hoping to connect to EUR DAS GPK

A mix of background and off the record would work for me.

On Mar 15, 2019, at 11:56 AM, (b)(6)

(b)(6)

wrote:

Ken, Sorry for the delayed response. Let me see if George is available, and I'll get back to you. What is the level of attribution you are looking for? M.

(b)(6)

*Press & Policy  
Outreach Office--  
Bureau of  
European and  
Eurasian Affairs  
Department of  
State*

(b)(6)

**From:** Vogel, Kenneth

(b)(6)

**Sent:** Monday, March 11, 2019 11:00 AM

**To:** (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press  
<EUR-Press-  
DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** Re:  
NYTimes Ken  
Vogel hoping to  
connect to EUR  
DAS GPK

Thanks for the  
quick response,

(b)(6)

I was hoping to  
chat with  
George about  
Ukrainian  
corruption and  
human rights  
issues, including  
the sanctions  
against Viktor  
Yanukovich  
and his allies,  
the efforts to  
unfreeze their  
assets, the  
stashing of  
assets by  
Ukrainian  
oligarchs  
overseas  
(including in the  
U.S.), and the  
various  
investigations  
into defense  
contracting  
(including the  
current Igor  
Gladkovsky/Ukr  
oboronprom  
inquiry) and  
Burisma, and  
whatever else he

thinks I should  
be paying  
attention to.  
And if it's  
possible to talk  
anytime in the  
next few weeks  
that would be  
great.  
Thanks in  
advance.  
Ken

On Mon, Mar  
11, 2019 at 9:33  
AM (b)(6)

(b)(6)

ate.gov> wrote:

Hi Mr. Vogel,

Happy to  
help.

What topics  
do you want  
to discuss,  
and what is  
your  
deadline?

Thanks, (b)(6)

(b)(6)

***Press & Policy  
Outreach  
Office--  
Bureau of  
European and  
Eurasian  
Affairs  
Department  
of State***

(b)(6)

**Cell:** (b)(6)

(b)(6)

---

**From:** Kent,  
George P

(b)(6)

**Sent:**

Monday,  
March 11,  
2019 9:32  
AM

**To:** Vogel,  
Kenneth

(b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-  
Press <[EUR-  
Press-  
DL@state.gov](mailto:EUR-Press-DL@state.gov)  
>

**Subject:**

NYTimes Ken  
Vogel hoping  
to connect  
to EUR DAS  
GPK

Ken – looping  
in the press  
team for the  
European  
bureau, just  
to do this the  
right way.  
Happy to talk,  
and since I  
don't know  
what you are  
interested in  
discussing and  
we don't have  
a prior  
relationship,  
off the record  
would appear  
to be the

appropriate  
ground rules,  
but the press  
team needs to  
handle.

George  
EUR Deputy  
Assistant  
Secretary  
Eastern  
Europe and  
the Caucasus  
**From:** Vogel,  
Kenneth

(b)(6)

**Sent:** Sunday,  
March 10,  
2019 5:52 PM

**To:** Kent,  
George P

(b)(6)

**Subject:** Ken  
Vogel hoping  
to connect

Hey George:  
Sorry to drop  
unannounced  
into your  
inbox, but I  
was  
wondering if  
you might  
have a quick  
minute to  
chat?  
Happy to do  
so off the  
record.  
Thanks in  
advance.  
Ken

---

Kenneth P.  
Vogel  
The New  
York Times

(b)(6)

**Official -  
Transitory  
UNCLASSI  
FIED**

<b>Sender:</b>	(b)(6)	
<b>Recipient:</b>		

<b>From:</b>	(b)(6)	
<b>To:</b>		
<b>CC:</b>		
<b>Subject:</b>	RE: Latest Western media reports on Ukraine, Amb. Y, former VP Biden, etc. (Vanity Fair, Washington Post, Diplopundit)	
<b>Date:</b>	Fri, 10 May 2019 12:08:32 +0000	

Good morning (b)(6). Thanks very much for your message. I'll look for a message from (b)(6) or his colleagues. Very kind regards to you and colleagues in Kyiv. (b)(6)

(b)(6)

*Press & Policy Outreach Office--Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs  
Department of State*

(b)(6)

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Friday, May 10, 2019 8:04 AM

**To:** (b)(6)

**Cc:**

<HawkinsKK@state.gov>

**Subject:** Re: Latest Western media reports on Ukraine, Amb. Y, former VP Biden, etc. (Vanity Fair, Washington Post, Diplopundit)

FYI just got a WhatsApp fro Chris Miller, RFE/RL. He wondered if I could say any more on reasons for Ambassador's departure. I explained that the on background statement is what I had but he could contact EUE Press.

He also asked if the Embassy knew when Rudy Giuliani would travel. I explained that Mr. Giuiani is a private citizen and suggested he would need to contact his office.

My sure if Chris will contact you. He is in NYC on vacation but working on stories occasionally.

(b)(6)

**From:** (b)(6)

**Date:** May 10, 2019 at 1:37:44 PM GMT+3

**To:** (b)(6)

**Cc:**

(b)(6)

**Subject:** Re: Latest Western media reports on Ukraine, Amb. Y, former VP Biden, etc. (Vanity Fair, Washington Post, Diplopundit)

Thanks for the heads up.

Get [Outlook for iOS](#)

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Friday, May 10, 2019 5:48:42 AM  
**To:** (b)(6)  
**Cc:** (b)(6)  
**Subject:** Fwd: Latest Western media reports on Ukraine, Amb. Y, former VP Biden, etc. (Vanity Fair, Washington Post, Diplopundit)

Dear (b)(6)

Just wanted to give you a head's up that we are not going to do any social media, at this time, regarding the Ambassador's NDU award. We think it a prudent step and will acknowledge her many accomplishments with the video we have planned for next week.

(b)(6)

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Date:** May 10, 2019 at 10:39:57 AM GMT+3  
**To:** (b)(6); Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)  
 <YovanovitchML2@state.gov>; (b)(6)  
 (b)(6); Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>;  
 (b)(6)  
**Cc:** EUR-Ukraine Desk-DL <EUR-UkraineDesk-DL@state.gov>; Kent, George P  
 (b)(6); (b)(6)  
 (b)(6); EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>; (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
**Subject:** Re: Latest Western media reports on Ukraine, Amb. Y, former VP Biden, etc. (Vanity Fair, Washington Post, Diplopundit)

And here is the NYT report (currently featured pretty prominently near the top of their website). This is more detailed than the Fox report on plans for Giuliani's upcoming trip. (Relatedly, Daily Beast is also reporting on the story, but their report is basically just taken from the NYT piece below.)



WASHINGTON — Rudolph W. Giuliani, President Trump's personal lawyer, is encouraging Ukraine to wade further into sensitive political issues in the United States, seeking to push the incoming government in Kiev to press ahead with investigations that he hopes will benefit Mr. Trump.

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.

"We're not meddling in an election, we're meddling in an investigation, which we have a right to do," Mr. Giuliani said in an interview on Thursday when asked about the parallel to the special counsel's inquiry.

"There's nothing illegal about it," he 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, and may turn out to be helpful to my government."

Mr. Giuliani's planned trip, which has not been previously reported, is part of a monthslong effort by the former New York mayor and a small group of Trump allies working to build interest in the Ukrainian inquiries. Their motivation is to try to discredit the special counsel's investigation; undermine the case against Paul Manafort, Mr. Trump's imprisoned former campaign chairman; and potentially to damage Mr. Biden, the early front-runner for the 2020 Democratic presidential nomination.

The investigations had been opened by Ukrainian prosecutors serving during the term of the country's current president, Petro O. Poroshenko. He lost his re-election bid last month to Volodymyr Zelensky, a comedian and political newcomer. Mr. Zelensky has said he would like to replace the prosecutor who oversaw some of the matters, Yuriy Lutsenko, who has met multiple times with Mr. Giuliani to discuss the issues.

Mr. Zelensky is set to take office on June 3.

Mr. Giuliani said he had been planning for several weeks to travel to Kiev to deliver a paid speech to a Jewish group about Middle East policy.

But intermediaries for Mr. Giuliani worked to organize meetings with people who they believed would have insights into the incoming Zelensky administration and the investigations in which Mr. Giuliani was interested. And in recent days, Mr. Giuliani reached out through intermediaries to request a meeting with Mr. Zelensky, he said, adding, "It's not confirmed yet."

If the meeting does occur, Mr. Giuliani said, "I am going to tell him what I know about the people that are surrounding him, and how important it is to do a full, complete and fair investigation."

He said his efforts in Ukraine have the full support of Mr. Trump. He declined to say specifically whether he had briefed him on the planned meeting with Mr. Zelensky, but added, “He basically knows what I’m doing, sure, as his lawyer.”

The White House did not immediately respond to a request for comment on Thursday.

Mr. Trump has called attention to the scrutiny of Mr. Biden’s son Hunter Biden, and to questions about the former vice president’s involvement in the removal of a Ukrainian prosecutor whose office had authority over investigations of the oligarch whose company paid Hunter Biden.

Mr. Trump has also sought to stir up interest in claims that Ukrainian officials tried to benefit Hillary Clinton in 2016 by focusing attention on Mr. Manafort’s business in Ukraine. The attention forced Mr. Manafort to resign from the Trump campaign, but allies of the Ukrainian officials involved have denied that they acted improperly to benefit Mrs. Clinton’s campaign. Mr. Trump has recently suggested he would like Attorney General William P. Barr to look into the material gathered by the Ukrainian prosecutors.

Mr. Giuliani has been working on the effort with other allies of Mr. Trump whose involvement has not been previously reported, including Victoria Toensing, a lawyer who was named last year, along with her husband, as part of the legal team representing the president in the special counsel’s investigation. The appointment was rescinded less than one week later amid concerns about conflicts of interest, but Mr. Trump’s legal team suggested that Ms. Toensing and her husband, Joseph E. diGenova, would assist the president “in other legal matters.”

On social media and in regular appearances on Fox News, the couple advanced the theory that the special counsel’s investigation was the result of a Justice Department effort to frame Mr. Trump. They increasingly began pushing the claim that “the real collusion began in @Ukraine,” as Ms. Toensing put it in a post on Twitter in March.

The tweet spotlighted a story in the conservative media in which Mr. Lutsenko, Ukraine's top prosecutor, announced he was opening an investigation into whether Ukrainian officials tried to help Mrs. Clinton during the 2016 presidential election by disseminating documents related to Mr. Manafort's work in Ukraine before 2014.

Ms. Toensing has also met with Mr. Lutsenko, the Ukrainian prosecutor who has pushed the investigations, Mr. Giuliani said. (Mr. Giuliani had previously said that Ms. Toensing was representing Mr. Lutsenko, but after this article published, he said that he had been mistaken.)

Ms. Toensing will accompany Mr. Giuliani to Ukraine, he said, explaining that she was "concerned" for Mr. Lutsenko and wanted the incoming president to "promptly understand what he's trying to do."

Asked about the trip and her representation of Mr. Lutsenko, which has not been previously disclosed, she responded, "I'm not going to talk to you about this matter."

Also involved in planning the trip and pushing the investigations is Lev Parnas, a Ukrainian-American businessman who knows Mr. Giuliani well.

Mr. Parnas turned up in Kiev, presenting himself as a representative of Mr. Giuliani seeking information about Mr. Lutsenko's claims, and about Hunter Biden's involvement in the Ukrainian gas company, according to people familiar with Mr. Parnas's activity.

He organized a phone call between Mr. Giuliani and Mr. Lutsenko, as well as a separate call between Mr. Giuliani and Mr. Lutsenko's predecessor in the Ukrainian prosecutor general's office, according to Mr. Giuliani. He said Mr. Parnas also helped arrange a trip to the United

States for Mr. Lutsenko in January. During it, the prosecutor met for hours with Mr. Giuliani in New York.

Mr. Parnas is an executive of an energy company that donated \$325,000 to a pro-Trump super PAC last year, prompting a Federal Election Commission complaint by a nonpartisan campaign finance watchdog accusing Mr. Parnas, his business partner and the company of violating campaign finance laws.

A lawyer for Mr. Parnas, who had previously defended the contribution, did not respond to a request for comment about his client's work with Mr. Giuliani in Ukraine.

Mr. Giuliani has done work in Ukraine before, having been hired in 2017 by the Ukrainian-Russian developer Pavel Fuks.

Mr. Giuliani described that work as related to emergency management consulting, but Mr. Fuks said in an interview that he hired Mr. Giuliani as "a lobbyist for Kharkiv and Ukraine" to lure American investors. "This is stated in the contract."

Mr. Giuliani said that work had ended, and that Mr. Fuks had nothing to do with his current efforts.

"My only client is the president of the United States," he said. "He's the one I have an obligation to report to, tell him what happened."

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Date:** May 10, 2019 at 9:46:39 AM GMT+3  
**To:** (b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)  
(b)(6) (b)(6)  
(b)(6) Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>,

(b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Ukraine Desk-DL <EUR-UkraineDesk-DL@state.gov>, Kent, George P

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

, EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>, (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Subject:** Re: Latest Western media reports on Ukraine, Amb. Y, former VP Biden, etc. (Vanity Fair, Washington Post, Diplopundit)

Pasting below the text of a new Fox News article which quotes Giuliani as saying he plans to travel to Kyiv in the coming days and which includes commentary about what he plans to tell President-elect Zelenskyy.

Article:

Trump attorney Rudy Giuliani said in an interview Thursday that he plans to travel to Ukraine to push the country's leadership on several probes that may prove "very, very helpful" to President Trump, as Republicans continue looking to turn the tables on Democrats and prove that they -- not the GOP -- were the party that improperly conspired with foreign actors.

Ukrainian President-elect Volodymyr Zelensky, who takes office in June, will assume stewardship of two major ongoing investigations. One concerns evidence that the Democratic National Committee (DNC) and Hillary Clinton campaign may have worked with Ukrainians to illegally help Clinton by revealing damaging information about then-Trump campaign chairman Paul Manafort.

The other investigation pertains to allegations that former Vice President Joe Biden pressured Ukraine to fire its top prosecutor in order to take the heat off the prosecutor's probe into a company that employed his son as a board member.

"I am going to tell him what I know about the people that are surrounding him, and how important it is to do a full, complete and fair investigation," Giuliani told the New York Times, referring to Zelensky.

"We're not meddling in an election; we're meddling in an investigation, which we have a right to do," Giuliani continued, when pressed on whether his visit would be appropriate. "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, and may turn out to be helpful to my government."

Giuliani said he expects to travel to Kiev, Ukraine's capital, in the coming days.

Last week, Ukraine's embassy confirmed that a DNC insider reached out in 2016 to raise concerns about Manafort, given his previous work in the country.

"All ideas floated by [the DNC contractor] were related to approaching a Member of Congress with a purpose to initiate hearings on Paul Manafort or letting an investigative journalist ask President Poroshenko a question about Mr. Manafort during his public talk in Washington, D.C.," Ukraine's ambassador to the U.S., Valeriy Chaly, said. "The embassy representatives unambiguously refused to get involved in any way, as we were convinced that this is a strictly U.S. domestic matter."

Ukraine's investigation into interference with the U.S. election commenced after an unearthed audio recording showed that a senior Ukrainian anticorruption official apparently admitted to leaking Manafort's financial information in 2016 -- including his ties to pro-Russian actors in Ukraine -- to benefit Clinton. The eventual leak of the so-called "black ledger" files led to Manafort's abrupt departure from the Trump campaign.

A Ukrainian court recently ruled that the Manafort document leak amounted to illegal interference in the U.S. election by parliamentarian Serhiy Leshchenko and Ukraine's National Anti-Corruption Bureau (NABU).

Ukrainian law enforcement officials said earlier this month they have a slew of evidence of collusion and wrongdoing by Democrats, and that they have been trying to share this information with U.S. officials in the Justice Department.

Trump, speaking to Fox News earlier this month, called reports that the Hillary Clinton campaign and DNC may have colluded with Ukrainians "big," and said the results of ongoing Ukrainian law enforcement probes into the matter should be publicized. And Giuliani wrote on Twitter, "Keep your eye on Ukraine."

Separately, Giuliani pointed to evidence that Biden improperly pressured Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko and the country's parliament to fire Prosecutor General Viktor Shokin, in March 2016. At the same time, Biden's son, Hunter, served on the board of the Ukrainian natural gas firm Burisma Holdings -- which was owned by an oligarch, Mykola Zlochevsky, who in turn was being investigated by that same prosecutor.

Shokin was soon voted out by the Ukrainian parliament. After leaving office, Biden admitted on video that he had threatened that the U.S. would pull \$1 billion in loan guarantees unless Poroshenko was terminated.

Biden also suggested that President Obama was aware of his actions.

"I said, 'You're not getting the billion,'" Biden recalled. "I'm going to be leaving here in, I think it was about six hours. I looked at them and said: 'I'm leaving in six hours. If the prosecutor is not fired, you're not getting the money.' ... Well, son of a b---, he got fired. And they put in place someone who was solid at the time."

However, Biden allies have cast his actions as part of his broad efforts to pressure Ukraine to oust corrupt officials.

"I have had no role whatsoever in relation to any investigation of Burisma, or any of its officers," Hunter Biden said in a statement last week. "I explicitly limited my role to focus on corporate governance best practices to facilitate Burisma's desire to expand globally."

Hunter Biden left the company's board earlier this year.



Speaking to Bloomberg News, former Ukrainian official Vitaliy Kasko claimed that the probe into the oligarch was long dormant.

“There was no pressure from anyone from the U.S. to close cases against Zlochevsky,” Kasko said. “It was shelved by Ukrainian prosecutors in 2014 and through 2015.”

But in an interview with Fox News last week, Trump slammed Biden as being naive at best, and echoed Giuliani's calls for more investigation into the matter.

"I'm hearing it's a major scandal," Trump said, after urging Biden to explain the situation. "They even have him on tape, talking about the prosecutor -- and I've seen that tape. They have to solve that problem."

<https://www.foxnews.com/politics/giuliani-will-travel-to-ukraine-saying-countrys-probes-may-be-very-very-helpful-for-trump>

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Date:** May 9, 2019 at 11:30:53 PM GMT+3  
**To:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6), Kyiv EXEC  
 <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>, (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
**Cc:** Kyiv IOs <KyivIOs@state.gov>, EUR-Ukraine Desk-DL <EUR-UkraineDesk-DL@state.gov>, Kent, George P (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>  
**Subject:** Re: Latest Western media reports on Ukraine, Amb. Y, former VP Biden, etc. (Vanity Fair, Washington Post, Diplopundit)

Flagging the article below, published by Newsweek today. This report, unlike other recent media reports on the subject, appears to include direct quotes from Rudy Giuliani on Amb Y's departure.

## HOW RUDY GIULIANI'S UNFOUNDED CLAIMS OF AN ANTI-TRUMP CONSPIRACY IN UKRAINE MAY HAVE OUSTED AN AMBASSADOR

Associates of President Donald Trump are bringing Ukraine into political battles with Democrats, in a move that may have led to the early dismissal of the U.S. ambassador to Ukraine, experts say.

Ukraine's Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko, who in March claimed that the U.S. ambassador Marie Yovanovitch had given him a list of individuals who should not be prosecuted, has been meeting regularly with Trump's lawyer Rudy Giuliani. Some of the meetings took place in Poland, people familiar with the matter said, including on the sidelines of a U.S.-led summit on the Middle East that took place in Poland's capital Warsaw in February.

Giuliani told Newsweek that he last met with Lutsenko six weeks ago. "I have met with him. I interviewed him for two days in New York. I met with him once in Poland...and I may have met with him one other time in America, I don't remember," Giuliani told Newsweek. "I may have just gotten a coffee with him sometime when he was here."

In the wake of these meetings, Lutsenko has been publicly criticizing ambassador Yovanovitch, who was appointed by the Obama administration. Conservative commentators like Laura Ingraham also reported that Republicans were concerned that ambassador Yovanovitch was biased against Trump. The president's son Donald Trump Jr. tweeted in favor of the ambassador's removal, calling her "Obama's Ambassador to Ukraine."

This week, the Trump administration recalled Yovanovitch two months before her scheduled departure. Voicing what appeared to be a number of theories without evidence, Giuliani told Newsweek that the ambassador was "fired" because the embassy under her direction had conspired with George Soros to have a key anti-corruption investigation quashed.

"My interest is really to get everybody to focus on the conspiracy between the Ukrainians, the [Democratic National Committee], and the embassy, including our ambassador who was just fired," Giuliani told Newsweek. "She was using her embassy to dig out negative political shit on Trump, on [former Trump campaign manager Paul] Manafort, and possibly others."

Giuliani also claimed that the U.S. ambassador had “possibly contributed” to the controversial dossier compiled by former British intelligence officer Christopher Steele. There is no evidence to support this claim.

A State Department spokesman told Newsweek that the ambassador’s departure would coincide with the appointment of Ukraine’s new President Volodymyr Zelenskiy, who beat incumbent President Petro Poroshenko in elections held in April.

“Ambassador Yovanovitch is concluding her three-year diplomatic assignment in Kyiv in 2019 as planned. Her confirmed departure date in May aligns with the presidential transition in Ukraine,” the spokesman told Newsweek.

But analysts say that it is unusual for diplomatic appointments to coincide with political transitions in the country where diplomats are based, and that Yovanovitch is the victim of partisan politicking.

“It’s appalling to see Secretary Pompeo recalling a career ambassador only a few months before the end of her tenure—and at a very critical juncture in Ukrainian politics—just to pander to partisan conspiracy theorists like Laura Ingraham,” Michael Carpenter, a former deputy assistant secretary of defense in charge of Russia, Ukraine, told Newsweek.

“By throwing a career diplomat under the bus, Pompeo has shown he’s willing to put partisanship above the interests of the Department. Yovanovitch has been with State for three decades and served two ambassadorships under the George W Bush administration before being appointed as envoy in Ukraine by President Obama,” Carpenter added.

Meanwhile, analysts say that current Prosecutor General Lutsenko has also been used to launch attacks on former Vice President and current Democratic presidential candidate Joe Biden. Giuliani has alleged that Biden intervened to have Ukraine’s former prosecutor general Viktor Shokin removed from his position because Shokin was investigating a natural gas company called Burisma where his son, Hunter Biden, was working.

Burisma brought Biden's son Hunter onto the company's board of directors in April 2014. Insiders say he was one of a handful of American consultants used to whitewash the company's tarnished reputation. The company released a statement at the time stating that the young Biden would help with "transparency, corporate governance and responsibility, international expansion." Hunter Biden's decision to join the company was criticized at the time.

Representatives from the Biden campaign said that the former vice president did not speak with his son about his work in Ukraine. Giuliani, meanwhile, has called for the U.S. to investigate this alleged conflict of interest.

But experts with knowledge of the case say that Giuliani's version of the story is misleading because Shokin was not responsible for opening the investigation into Burisma. Although an investigation was re-opened within the prosecutor general's office during Shokin's tenure, it was done at the request of Ukrainian lawmakers and Shokin himself did little to move the case forward, experts say. By the time Shokin was dismissed in 2016, the case had already been abandoned.

Daria Kaleniuk, the executive director of Ukraine's anti-corruption action center, says that contrary to the version of events promoted by Giuliani, Shokin helped shield Burisma and its owner from prosecution.

"Shokin was the symbol of lost hopes for justice and a symbol of lost hopes for the reform of prosecution," Kaleniuk told Newsweek. "Under Shokin there were many investigations dumped, and those were landmark investigations into associates of [former President Viktor] Yanukovich."

"I am actually very thankful to the United States and to Joe Biden for being tough on that issue," Kaleniuk added.

Giuliani has accused Kaleniuk's organization of being a wing of George Soros that is used to attack Soros' enemies in Eastern Europe, echoing anti-Soros conspiracy theories often propagated by the far-right. The anti-corruption action center does receive some funding from

the Open Society Foundation, which Soros founded, as do many civil society organizations in Ukraine and elsewhere.

The Obama administration, along with the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and representatives of the European Union, widely supported Shokin's removal because he was viewed as corrupt and ineffective. Consequently, Biden's advocacy for Shokin's removal was in line with Western policies and unrelated to the prosecutor's investigation into Burisma, Biden's advocates argue.

Burisma belongs to Ukrainian oligarch Mykola Zlochevsky, a former energy minister in the government of Ukraine's former pro-Russian President Yanukovich, who fled the country for Russia after being deposed by a pro-Western movement in 2014. Investigations into Burisma and Zlochevsky's alleged corruption, including self-dealing, illicit enrichment, and money laundering, were launched in Ukraine and the United Kingdom that year.

John Herbst, a former ambassador to Ukraine, noted that Biden also criticized Shokin for not providing the British courts with more evidence to prosecute Burisma and Zlochevsky.

"It is true that Vice President Biden and the U.S. government, our ambassador at the time Geoff Pyatt, were strongly critical of Prosecutor General Shokin. They did not see him as a reformer. And in fact they criticized Shokin for not providing information in Britain in a suit against Burisma," Herbst told Newsweek. "So the notion that's spun out in a variety of stories that the U.S. government, Biden, the embassy were going after the reformers was silly."

In December 2014, when Biden was the U.S. government's highest-ranking emissary for Ukraine, the U.S. government sent a letter to the country's prosecutors warning that there would be consequences if they did not assist the investigation in the U.K. The assistance never came. Biden later withheld \$1 billion in U.S. financial assistance to Ukraine until Shokin was voted out by the country's parliament in 2016.

Prosecutor General Lutsenko, however, recently said that he would re-open the Ukrainian case into Burisma, including into its payments to Hunter Biden. Experts say that this claim is meant to promote Republican talking points, and that the case has not in fact been officially reopened.

“It’s not about justice here. I think Lutsenko is colluding here with some consultants in the United States and he’s playing politics,” Kaleniuk told Newsweek. “I think it has all of the signs of state treason, because Ukraine’s sovereignty depends on international support and the support of the United States. It’s suicidal to play on the side of one or another political force.”

<https://www.newsweek.com/rudy-giuliani-trump-ukraine-ambassador-1420074>

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Date:** May 9, 2019 at 9:23:00 AM GMT+3  
**To:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Kyiv EXEC  
 <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>, (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
**Cc:** Kyiv IOs <KyivIOs@state.gov>, EUR-Ukraine Desk-DL <EUR-UkraineDesk-DL@state.gov>, Kent, George P (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6), EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>  
**Subject:** Latest Western media reports on Ukraine, Amb. Y, former VP Biden, etc. (Vanity Fair, Washington Post, Diplopundit)

Flagging a few new Western media articles/columns relating to Ukraine – from Vanity Fair, Washington Post, and Diplopundit. (The Vanity Fair one, in particular, has some new details I haven’t seen in other media reports, such as a comment that President Trump is personally aware of the situation with Amb Y, and that the decision to recall her came directly from the White House.)

#### **VANITY FAIR: “THERE IS NO OTHER REASON”: SOURCES BLAME THE WHITE HOUSE, AND A FOX NEWS-FUELED CONSPIRACY THEORY, FOR THE SUDDEN OUSTER OF MASHA YOVANOVITCH**

The U.S. ambassador to Ukraine is abruptly leaving her post following a concerted effort by Rudy Giuliani and Trump’s media allies to connect Yovanovitch to a wide-ranging conspiracy theory involving Hillary Clinton, Paul Manafort, and Joe Biden’s work in Ukraine.

A convoluted, Fox News-fueled story involving the Clinton campaign and the Biden family’s potential conflicts of interest in Ukraine appears to have claimed its first victim: **Masha Yovanovitch**, a career diplomat and the U.S. ambassador to Ukraine. This week, Yovanovitch was suddenly recalled from her post, months before she was expected to end her three-year assignment this July, following increasingly feverish accusations in Trumpworld that Yovanovitch has demonstrated disloyalty to the president. **Donald Trump** has alluded to a “Ukrainian plot to help Clinton.” Democrats are calling Yovanovitch’s ouster a “political hit job.” According to two

congressional sources familiar with the situation, the decision to recall Yovanovitch two months early did not come from the seventh floor of the State Department, but directly from the White House.

The strange circumstances surrounding Yovanovitch's early exit provide a window into what is becoming a new front in a wide-ranging information war between Democrats and Republicans that could have a significant impact on the 2020 election. The official story coming out of Foggy Bottom is that Yovanovitch's departure is timed to the arrival of a new administration in Kiev and "as planned." But few believe it. "There is no other reason for her early departure," one of the congressional aides told me, adding that the president is "aware" of the situation. In fact, Secretary of State **Mike Pompeo** had previously asked Yovanovitch to stay on beyond the three-year mark, the other source said.

The trouble for Yovanovitch can be traced, in part, to a speech she gave in March, during which she took a firm stand against political corruption in Ukraine and called for the ouster of **Nazar Kholodnytskyy**, the chief of the Special Anti-Corruption Prosecutor's Office. Those remarks, notable for their asperity, outraged Ukrainian Prosecutor General **Yuriy Lutsenko**. Two weeks later, he gave [an interview](#) to *The Hill's* **John Solomon** in which he alleged, without evidence, that Yovanovitch had given him "a list of people whom we should not prosecute" during their first meeting, presumably to shield Obama-Clinton allies.

The State Department bluntly dismissed the allegation at the time as an "outright fabrication." And in April, Lutsenko [walked back](#) his remarks entirely. (In this new telling, it was Lutsenko who asked for a "do-not-prosecute list," and Yovanovitch who said no.) But by that point, the allegation had already been injected into the bloodstream of the conservative media.

The same day the Solomon-Lutsenko interview was published, frequent Fox News guest **Joseph diGenova** called for Yovanovitch's removal as ambassador to Ukraine in an interview with Trump confidant **Sean Hannity**, saying she "has bad-mouthed the president of the United States to Ukrainian officials and has told them not to listen or worry about Trump policy because he's going to be impeached." Later that week, Fox News host **Laura Ingraham** piled on, revealing a May 2018 letter former congressman **Pete Sessions** had sent to Secretary of State Pompeo, which accused Yovanovitch of having "reportedly demonstrated clear anti-Trump bias." Two days after Ingraham's show, **Donald Trump Jr.** tweeted a [Daily Wire](#) roundup of conservative attacks on the diplomat. "We need more @RichardGrenell's and less of these jokers as ambassadors," the president's eldest son wrote on [Twitter](#), referencing the current U.S. ambassador to Germany.

Among veterans of Foggy Bottom, Yovanovitch has an impressive reputation and the allegations against her ring false to many. “Very much a role-model female diplomat,” one former high-ranking State Department official said. “Admired, respected, liked. Very professional.” Another former senior U.S. official echoed the sentiment. “She’s everyone’s idea of the best kind of professional diplomat,” they told me. But it appears she made enemies in high places—and became a convenient scapegoat.

Behind the scenes, Trump allies have been developing a labyrinthine counter-theory of collusion, designed to distract from and deflect the Mueller report. One aspect involves allegations that Ukrainian officials sought to boost **Hillary Clinton’s** candidacy in 2016 by questioning Trump’s fitness for office and leaking damaging information about former Trump campaign chairman **Paul Manafort**—information that ultimately made its way to **Robert Mueller**. Another aspect involves allegations that **Joe Biden** abused his position as vice president to engineer the ouster of **Viktor Shokin**, Lutsenko’s predecessor, to kill an investigation into Burisma, a Ukrainian energy company that was paying Biden’s son **Hunter Biden** up to \$50,000 a month to sit on the board. (Hunter Biden told *The New York Times* he had “no role whatsoever in relation to any investigation of Burisma, or any of its officers.”) Lutsenko has reportedly reopened the investigation into Burisma, and told Solomon that he has opened an investigation into whether Ukrainian law enforcement worked in favor of Clinton, too. (On Tuesday, citing a Ukrainian official, Bloomberg reported the Burisma case has not been reopened. The *Times* is standing by its reporting.)

Of course, Lutsenko has not been working alone. Trump’s personal lawyer **Rudy Giuliani** has met with Lutsenko multiple times over the past year and has discussed the Burisma case with him, according to the *Times*. Lutsenko’s decision to reopen the investigation was reportedly interpreted by some as an attempt “to curry favor” with the Trump administration on behalf of his boss, President **Petro Poroshenko**. (Poroshenko lost his re-election bid last month; incoming president **Volodymyr Zelensky**, a television comedian, has said he intends to replace Lutsenko as prosecutor general.)

Giuliani told the *Times* that he has discussed the Burisma affair with Donald Trump on multiple occasions, and has called on the Justice Department to investigate the Bidens’ involvement in Ukraine. Trump himself recently suggested that Attorney General **William Barr** should look into materials gathered by Lutsenko. “I would imagine [Barr] would want to see this,” he told Hannity in an April 25 interview. “It sounds like big stuff, very interesting with Ukraine. . . . But that sounds like big, big stuff, and I’m not surprised.” (The White House did not respond to a request for comment.)

It is unsurprising that Yovanovitch was quickly ensnared in this narrative. Despite the fact that she was first nominated as a U.S. ambassador by **George W. Bush**, she was appointed to her post in Ukraine by **Barack Obama** at the tail end of his presidential term. As a result, she has



been cast by Fox News talking heads and allies of the president as an “Obama holdover” and a “deep state” agent.

As the attacks on Yovanovitch were escalating, Congressmen **Eliot Engel**, the chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and **Steny Hoyer**, the House majority leader, privately called on Pompeo to publicly defend Yovanovitch. “It is disappointing that certain political actors within Ukraine have criticized Ambassador Yovanovitch, given her anti-corruption efforts that touch on their interests,” the lawmakers wrote in an April 12 letter. “It is critical that State Department leadership support ambassadors and foreign service officers in the field and make clear that they will not be subjected to any politically motivated attacks. We urge you to make public statements personally defending your team and those who represent our country from these spurious disparagements.”

Less than a month later, Yovanovitch is on her way out. An internal management notice sent to embassy staffers in Kiev and shared with me reveals that there is no succession plan in place, suggesting the decision was abrupt. Yovanovitch’s last day as ambassador to Ukraine will be May 20. “We expect the Department to appoint a long-term Charge d’Affaires to lead the Mission until a new Chief of Mission is nominated and confirmed,” the notice reads. During the transition, **Joseph Pennington** will serve as the charge d’affaires and acting deputy chief of mission until **Kristina Kvien** arrives at the embassy on May 28.

#### WaPo column: Why the alleged Joe Biden ‘Ukraine conspiracy’ doesn’t hold up

By Oliver Bullough

*Oliver Bullough, a frequent contributor to the Guardian, is the author of “Moneyland: The Inside Story of the Crooks and Kleptocrats who Rule the World.”*

Ukraine recently held a democratic election that ushered in a peaceful transfer of power; it is stubbornly resisting an onslaught by Russian-backed troops; it is making small but significant steps toward restraining corruption. With democracy on the retreat worldwide, Ukraine may be the closest thing the West has to a foreign policy win.

To cement that victory, Ukraine needs more of what it has received since its 2014 revolution: Western money, Western support and sustained Western insistence that its rulers keep their promises to clean up their country.

What it does not need is underinformed dinosaurs wading into its sensitive political ecosystem to make points for domestic American consumption. Unfortunately, this is precisely what is now happening — thanks to President Trump’s personal lawyer, Rudy Giuliani.

Almost as long as there have been questions over Trump’s Russian dealings, there have been rival questions about former vice president Joe Biden’s role in post-revolutionary Ukraine. To sort out the truth, it’s imperative to understand two things. The first is that Biden’s son Hunter took a job at a Ukrainian oligarch’s gas company, known as Burisma, shortly after the 2014 revolution, which was unwise, greedy and rightly criticized at the time.

The second is that Joe Biden was the White House’s Ukraine enforcer, and it was in this capacity that he forced Ukraine’s president to sack an at-best ineffectual prosecutor general as a condition for a billion dollars’ worth of loans. Biden has himself boasted of this episode, and most Ukrainians are perfectly content about it, since they saw prosecutor Viktor Shokin as incapable of the investigations needed to uncover the previous regime’s crimes.

The trouble began when right-wing bloggers sought to meld these two points into a single conspiracy in which Joe Biden had the prosecutor sacked to protect his son’s business interests. I may be an outsider to the bewildering mess that is Ukrainian politics, but, on this particular issue, I have a genuine insight into what happened, having written extensively about Hunter Biden’s ex-employer, Mykola Zlochevsky.

As a result, when journalists seek the fire behind the smoke in the Biden-Ukraine tale, they often call to ask my opinion. Many are eager to flesh out what seems a satisfyingly simple conspiracy, but I have to tell them: It isn’t true. The timeline doesn’t work. The investigation into Burisma, Hunter Biden’s employer, had ground to a halt long before the prosecutor was sacked. A subsequent probe into the company’s owner was opened because of a request from Ukrainian legislators, not because of prosecutorial initiative. There is, in short, no there there; the bloggers are putting two and two together — and coming up with 22.

Hunter Biden should not have taken the job; Joe Biden should probably not have boasted about bullying the president of another country. But those are judgment matters for them personally, not proof of conspiracy, and certainly not an affair worth destabilizing the fragile democracy of a new U.S. ally.

But that has not stopped Giuliani, who tweeted last week: “how deep and how high did the alleged Ukraine conspiracy go?” He was responding to a story in the New York Times (the Times apparently not “failing” on this occasion, since Trump retweeted the paper’s story), which analyzed the theories around the Bidens’ Ukraine connection. The article ticked all the

journalistic boxes, giving father and son space to deny wrongdoing, but still raised a cloud of smoke for those shouting “fire.” If a major newspaper devotes 2,500 words to conflict-of-interest questions, then those questions presumably exist. How often do *you* beat your wife?

This non-scandal appears to have already wrecked the career of the U.S. ambassador in Kiev, a respected career diplomat who is leaving her post this month. That will inevitably affect the continuity of U.S. anti-corruption efforts in Ukraine. It is also emboldening oligarchs opposed to the activists who have led the fight against corruption, because they also campaigned for Shokin to be sacked and risk being blackened by association.

President-elect Volodymyr Zelensky is assembling his team, and it is imperative that the West stay as firm with him as it was with his predecessor on fulfilling the conditions that went with its loans. One official he should consider jettisoning is current General Prosecutor Yuriy Lutsenko, who has not only been as ineffective as Shokin at prosecuting the crooks of the past, but has also been feeding Giuliani the partial information that underpins his conspiracy.

We are all resigned to the fact that U.S. politicians will do their utmost to divide their nation still further over the next two years. But Giuliani must stop using Ukraine as a political piñata. It is a country of 44 million people who are defending their freedom at the cost of much blood. There was a time that all Americans would have applauded them for that, regardless of party. It is shameful that petty political considerations have blinded Trump’s allies to that truth.

#### **Diplopundit: State Dept Recalls Amb. Marie Yovanovitch from Ukraine after Persistent Campaign for Removal**

The U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovich has reportedly been recalled and now expected to depart post on or about May 20. This development followed a persistent campaign for her removal among conservative media outlets in the United States as well as allegations by Ukrainian Prosecutor-General Lutsenko concerning a do not prosecute list.

The State Department reportedly told RFE/RL on May 6, that Ambassador Yovanovitch “is concluding her 3-year diplomatic assignment in Kyiv in 2019 as planned.” And that “her confirmed departure date in May aligns with the presidential transition in Ukraine,” which elected a new president in April.

While that may well be true – she was confirmed in 2016, a 3-year tour is a typical assignment; the new Ukraine president takes office on June 3rd — it is hard to ignore the louder voices calling for the ambassador’s removal from post for political reasons. It doesn’t help that there is no Senate confirmed EUR Assistant Secretary or that the Secretary of State did not see it fit to come forward to defend his top representative in a priority country in Europe.

Ambassador Yovanovich is a career diplomat and a Senate-confirmed Ambassador representing the United States in Ukraine. She previously served as Ambassador to the Republic of Armenia (2008-2011) under President Obama and to the Kyrgyz Republic (2005-2008) under President George W. Bush. We've seen people calling career diplomats "holdovers". If they were political appointees, they would be called "holdovers" or "burrowers," but they are career public servants; that term does not apply to them. If some folks insists on calling them "holdovers," then the least that these folks can do is to accurately enumerate all the public servants' prior presidential appointments, some going back 30 years at the start of their careers in the diplomatic service.

Perhaps it is helpful to point out that as career appointees, ambassadors like Ambassador Yovanovich do not go freelancing nor do they go rogue; they do not make their own policy concerning their host country. They typically get their marching orders from their home bureau, in this case, the Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs (EUR) at the State Department, under the oversight of the Under Secretary for Political Affairs, who report to the Secretary of State. And they follow those orders. Even if they disagree with those orders or the administration's policies. Career diplomats who do not follow their instructions do not have lengthy careers in the diplomatic service.

After all that, if the United States is taking the word of a foreign official over our own ambassador, it's open season for our career diplomats. Will the "you want a U.S. ambassador kicked out from a specific country go on teevee" removal campaign going to become a thing now? Will the Secretary of Swagger steps up?

Official

UNCLASSIFIED

<b>Sender:</b>	(b)(6)	
<b>Recipient:</b>		

<b>From:</b>	(b)(6)
<b>To:</b>	Kyiv Senior Staff <KyivSeniorStaff@state.gov>; Kyiv POL Core <KyivPOLCore@state.gov>; Kyiv ECON FSOs <KYIVECONFSOs@state.gov>
<b>CC:</b>	Kyiv IOs <KyivIOs@state.gov>; EUR-Ukraine Desk-DL <EUR-UkraineDesk-DL@state.gov>; Kent, George P (b)(6) (b)(6)
<b>Subject:</b>	Column by Evropeyska Pravda editor on Zelenskyy-Trump relations
<b>Date:</b>	Tue, 24 Sep 2019 10:50:24 +0000

FYI – a rough translation of a column written yesterday by Evropeyska Pravda Editor Serhiy Sydorenko on Trump-Zelenskyy relations:

<https://www.eurointegration.com.ua/articles/2019/09/23/7101073/>

### **“American dilemma” of Zelenskyy: what is happening with Trump, and what Ukraine has to do**

In two days, the first meeting between Donald Trump and Volodymyr Zelenskyy will take place on the margins of the UN General Assembly, which Kyiv has been sought for several months in a row.

These days, heads of states or government officials from most countries of the world are coming to New York, and hundreds of high-level bilateral meetings are taking place in the UN building, so only those who follow Ukrainian-American relations should have been interested in these talks. However, against the backdrop of the current scandal, which has been the number one topic in the United States for several days, the Trump-Zelenskyy meeting becomes almost a key event that attracts the attention of journalists and even of ordinary Americans.

The name of our country is heard in every news bulletin in the USA. The Trump team no longer makes it a secret that they expect Ukraine to investigate the actions of former Vice President Joe Biden, Trump's main rival in the presidency race.

A flurry of inquiries from US media is coming to Ukraine - but Kiev seems like not to notice them.

And rightly so.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the President's Office have chosen the only safe tactic for our state - silence. And it would be very desirable for other political players to refrain from the desire to "brandish a sabre" and "help Ukraine", because careless actions can have catastrophic consequences.

About the threats, the consequences of the scandal, and what Trump has actually said to Zelenskyy - in an article of Yevropeyska Pravda/European Truth.

### **Who is Biden for whom, and to what has corruption to do with that**

A brief reminder why American policy has gone into overdrive. The media became aware of an investigation into a complaint by an unnamed government employee against Donald Trump: the president is suspected of promoting his own political agenda during a telephone conversation with Volodymyr Zelenskyy.

On the weekend, Yevropeyska Pravda reported in detail what was happening in the United States.

The media claim that Trump allegedly demanded the Ukrainian counterpart to launch a criminal investigation against his main rival in the presidential election Joe Biden or his son Hunter. According to the media reports, the US leader could have also blackmailed Zelenskyy.

In order to confirm or to rule out this possibility, US Congressmen demand that they be given access to the recording of the conversation. And the possibility of Trump's impeachment is being seriously discussed again.

But the foundations of the current crisis were laid 5.5 years ago, and **this has happened in Ukraine.**

On April 18, 2014, Burisma Holding, Ukraine's largest private gas producer, announced that Hunter Biden had joined the board of directors of the company. It was obvious that the appointment was purely political : the new director (!) of the company had no experience in the oil and gas sector at all, but had another "asset" - his father, Joe Biden, was Vice president of the United States.

An important point: it is still unclear whether Hunter was a real lobbyist and a "liaison" to the White House, or he just pretended to be one. His father insists that he has never spoken to his son about Burisma's business. The Trump team has not yet provided any evidence of where Biden would lobby for the company (and the arguments they put forward simply defy logic).

Although Biden's innocence cannot be guaranteed 100%, there is another real scenario: Hunter could have been enrolled on Burisma [Board] without his father's consent and knowledge. After all, in the Ukrainian realities, the presence of big names among the company's leaders can become a 'protection' for business. Along with Biden, by the way, another director of this company became Alexander Kwasniewski, ex-president of Poland.

And Burisma had a good reason to expect problems after the change of power in Ukraine. Suffice it that its ultimate owner was mentioned to be the scandalous Party of Regions MP Mykola Zlochevsky, who, under the Yanukovych presidency, headed the Ministry of Ecology, the agency that granted his companies licenses to develop several gas fields, according to the PEP project (Public register of domestic politically exposed persons of Ukraine).

In 2014, the [Burisma] company's actions and of Zlochevsky himself were a reason for several investigations, which, however, were quietly closed by Attorney General Shokin. And although later, under the facilitation of [Joe]Biden, Poroshenko dismissed Shokin from office, but the Yanukovych's minister has not been brought to justice yet.

### **When silence is golden**

The scandal about Trump's conversation with Zelenskyy has been raging in the US since last week.

And during all this time, none, even the briefest comment from [Ukraine's] Presidential Office appeared in the US media. Only on Saturday evening, the US media circulated a quote from Foreign Minister Vadim Prystayko's interview with Hromadske.

The foreign minister said that he would not comment on the content of the presidents' talks, including the information that had already been in the media. "There was a conversation, conversations are different, leaders have the right to discuss any existing issues. This conversation was long, friendly and addressed many issues that needed a fairly serious attention," he said, adding that he did not consider tactful the assumptions about Trump blackmailing Ukraine.

Some would say this was a vague response. Already we hear some saying that Ukraine "must have a position", "should take advantage of the situation".

But that is not the case. There are times when the best tactics is silence.

Ukraine, by no means, should intervene in this confrontation, so as not to inadvertently play into either Trump's or Biden's hands. Or, to be precise, [Ukraine should not play into the two parties', the Democrats' or the Republicans' hands], as it could destroy the bipartisan support for our state in the United States.

Fortunately, the MFA understands this. And the Presidential Office, according to our information, too. That is why the silence of Ukraine in this story is a conscious and the only correct tactic.

"The people involved in Ukrainian-American relations understand that we have always tried to appreciate the help from both [US] parties. This assured us that with the change of administration we would not change our priorities in relations with the USA," - Prystayko said in the same interview.

### **What were Trump and Zelenskyy talking about?**

First, briefly about what was discussed and what was not in Trump's conversation with Zelensky. From its own sources, Yevropieska Pravda has a confirmation that in the telephone conversation, Trump did raise the Biden issue, and that he did recommend the Ukrainian authorities to cooperate with his lawyer and confidant Rudy Giuliani for an investigation of the former Vice President's actions.

But was there a blackmail? Was there an imperative request?

The author of this report has every reason to believe: no, there wasn't.

Besides, Donald Trump could not have been unaware that the transcripts of all his international talks go to both the State Department and the intelligence services, so that they would subsequently follow the course set by the president. So, it would be strange if he went for an open blackmail.

And, after all, the US president does not need to directly pressure his interlocutor - whether Zelenskyy or anyone else. Hints are more than enough. And for his "delicate wishes" to be conveyed, he has Rudy Giuliani, who, for that very purpose, met with Zelenskyy's adviser Andriy Yermak.

So it's no surprise that Trump is already hinting: he can make public a transcript of his conversation with the Ukrainian president.

### **How not to lose in a big game**

The main question is how to protect Ukraine's interests? What to do that we not become a bargaining chip in the big battle between the Democrats and the Republicans, that is thickening now in the lead up to the 2020 presidential election?

The first piece of advice has already been made: we should steer clear of involvement as much as possible. We do not have to make any statements. We should not interfere in domestic American infighting, even if Ukraine, Zelenskyy or representatives of the previous authorities are mentioned in it.

And this advice concerns not only the Office of the President and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (where they are acting in the right way now), but all other politicians.

By supporting one of the parties, Ukraine will definitely lose - whoever wins the next US election.

Remember, the harshest US sanctions against Russia, as well as the most powerful aid programs for our country, are approved only because in the Congress, both the Democrats and Republicans vote for them.

It is the bipartisan support that guarantees that the United States remains to stand with us. And even when the president does not want to unduly aggravate relations with Putin, the unanimous pressure from the Congress leaves him no other choice.

Hence the second piece of advice: no investigations "at Washington's request."

According to Yevropeiska Pravda, Kyiv also supports this tactic, and Zelenskyy, they say, in the same telephone call made it clear that he had no right and power to influence the court or the prosecutor's office.

And if the US has grounds for suspecting Biden, the US justice may itself initiate an investigation. And if US Attorney General William Barr (by the way, a Trump ally appointed to the post in early 2019) officially approaches Kyiv for a legal assistance, and asks for some investigative actions or interviews as part of a US investigation, will anyone refuse him? After all, we believe in the integrity of American justice, and the same way – in the integrity of US election, the official Kyiv can explain at every meeting.

Are there any threats to Ukraine with this tactic? Most likely, no. Because there is nothing Trump can counterpose.

Moreover, in the current situation, it is impractical for the White House to "punish" Ukraine.

Even if Trump wants to reduce the level of cooperation with Kyiv for reasons other than Bidengate, he probably won't risk doing so. Because the American media will probably perceive this as "a revenge". And who needs another scandal on the way to the presidential election?

And even if, after this story, the US president deep in his heart is angry with Ukraine, he still will not be able to show his feelings.

So, despite the incredibly high-profile scandal in the US, the Zelenskyy-Trump meeting is still going to happen. And it will probably even be successful. And the cooperation of our states will continue to develop.

But all this will happen on one condition: if Ukraine does not make mistakes and stays away from America's domestic political infighting.

Unclassified

<b>Sender:</b>	(b)(6)
<b>Recipient:</b>	Kyiv Senior Staff <KyivSeniorStaff@state.gov>; Kyiv POL Core <KyivPOLCore@state.gov>; Kyiv ECON FSOs <KYIVECONFOSOs@state.gov>; Kyiv IOs <KyivIOs@state.gov>; EUR-Ukraine Desk-DL <EUR-UkraineDesk-DL@state.gov>; Kent, George P (b)(6) (b)(6)



<b>From:</b>	(b)(6)	
<b>To:</b>	Holmes, David A (Kyiv)	(b)(6)
	(b)(6)	
<b>Subject:</b>	Derkach Allegations Compendium	
<b>Date:</b>	Thu, 10 Oct 2019 12:07:20 +0000	

Colleagues, Keith said you guys wanted more granularity on this, so I listened to the whole of Derkach's press conference yesterday, here is a summary, with a bit more on the Q&A which is less covered in the press:

Appearing at Russian-owned Interfax agency, MP Andrei Derkach alleged he would demonstrate that NABU First Deputy Director Gizo Uglava had been for several years offering information to the U.S. Embassy in Kyiv which negatively influenced events in Ukraine and the USA. Claimed he would make public the correspondence of Embassy employees with NABU going back several years which "is part of a criminal case under article 111 'Treason,' as well as documents dealing with six criminal investigations of Burisma relating to VP Biden and his son Hunter. He alleged that Uglava sent information to Embassy employee (b)(6) via his assistant Polina Chizh, and coordinated its activity with the Embassy in a number of resonant cases via Olena Kustova, including two MP requests.

He claimed the Embassy also involved itself in the Nasirov case, and that Uglava had "coordinated" the case presented to Nasirov with the Embassy, "while one of its leaders John Kent" (sic) "probably just happened to be wandering around outside the court, likely coordinating the protersters' actions."

Derkach claimed that NABU operated under control of a specific Embassy representatives, pressure from the Embassy in the period from 2016-2018, the intrusion of Ukrainian law enforcement and officials into the 2016 U.S. elections, and finally into the potentially corrupt activity of Joseph Biden and his son Hunter.

He also claimed to be in possession of documents about pressure on former PGO Viktor Shokin with regards to his investigations of Burisma. Derkach claimed to have received the documents from journalists who fear for their life and safety, and has already turned these over to the PGO and SBI. Derkach stated he has been investigating NABU since 2017, had initiated the creation a temporary investigative commission of the Verkhovna Rada and has sued in court to reopen an investigation into the intrusion into the 2016 election via release of investigative information. The court hearing is scheduled for Oct. 21.

Derkach stated that an Embassy employee requested information from NABU regarding the activity of former ecology minister Nikola Zlochevsky who is a subject of the Burizma investigation, claiming Ukrainian investigators believe Zlochevsky had contacted Biden senior via lobbyists and offered to divide the profits of his company. Hunter Biden and other board members as well as several off-shore companies, received more than \$16.5 million. He claimed "the elder" Biden received no less than \$900,000 via Rosemont Seneca partners, for consultations.

Derkach alleged that the Embassy had queried NABU regarding Shokin's "very detailed" personal data, and that this was tied to the Burisma case.

He also published correspondence from Chiz to Uglava regarding conversations with the FBI in the black ledger case, recommending the FBI to interview Larry King.

With regards to Zlochevsky, a one billion hryvna illicit enrichment case had been opened in 2014. According to Derkach, President Trump's lawyer's Rudy Giuliani's notes (published last week according to Derkach, NFI) witness to Zlochevsky case being closed because of fear of the United States. Derkach directly blamed Poroshenko for placing Ukraine and the new President into its current tenuous situation, and caused accusations of the existence of corruption in Ukraine.

During his press conference the MP stated that in Giuliani's notes, there was mention of the U.S. Vice President's direction to hold up financial aid to Ukraine in the amount of \$1 billion. According to Shokin, he had an investigative plan regarding Burisma that would include questioning of its board members.

Derkach called for an investigation into Ukrainian intrusion into U.S. elections, as well as all the corrupt officials who took part in this. He called on Ryaboshapka and others to ensure no case materials suddenly "get lost." He claimed recently case materials relating to European gas sales to Ukraine via ERU trading went missing.

He has requested Gizo and Polina be removed from activity during the case, and claimed that he will initiate cases against those who had pressured Shokin.

## Q&A

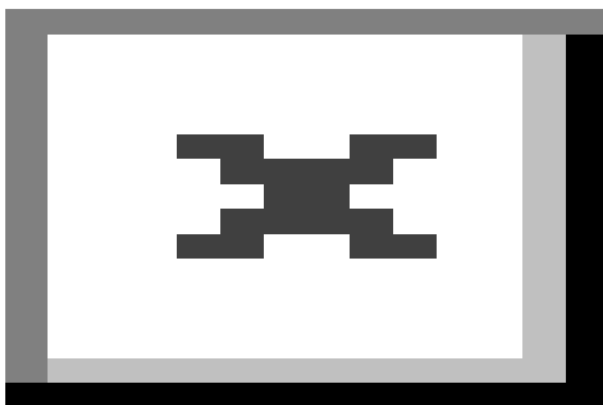
He was asked whether he knew the materials he was publicizing were real, and he said he "was certain of it" and some of these materials were in PGO files, and even if they had gone missing, plenty of people had had them. He said there were six Burisma cases, and that PGO had previously investigated the NABU activity he had described.

Asked whether the Rada was interested in creating the committee, he said of course better to open a U.S. case so that the PGO can pass all these documents to the DOJ, but there was massive corruption in the international sphere, and as the Rada was interested in stopping it, it would create the commission.

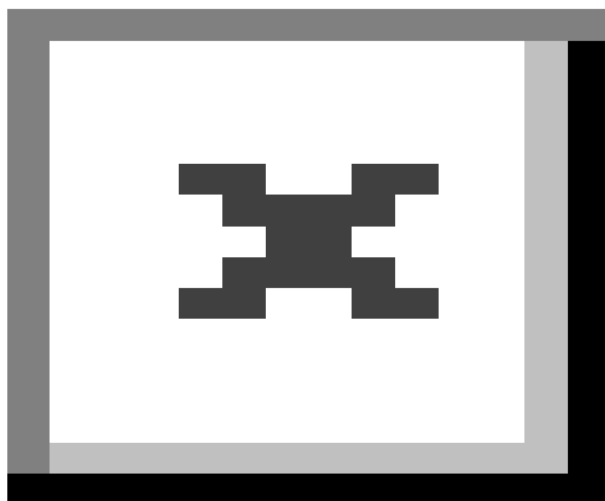
Asked about pressure on Shokin any specifics on such claime? what, when, how, where? Also PGO multiple times said Bidens had not broken any Ukrainian laws, so did he think they had? Finally, is there any case against the Bidens in the U.S. that would allow for the Ukrainian side to pass its investigative materials over to the DOJ? To the latter, he said there is no need for such a case, it's just everyone is interested in "selling these documents internationally" and Ukraine can just pass these docs over. "Of course if Chizh is to be appointed to head the international affairs dept in PGO, that will not happen..." DOJ can investigate on its own once it has the docs in hand. I am no judge to judge Biden. Regarding Shokin, aside from I just showed you regarding NABU actions, he has talked about this himself.

Finished with an English language recap of key points: need good relations with United States, interested in stopping international corruption, must understand how NABU became its nexus.

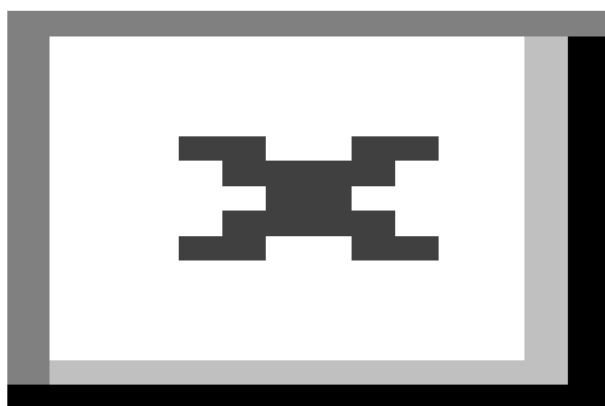
Notably, Derkach did not explain why he, in releasing information he claimed to exist in PGO investigative files was not itself illegal.



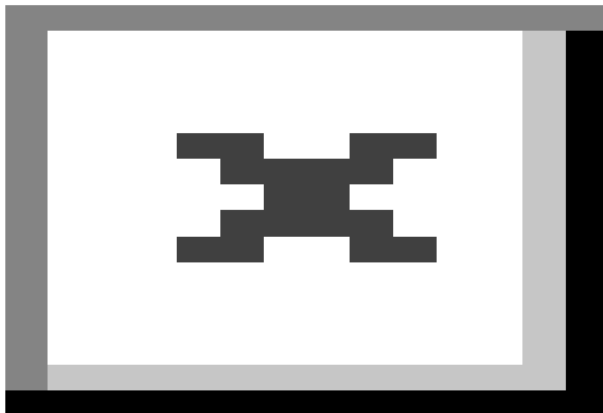
первый слайд



второй слайд



третий слайд



***Узнать больше:***

UNCLASSIFIED			
Sender:	(b)(6)		
	Holmes, David A (Kyiv)	(b)(6)	
Recipient:	(b)(6)		

<b>From:</b>	"Kent, George P"
<b>To:</b>	Freden, Bradley A [REDACTED] (b)(6)
<b>Subject:</b>	enemies lists
<b>Date:</b>	Wed, 27 Mar 2019 18:02:21 +0000

(b)(5)

---

**From:** Freden, Bradley A [REDACTED] (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 27, 2019 2:00 PM  
**To:** Kent, George P [REDACTED] (b)(6)  
**Subject:** RE: (b)(5)

Masha

**Official - Transitory**  
**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** Kent, George P [REDACTED] (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 27, 2019 1:57 PM  
**To:** Freden, Bradley A [REDACTED] (b)(6)  
**Subject:** RE: (b)(5)

(b)(5)

---

**From:** Freden, Bradley A [REDACTED] (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 27, 2019 9:49 AM  
**To:** Kent, George P [REDACTED] (b)(6)  
**Subject:** FW: (b)(5)

(b)(5)

**Personal**  
**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 27, 2019 8:10 AM  
**To:** (b)(6)

(b)(6)

Kent, George P

(b)(6); Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Holmes, David A (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Freden, Bradley A (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Wednesday Updates on The Hill Article, Social Media Commentary, Etc.

**Social Media Commentary:**

-

John Solomon, the Hill (a new tweet from this morning about yesterday evening's article):

Why was the Obama administration funding a Soros group in Ukraine during the 2016 election and Manafort probe? And why did US embassy seek to protect the group? *[link to last night's article]*

Chris Miller, RFE/RL (commenting on the abovementioned article):

This sentence alone makes it pretty clear @jsolomonReports hasn't the slightest clue what he's writing about: "...Yuri Lutsenko, widely regarded as a hero in the West for spending two years in prison after fighting Russian aggression in his country..."

Matthew Shaaf, Freedom House (commenting on the abovementioned article):

Ukrainian politicians try to play DC politics in an effort to weaken key anti-corruption institutions and distract from challenges at home. DC insiders respond, yes please! and throw in a little Soros bashing

Ukrainian journalist Volodymyr Boiko:

The American official publication - The Hill - continues to please its readers with a story about what's happening in Ukraine under the roof of the United States embassy. The next publication is about the activities of the conversion center entitled "ANTAC," which is registered as a public organization (ie the main source of income should be membership fees).

The article mentions how, through the accounts of this pseudo-public organization (and, incidentally, it has 20 accounts with bank institutions), American government assistance that was assigned to the Government of Ukraine, in particular for holding competitions for administrative posts in the prosecutor's office in Ukraine, has been stolen.

This story is well known to me and if American journalists or law enforcement agencies turn to me, I would like to hand them documents, and tell them how a professional "public activist" Vitaliy Shabunin, [who should be in not only Ukrainian, but also American prison], international swindler David Sakvarelidze, FBI representative in Ukraine Karen Greenaway, and U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary George Kent stole US \$ 4 million, which were allocated by the U.S Government.

This money was supposed to arrive in the account of the General Prosecutor's Office of Ukraine to pay for the development of examinations and prosecutorial post selections. But in August 2015, Kent summoned Sakvarelidze to the embassy and, without any authority, Sakvarelidze signed a letter stating that the GPU refused these funds; instead they had to be redirected to the account of private lobbyist Shabunin's company and the Odesa regional state administration headed at that time by Saakashvili. After that, the American taxpayers' money was redirected and transferred to cash and settled in the pockets of "fighters of corruption."

It's telling that Karen Greenaway, who was party to this scam and mentioned by The Hill, after having left the FBI in December 2018 (this was the result of an investigation into NABU's involvement in the US presidential election in 2016), went to work at this very ANTAC.

I recommend reading the article in the American outlet close to the United States Department of State, The Hill

#### ANTAC/ Shabunin:

Lutsenko's lies continue to spread in the world. A new column appeared on The Hill. This time about us: <http://bit.ly/2uv2sUP>.

Most of all, we liked the part about Lutsenko, who fought Russian aggression in 2010 and was in prison for that.

And again, the article mentions a fake case involving theft of \$4 million, which Lutsenko himself called "idiotic" and closed. Again about "Yovanovitch's List" ....

If only part of what the current Prosecutor General tells the American media was true, he would go to testify to law enforcement in the United States.

But he does not go. Because in the United States you go to jail for lying. For several years.

We are reading and preparing refutations.

#### Vitaly Shabunin: (written with sarcasm)

The "ordered material" in the opinion section (not editorial material) of the American The Hill against ANTAC is direct acknowledgment [of the importance of our anti-corruption work] <http://bit.ly/2UYCIBo>. Yuriy Lutsenko, Petro Poroshenko, thank you.

Later, we will refute the message of the author, who (by the way, not for the first time), has mixed together Soros, Trump, Lutsenko, the U.S. ambassador, the State Department and millions of stolen dollars :)

I will quote from the article that demonstrates its "professionalism": "Yuri Lutsenko, widely regarded as a hero in the West for spending two years in prison after fighting aggression in his country."

Reminder: Yuriy Lutsenko went to jail (illegally, in my opinion) in 2010 - FOUR YEARS before the beginning of Russian aggression.

Yuriy Lutsenko is a pathological liar: if at least a part of what he said was true, he should have formally turned to the U.S. law enforcement agencies to demand an investigation to punish the perpetrators.

He did not do this for a simple reason - a lie to U.S. law enforcement is punishable by imprisonment. By the way, it is a good norm - it is necessary to implement in our legislation.

The campaign for discrediting ANTAC is gaining momentum. Petro Poroshenko, when you win, do not restrain yourself - just put us in jail, why these preludes?



And it's fun to watch what kind of media will disband this ordered material. A reminder that Lutsenko closed the case against the ANTAC THREE MONTHS before Yovanovitch arrived in Ukraine.

UPDATE: TheBabel first published the news in Ukrainian media <http://bit.ly/2UXuFiH>. I repeat - Lutsenko closed the case against the Center for the Fight Against Corruption THREE MONTHS before Yovanovitch arrives in Ukraine. L stands for "logic."

Dariya Kaleniuk, ANTAC:

I very much hope that Yuriy Lutsenko will be summoned for questioning by the U.S. Department of Justice or by Congress. And at this interrogation he will provide the same lies he is feeding Ukraine with. Because for lies in the United States you go to jail for several years.

And so a new lie from Lutsenko: a hint that Biden demanded the release of Shokin, because he very much wanted to investigate Zlochevsky.

Truth: the case against Zlochevsky dramatically poured into the GPU under Yarema, and then finished for Shokin and Lutsenko. Separately distinguished Nazar Kholodnitsky.

In December 2014, the GPU issued a certificate to Zlochevsky's lawyers, which they presented in a court in London, where British law enforcers froze 23.5 million dollars in Burisma accounts. This certificate is one of the main arguments for the freezing of these funds in Britain. After that, the Prosecutor General becomes Shokin, the case is sluggishly investigated.

The Americans and the British are outraged by such an apparent merger of criminal proceedings. In September 2015, Ambassador Pyatt publicly calls for the investigation of those officials of the GPU who have not provided the British prosecutor with evidence of Zlochevsky and who buried the case <http://bit.ly/2U8Q3o9>

In January 2016, the case with the GPU calls for the study by NABU, after the prosecutors do not find evidence of Zlochevsky's fault, but find evidence of a violation of the law in obtaining permits for gas extraction. NABU's evidence was transferred to the SAPO, but Nazar Holodnitsky magically missed the deadline in the 6 months of filing the lawsuit to cancel these permits. Ukraine loses the opportunity to return illegally issued permits for gas extraction to subsidiaries of Burisma. Here we describe in detail the role of Nazar Holodnitsky and Lutsenko in the storm of the proceedings against Zlochevsky.

<http://bit.ly/2Yp4WBV>

Daria Kaleniuk:

More lies and manipulations from Lutsenko, who turned out to be a hero who spent 2 years in prison for fighting Russian aggression.

Yuriy Lutsenko himself re-qualified the case against Zlochevsky for illegal enrichment and money laundering in tax evasion by one of Zlochevsky's companies in October 2016 and closed the criminal proceedings in the fall of 2016.

**Official - SBU**  
**UNCLASSIFIED**

From: (b)(6)

Sent: Wednesday, March 27, 2019 11:48 AM

To: (b)(6)

(b)(6)

; Kent, George P

(b)(6)	(b)(6)	Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)
(b)(6)	(b)(6)	(b)(6)
(b)(6)	Holmes, David A (Kyiv)	(b)(6)
(b)(6)	Freden, Bradley A	(b)(6)
(b)(6)		
(b)(6)	Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv EXEC@state.gov>;	(b)(6)
(b)(6)		

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Wednesday Updates on The Hill Article, Social Media Commentary, Etc.

Yuriy Butusov, Editor-in-chief of Censor.net, posts on his Facebook page (rough translation):

<https://www.facebook.com/butusov.yuriy/posts/2798311563542455>

Ukraine directly affects the largest political scandals in the presidential elections of 2018-2020 in the United States! I studied the allegations of the Prosecutor General against the U.S. Ambassador [Yovanovitch], collected exclusive comments from Prosecutor General Lutsenko, Special Prosecutor Kholodnytskyi, SBU General Trepak and MP Leshchenko, and it turned out that Ukraine is now the main intrigue of the 2018 and 2020 elections in the United States.

I think that:

1. Lutsenko's allegations against US Ambassador Yovanovitch are agreed upon with the U.S. President Trump administration.
2. Poroshenko and Lutsenko are helping Trump to repel the Democrats' attack on Manafort and strike the democratic candidate Biden - Lutsenko's statement is related in time to the chronology of the announcement of Manafort's verdict.
3. I think the list of Marie Yovanovitch actually did not exist. But I fully admit that the U.S. Ambassador could have been asking the prosecutor general about the case of the illicit enrichment of the MP Sergey Leschenko, and he interpreted this in his own way. Neither there is evidence of the biased position of the U.S. Ambassador.
4. NABU has disclosed the investigation data about Manafort without the permission of the procedural curator, and most likely at the request of someone from the staff of the U.S. Embassy. But it doesn't mean that Yovanovitch herself asked to do it, I think she acted in good faith.
5. It turns out that Clinton's Democrats got Ukrainian politicians involved in discrediting Republican Trump, and Trump got Ukrainian politicians involved in discrediting Democrats and Biden. Ukrainian topic remains one of the main ones in American politics.

Link to the longer article about this by Butusov:

[https://censor.net.ua/resonance/3118475/poroshenko\\_podderjal\\_trampa\\_v\\_atake\\_na\\_demokraticheskuyu\\_partiyu\\_ssha\\_genprokuror\\_lutsenko\\_vse\\_chto](https://censor.net.ua/resonance/3118475/poroshenko_podderjal_trampa_v_atake_na_demokraticheskuyu_partiyu_ssha_genprokuror_lutsenko_vse_chto)

**Official**

## UNCLASSIFIED

From: (b)(6)

Sent: Wednesday, March 27, 2019 8:27 AM

To: (b)(6)

(b)(6)

; Kent, George P

(b)(6) (b)(6)

Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)

(b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

Holmes, David A (Kyiv) (b)(6)

(b)(6) Freden, Bradley A

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

; Kyiv EXEC &lt;Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov&gt;; (b)(6)

(b)(6)

Cc: EUR-Press &lt;EUR-Press-DL@state.gov&gt;

Subject: RE: Wednesday Updates on The Hill Article, Social Media Commentary, Etc.

Just published by Kyiv Post:

**Anti-Corruption Action Center: Lutsenko's speculation regarding Burisma**By **Daria Kaleniuk**, **Tetiana Shevchuk**, **Olena Halushka**.

Published March 27. Updated March 27 at 8:03 am

On March 20, 2019, Yuriy Lutsenko, the prosecutor general of Ukraine, gave a controversial interview to The Hill political new website. His comments were saturated with speculation. Apart from the groundless attack against National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine (NABU) director Artem Sytnyk and the U.S. Ambassador Marie L. Yovanovitch, Lutsenko also made some loud allegation claiming that Sytnyk closed criminal investigations against Mykola Zlochevsky's Burisma company. On March 25, Ukrainian media announced that Lutsenko and Special Anti-Corruption Prosecutor Nazar Kholodnytsky recorded other pieces of the interview for The Hill regarding Burisma.

Burisma appeared in this scandal not accidentally. This is an energy exploration and production company operating in the Ukrainian oil and gas market. During President Viktor Yanukovich's presidency, which ended on Feb. 22, 2014, amid the EuroMaidan Revolution, Zlochevsky used to be the minister of environmental protection in 2010-2012 and deputy secretary of the National Security and Defense Council in 2012-2014.

In order to gain international weight right after the EuroMaidan Revolution, the company appointed some well-known people to the board of directors, among whom is Hunter Biden, a son of former U.S. Vice President Joe Biden.

In his infamous interview, Lutsenko hinted on warm relations between Biden and Sytnyk and then claimed that NABU closed the case against Burisma.

The irony is that, actually, it was the Prosecutor General's Office (PGO) who repeatedly covered Zlochevsky up from the criminal prosecution. Moreover, the only ongoing investigations into activities of Zlochevsky's companies are conducted by NABU.

In total there were four criminal proceedings related to Burisma and Zlochevsky's time in office, two of which were watered down by the Prosecutor General's Office and two are still investigated by NABU. These are:

- the criminal case concerning the arrest of Zlochevsky's money in the U.K. and personally charging Zlochevskyi with illicit enrichment was sabotaged and later closed by prosecutors;
- in the other Prosecutor General's Office case, companies related to Burisma suddenly disappeared from the list of suspects;
- two cases regarding the extraction of licenses by Zlochevsky's companies and embezzlement of public funds at the ministry's procurements during Zlochevskyi's Ministerial tenure remain active and are investigated by NABU.
- 

None of the criminal proceedings against Burisma was closed by NABU. Let us explain to you more in details.

### **Prosecutors helped Zlochevsky to unfreeze assets in the U.K.**

In 2014-2015, the prosecutor's office, managed by then Prosecutor General Vitaliy Yarema, assisted Zlochevsky with unblocking \$23.5 million seized in the U.K.

In April 2014, British law enforcement officers opened a case into possible \$35 million money laundering allegedly committed by Zlochevsky. The Ukrainian party became aware of this in late July 2014.

However, instead of providing maximum support and evidence for British investigation, the PGO issued two controversial letters to Zlochevsky's defense party claiming "uncertain legal status and absence of notification of suspicion of Mykola Zlochevsky." In the meantime, the British law enforcers received just a partial response on their inquiry.

The PGO announced charges to Zlochevsky only in December 2014, but this was too late. The London court decided to unblock the seized assets, as the Prosecutor General's Office failed to provide evidence on illicit origin of \$23.5 million on the accounts of Zlochevsky's companies.

Back in September 2015, U.S. Ambassador Geoff Pyatt during a speech highlighted that the Prosecutor General's Office sabotaged cooperation with the U.K. authorities on the case and called that "the misconduct by the PGO officials who wrote those letters should be investigated, and those responsible for subverting the case by authorizing those letters should – at a minimum – be summarily terminated.' Such a statement shows anything but Joe Biden's alleged attempt to help Burisma avoid justice.

### **PGO blurred money laundering and illicit enrichment charges against Zlochevskyi**

In the course of the abovementioned investigation, on Dec. 29, 2014, Zlochevsky was notified of charges in illicit enrichment in large-scale and money laundering. To investigate this case, Ukrainian investigators had to establish the origin and legitimacy of significant funds on bank accounts of companies belonging to Zlochevskyi as a former top official.

However, despite considerable public attention, the illicit enrichment of Zlochevskiy was never properly investigated and sent to the court – in two years the investigation mystically transformed into the case of tax evasion by chief accountant of one the Burisma holding companies. This was done under the Yuriy Lutsenko's leadership at the PGO.

In the same criminal proceeding into alleged illicit enrichment, in October 2016, PGO investigators asked the State Fiscal Service to hold an unscheduled tax audit of Esko-Pivnich LLC, one of the companies of Burisma holding. The audit concerned the period of 8 months of 2016 and established some violations. As a result, the chief accountant of the company was declared a scapegoat and notified of suspicion of tax evasion.

The accountant paid outstanding taxes as prescribed by the audit, thus eliminating the grounds for criminal charges in tax evasion. The amount paid by accountant constituted 50 million UAH (approx. \$1.9 mln), which was only a fraction of alleged evasion.

However, this resulted also in closure in November 2016 of the criminal proceedings regarding possible illicit enrichment and money laundering allegedly committed by Zlochevsky. Available information shows no logic in the actions of PGO investigators who combined the episode of company's tax evasion in 2016 with the criminal proceedings on illicit enrichment and money laundering allegedly committed by Zlochevskyi in 2010-2014.

### **PGO covered up Burisma in the case of embezzlement of Ukgazvydobuvannya funds**

Since May 7, 2014, PGO was investigating alleged criminal activity of Ukrainian subsidiaries of Burisma, which in conspiracy with state-owned enterprise Ukgasvydobuvannya caused substantive losses to Ukrainian budget. Burisma subsidiaries were suspected of extracting and selling gas in Ukraine for significantly discounted prices to related companies to reduce official profits, which according to the agreements on joint activity had to be shared with the state-owned company.

On July 7, 2016, Lutsenko personally held a press briefing and accused Burisma subsidiaries of conspiracy and tax evasion amounting to Hr 1 billion (\$70 million) during 2014-2015.

Strangely enough, starting from October 2016 the criminal investigation abruptly stopped mentioning subsidiaries of Burisma. Thus, the company was cleared even without closing criminal investigation.

### **SAPO sabotaged justice for Burisma for illegal obtaining extraction licences**

The other criminal case related to Burisma concerns illegal natural resources extraction licenses issued to Burisma group companies by officials of the Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources during 2010-2015. The case was investigated by the PGO until the end of 2015 and in December 2015 transferred to NABU.

NABU established the violations during the issue of licences, namely absence of obligatory approval of the municipal authorities. The evidence confirming this was promptly transferred by NABU to the Specialized Anti-corruption Prosecution office (SAPO) to take administrative court actions to cancel these licences as illegal.

SAPO, however, groundlessly missed procedural deadlines for a lawsuit on cancelling extracting licences in question: having had complete grounds for lawsuit since January 2016, SAPO only filed the case in August 2016. SAPO avoided giving a thorough explanation of why it took so long to file a claim. The case was dismissed by the court due to missed deadlines and the Appellate Court upheld this decision. As a result, Burisma companies still benefiting from these highly questionable extraction licences.

Later, on August 1, 2017, SAPO closed the criminal case stating that there was not enough evidence to prove the crime. On June 15, 2018, the investigation was renewed following the appeal of MP Tetiana Chornovol. As of March 2019, the NABU investigation is ongoing.

In addition, as of March 2019, NABU has also an ongoing investigation into alleged embezzlement of state funds totaling to Hr 49 million (\$8 million) at public procurement of consulting services for implementing technologies of remote land exploration. The case does not directly concern Zlochevsky or Burisma, but regards the ministry's activity during his tenure. The case was transferred from the PGO to NABU at the beginning of 2016.

*Daria Kaleniuk is the executive director of the Anti-Corruption Action Center. She is experienced in international legal mechanisms for anti-corruption actions, particularly in stolen assets recovery and anti-money laundering initiatives. Kaleniuk holds a master's degree in financial services law from Chicago-Kent College of Law. She was a Fullbright program student in 2010-2011.*

*Tetiana Shevchuk is a lawyer with the Anti-Corruption Action Center in Kyiv.*

*Olena Halushka is the head of international relations at the Anti-Corruption Action Center.*

**Official  
UNCLASSIFIED**

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 27, 2019 8:17 AM  
**To:** (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Kent, George P  
 (b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Holmes, David A (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Freden, Bradley A (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** Wednesday Updates on The Hill Article, Social Media Commentary, Etc.

Below is some social media commentary from overnight, plus the latest Hill column published overnight for those who have not yet seen it.

**Tweets by John Solomon (author of The Hill piece)**

Many members of Congress I talked with today said they did not know US tax dollars were going to support a Soros group in Ukraine. [\[link to article\]](#)

1.8K retweets, 229 [comments](#)

US embassy pressed Ukraine to drop probe of George Soros group during 2016 election

2.2K retweets, 197 [comments](#)

**Sebastian Gorka** tweeted the latest Hill piece, with the comment: "Why @BarackObama?"

**Nina Jankowicz, Wilson Center, sharing yesterday's Washington Post column:**

Please, I am begging you, let this excellent piece by [@melindaharing](#) put the "Ukraine-Clinton collusion" narrative that is now targeting Amb. Yovanovitch to bed.

**Molly Montgomery of Brookings, sharing yesterday's Washington Post column:**

[.@melindaharing](#) is right. If we allow Ukraine to push out an ambassador they don't like because she's tough on them in all the right ways, it will be open season on every ambassador who does his/her job and doggedly pursues US interests. The Administration is getting played.

**Former Amb Pifer, responding to a critical tweet about Amb Y creating the “fake Kolchuga case” (before the latest Hill column):**

You are correct that Kolchuga case hit US-Ukraine relations hard. You are wrong that Amb Yovanovitch created it. What caused problem was recording in which President Kuchma was heard approving transfer of Kolchugas to Iraq.

**Former DRL A/S Melia, responding to a post in support of Amb Y:**

Agree 100%. This is absurd. Masha Yovanovitch is the gold standard in professionalism in diplomacy. Smart, battle-tested and accomplished.

**The Hill: US embassy pressed Ukraine to drop probe of George Soros group during 2016 election**

While the 2016 presidential race was raging in America, Ukrainian prosecutors ran into some unexpectedly strong headwinds as they pursued an investigation into the activities of a nonprofit in their homeland known as the Anti-Corruption Action Centre (AntAC).

The focus on AntAC — whose youthful street activists famously wore “Ukraine F\*&k Corruption” T-shirts — was part of a larger probe by Ukraine’s Prosecutor General’s Office into whether \$4.4 million in U.S. funds to fight corruption inside the former Soviet republic had been improperly diverted.

The prosecutors soon would learn the resistance they faced was blowing directly from the U.S. Embassy in Kiev, where the Obama administration took the rare step of trying to press the Ukrainian government to back off its investigation of both the U.S. aid and the group.

“The investigation into the Anti-Corruption Action Center (sic), based on the assistance they have received from us, is similarly misplaced,” then-embassy Charge d’Affaires George Kent wrote the prosecutor’s office in April 2016 in a letter that also argued U.S. officials had no concerns about how the U.S. aid had been spent.

At the time, the nation’s prosecutor general had just been fired, under pressure from the United States, and a permanent replacement had not been named.

A few months later, Yuri Lutsenko, widely regarded as a hero in the West for spending two years in prison after fighting Russian aggression in his country, was named prosecutor general and invited to meet new U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovitch.



Lutsenko told me he was stunned when the ambassador “gave me a list of people whom we should not prosecute.” The list included a founder of the AntAC group and two members of Parliament who vocally supported the group’s anti-corruption reform agenda, according to a source directly familiar with the meeting.

It turns out the group that Ukrainian law enforcement was probing was co-funded by the Obama administration and liberal mega-donor George Soros. And it was collaborating with the FBI agents investigating then-Trump campaign manager Paul Manafort’s business activities with pro-Russian figures in Ukraine.

The implied message to Ukraine’s prosecutors was clear: Don’t target AntAC in the middle of an America presidential election in which Soros was backing Hillary Clinton to succeed another Soros favorite, Barack Obama, Ukrainian officials said.

“We ran right into a buzzsaw and we got bloodied,” a senior Ukrainian official told me.

Lutsenko suggested the embassy applied pressure because it did not want Americans to see who was being funded with its tax dollars. “At the time, Ms. Ambassador thought our interviews of the Ukrainian citizens, of the Ukrainian civil servants who were frequent visitors in the U.S. Embassy, could cast a shadow on that anti-corruption policy,” he said.

State officials told me privately they wanted Ukraine prosecutors to back off AntAC because they feared the investigation was simply retribution for the group’s high-profile efforts to force anti-corruption reforms inside Ukraine, some of which took authorities and prestige from the Prosecutor General’s Office.

But it was an unusual intervention, the officials acknowledged. “We’re not normally in the business of telling a country’s police force who they can and can’t pursue, unless it involves an American citizen we think is wrongly accused,” one official said.

In the end, no action was taken against AntAC and it remains thriving today. Nonetheless, the anecdote is taking on new significance.

First, it conflicts with the State Department’s official statement last week after Lutsenko first mentioned the do-not-prosecute list. The embassy responded that the claim was a fabrication and a sign that corruption is alive and well inside Ukraine.

But Kent's letter unequivocally shows the embassy did press Ukrainian prosecutors to back off what normally would be considered an internal law enforcement matter inside a sovereign country. And more than a half-dozen U.S. and Ukrainian sources confirmed to me the AntAC case wasn't the only one in which American officials exerted pressure on Ukrainian investigators in 2016.

When I asked State to explain the letter and inclusion of the Soros-connected names during the meeting, it demurred. "As a general rule, we don't read out private diplomatic meetings," it responded. "Ambassador Yovanovitch represents the President of the United States in Ukraine, and America stands behind her and her statements."

Second, the AntAC anecdote highlights a little-known fact that the pursuit of foreign corruption has resulted in an unusual alliance between the U.S. government and a political mega-donor.

After the Obama Justice Department launched its Kleptocracy Asset Recovery Initiative a decade ago to prosecute corruption in other countries, the State Department, Justice Department and FBI outsourced some of its work in Ukraine to groups funded by Soros.

The Hungarian-American businessman is one of the largest donors to American liberal causes, a champion of the U.S. kleptocracy crackdown and a man with extensive business interests in Ukraine.

One key U.S. partner was AntAC, which received 59 percent (or \$1 million) of its nearly \$1.7 million budget since 2012 from U.S. budgets tied to State and Justice, and nearly \$290,000 from Soros's International Renaissance Foundation, according to the group's donor disclosure records.

The U.S.-Soros collaboration was visible in Kiev. Several senior Department of Justice (DOJ) officials and FBI agents appeared in pictures as participants or attendees at Soros-sponsored events and conferences.

One attendee was Karen Greenaway, then the FBI supervisor in charge of international fraud cases and one of the lead agents in the Manafort investigation in Ukraine. She attended multiple such events and won glowing praise in a social media post from AntAC's executive director.

In one event during 2016, Greenaway and Ambassador Yovanovitch participated alongside AntAC's executive director, Daria Kaleniuk, and Lutsenko was present. The message was clear: The embassy supported AntAC.

The FBI confirmed Greenaway's contacts with the Soros group, saying they were part of her investigative work: "In furtherance of the FBI's mission and in the course of their duties, FBI employees routinely travel and participated in public forums in an official capacity. At a minimum, all such travel and speaking engagements are authorized by the employee's direct supervisor and can receive further authorization all the way up to the relevant division head, along with an ethics official determination."

Greenaway recently retired, and Soros's AntAC soon after announced she was joining its supervisory board.

Internal memos from Soros's umbrella charity organization, Open Society Foundations, describe a concerted strategy of creating friendships inside key government agencies such as State, DOJ and the FBI that can be leveraged inside the countries Soros was targeting for anti-corruption activism.

"We have broadly recognized the importance of developing supportive constituencies in order to make headway in tightening the global web of anti-corruption accountability," a Feb. 21, 2014, memo states. "We first conceived of this in terms of fostering and helping to build a political environment favorable to high-level anti-corruption cases."

That same memo shows Soros's organization wanted to make Ukraine a top priority, starting in 2014, and planned to use the Anti-Corruption Action Centre as its lead.

"Ukraine: Behind the scenes advice and support to Ukrainian partner Anti-Corruption Action Centre's efforts to generate corruption litigation in Europe and the U.S. respecting state assets stolen by senior Ukrainian leaders," the memo states.

The memo included a chart of Ukrainians the Soros team wanted to have pursued, including some with ties to Manafort.

Senior U.S. law enforcement officials confirmed to me that the early kleptocracy collaborations inside Ukraine led to highly visible U.S. actions against the oligarch Dmitri Firtash, a major target of the Soros group, and Manafort. Firtash is now

represented by former Hillary Clinton lawyer Lanny Davis and former U.S. Attorney Dan Webb.

Documents posted online by Open Society Foundations show that after U.S. officials scored some early successes in corruption cases in Ukraine, such as asset forfeitures, AntAC requested to receive some of the seized money.

“Ukrainian NGO Anticorruption Action Centre (AntAC) petitioned the United States Justice Department on behalf of Ukrainian civil society to dedicate the nearly \$3 million in forfeited and seized assets allegedly laundered by former Ukrainian Prime Minister Pavlo Lazarenko, to creating an anti-corruption training facility,” a 2015 foundation document stated.

Spokespersons for AntAC and Open Society Foundations did not respond to repeated requests for comment.

Michael Vachon, a spokesman for Soros, deferred any comment about AntAC to the group. But he did he confirm his boss supported the continued investigation of Russia collusion allegations against Trump well past 2016.

Vachon said Soros wrote a sizable check from his personal funds in fall 2017 to a new group, Democracy Integrity Project, started by a former FBI agent and Senate staffer Daniel Jones to continue “investigation and research into foreign interference in American elections and European elections.”

Vachon said the group asked Soros not to divulge the size of his contribution, and Soros later learned the group hired Fusion GPS, the same firm that was paid by Hillary Clinton’s campaign and the Democratic Party to create the infamous “Steele dossier” alleging Trump-Russia collusion.

The he said-she said battle playing out between Ukraine’s chief prosecutor and the American ambassador doesn’t benefit either side, but an honest, complete and transparent account of what the embassy communicated to Ukraine’s law enforcement does.

And the tale of AntAC raises some cogent questions:

- Why would the U.S. Embassy intervene on a Ukrainian internal investigation and later deny it exerted such pressure?
- Did Soros’s role as a major political funder have any impact?

- Do Americans want U.S. tax dollars commingled with activists' private funds when it comes to anti-corruption probes?

Someone in State and Congress should try to get the answers.

**Official**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

<b>Sender:</b>	"Kent, George P"	
<b>Recipient:</b>	(b)(6)	

<b>From:</b>	(b)(6)
<b>To:</b>	
<b>Subject:</b>	FW: Derkach press conference- TSN commentary request
<b>Date:</b>	Wed, 9 Oct 2019 11:45:17 +0000

(b)(6) sent 1+1 to EUR Press.

(b)(

UNCLASSIFIED

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 9, 2019 12:05 PM  
**To:** (b)(6)  
**Cc:**  
**Subject:** RE: Derkach press conference- TSN commentary request

Studio 1+1's TSN is the first one to ask for Embassy comment to allegations by Derkach, in particular about the NABU's communications with the Embassy.

TSN will have a story on this in their 16:45 newscast, and then, an expanded version in 19:30 newscast, so they ask to record the commentary preferably before 16:00.

Contact: Iryna, TSN producer, (b)(6)

UNCLASSIFIED

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 9, 2019 12:00 PM  
**To:** (b)(6)  
**Cc:**  
**Subject:** RE: Derkach press conference at Interfax Wednesday morning

Ukr Pravda: MP Derkach released information about the influence of the U.S. Embassy on NABU

Member of Parliament Andriy Derkach, the initiator of a criminal case on interference in U.S. elections, has released documents which show that the First Deputy Director of the National Anti-Corruption Bureau, Gizo Uhlava, for several years provided the U.S. Embassy in Kyiv with information that adversely affected the course of events in Ukraine and the U.S.

"A correspondence of NABU staff and U.S. Embassy staff for several years will be released, contained in the state treason case file under Article 111 of the Criminal Code, as well as documents in 6 criminal proceedings against Burisma, featuring former U.S. Vice President Joe Biden and his son Hunter.

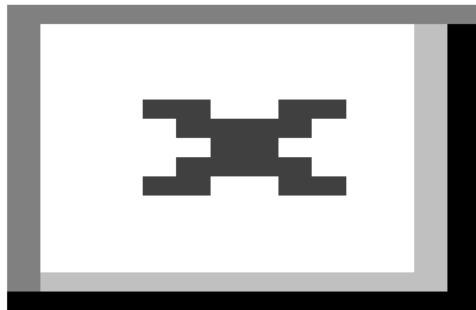
The first deputy director of NABU, Gizo Uhlava, through his assistant Polina Chizh, for a long time provided the U.S. Embassy with information that influenced events in Ukraine and the USA. NABU has leaked information to U.S. Embassy staff and coordinated a number of high-profile cases. "

According to Derkach, these documents evidence about control of NABU to a separate representative of the U.S. Embassy's diplomatic mission, the pressure of the U.S. Embassy from 2016 to 2018 on Ukrainian law enforcement officers, the intervention of Ukrainian law enforcement and state officials in the 2016 U.S. election, and the possible corruption of Biden and his son Hunter.

Derkach also said that he had documents on pressure on former Prosecutor General Viktor Shokin in the context of the investigation into the Burisma company.

MP assured that he received the documents from investigative journalists, who are worried about their safety and life.

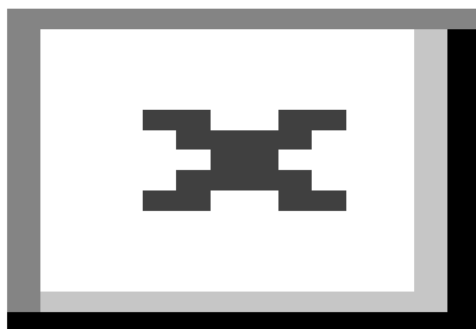
Derkach explained that an embassy employee [Ganna Emelianova] is asking the NABU about the activities of former environment minister Mykola Zlochevsky, who is involved in an investigation into Burisma. According to Ukrainian law enforcement officers, Zlochevsky contacted Joe Biden through lobbyists and offered to split the profits of the gas company.



Hunter Biden received more than \$ 16.5 million.

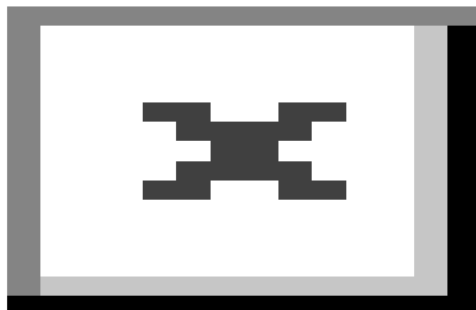
As for Zlochevsky, a case of illegal enrichment of about UAH 1 billion was opened in 2014. According to Derkach, the notes of the U.S. President' lawyer Rudolf Giuliani, who published earlier, indicate that they closed the case against Zlochevsky because of fear of the United States.

MP at a press conference said that Giuliani's notes referred to U.S. Vice President Biden's order to withhold \$ 1 billion in financial assistance to Ukraine. According to Shokin, he had a plan to investigate Burisma, including questioning board members.



NABU collected information about Shokin.

Derkach has announced that Joe Biden has received more than \$ 900,000 from Burisma. In particular, investigators say he received the funds through Rosemont Seneca Partners' lobbying accounts for "advisory services."



UNCLASSIFIED

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 9, 2019 11:18 AM  
**To:** (b)(6)  
**Cc:**  
**Subject:** FW: Derkach press conference at Interfax Wednesday morning

(b)(6) could you do a brief summary of this?



UNCLASSIFIED

**From:** (b)(6)**Sent:** Wednesday, October 9, 2019 9:58 AM**To:** Kyiv PAS Press <[KyivPASPress@state.gov](mailto:KyivPASPress@state.gov)>**Subject:** Derkach press conference at Interfax Wed mording

Press conference by MP Andrii Derkach starts at Interfax at 10 AM. Topic: "Publicizing facts of pressure by the U.S. Embassy on law-enforcement bodies of Ukraine aiming at interference in the elsctoral process in the United States." Live feed at: <https://interfax.com.ua/news/video/617662.html>

UNCLASSIFIED

**Sender:** (b)(6)**Recipient:**



**NABU**  
LEAKS

# Справи Burisma та Манафорта як умови надання кредитних гарантій США Україні



*«Цей сучий син має  
бути звільнений»  
(про Шокіна)*

візит Байдена  
у Київ



надання Президента  
України до парламенту  
звіт про звільнення  
Шокіна



надання угоди  
Верховною Радою  
на звільнення  
генпрокурора



оприлюднення  
Указу Президента  
про звільнення  
Шокіна



корупція NABU кредитного  
протидіяння у справі так  
звані «чорні бухгалтерії»  
Партії регіонів (Манафорт)



підписання  
урядом США  
та Україною угоди  
про кредитні  
гарантії на суму  
\$1 млрд

7-8 грудня 2015 р. ➤ 19 лютого 2016 р. ➤ 29 березня 2016 р. ➤ 3 квітня 2016 р. ➤ 30 травня 2016 р. ➤ 3 червня 2016 р.



<b>From:</b>	"Andrews, Jorgan K" (b)(6)
<b>To:</b>	(b)(6)
<b>Subject:</b>	FW: The Independent: Zelensky defends relationship with US after Trump accused of pushing Ukraine to meddle in 2020 election
<b>Date:</b>	Thu, 19 Sep 2019 13:27:40 +0000

FYSA. Key bits summarized by (b)(6) and highlighted immediately below. The drumbeat goes on.

SBU

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Thursday, September 19, 2019 8:27 AM  
**To:** Andrews, Jorgan K (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
**Cc:** (b)(6)  
**Subject:** The Independent: Zelensky defends relationship with US after Trump accused of pushing Ukraine to meddle in 2020 election

Flagging the latest reporting on the Ukraine security sector freeze focused on President Zelensky's comments defending Ukraine's relationship with the United States at the Yalta European Strategy conference in Kyiv last week. The article also alleges that President Trump is withholding a meeting with Zelensky unless the Ukrainians reopen the Burisma case, noting that during a July 25 call President Trump allegedly told Zelensky to reopen the Biden investigation if he wanted to improve relations with the United States.

Best,

(b)(6)

### **Zelensky defends relationship with US after Trump accused of pushing Ukraine to meddle in 2020 election**

**Ukraine's new president insists that relations are 'very good' with the US and that there will be a meeting 'soon'**

Kim Sengupta, Kiev, 20 hours ago

Ukraine's new president Volodymyr Zelensky was fulsome in expressing his gratitude to Donald Trump for the military aid package.

The former professional comedian insisted his relationship with the former reality TV star was "very good" and that he was "sure we will have a meeting in the White House".

But the \$250m (£280m) of arms for Ukrainian forces, which are confronting Russian backed separatists, has been enmeshed in a bitter battle between the US president and his opponents over accusations that he has tried to manipulate it for underhand political reasons.

The Trump administration had in fact suspended the “Ukraine Security Assistance Initiative”, only agreeing to unblock it after rising bipartisan clamour from congress.

The ostensible reason for the hold-up was to ensure that it tallied with US interests.

The real reason, claim critics, was to pressure the Ukrainian government to target Joe Biden – the possible Democrat candidate for next year’s election – through an investigation into corruption allegations against his son.

Members of the Trump administration have claimed that Mr Biden, then Barack Obama’s vice president, had pressured the Ukrainian authorities to drop an investigation into Burisma, an energy company operating in the country, on which his son Hunter was a board member.

The claims against Mr Biden have been denied to a number of news organisations, including The Independent, by Ukrainian and western European officials.

Three Democrat-controlled house committees – Foreign Affairs, Intelligence and Government Reform – have announced that they would investigate whether a host of ethical and legal rules have been violated.

Speaking at the annual Yalta European Strategy (YES) conference held in Kiev last weekend, Mr Zelensky said that he had been careful not to comment publicly on the issue of the American security assistance because he did not want to interfere while the decision was under review.

But the president stressed he was delighted with the decision to release the package, and also with reports that the State Department was putting together a separate aid package worth \$140m.

“Now we can say we have very good relations with the US because now we will get not only \$250m but [an additional] \$140m. When you are waiting for \$250m have the possibility to get \$390m, I like this sort of relationship,” said Mr Zelensky, adding that he hoped to meet the US president soon.

“I am sure we will have a meeting in the White House, because I was invited,” he said.

But there have been claims that Mr Trump had refused to meet Mr Zelensky after his election this year, and that US officials have warned this would continue to be the case unless the Ukrainian authorities reopened the Burisma files.

The house committees’ chairs say they will scrutinise a telephone call between the US president and Mr Zelensky on 25 July, during which Mr Trump allegedly told the Ukrainian president to reopen the Biden investigation if he wanted to improve relations with the US.

They claim that Kurt Volker, the US special representative for Ukraine, was told to intercede with President Zelensky by the White House, and they are looking into the activities of Rudy Giuliani, Mr Trump’s personal lawyer.

Mr Giuliani urged Mr Zelensky soon after his election to focus on the Biden case, but the Ukrainian president is said to have refused, protesting that he did not want to get drawn into American internal politics.

This led to Mr Giuliani cancelling a trip to Kiev, saying he felt that he would be “walking into a group of people that are the enemies of our president ... in some cases the enemies of the United States”.

Mr Giuliani had subsequently met Yuriy Lutsenko, Ukraine’s then chief prosecutor, in New York, a meeting which was followed by Mr Lutsenko beginning an investigation into another Republican claim, that the Hillary Clinton campaign colluded with the previous Ukrainian government of Petro Poroshenko in an effort to obtain damaging information about Mr Trump and the Kremlin.

Mr Trump’s former campaign manager, Paul Manafort, was convicted and jailed over millions he earned from a former boss, Viktor Yanukovich – the pro-Russian leader who had to flee to Russia following the revolution six years ago – in the “Russiagate” investigation carried out by special counsel Robert Mueller.

There was also scrutiny of a Ukrainian MP, Andrii Artemenko, over an alleged deal with Moscow that drew in Michael Cohen – Trump’s former personal lawyer jailed in the Mueller inquiry – and Michael Flynn, Trump’s former national security adviser, who was also convicted by the special counsel.

Mr Giuliani had, in particular, asked for an inquiry into the “Black Ledger”, a tranche of information about Manafort which was supposedly forged.

The Mueller investigation concluded that the documents were genuine. It was reported that Mr Lutsenko had reopened the Biden case.

He denied this, but after facing criticism from the Trump camp, said he was preparing to pass on details of payments made by Burisma to US attorney general William Barr, in case American authorities wanted to check on whether Hunter Biden paid adequate taxes on his income.

Mr Lutsenko, however, was replaced by President Zelensky in August with Ruslan Riaboshapka.

This, according to the house committee officials as well as legal sources in Ukraine, led to a push by the Trump administration to ensure that the new chief prosecutor would pursue the Biden claims.

Mr Giuliani spoke to Andriy Yermak, a Ukrainian aide, in Madrid in the summer and acknowledged, when news of the meeting was revealed, that he had “strongly urged” the Kiev authorities to investigate whether Mr Biden had interfered in the Ukrainian legal process.

Mr Giuliani admitted that his talks with Mr Yermak had been arranged through the State Department but stressed that he had been travelling as a “private citizen” and not an official. He told the New York Times that he urged Mr Yermak to “just investigate the damn things” and left “pretty confident that they’re going to investigate it”.

Mr Biden had been among many western politicians who had criticised the Poroshenko government for doing nothing like enough to tackle corruption, after pledging it would do so in return for massive amounts of aid from Europe, the US and international organisations.

In March 2016, Mr Biden warned that \$1bn in loan guarantees would be withheld by the US unless Kiev addressed the issue of graft and replaced Viktor Shokin, the prosecutor general. Mr Shokin claimed he had started an inquiry into Burisma when he was removed.

But Ukrainian prosecutors have denied to The Independent that the Burisma inquiry, part of a wider investigation into companies owned by Mykola Zlochevsky, a former minister, was even active when the prosecutor general was fired.

Vitaliy Kasko, Mr Shokin's deputy, has produced documents which appear to show that the probe was, in fact, dormant.

Mr Shokin had faced strong criticism from a number of national and international figures.

Anders Aslund, the eminent Swedish economist and senior fellow at the think tank Atlantic Council, had stressed to The Independent when the story first surfaced that it was well known Mr Shokin had "failed to prosecute anybody of significance, protecting both the Yanukovych circle and the Poroshenko group".

Daria Kaleniuk, the executive director of the Anti-Corruption Centre in Ukraine, wanted to point out that Mr Shokin was fired for failing to prosecute cases of corruption, not to block his crusading zeal for doing so.

The main source of the Clinton/Ukraine conspiracy in the 2016 campaign comes from a Ukrainian MP, who claims to have a recording of the head of the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine, Artem Sytnyk, admitting to trying to help the Democrats.

Mr Sytnyk had denied the claim and the authenticity of the recording has been questioned by lawyers and the media.

(b)(6)

Foreign Affairs Officer | Europe Team  
Office of Europe and Asia (INL/EA)  
Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs  
U.S. Department of State

(b)(6)

SBU

<b>Sender:</b>	"Andrews, Jorgan K" (b)(6)	
<b>Recipient:</b>	(b)(6)	



<b>From:</b>	(b)(6)
<b>To:</b>	
<b>Subject:</b>	FW: Wednesday Updates on The Hill Article, Social Media Commentary, Etc.
<b>Date:</b>	Wed, 27 Mar 2019 14:01:20 +0000

Per our conversation.

(b)(6)

Regional Security Officer  
Department of State  
Diplomatic Security Service  
United States Embassy Kyiv, Ukraine

(b)(6)

**Official - SBU**  
**UNCLASSIFIED**

<b>From:</b>	(b)(6)
<b>Sent:</b>	Wednesday, March 27, 2019 2:25 PM
<b>To:</b>	(b)(6)
(b)(6)	Kent, George P
(b)(6)	Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)
(b)(6)	(b)(6)
(b)(6)	; Holmes, David A (Kyiv) (b)(6)
(b)(6)	Freden, Bradley A (b)(6)
(b)(6)	
(b)(6)	Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6)
(b)(6)	

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Wednesday Updates on The Hill Article, Social Media Commentary, Etc.

Below is a Medium article allegedly listing the names on the "Yovanovitch list")

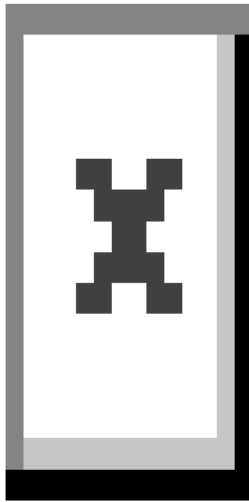
### The names of 'improsecutable' Ukrainians from the Yovanovitch list got out

By Tony Sealy

The main thing appeared in the scandal around the Ukrainian Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko's statement on the list of individuals he should not prosecute given to him by the American Ambassador. That thing is the names. Ukrainians started to actively share the photo leaked out to the web on Facebook communities oppositional to the current President of Ukraine.

(Note: Photo below – in case it doesn't display well for those reading on Blackberries, etc. -- lists the names: Sergej Leshchenko, Mustafa Najem, Svetlana Zalishchuk, Oleg Gladkovskij (Svinarchuk), Svyatoslav Vakarchuk,

*Valeriya Gontareva, Anatolij Gricenko, Boris Lozhkin, Aleksandr Pasenyuk, Sergej Berezenko, Dmitrij Gordon, Arsenij Yatsenuk, Sergej Pashinskij, and also displays what appears to be a business card of George Kent.)*



To recap, earlier on, the Prosecutor General of Ukraine stated in an interview to the Hill that in 2016 US Ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovitch had given him a list of individuals who should not be prosecuted by his department. However, Lutsenko did not mention any names.

The fact that such classified document could get out on the web behind the Trump Administration's back is now as hard to believe as the fact that a high ranked official like Lutsenko could even make such a revelation without the knowledge of Poroshenko.

Most likely Poroshenko himself ordered to set Yovanovitch up trying to gain support of both Donald Trump and the Republicans at the elections. However, Trump did not appreciate such an attempt. He made it clear he never forgave Poroshenko's support of Clinton at the elections in the United States. After receiving an aggressive reaction, Poroshenko instantly passed the buck to Lutsenko, and confirmed he completely backed Yovanovitch. Yet, the last move was still made by the White House. The list of the names that were not mentioned in the sensational interview by the Prosecutor General of Ukraine has magically appeared on the web.

<https://medium.com/@tosealy/the-names-of-improsecutable-ukrainians-from-the-yovanovitch-list-got-out-117b096b02ac>

**Official - SBU**  
**UNCLASSIFIED**

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 27, 2019 2:10 PM  
**To:** (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Kent, George P  
 (b)(6) (b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Holmes, David A (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Freden, Bradley A (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Wednesday Updates on The Hill Article, Social Media Commentary, Etc.

**Social Media Commentary:**

-

John Solomon, the Hill (a new tweet from this morning about yesterday evening's article):

Why was the Obama administration funding a Soros group in Ukraine during the 2016 election and Manafort probe? And why did US embassy seek to protect the group? *[link to last night's article]*

Chris Miller, RFE/RL (commenting on the abovementioned article):

This sentence alone makes it pretty clear @jsolomonReports hasn't the slightest clue what he's writing about: "...Yuri Lutsenko, widely regarded as a hero in the West for spending two years in prison after fighting Russian aggression in his country..."

Matthew Shaaf, Freedom House (commenting on the abovementioned article):

Ukrainian politicians try to play DC politics in an effort to weaken key anti-corruption institutions and distract from challenges at home. DC insiders respond, yes please! and throw in a little Soros bashing

Ukrainian journalist Volodymyr Boiko:

The American official publication - The Hill - continues to please its readers with a story about what's happening in Ukraine under the roof of the United States embassy. The next publication is about the activities of the conversion center entitled "ANTAC," which is registered as a public organization (ie the main source of income should be membership fees).

The article mentions how, through the accounts of this pseudo-public organization (and, incidentally, it has 20 accounts with bank institutions), American government assistance that was assigned to the Government of Ukraine, in particular for holding competitions for administrative posts in the prosecutor's office in Ukraine, has been stolen. This story is well known to me and if American journalists or law enforcement agencies turn to me, I would like to hand them documents, and tell them how a professional "public activist" Vitaliy Shabunin, [who should be in not only Ukrainian, but also American prison], international swindler David Sakvarelidze, FBI representative in Ukraine Karen Greenaway, and U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary George Kent stole US \$ 4 million, which were allocated by the U.S Government.

This money was supposed to arrive in the account of the General Prosecutor's Office of Ukraine to pay for the development of examinations and prosecutorial post selections. But in August 2015, Kent summoned Sakvarelidze to the embassy and, without any authority, Sakvarelidze signed a letter stating that the GPU refused these funds; instead they had to be redirected to the account of private lobbyist Shabunin's company and the Odesa regional state administration headed at that time by Saakashvili. After that, the American taxpayers' money was redirected and transferred to cash and settled in the pockets of "fighters of corruption."

It's telling that Karen Greenaway, who was party to this scam and mentioned by The Hill, after having left the FBI in December 2018 (this was the result of an investigation into NABU's involvement in the US presidential election in 2016), went to work at this very ANTAC.

I recommend reading the article in the American outlet close to the United States Department of State, The Hill

#### ANTAC/ Shabunin:

Lutsenko's lies continue to spread in the world. A new column appeared on The Hill. This time about us: <http://bit.ly/2uv2sUP>.

Most of all, we liked the part about Lutsenko, who fought Russian aggression in 2010 and was in prison for that.

And again, the article mentions a fake case involving theft of \$4 million, which Lutsenko himself called "idiotic" and closed. Again about "Yovanovitch's List" ....

If only part of what the current Prosecutor General tells the American media was true, he would go to testify to law enforcement in the United States.

But he does not go. Because in the United States you go to jail for lying. For several years.

We are reading and preparing refutations.

#### Vitaly Shabunin: (written with sarcasm)

The "ordered material" in the opinion section (not editorial material) of the American The Hill against ANTAC is direct acknowledgment [of the importance of our anti-corruption work] <http://bit.ly/2UYCIBo>. Yuriy Lutsenko, Petro Poroshenko, thank you.

Later, we will refute the message of the author, who (by the way, not for the first time), has mixed together Soros, Trump, Lutsenko, the U.S. ambassador, the State Department and millions of stolen dollars :)

I will quote from the article that demonstrates its "professionalism": "Yuri Lutsenko, widely regarded as a hero in the West for spending two years in prison after fighting aggression in his country."

Reminder: Yuriy Lutsenko went to jail (illegally, in my opinion) in 2010 - FOUR YEARS before the beginning of Russian aggression.

Yuriy Lutsenko is a pathological liar: if at least a part of what he said was true, he should have formally turned to the U.S. law enforcement agencies to demand an investigation to punish the perpetrators.

He did not do this for a simple reason - a lie to U.S. law enforcement is punishable by imprisonment. By the way, it is a good norm - it is necessary to implement in our legislation.

The campaign for discrediting ANTAC is gaining momentum. Petro Poroshenko, when you win, do not restrain yourself - just put us in jail, why these preludes?

And it's fun to watch what kind of media will disband this ordered material. A reminder that Lutsenko closed the case against the ANTAC THREE MONTHS before Yovanovitch arrived in Ukraine.

UPDATE: TheBabel first published the news in Ukrainian media <http://bit.ly/2UXuFiH>. I repeat - Lutsenko closed the case against the Center for the Fight Against Corruption THREE MONTHS before Yovanovitch arrives in Ukraine. L stands for "logic."

Dariya Kaleniuk, ANTAC:

I very much hope that Yuriy Lutsenko will be summoned for questioning by the U.S. Department of Justice or by Congress. And at this interrogation he will provide the same lies he is feeding Ukraine with. Because for lies in the United States you go to jail for several years.

And so a new lie from Lutsenko: a hint that Biden demanded the release of Shokin, because he very much wanted to investigate Zlochevsky.

Truth: the case against Zlochevsky dramatically poured into the GPU under Yarema, and then finished for Shokin and Lutsenko. Separately distinguished Nazar Kholodnitsky.

In December 2014, the GPU issued a certificate to Zlochevsky's lawyers, which they presented in a court in London, where British law enforcers froze 23.5 million dollars in Burisma accounts. This certificate is one of the main arguments for the freezing of these funds in Britain. After that, the Prosecutor General becomes Shokin, the case is sluggishly investigated.

The Americans and the British are outraged by such an apparent merger of criminal proceedings. In September 2015, Ambassador Pyatt publicly calls for the investigation of those officials of the GPU who have not provided the British prosecutor with evidence of Zlochevsky and who buried the case <http://bit.ly/2U8Q3o9>

In January 2016, the case with the GPU calls for the study by NABU, after the prosecutors do not find evidence of Zlochevsky's fault, but find evidence of a violation of the law in obtaining permits for gas extraction. NABU's evidence was transferred to the SAPO, but Nazar Holodnitsky magically missed the deadline in the 6 months of filing the lawsuit to cancel these permits. Ukraine loses the opportunity to return illegally issued permits for gas extraction to subsidiaries of Burisma. Here we describe in detail the role of Nazar Holodnitsky and Lutsenko in the storm of the proceedings against Zlochevsky.

<http://bit.ly/2Yp4WBV>

Daria Kaleniuk:

More lies and manipulations from Lutsenko, who turned out to be a hero who spent 2 years in prison for fighting Russian aggression.

Yuriy Lutsenko himself re-qualified the case against Zlochevsky for illegal enrichment and money laundering in tax evasion by one of Zlochevsky's companies in October 2016 and closed the criminal proceedings in the fall of 2016.

**Official - SBU**  
**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Wednesday, March 27, 2019 11:48 AM

**To:** (b)(6)

(b)(6) Kent, George P  
 (b)(6) (b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Holmes, David A (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Freden, Bradley A (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Wednesday Updates on The Hill Article, Social Media Commentary, Etc.

Yuriy Butusov, Editor-in-chief of Censor.net, posts on his Facebook page (rough translation):

<https://www.facebook.com/butusov.yuriy/posts/2798311563542455>

Ukraine directly affects the largest political scandals in the presidential elections of 2018-2020 in the United States! I studied the allegations of the Prosecutor General against the U.S. Ambassador [Yovanovitch], collected exclusive comments from Prosecutor General Lutsenko, Special Prosecutor Kholodnytskyi, SBU General Trepak and MP Leshchenko, and it turned out that Ukraine is now the main intrigue of the 2018 and 2020 elections in the United States.

I think that:

1. Lutsenko's allegations against US Ambassador Yovanovitch are agreed upon with the U.S. President Trump administration.
2. Poroshenko and Lutsenko are helping Trump to repel the Democrats' attack on Manafort and strike the democratic candidate Biden - Lutsenko's statement is related in time to the chronology of the announcement of Manafort's verdict.
3. I think the list of Marie Yovanovitch actually did not exist. But I fully admit that the U.S. Ambassador could have been asking the prosecutor general about the case of the illicit enrichment of the MP Sergey Leschenko, and he interpreted this in his own way. Neither there is evidence of the biased position of the U.S. Ambassador.
4. NABU has disclosed the investigation data about Manafort without the permission of the procedural curator, and most likely at the request of someone from the staff of the U.S. Embassy. But it doesn't mean that Yovanovitch herself asked to do it, I think she acted in good faith.
5. It turns out that Clinton's Democrats got Ukrainian politicians involved in discrediting Republican Trump, and Trump got Ukrainian politicians involved in discrediting Democrats and Biden. Ukrainian topic remains one of the main ones in American politics.

Link to the longer article about this by Butusov:

[https://censor.net.ua/resonance/3118475/poroshenko\\_podderjal\\_trampa\\_v\\_atake\\_na\\_demokraticheskuyu\\_partiyu\\_ssha\\_genprokuror\\_lutsenko\\_vse\\_chto](https://censor.net.ua/resonance/3118475/poroshenko_podderjal_trampa_v_atake_na_demokraticheskuyu_partiyu_ssha_genprokuror_lutsenko_vse_chto)

**Official  
UNCLASSIFIED**

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Wednesday, March 27, 2019 8:27 AM

**To:** (b)(6)

(b)(6)

Kent, George P

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

Holmes, David A (Kyiv) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

Freden, Bradley A (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**CC:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Wednesday Updates on The Hill Article, Social Media Commentary, Etc.

Just published by Kyiv Post:

**Anti-Corruption Action Center: Lutsenko's speculation regarding Burisma**

By **Daria Kaleniuk**, **Tetiana Shevchuk**, **Olena Halushka**.

Published March 27. Updated March 27 at 8:03 am

On March 20, 2019, Yuriy Lutsenko, the prosecutor general of Ukraine, gave a controversial interview to The Hill political new website. His comments were saturated with speculation. Apart from the groundless attack against National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine (NABU) director Artem Sytnyk and the U.S. Ambassador Marie L. Yovanovitch, Lutsenko also made some loud allegation claiming that Sytnyk closed criminal investigations against Mykola Zlochevsky's Burisma company. On March 25, Ukrainian media announced that Lutsenko and Special Anti-Corruption Prosecutor Nazar Kholodnytsky recorded other pieces of the interview for The Hill regarding Burisma.

Burisma appeared in this scandal not accidentally. This is an energy exploration and production company operating in the Ukrainian oil and gas market. During President Viktor Yanukovich's presidency, which ended on Feb. 22, 2014, amid the EuroMaidan Revolution, Zlochevsky used to be the minister of environmental protection in 2010-2012 and deputy secretary of the National Security and Defense Council in 2012-2014.

In order to gain international weight right after the EuroMaidan Revolution, the company appointed some well-known people to the board of directors, among whom is Hunter Biden, a son of former U.S. Vice President Joe Biden.

In his infamous interview, Lutsenko hinted on warm relations between Biden and Sytnyk and then claimed that NABU closed the case against Burisma.

The irony is that, actually, it was the Prosecutor General's Office (PGO) who repeatedly covered Zlochevsky up from the criminal prosecution. Moreover, the only ongoing investigations into activities of Zlochevsky's companies are conducted by NABU.

In total there were four criminal proceedings related to Burisma and Zlochevsky's time in office, two of which were watered down by the Prosecutor General's Office and two are still investigated by NABU. These are:

- the criminal case concerning the arrest of Zlochevsky's money in the U.K. and personally charging Zlochevskyi with illicit enrichment was sabotaged and later closed by prosecutors;
- in the other Prosecutor General's Office case, companies related to Burisma suddenly disappeared from the list of suspects;
- two cases regarding the extraction of licenses by Zlochevsky's companies and embezzlement of public funds at the ministry's procurements during Zlochevskyi's Ministerial tenure remain active and are investigated by NABU.
- 

None of the criminal proceedings against Burisma was closed by NABU. Let us explain to you more in details.

### **Prosecutors helped Zlochevsky to unfreeze assets in the U.K.**

In 2014-2015, the prosecutor's office, managed by then Prosecutor General Vitaliy Yarema, assisted Zlochevsky with unblocking \$23.5 million seized in the U.K.

In April 2014, British law enforcement officers opened a case into possible \$35 million money laundering allegedly committed by Zlochevsky. The Ukrainian party became aware of this in late July 2014.

However, instead of providing maximum support and evidence for British investigation, the PGO issued two controversial letters to Zlochevsky's defense party claiming "uncertain legal status and absence of notification of suspicion of Mykola Zlochevsky." In the meantime, the British law enforcers received just a partial response on their inquiry.

The PGO announced charges to Zlochevsky only in December 2014, but this was too late. The London court decided to unblock the seized assets, as the Prosecutor General's Office failed to provide evidence on illicit origin of \$23.5 million on the accounts of Zlochevsky's companies.



Back in September 2015, U.S. Ambassador Geoff Pyatt during a speech highlighted that the Prosecutor General's Office sabotaged cooperation with the U.K. authorities on the case and called that "the misconduct by the PGO officials who wrote those letters should be investigated, and those responsible for subverting the case by authorizing those letters should – at a minimum – be summarily terminated.' Such a statement shows anything but Joe Biden's alleged attempt to help Burisma avoid justice.

### **PGO blurred money laundering and illicit enrichment charges against Zlochevskyi**

In the course of the abovementioned investigation, on Dec. 29, 2014, Zlochevsky was notified of charges in illicit enrichment in large-scale and money laundering. To investigate this case, Ukrainian investigators had to establish the origin and legitimacy of significant funds on bank accounts of companies belonging to Zlochevskyi as a former top official.

However, despite considerable public attention, the illicit enrichment of Zlochevskiy was never properly investigated and sent to the court – in two years the investigation mystically transformed into the case of tax evasion by chief accountant of one the Burisma holding companies. This was done under the Yuriy Lutsenko's leadership at the PGO.

In the same criminal proceeding into alleged illicit enrichment, in October 2016, PGO investigators asked the State Fiscal Service to hold an unscheduled tax audit of Esko-Pivnich LLC, one of the companies of Burisma holding. The audit concerned the period of 8 months of 2016 and established some violations. As a result, the chief accountant of the company was declared a scapegoat and notified of suspicion of tax evasion.

The accountant paid outstanding taxes as prescribed by the audit, thus eliminating the grounds for criminal charges in tax evasion. The amount paid by accountant constituted 50 million UAH (approx. \$1.9 mln), which was only a fraction of alleged evasion.

However, this resulted also in closure in November 2016 of the criminal proceedings regarding possible illicit enrichment and money laundering allegedly committed by Zlochevsky. Available information shows no logic in the actions of PGO investigators who combined the episode of company's tax evasion in 2016 with the criminal proceedings on illicit enrichment and money laundering allegedly committed by Zlochevskyi in 2010-2014.

### **PGO covered up Burisma in the case of embezzlement of Ukgazvydobuvannya funds**

Since May 7, 2014, PGO was investigating alleged criminal activity of Ukrainian subsidiaries of Burisma, which in conspiracy with state-owned enterprise Ukgasvydobuvannya caused substantive loses to Ukrainian budget. Burisma subsidiaries were suspected of extracting and selling gas in Ukraine for significantly discounted prices to related companies to reduce official profits, which according to the agreements on joint activity had to be shared with the state-owned company.

On July 7, 2016, Lutsenko personally held a press briefing and accused Burisma subsidiaries of conspiracy and tax evasion amounting to Hr 1 billion (\$70 million) during 2014-2015.

Strangely enough, starting from October 2016 the criminal investigation abruptly stopped mentioning subsidiaries of Burisma. Thus, the company was cleared even without closing criminal investigation.

### **SAPO sabotaged justice for Burisma for illegal obtaining extraction licences**

The other criminal case related to Burisma concerns illegal natural resources extraction licenses issued to Burisma group companies by officials of the Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources during 2010-2015. The case was investigated by the PGO until the end of 2015 and in December 2015 transferred to NABU.

NABU established the violations during the issue of licences, namely absence of obligatory approval of the municipal authorities. The evidence confirming this was promptly transferred by NABU to the Specialized Anti-corruption Prosecution office (SAPO) to take administrative court actions to cancel these licences as illegal.

SAPO, however, groundlessly missed procedural deadlines for a lawsuit on cancelling extracting licences in question: having had complete grounds for lawsuit since January 2016, SAPO only filed the case in August 2016. SAPO avoided giving a thorough explanation of why it took so long to file a claim. The case was dismissed by the court due to missed deadlines and the Appellate Court upheld this decision. As a result, Burisma companies still benefiting from these highly questionable extraction licences.

Later, on August 1, 2017, SAPO closed the criminal case stating that there was not enough evidence to prove the crime. On June 15, 2018, the investigation was renewed following the appeal of MP Tetiana Chornovol. As of March 2019, the NABU investigation is ongoing.

In addition, as of March 2019, NABU has also an ongoing investigation into alleged embezzlement of state funds totaling to Hr 49 million (\$8 million) at public procurement of consulting services for implementing technologies of remote land exploration. The case does not directly concern Zlochevsky or Burisma, but regards the ministry's activity during his tenure. The case was transferred from the PGO to NABU at the beginning of 2016.

*Daria Kaleniuk is the executive director of the Anti-Corruption Action Center. She is experienced in international legal mechanisms for anti-corruption actions, particularly in stolen assets recovery and anti-money laundering initiatives. Kaleniuk holds a master's degree in financial services law from Chicago-Kent College of Law. She was a Fullbright program student in 2010-2011.*

*Tetiana Shevchuk is a lawyer with the Anti-Corruption Action Center in Kyiv.*

*Olena Halushka is the head of international relations at the Anti-Corruption Action Center.*

**Official**  
**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 27, 2019 8:17 AM  
**To:** (b)(6)  
 (b)(6); Kent, George P  
 (b)(6); Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Holmes, David A (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Freden, Bradley A (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>  
**Subject:** Wednesday Updates on The Hill Article, Social Media Commentary, Etc.

Below is some social media commentary from overnight, plus the latest Hill column published overnight for those who have not yet seen it.

**Tweets by John Solomon (author of The Hill piece)**

Many members of Congress I talked with today said they did not know US tax dollars were going to support a Soros group in Ukraine. [\[link to article\]](#)

1.8K retweets, 229 [comments](#)

US embassy pressed Ukraine to drop probe of George Soros group during 2016 election

2.2K retweets, 197 [comments](#)

**Sebastian Gorka** tweeted the latest Hill piece, with the comment: "Why @BarackObama?"

**Nina Jankowicz, Wilson Center, sharing yesterday's Washington Post column:**

Please, I am begging you, let this excellent piece by [@melindaharing](#) put the "Ukraine-Clinton collusion" narrative that is now targeting Amb. Yovanovitch to bed.

**Molly Montgomery of Brookings, sharing yesterday's Washington Post column:**

[.@melindaharing](#) is right. If we allow Ukraine to push out an ambassador they don't like because she's tough on them in all the right ways, it will be open season on every ambassador who does his/her job and doggedly pursues US interests. The Administration is getting played.

**Former Amb Pifer, responding to a critical tweet about Amb Y creating the “fake Kolchuga case” (before the latest Hill column):**

You are correct that Kolchuga case hit US-Ukraine relations hard. You are wrong that Amb Yovanovitch created it. What caused problem was recording in which President Kuchma was heard approving transfer of Kolchugas to Iraq.

**Former DRL A/S Melia, responding to a post in support of Amb Y:**

Agree 100%. This is absurd. Masha Yovanovitch is the gold standard in professionalism in diplomacy. Smart, battle-tested and accomplished.

**The Hill: US embassy pressed Ukraine to drop probe of George Soros group during 2016 election**

While the 2016 presidential race was raging in America, Ukrainian prosecutors ran into some unexpectedly strong headwinds as they pursued an investigation into the activities of a nonprofit in their homeland known as the Anti-Corruption Action Centre (AntAC).

The focus on AntAC — whose youthful street activists famously wore “Ukraine F\*&k Corruption” T-shirts — was part of a larger probe by Ukraine’s Prosecutor General’s Office into whether \$4.4 million in U.S. funds to fight corruption inside the former Soviet republic had been improperly diverted.

The prosecutors soon would learn the resistance they faced was blowing directly from the U.S. Embassy in Kiev, where the Obama administration took the rare step of trying to press the Ukrainian government to back off its investigation of both the U.S. aid and the group.

“The investigation into the Anti-Corruption Action Center (sic), based on the assistance they have received from us, is similarly misplaced,” then-embassy Charge d’ Affaires George Kent wrote the prosecutor’s office in April 2016 in a letter that also argued U.S. officials had no concerns about how the U.S. aid had been spent.

At the time, the nation’s prosecutor general had just been fired, under pressure from the United States, and a permanent replacement had not been named.

A few months later, Yuri Lutsenko, widely regarded as a hero in the West for spending two years in prison after fighting Russian aggression in his country, was named prosecutor general and invited to meet new U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovitch.

Lutsenko told me he was stunned when the ambassador “gave me a list of people whom we should not prosecute.” The list included a founder of the AntAC group and two members of Parliament who vocally supported the group’s anti-corruption reform agenda, according to a source directly familiar with the meeting.

It turns out the group that Ukrainian law enforcement was probing was co-funded by the Obama administration and liberal mega-donor George Soros. And it was collaborating with the FBI agents investigating then-Trump campaign manager Paul Manafort’s business activities with pro-Russian figures in Ukraine.

The implied message to Ukraine’s prosecutors was clear: Don’t target AntAC in the middle of an America presidential election in which Soros was backing Hillary Clinton to succeed another Soros favorite, Barack Obama, Ukrainian officials said.

“We ran right into a buzzsaw and we got bloodied,” a senior Ukrainian official told me.

Lutsenko suggested the embassy applied pressure because it did not want Americans to see who was being funded with its tax dollars. “At the time, Ms. Ambassador thought our interviews of the Ukrainian citizens, of the Ukrainian civil servants who were frequent visitors in the U.S. Embassy, could cast a shadow on that anti-corruption policy,” he said.

State officials told me privately they wanted Ukraine prosecutors to back off AntAC because they feared the investigation was simply retribution for the group’s high-profile efforts to force anti-corruption reforms inside Ukraine, some of which took authorities and prestige from the Prosecutor General’s Office.

But it was an unusual intervention, the officials acknowledged. “We’re not normally in the business of telling a country’s police force who they can and can’t pursue, unless it involves an American citizen we think is wrongly accused,” one official said.

In the end, no action was taken against AntAC and it remains thriving today. Nonetheless, the anecdote is taking on new significance.

First, it conflicts with the State Department’s official statement last week after Lutsenko first mentioned the do-not-prosecute list. The embassy responded that the claim was a fabrication and a sign that corruption is alive and well inside Ukraine.

But Kent's letter unequivocally shows the embassy did press Ukrainian prosecutors to back off what normally would be considered an internal law enforcement matter inside a sovereign country. And more than a half-dozen U.S. and Ukrainian sources confirmed to me the AntAC case wasn't the only one in which American officials exerted pressure on Ukrainian investigators in 2016.

When I asked State to explain the letter and inclusion of the Soros-connected names during the meeting, it demurred. "As a general rule, we don't read out private diplomatic meetings," it responded. "Ambassador Yovanovitch represents the President of the United States in Ukraine, and America stands behind her and her statements."

Second, the AntAC anecdote highlights a little-known fact that the pursuit of foreign corruption has resulted in an unusual alliance between the U.S. government and a political mega-donor.

After the Obama Justice Department launched its Kleptocracy Asset Recovery Initiative a decade ago to prosecute corruption in other countries, the State Department, Justice Department and FBI outsourced some of its work in Ukraine to groups funded by Soros.

The Hungarian-American businessman is one of the largest donors to American liberal causes, a champion of the U.S. kleptocracy crackdown and a man with extensive business interests in Ukraine.

One key U.S. partner was AntAC, which received 59 percent (or \$1 million) of its nearly \$1.7 million budget since 2012 from U.S. budgets tied to State and Justice, and nearly \$290,000 from Soros's International Renaissance Foundation, according to the group's donor disclosure records.

The U.S.-Soros collaboration was visible in Kiev. Several senior Department of Justice (DOJ) officials and FBI agents appeared in pictures as participants or attendees at Soros-sponsored events and conferences.

One attendee was Karen Greenaway, then the FBI supervisor in charge of international fraud cases and one of the lead agents in the Manafort investigation in Ukraine. She attended multiple such events and won glowing praise in a social media post from AntAC's executive director.

In one event during 2016, Greenaway and Ambassador Yovanovitch participated alongside AntAC's executive director, Daria Kaleniuk, and Lutsenko was present. The message was clear: The embassy supported AntAC.

The FBI confirmed Greenaway's contacts with the Soros group, saying they were part of her investigative work: "In furtherance of the FBI's mission and in the course of their duties, FBI employees routinely travel and participated in public forums in an official capacity. At a minimum, all such travel and speaking engagements are authorized by the employee's direct supervisor and can receive further authorization all the way up to the relevant division head, along with an ethics official determination."

Greenaway recently retired, and Soros's AntAC soon after announced she was joining its supervisory board.

Internal memos from Soros's umbrella charity organization, Open Society Foundations, describe a concerted strategy of creating friendships inside key government agencies such as State, DOJ and the FBI that can be leveraged inside the countries Soros was targeting for anti-corruption activism.

"We have broadly recognized the importance of developing supportive constituencies in order to make headway in tightening the global web of anti-corruption accountability," a Feb. 21, 2014, memo states. "We first conceived of this in terms of fostering and helping to build a political environment favorable to high-level anti-corruption cases."

That same memo shows Soros's organization wanted to make Ukraine a top priority, starting in 2014, and planned to use the Anti-Corruption Action Centre as its lead.

"Ukraine: Behind the scenes advice and support to Ukrainian partner Anti-Corruption Action Centre's efforts to generate corruption litigation in Europe and the U.S. respecting state assets stolen by senior Ukrainian leaders," the memo states.

The memo included a chart of Ukrainians the Soros team wanted to have pursued, including some with ties to Manafort.

Senior U.S. law enforcement officials confirmed to me that the early kleptocracy collaborations inside Ukraine led to highly visible U.S. actions against the oligarch Dmitri Firtash, a major target of the Soros group, and Manafort. Firtash is now

represented by former Hillary Clinton lawyer Lanny Davis and former U.S. Attorney Dan Webb.

Documents posted online by Open Society Foundations show that after U.S. officials scored some early successes in corruption cases in Ukraine, such as asset forfeitures, AntAC requested to receive some of the seized money.

“Ukrainian NGO Anticorruption Action Centre (AntAC) petitioned the United States Justice Department on behalf of Ukrainian civil society to dedicate the nearly \$3 million in forfeited and seized assets allegedly laundered by former Ukrainian Prime Minister Pavlo Lazarenko, to creating an anti-corruption training facility,” a 2015 foundation document stated.

Spokespersons for AntAC and Open Society Foundations did not respond to repeated requests for comment.

Michael Vachon, a spokesman for Soros, deferred any comment about AntAC to the group. But he did he confirm his boss supported the continued investigation of Russia collusion allegations against Trump well past 2016.

Vachon said Soros wrote a sizable check from his personal funds in fall 2017 to a new group, Democracy Integrity Project, started by a former FBI agent and Senate staffer Daniel Jones to continue “investigation and research into foreign interference in American elections and European elections.”

Vachon said the group asked Soros not to divulge the size of his contribution, and Soros later learned the group hired Fusion GPS, the same firm that was paid by Hillary Clinton’s campaign and the Democratic Party to create the infamous “Steele dossier” alleging Trump-Russia collusion.

The he said-she said battle playing out between Ukraine’s chief prosecutor and the American ambassador doesn’t benefit either side, but an honest, complete and transparent account of what the embassy communicated to Ukraine’s law enforcement does.

And the tale of AntAC raises some cogent questions:

- Why would the U.S. Embassy intervene on a Ukrainian internal investigation and later deny it exerted such pressure?
- Did Soros’s role as a major political funder have any impact?



- Do Americans want U.S. tax dollars commingled with activists' private funds when it comes to anti-corruption probes?

Someone in State and Congress should try to get the answers.

**Official**  
**UNCLASSIFIED**

<b>Sender:</b>	(b)(6)	
<b>Recipient:</b>		

<b>From:</b>	(b)(6)
<b>To:</b>	
<b>CC:</b>	
<b>Subject:</b>	Fwd: Latvian Media: Biden's son money was wired through Latvian PrivatBank
<b>Date:</b>	Thu, 3 Oct 2019 15:40:40 +0000

Fyi...

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Thursday, October 3, 2019 10:51:48 AM

**To:** (b)(6)

**Cc:**

(b)(6)

**Subject:** Latvian Media: Biden's son money was wired through Latvian PrivatBank

Thanks for this (b)(6) Flagging for (b)(6) and (b)(6) for awareness. Let us know if more comes out on this (and we'll of course do the same on our end).

Best,

(b)(6)

EUR/NBA

(b)(6)

UNCLASSIFIED

---

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Thursday, October 3, 2019 4:57 PM

**To:** (b)(6) Riga Pol Econ <[RigaPolEcon@state.gov](mailto:RigaPolEcon@state.gov)>

**Subject:** RE: Biden's son money was wired through Latvian PrivatBank

Here is the normal translation:

# Document leak: what ties Latvia's ex-president, Biden's son and *PrivatBank* together?

**LETA**

October 3, 2019

Raimonds Vējonis

**The money Ukrainian gas and oil company *Burisma Holdings* transferred to *Rosemont Seneca* company owned by US Vice-President Joe Biden's son Hunter Biden, which is involved in the growing scandal that has already lead to an impeachment procedure for US President Donald Trump, went through Latvia's *PrivatBank*, according to *Rosemont Seneca's* account lists leaked to the internet.**

Last year, the now ex-President of Latvia Raimonds Vējonis had attended a forum in Monaco organized by an associate of Ukraine's ex-president Viktor Yanukovich and owner of *Burisma Holdings* – Mykola Zlochevsky.

The Hill reports that in the period of time between spring 2014 and autumn 2015, *Rosemont Seneca* was receiving more than USD 166 000 a month from *Burisma Holdings*.

*Rosemont Seneca's* leaked account reports from Morgan Stanley bank in New York mention that money transfer operations were performed using *PrivatBank*. USD 83 333.33 was transferred in a single operation.

Hunter Biden was *Burisma Holdings* supervisory council member in a time when his father was the US Vice-President and was in charge of diplomatic relations with Ukraine during Barack Obama's presidential term.

Hunter, who is a lawyer by trade, agreed to become a member of *Burisma Holdings* supervisory council in April 2014, a couple of months after the so-called Maidan revolution. He left his post five years later – at the beginning of 2019. Donald Trump's personal lawyer, ex-Mayor of New York Rudy Giuliani, who accuses the Bidens of corruption, has implied in one of his Tweets that *Burisma Holdings* may have laundered USD 3 million by transferring this amount from Ukraine through Latvia and Cyprus to USA.

«Today though it's the USD 3 million laundered payment, classical proof of guilty knowledge and intent, that was kept from you by Swamp Media. Ukraine-Latvia-Cyprus-US is a usual route for laundering money. [...]» Giuliani tweeted.

In a telephone conversation with Ukraine's President Volodymyr Zelensky on 25 July, US President Donald Trump urged his colleagues multiple times to investigate *Burisma Holdings*. He [Donald Trump] mentioned he suspects Biden may have succeeded halting the investigation. Donald Trump's requests to his Ukrainian counterpart were allegedly the reason why the US Congress has commenced an impeachment investigation against the president.

Although Biden's possible involvement in a conflict of interests has caused some concern among anti-corruption activists, there is no proof of Biden or his son committing illegalities.

In an interview to *NV Radio*, Ukraine's Specialized Anti-Corruption Prosecutor's Office head Nazar Holodnitsky said the Bidens were not the objects of any of the prosecutor office's investigations. Nevertheless, he confirmed that the investigation against *Burisma Holdings* was terminated in 2017 due to the lack of evidence. Hunter Biden was still an employee at the time. The court in Kyiv later overturned this decision. However, in spite of the court's ruling, the case remains inactive and no investigation is performed.

Giuliani also claims Joe Biden, hoping to protect his son, had influenced Ukrainian authorities to fire Ukraine's Prosecutor General Viktor Shokin.

Latvia's Finance and Capital Market Commission (FKTK) senior public relations specialist Dace Jansone says the commission is not allowed to reveal any names and specific preventive measures. FKTK is also not allowed to comment on any findings. Nevertheless, she says FKTK performs regular supervision over banks. Upon finding violations or deviations, banks are applied with sanctions and specific duties, which usually involve improving internal control measures to prevent money laundering schemes and terrorism financing.

Jansone reminds that as a result of inspections in 2015, 2017 and 2019, *PrivatBank* was applied with sanctions for poor internal control system, client evaluation and supervision of clients' operations.

According to data from FKTK, the commission had applied a fine of EUR 2 016 830 on *PrivatBank* in 2015. The bank was also ordered to replace its management board. Individual fines were also applied to the bank's board members.

So far it has not been possible to get a comment from *PrivatBank* about operations involving *Burisma Holdings*.

*Burisma Holdings* is one of the largest gas production companies in Ukraine. The company was founded in 2002 by Zlochevsky, who is considered a friend and associate of Ukraine's ex-president Viktor Yanukovich. *Burisma Holdings* owner is Cyprus offshore company *Brocity Investments Limited* owned by Zlochevsky.

In 2010, Zlochevsky was appointed as Ukraine's Ecology Minister in Yanukovich's administration. Four years after Euro-Maidan he was forced to leave the country, when the Office of the Prosecutor General launched criminal cases against him and his companies over suspicions of tax avoidance.

In 2014, as part of anti-corruption efforts British authorities arrested USD 23 million on Zlochevsky's accounts, as reported by Guardian. British journalist and writer Oliver Bullough wrote in his book «Money Land» that this money came from Latvia and investigators took notice of this, because Zlochevsky had worked in government structures prior to Euro-Maidan.

Nevertheless, Zlochevsky's lawyers managed to save him from arrest. According to Ukrainian magazine *Novoje vremja*, corruption researchers are confident Ukrainian law enforcement had assisted him in this. The criminal case against Zlochevsky ended with payment of taxes performed by his company's accountants.

*Novoje vremja* writes that Zlochevsky has not only managed to terminate the case against him but also continues developing his business in Ukraine in spite of ongoing investigations of his activities there. In 2018 Zlochevsky held 11th place on the list of Ukraine's wealthiest people, which is compiled by *Novoje vremja* together with *Dragon Capital*. His asset value is estimated at USD 636 million, which is 2.5 times more when compared to 2013, when he was first put on this list.

Hunter Biden was appointed to *Burisma Holdings* supervisory council in April 2014 – two months after Yanukovich was overthrown.

After fleeing Ukraine, Zlochevsky together with his partners founded Energy Security Forum, which is organized in Monaco every year. Officials and experts from Western Ukraine are invited to attend. In 2017 this forum was attended by two people close to then the President of Ukraine Petro Poroshenko. This, however, caused a scandal in Ukraine. Ukrainian officials have not attended the forum since then. The 2018 forum was, however, attended by then the President of Latvia Raimonds Vējonis, as reported by *Novoje vremja*. *LETA* had reported that Vējonis read a speech at the opening of the forum.

Latvia's ex-president remains tight-lipped as to the identity of the person who invited him to the forum and why he decided to participate.

## Related posts

- [Both Russia and Germany positive about Ukraine's deal with separatists](#)
- [Ukraine's ex-Prosecutor General denies reasons to investigate U.S.'s Bidens](#)
- [Donald Trump pulls support from Ukraine after speaking with Volodymyr Zelensky](#)
- [Ukraine planning surge in military spending as war continues](#)
- [Video: Biden joins U.S. Presidential race, branded 'Sleepy Joe' by Trump](#)
- [Biden: Wealthiest 1% does not pay enough in taxes](#)
- [Biden: Baltic States are terrified of Russia and Trump](#)
- [PHOTO: US Vice President Biden arrives in Latvia](#)

UNCLASSIFIED

---

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Thursday, October 3, 2019 4:54 PM

**To:** Riga Pol Econ <[RigaPolEcon@state.gov](mailto:RigaPolEcon@state.gov)>

**Subject:** Biden's son money was wired through Latvian PrivatBank

Google translated

Biden's son money was wired through Latvian PrivatBank; Vējonis participated in a forum organized by Zločevsky in Monaco

Riga, October 3, LETA. Rosemont Senate, the son of US Vice President Joe Biden's son Hunter Biden, involved in a scandal leading to the impeachment of US President Donald Trump, has been sent money

from Ukrainian gas and oil company Burisma Holdings through a Latvian bank, AS PrivatBank, according to Rosemont Seneca "accounts statements.

Latvian President Raimonds Vējonis last year visited a forum in Monaco, hosted by Burisma Holdings, a fellow Ukrainian president Viktor Yanukovich's suppressed Mykola Zlochevsky, who had fallen out of Ukraine.

The Hill reported that, between spring 2014 and fall 2015, Rosemont Seneca received an average of more than \$ 166,000 a month from Burisma Holdings.

Rosemont Seneca account statements leaked over the Internet from Morgan Stanley Bank in New York show that the company was paid via PrivatBank. One transfer typically counts \$ 83,333.33.

Hunter Biden was a member of the board of directors of Burisma Holdings while his father was US vice president and oversaw diplomatic relations with Ukraine under President Barack Obama's government.

Hunter, a lawyer by education, agreed to become a member of the supervisory board of Burisma Holdings in April 2014, a few months after the so-called Maidan Revolution, and resigned after five years in early 2019.

Trump's private lawyer, former New York Mayor Rudy Julian, recently alleged in a tweet that Burisma Holdings had laundered \$ 3 million in money from Ukraine via Latvia and Cyprus to the United States, accusing Biden of alleged corruption.

"Today it is a laundered payment of three million dollars - a classic proof of dirty knowledge and intent ... Ukraine-Latvia-Cyprus-US is a common money-laundering route ...," Julian tweeted.

Ukrainian investigators believe the money transferred to Biden's firm and another member of Burisma Holdings' supervisory board - Polish President Alexander Kwasniewski - was obtained through criminal activity and money laundering, the Russian newspaper Novaya Gazeta said.

One million euros were transferred to Kwasniewski and \$ 3.4 million to Rosemont Seneca.

Since 2014, the Ukrainian Prosecutor General's Office has been conducting an extensive investigation into Sergei Kurchenko, one of Ukraine's most odious businessmen, and one of Zločevski's episodes in a criminal case. Kurchenko once bought a Kherson oil transshipment complex from Zločevskaya and investigators consider the money he received from Zločevskaya, which he then paid to members of the Burisma Supervisory Board, to be criminalized.

Kurchenko boosted his wealth during Yanukovich's rule and was considered one of the regime's "wallet" holders. Since April 2015, the Ukrainian Prosecutor General's Office has issued an international search warrant for Kurchenko and it is rumored that he currently resides in Rublovskaya near Moscow and is responsible for the financial provision of the "Donetsk People's Republic".

Trump, in a telephone conversation with Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenski on July 25, repeatedly called for investigations into Burisma Holdings. He suspected that Biden had managed to get the investigation closed. These appeals are the reason for an impeachment investigation into the president launched by the US Congress.

Although Biden's potential conflict of interest has raised concerns among anti-corruption activists, there is no evidence that the former US Vice President or his son committed any illegal activity.

Nazar Holodnitsky, head of the Ukrainian Specialized Anti-Corruption Prosecutor's Office, said in an interview with NV Radio that Biden had not been the subject of any prosecution inquiries. However, Holodnicki confirmed that in 2017, the investigation into "Burisma Holdings", at which time Hunter Biden was working, was closed due to lack of evidence. A year later, the decision was overturned by a court in Kiev, but despite the court's decision, the case remains suspended and no investigative action has been taken since.

Juliani also claims that Joe Biden has secured the dismissal of then-Attorney General Viktor Shokin in 2016 to protect his son.

Dace Jansone, Senior Public Relations Officer at the Financial and Capital Market Commission (FCMC), told LETA that the commission should not disclose and comment on specific market participants and

individual transactions. However, she noted that the FCMC regularly monitors banks for compliance controls, and found deficiencies, sanctioned banks and imposed legal obligations to improve the internal control system and to take other actions to prevent money laundering, terrorism and proliferation financing.

UNCLASSIFIED

<b>Sender:</b>	<div></div>	(b)(6)	
<b>Recipient:</b>			



<b>From:</b>	"Murphy, Damian (Foreign Relations)" (b)(6)
<b>To:</b>	George Kent (b)(6)
<b>Subject:</b>	NBC News - Giuliani says State Dept. aided his effort to press Ukraine on Trump opponents
<b>Date:</b>	Wed, 4 Sep 2019 01:42:35 +0000

George: Good to see you from across the room at the dinner tonight. Sorry I wasn't able to stop by but I had to get home soon after the end.

Wanted to check in with you on the below story. There are some pretty disturbing allegations about Giuliani's work here that I need to ground truth with you. Would you have time to talk this week?

Damian Murphy  
 Senior Professional Staff, Europe/South Asia  
 US Senate Foreign Relations Committee

**NBC News - Giuliani says State Dept. aided his effort to press  
 Ukraine on Trump opponents  
 Allan Smith  
 August 22, 2019**

President Donald Trump's personal attorney Rudy Giuliani confirmed Thursday that the State Department assisted his efforts to press the Ukrainian government to probe two prominent Democratic opponents of the president: former Vice President Joe Biden and the Democratic National Committee.

Specifically, Giuliani has wanted Ukrainian officials to look into any impropriety related to the former vice president's push to crack down on corruption in Ukraine and his son Hunter Biden's involvement in a natural gas company there. Giuliani also sought to have Ukraine examine whether the Democratic National Committee worked in connection with Ukrainian officials to harm Trump's 2016 campaign by releasing damaging information on the president's former campaign chairman, Paul Manafort.

Giuliani has spoken with Ukrainian official Andriy Yermak, a lawyer and close ally of recently elected President Volodymyr Zelensky, on the phone and in an in-person meeting in Madrid over the last few weeks to encourage him to ramp up probes into the matters, the New York Times reported Wednesday.

Trump's attorney confirmed to NBC News that the State Department helped put him in touch with Yermak.

"Times completely turned a story about astounding allegations of serious crimes of state concerning Dems into a piece trying to suggest I did something nefarious except they can't say what it is," Giuliani told NBC News in a text message on Thursday. "Typical spin against Trump or anyone close to him."

The State Department put Yermak "in contact with me," Giuliani said. "Not other way around, and I told him they should not be covered [out of] fully investigating serious possible crimes like bribery, extortion, fraud, money laundering and illegal interference in 2016 election."

"That's it," the former New York City mayor and federal prosecutor said. "Reported all to State."

Giuliani declined to say whether he spoke with Trump about any recent developments in his Ukrainian venture. He told the Times in May that his efforts in Ukraine had the president's full support, adding, "He basically knows what I'm doing, sure, as his lawyer."

The State Department did not immediately respond to a request for comment from NBC News. Giuliani has said he is working in his personal capacity with regard to his Ukrainian efforts.

Giuliani has zeroed in on the-then vice president's 2016 call — widely backed by the international community — for Ukraine to crack down on corruption, including removing a Ukrainian prosecutor, Viktor Shokin, who was seen as ineffective and was later removed by the country's parliament. One of the cases that Shokin was investigating, Giuliani noted, involved Burisma Holdings, a natural gas company whose board included Biden's son Hunter at the time.

Earlier this year, Bloomberg News, citing documents and an interview with a former Ukrainian official, reported the Burisma investigation had been dormant for more than a year by the time Biden called for the crackdown on corruption. The current Ukrainian prosecutor general told the news agency that he found no evidence of wrongdoing by Biden and his son. PolitiFact, meanwhile, reported that it found no evidence to "support the idea that Joe Biden advocated with his son's interests in mind."

Biden's campaign declined to comment for this story. Hunter Biden, who stepped down from Burisma's board this year, previously told the Times, "At no time have I discussed with my father the company's business, or my board service."

Giuliani and other allies of the president have also sought to paint a picture of "collusion" between the DNC and Ukraine in 2016, particularly as it relates to the release of information about Manafort, who is now serving a seven-and-a-half year sentence in federal prison for undisclosed lobbying work in Ukraine, as well as tax and bank fraud.

The DNC has repeatedly denied working with the Ukrainian government to obtain dirt on Manafort. The incriminating Ukrainian information about Manafort that emerged during the campaign — a ledger showing \$12.7 million in unreported payments from a Russia-backed Ukrainian political party — was released by a Ukrainian law-enforcement agency.

Both the DNC and the Times did not immediately respond to a request for comment from NBC News.

The Times reported that Yermak was sent to Washington to build relationships with U.S. officials, discuss sanctions related to a Russian oil pipeline and lay the groundwork for a meeting between Trump and the Ukrainian president. The newspaper also reported that the State Department officials who helped arrange Giuliani's communications with Yermak included Kurt Volker, U.S. envoy to settlement talks in Ukraine's years-long war with Russia.

Yermak told the Times he asked Volker to arrange discussions with Giuliani, additionally saying it was unclear to him whether Giuliani was representing Trump in their discussions. Volker declined to comment to the publication about Giuliani's talks with Yermak.

When Giuliani's efforts were first reported, his plans were met with swift criticism from Democrats.

Sen. Chris Murphy, D-Conn., called for a Senate Foreign Relations Committee investigation into those efforts in May, saying they might be illegal and adding "the possibility that a personal representative of the President is engaging with foreign governments in order to obtain personal or political gain is a matter that must be thoroughly examined." Murphy also expressed concern at the time that as far as he knew, "none of these meetings are being coordinated with the U.S. State Department or other government agencies."

Following the revelations about his efforts, Giuliani canceled a planned May trip to Ukraine to further talks regarding the investigations he wants the country to pursue, saying it could be viewed as "improper."

Giuliani told NBC News that month that his efforts were not to "take [Biden] out" of contention for the presidency. "I'm actually — he won't appreciate it — but I'm doing him a favor by trying to get it investigated now," he said. "Because it wasn't going to live through November of next year."

[https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/donald-trump/giuliani-says-state-dept-aided-his-effort-press-ukraine-trump-n1045171?cid=sm\\_npd\\_nn\\_tw\\_np](https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/donald-trump/giuliani-says-state-dept-aided-his-effort-press-ukraine-trump-n1045171?cid=sm_npd_nn_tw_np)

<b>Sender:</b>	"Murphy, Damian (Foreign Relations)"	(b)(6)
<b>Recipient:</b>	George Kent	(b)(6)

<b>From:</b>	(b)(6); (b)(7)(C); (b)(7)(E)
<b>To:</b>	
<b>Subject:</b>	FW: Kyiv News Bullets Record Email: Friday, October 18, 2019
<b>Date:</b>	Fri, 18 Oct 2019 11:50:59 +0000

UNCLASSIFIED

**From:** SMART Core <svcsmartbtsewshprec1@state.gov>

**Sent:** Friday, October 18, 2019 1:11 PM

**Cc:** (U)(b)(6)

(b)(6)

D/EUR Duty Officer 2 <DDutyOfficer2@state.gov>(b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6) Kent, George P (b)(6)(b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6) Kyiv DOE ALL <KYIVDOEALL@state.gov>; Kyiv ECON ALL <KyivECONALL@state.gov>; Kyiv LGF Supervisors <KyivLGFSupervisors@state.gov>; Kyiv Morning News <KyivMorningNews@state.gov>; Kyiv RSO Analysis <KyivRSOAnalysis@state.gov>(b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

UkraineDesk <ukrainedesk@usaid.gov>; US Army Wiesbaden,  
PAO Media desk (b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Subject:** Kyiv News Bullets Record Email: Friday, October 18, 2019**UNCLASSIFIED**

**MRN:** 19 MDA 56188  
**Date/DTG:** Oct 18, 2019 / 181010Z OCT 19  
**From:** (b)(6)  
**E.O.:** 13526  
**TAGS:** PGOV, PREL, ECON, KPAO, UA  
**Subject:** Kyiv News Bullets Record Email: Friday, October 18, 2019

**Political News:**

**Detention of Former NSDC Official:** Bohdan Corporation president and former first deputy secretary of the National Security and Defense Council (NSDC) Oleh Gladkovsky was detained by the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine (NABU) October 17, media reported. Gladkovsky, a close associate of former President Poroshenko, figured in a media investigation in early 2019 exposing embezzlement in Ukraine's defense sector allegedly committed by Gladkovsky's son Ihor and partners. Reportedly, Gladkovsky was detained when trying to fly out of Ukraine from Boryspil airport. Bogdan Corporation's press office later distributed a statement by Gladkovsky in which he calls his detention illegal and announces a hunger strike in protest "against the arbitrariness of law enforcement agencies." "I have always collaborated with NABU detectives, giving testimonies and the necessary explanations. Over the past six months after returning to the Bogdan corporation, I flew dozens of times abroad to participate in negotiations with business partners and always returned to Ukraine," his statement notes. ([UkrPravda](#), [Studio 1+1 TSN newscast 19:00](#), [Interfax](#)) Prosecutor General Ryaboshapka, appearing live on a Studio 1+1 talk show October 17, announced that there is enough evidence to serve Gladkovsky with suspicion October 18. ([UkrPravda](#))

**Deripaska's Business in Ukraine:** RFE/RL's Schemes project published an investigation showing that a firm controlled by Russian oligarch Oleg Deripaska continues to operate in Ukraine despite sanctions imposed on him by Ukraine's NDSC. A Cyprus-registered firm, affiliated with Deripaska's *Rusal*, managed to bypass the sanctions with assistance from the SBU, and develops quartz rock at a mineral field in Sumy Oblast, then ships 90% of the extracted mineral to Russia where it is used, in particular, by the defense sector industry. Deripaska is believed to be close to Russian President Putin, media note. ([UkrPravda](#), [RFE/RL](#))

**Shokin's Claim:** The State Bureau of Investigations (SBI) registered a claim from former Prosecutor General Viktor Shokin against NABU for making public classified pre-trial investigation information

and leaking his personal data to U.S. Embassy staffers, media reported. The respective statement was submitted by Shokin on the basis of facts cited on October 9 by MP Andrii Derkach regarding alleged pressure by the U.S. Embassy on law enforcement agencies in Ukraine to interfere in the electoral process in the United States, media reported. According to Shokin, NABU illegally obtained his ID from the State Migration Service and also illegally handed it over to the U.S. Embassy. This leak, Shokin claims, was carried out to facilitate pressure on him by former U.S. Vice President Joe Biden. "The disclosure of the said information was intentional, with a view to its continued use by putting pressure on me by Vice President of the United States of America Joe Biden through the dissemination of the aforementioned false information about me personally, because of the animosity that arose in him against me in connection with me performing, in 2015, my duties as Prosecutor General of Ukraine related to the investigation by the Chief Investigative Directorate of the GPU of criminal proceedings against former Minister of Ecology of Ukraine Mykola Zlochevskyi and activities of company *Burisma Holding Limited* (Cyprus), which had among its co-founders, in particular, his son Hunter Biden," Shokin's statement reads. Shokin asked the SBI to launch a pre-trial investigation on the basis of a criminal offense, media reported. ([Interfax](#))

### **Donbas Conflict Updates:**

MoD update as of 12:30, October 18, 2019:

- Situation continues to escalate with 29 RLF attacks in the past 24 hours, which included 122-mm artillery in;
- Donetsk sector: 16 RLF attacks, with three 122-mm howitzer and 120-mm mortar attacks near Vodiane, 82-mm mortars in Avdiivka, SALW attacks near Pyshechevyk and Talakivka and Lebedynske;
- Luhansk sector: 13 RLF attacks, including 122-mm howitzers, 82-mm mortars and 120-mm mortars near Novoluhanske, Luhanske and Zolote . Novozvanivka, Hladosove, Krymske , Popasna and Khutir Vilny saw a number of SALW attacks;
- UAF combat losses in the past 24 hours: No casualties;

Map October 18, 2019: Not released as of 12:35

### **Economic News:**

**Black Sea Port Cargo:** Media are reporting on cargo volumes in Ukraine. Through September, Ukraine's seaports handled 19.4 percent more cargo than during the same 9-month period last year, Ukraine Business News reports, adding that grain and ore accounted for slightly more than half of the 114 million tons. Containers were up 21 percent to 713,000, according to the Ukrainian Sea Ports Authority. ([USPA](#), [Agravery](#), Ukraine Business News)

**Belarus Outlet to Sea Through Ukraine:** Media report Belarus is investing \$20 million to construct an outlet to the sea through Ukraine. Beltopenergo is contracted to build the first stage of an international port in the village of Nizhniy Zhary. Meanwhile, Ukraine is set to carry out a \$3.2 million dredging project to ensure a minimum navigable depth from Belarus to the Kyiv Sea, Ukraine Business News reports. ([USPA](#), Ukraine Business News)

**Kyiv Economic Court & Privatbank:** "Kyiv Economic Court stopped the PrivatBank case regarding the now state-owned bank's return of shares to its former owners, scheduled for Oct. 17, without prior notice," Ukraine Business News reports. "Against the backdrop of protests in front of the court building and anonymous call reporting an explosive device inside the court, the lawyers were invited into the court and given a written notice saying that the case was stopped until another Kyiv court, the

Sixth Appeal Administrative Court, made a decision on a similar dispute.” (Ukraine Business News, [Kyiv Post](#))

**World Bank forecast for Ukraine:** Media quote Minister of Economic Development, Trade and Agriculture Tymofiy Mylovanov as saying the World Bank improved its forecast for economic growth in Ukraine to 3.7 percent from the previous projection of about 3 percent for 2020. "We also have a more optimistic scenario at 4.8% provided that the government's program is successfully implemented and the business climate in Ukraine changes for the better. This means the creation of conditions for protecting property rights, liberalization of markets, judicial reform, the effectiveness of law enforcement, as well as removing oligarchs and other interested parties from the government and politics," Mylovanov was quoted as saying. ([Economic Pravda](#))

### **Western Media Roundup:**

*Please see the attached Word document for the full text of the following Western media articles relating to Ukraine and the surrounding region.*

- Mulvaney Says, Then Denies, That Trump Held Back Ukraine Aid as Quid Pro Quo ([NYT](#))
- Mulvaney Acknowledges Assistance To Ukraine Was Tied To Investigating Corruption ([NPR](#))
- 'Get Over It': Politics Is Part Of Foreign Policy, Mulvaney Says ([NPR](#))
- White House Chief Of Staff Says Ukraine Aid Held Up In Part Over Election Probe ([AP](#))
- Mulvaney Comments About Ukraine Enrage Trump Advisers ([Boston Globe](#))
- Mick Mulvaney's Comments On Trump And Ukraine Couldn't Have Been Clearer ([WaPo](#))
- US Envoy Says Giuliani Was Given Role On Ukraine Policy By Trump ([AP](#))
- Sondland Criticizes Trump Over Efforts to Pressure Ukraine ([WSJ](#))
- Gordon Sondland, E.U. Envoy, Testifies Trump Delegated Ukraine Policy to Giuliani ([NYT](#))
- Trump Impeachment: White House Admits Aid Held Up Partly Over Democrats ([BBC](#))
- Testimony From GOP Diplomat Complicates Trump Defense ([The Hill](#))
- Rick Perry, A Key Figure In Trump's Dealings With Ukraine, Will Resign As Energy Secretary ([Vox](#))
- Energy Sec. Rick Perry, Embroiled In Ukraine Affair, To Resign ([NBC](#))
- Energy Secretary Rick Perry, 1 Of The '3 Amigos' On Ukraine, Tells Trump He Plans To Resign ([ABC](#))
- Is a Ukrainian Oligarch Helping Trump Smear Biden to Evade U.S. Corruption Charges? ([The Intercept](#))
- Two Men Tied To Giuliani's Ukraine Squad Pleaded Not Guilty To Federal Charges ([BuzzFeedNews](#))
- Kudlow Defends Trump's Ukraine Call: 'Look, It Was A Congratulatory Call, Corruption Came Up' ([CNBC](#))
- Schiff Pressured Witness To Say Trump Pressured Ukraine To Investigate Biden, Report Says ([The Daily Wire](#))
- Why Trump Asked Ukraine's President About 'Crowdstrike' ([AP](#))
- Fact-Checking The Whistleblower Regarding Ukraine ([Washington Times](#))
- Right-Wing Media Tries To Smear Former Ukraine Ambassador Marie Yovanovitch ([MediaMatters.org](#))
- Trump Chief Of Staff Admits To Quid Pro Pro With Ukraine ([Forbes](#))
- Former Ukrainian President Ally Arrested On Abuse Of Office Charges ([RFE/RL](#))
- Crimean City Mourns Anniversary Of Deadly School Rampage ([RFE/RL](#))
- Ukraine Court Halts PrivatBank Hearing ([RFE/RL](#))
- Ukrainian Deputy Prosecutor Says No Foreign Assets Recovered By Predecessors ([RFE/RL](#))
- U.S. Ambassador To EU Up Next As Impeachment Probe Moves Quickly ([RFE/RL](#))
- The Unravelling Of Rudy Giuliani ([The Economist](#))



- Russia Reaps Windfalls Of Trump's Chaos ([FT](#))
- The Impeachment Needle May Soon Move ([WSJ](#))
- White House: Ukraine Aid Held Up in Part Over Election Probe ([NYT](#))
- Pentagon Official Won't Testify Friday to House Impeachment Probe ([NYT](#))
- The Latest: Mulvaney Says Ukraine Remarks Were Misconstrued ([WaPo](#))
- Trump Ordered Diplomats To Work With Giuliani On Ukraine, Sondland Testifies ([The Guardian](#))
- If You Didn't Already Think Trump Was Unfit for Office, Syria and Ukraine Should Change Your Mind ([Time](#))

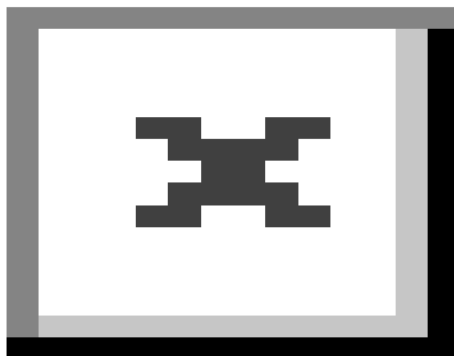
### **Ukrainian Social Media Commentary:**

On October 17, Oleg Gladkovsky, former First Deputy NSDC Secretary under former President Petro Poroshenko, was arrested when he tried to leave Ukraine. He was publicly accused of serious corruption in arms procurement and dismissed by Poroshenko in March, [tweeted](#) journalist Anders Åslund. NABU [wrote](#), "NABU confirms the detention of a former first deputy secretary of the NSDC on suspicion of abuse of office (Part 2 of Article 364 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine). Investigative actions are ongoing. Currently, this is all information that we can disclose to keep the investigation confidential. Details will be provided later."

Servant of the People MP Oleksandr Dubinsky [wrote](#), "Today Svinarchuk [former last name of Gladkovsky, usually used in a derogatory context] was planning to fly out of the country, but was stopped by the border service at the request of NABU. Then he fled from the hall of official delegations and was detained by NABU near Kidev restaurant."

Journalist Olena Tregub [wrote](#), "The first bird to land in a jail this fall was Pashinsky, followed by other 'swallows'. It seems that Gladkovsky ... tried and did not succeed to fly out [of the country] to spend the winter in warmer lands. We will see if ... law enforcement agencies and judges would lead the case to real punishment for real crimes." Tregub [added](#), "Even more entertaining than waiting for Gladkovsky's suspicion to be served, is waiting for the statements of support from Petro Poroshenko on behalf of his friend and colleague Gladkovsky, who has already declared a hunger strike against 'political persecution,' while Poroshenko is silent."

Blogger Roman Ryabchuk [tweeted](#) that Gladkovsky has two cases against him, "On MAZ truck [procurement] for defense sector and on tax evasion during customs clearance of a painting." Journalist Mustafa Nayyem [wrote](#), "Each time you are asked how NABU of 2019 differs from the GPU of 2014, just remember that Andriy Klyuyev was able to flee the country, while Oleg Gladkovsky was not. The first was the Secretary of the NSDC under Viktor Yanukovich, the second was the deputy secretary under Petro Poroshenko." Blogger Roman Kotlar [wrote](#), "This is due to the drop in the ratings of the new government. They need a picture for TV. Zelenskyy's electorate needs blood."



*Screenshot: Detention of Gladkovsky, [Twitter](#)*

### **Notable U.S. Embassy Kyiv Social Media Content:**

U.S. Embassy Kyiv [tweeted](#), “Help improve data accessibility on air quality by joining the Space Apps Challenge ‘Surface to Air (Quality) Mission’ from October 18-20 in Chernihiv, Dnipro, Kropyvnytskyi, Kyiv, Lviv, Odesa, and Vinnytsia.” U.S. Embassy Kyiv [added](#) that the Department of State’s air quality monitoring data is playing a starring role in the hackathon.

U.S. Embassy Kyiv [retweeted](#) the [message](#) of Spokesperson Morgan Ortagus, who wrote, “Outrageous to see another human rights abuser like Maduro voted onto UN HRC. The Human Rights Council should speak out about the abuses of the illegitimate Maduro regime and others like it, not provide them a platform to justify their repression.”

U.S. Embassy Kyiv [featured](#) USAID's Health Reform Support program, which provided assistance to more than 1,050 primary health care (PHC) centers across Ukraine. A [video](#) about the Voznesensk PHC Center’s transformation was included in the posts.

U.S. Embassy Kyiv conducted a [live video Q&A](#) on Facebook, answering questions on Diversity Visa program.

U.S. Embassy Kyiv [featured](#) The Open World Leadership Center welcoming six delegations from Ukraine this week, which focused on a variety of issues including Education and Public Policy.

*Today’s Kyiv News Bullets were drafted by:* (b)(6)

(b)(6)

*For questions about subscribing/unsubscribing to this product, please contact* (b)(6) *in Kyiv Public Affairs* (b)(6)

UNCLASSIFIED

**Drafted By:**  
**Cleared By:**  
**Approved By:**  
**Released By:**  
**Info:**

KYIV (b)(6)

PD: (b)(6)

PD:

KYIV: (b)(6)

(U) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6) (Skopje Items) ROUTINE; D/EUR Duty Officer 2 ROUTINE; (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

ROUTINE; Kent, George P ROUTINE; (h)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

ROUTINE; Kyiv DOE ALL ROUTINE; Kyiv ECON ALL ROUTINE;  
Kyiv LGF Supervisors ROUTINE; Kyiv Morning News ROUTINE; Kyiv RSO  
Analysis ROUTINE; (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Attachments:** 2019-10-18 Western Media.docx

---

**Dissemination Rule:** Released Copy

**UNCLASSIFIED**

<b>Sender:</b>	(b)(6); (b)(7)(C); (b)(7)(E)	
<b>Recipient:</b>		



<b>From:</b>	"Yovanovitch, Marie L" (b)(6)
<b>To:</b>	(b)(6)
<b>Subject:</b>	Re: "Demchyna" document summary
<b>Date:</b>	Sat, 28 Apr 2018 12:09:22 -0400

Thanks

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Saturday, April 28, 2018 1:10 PM  
**To:** Yovanovitch, Marie L  
**Subject:** Re: "Demchyna" document summary

Ambassador, Artem Sytnyk sent it to me. It's on the internet, according to him.

---

**From:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (b)(6)  
**Date:** April 28, 2018 at 11:55:52 AM GMT+3  
**To:** (b)(6)  
**Subject:** Re: "Demchyna" document summary

Where did we get this doc?

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Friday, April 27, 2018 4:24 PM  
**To:** Yovanovitch, Marie L; Kent, George P; (b)(6); (b)(7)(C)  
(b)(6)  
**Subject:** "Demchyna" document summary

Ambassador, As discussed this morning, please see as summary below from (b)(6) in my office of the document purporting to be a task order from Demchyna to investigate Sytnyk and Ugalava on charges of treason. (b)(6)

(b)(5)

(b)(5)

Withheld pursuant to exemption

(b)(5)

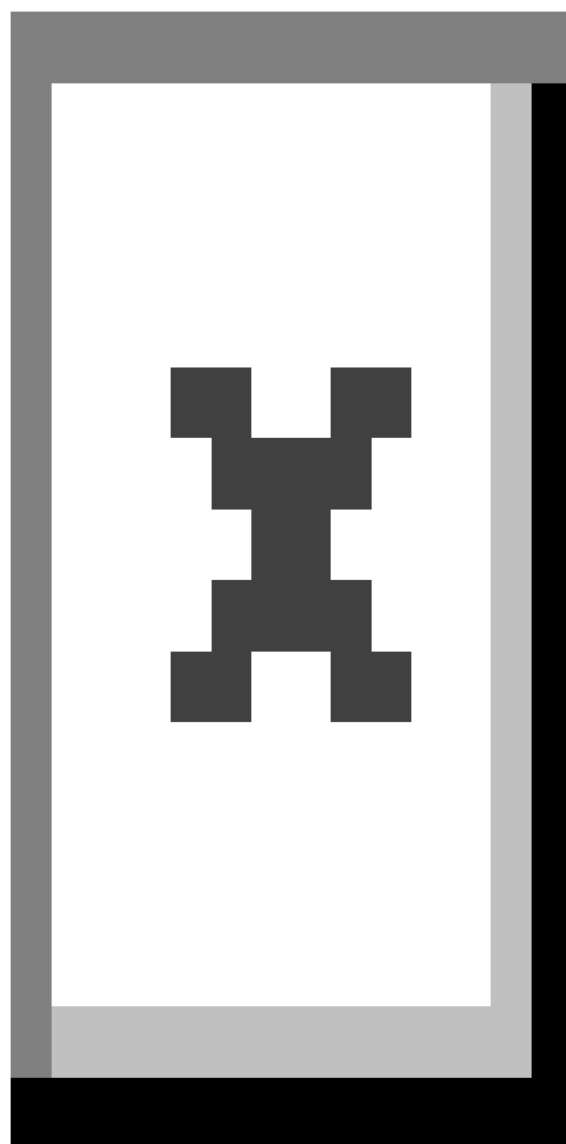
of the Freedom of Information and Privacy Act

(b)(5)

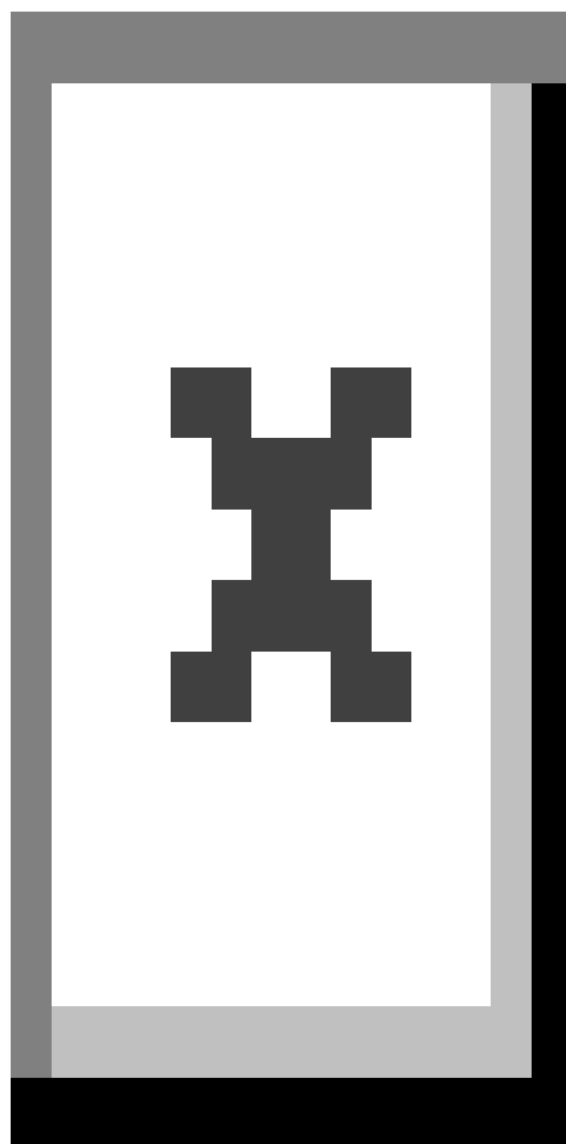
More on him in Wikipedia:

[https://uk.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D0%A0%D0%B5%D1%87%D0%B8%D0%BD%D1%81%D1%8C%D0%BA%D0%B8%D0%B9\\_%D0%A1%D1%82%D0%B0%D0%BD%D1%96%D1%81%D0%BB%D0%B0%D0%B2\\_%D0%A4%D1%80%D0%B5%D0%B4%D0%BE%D0%B2%D0%B8%D1%87](https://uk.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D0%A0%D0%B5%D1%87%D0%B8%D0%BD%D1%81%D1%8C%D0%BA%D0%B8%D0%B9_%D0%A1%D1%82%D0%B0%D0%BD%D1%96%D1%81%D0%BB%D0%B0%D0%B2_%D0%A4%D1%80%D0%B5%D0%B4%D0%BE%D0%B2%D0%B8%D1%87)

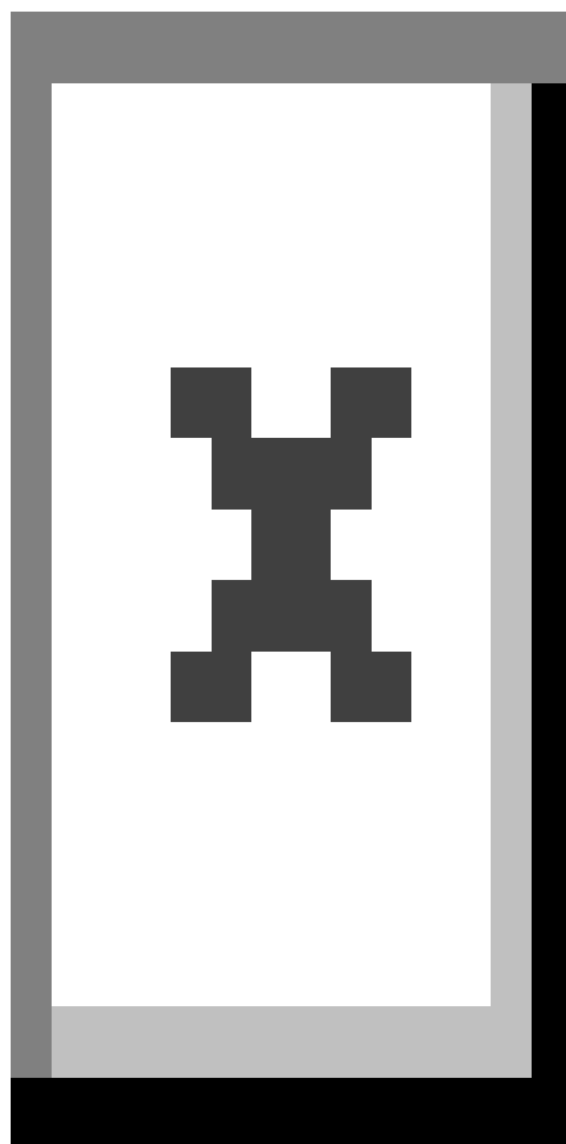




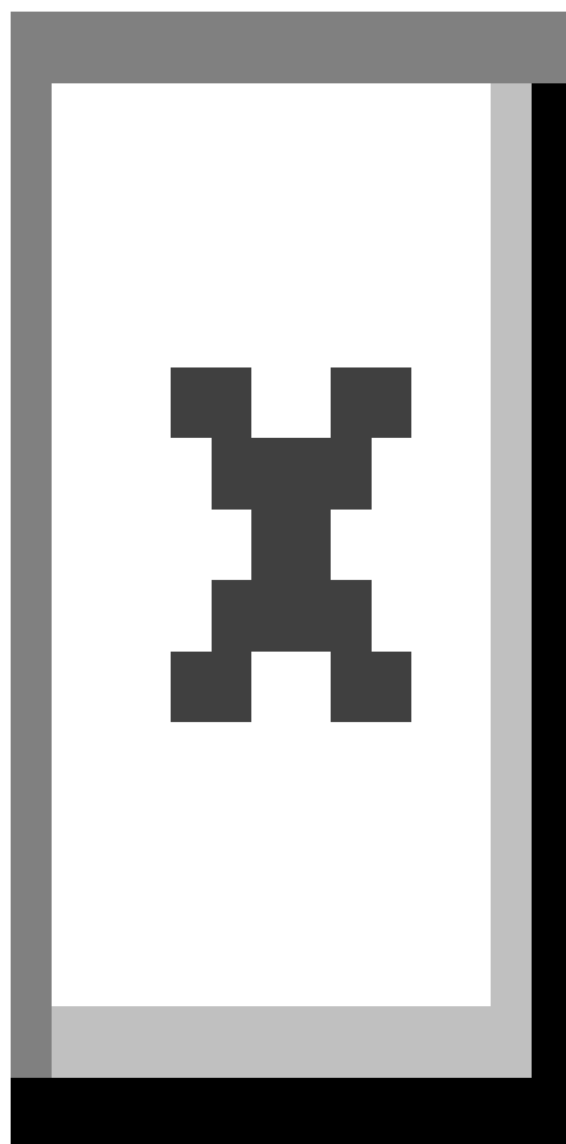












Sent from my iPhone

**Official - SBU**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

<b>Sender:</b>	"Yovanovitch, Marie L" (b)(6)
<b>Recipient:</b>	(b)(6)



<b>From:</b>	"Kent, George P"
<b>To:</b>	(b)(6)
<b>Subject:</b>	Ukr attack: Fox contributor Dan Bongino list of names (#MediaBias - they knew list)
<b>Date:</b>	Sat, 23 Mar 2019 17:00:14 +0000

Adding (b)(6) given his plug into various networks. Renaming the subject line more specifically b/c we have multiple threads in play.

Several comments/context:

(b)(5)

(b)(5)

—No list: I asked the Ukr desk to pull the readout cable of Masha's first meeting with Lutsenko (Oct 2016), as well as other engagements with him. (b)(5)

(b)(5) I could forward the packet Tuesday, when I am back in the office, or someone could ask the desk to forward Monday (b)(6) did the search).

—(b)(5) Burisma is a natural gas company run by the former Minister of Ecology under disgraced Yanukovych, Zlochevsky. Zlochevsky was in our/FBI sights in 2014 due to money laundering/attempted asset recovery. (b)(7)(E) FBI, working with the UK SCO (serious crimes office) to freeze \$23 million of corrupt proceeds, aiming to repatriate those to Ukraine. Zlochevsky paid a bribe to the Ukrainian PGO in late 2014 (two PGO teams before Lutsenko) to get the case against him closed, and a British judge unfroze the money in December 2014 before giving the SCO/FBI a chance to appeal. (b)(5)

(b)(5)

(b)(5)

(b)(5)

Get [Outlook for iOS](#)

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Saturday, March 23, 2019 11:34 AM  
**To:** (b)(6) Kent, George P  
**Subject:** Flagging continued messaging re Ukraine

Get [Outlook for iOS](#)

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Saturday, March 23, 2019 10:46 AM  
**To:** (b)(6) Kent, George P; (b)(6)

(b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv); (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article (Giuliani Tweet etc)

Host of the Dan Bongino Podcast and Fox News Contributor Dan Bongino (with nearly a million Twitter followers) tweeted about 20-30 minutes ago (in a string of separate tweets):

They knew. The entire time. #MediaBias

Marie Yovanovitch

George Kent

Yuriy Lutsenko

Serhiy Leshchenko

Fusion GPS

Joe Biden

Hunter Biden

Burisma

Devon Archer

The most important piece you can read today: “Top Ukrainian justice official says US ambassador gave him a do-not-prosecute list” (link to earlier Hill article) I’ll explain more on my show Monday.

---

**From:** (b)(6)

**Date:** March 23, 2019 at 2:03:49 PM GMT+2

**To:** (b)(6)

(b)(6)

Kent, George P (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>, (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article (Giuliani Tweet etc)

Thanks

(b)(6)

We've received no new queries here as of this morning.

We're continuing to watch for the upcoming John Solomon piece.

We will share any information as soon as we have it.

Thanks,

(b)(6)

---

**From:** (b)(6)

**Date:** March 23, 2019 at 7:49:12 AM EDT

**To:** (b)(6) Kent, George P (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)

(b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

, Kyiv EXEC

<Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>, (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article (Giuliani Tweet etc)

Published by Ukrainska Pravda this afternoon (rough translation):

In the United States, criminal cases were opened against Poroshenko's circle - the media

A number of criminal cases have been opened in the United States concerning abuses committed by people from Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko's team.

This is reported by the publication "Dzerkalo Tyzhnya" with reference to its sources.

"According to our sources, criminal cases have been opened in the United States, during which various abuses committed by people from the Poroshenko team are investigated, primarily the issue of withdrawal and laundering of money. The same sources indicate that some individuals in these cases have already signed a cooperation agreement with the investigation and give testimony ", - the article says.

According to the author, "Bankova regards the sacrifice of Sytnyk (head of NABU Artem Sytnyk - ed.) to Trump as a deal, which will result in the American president forbidding the American system from catching Poroshenko and company.

The journalist notes that the US does not have a favorite in the Ukrainian election, but seriously fears the emergence of a "third Maidan" as a result of the unconvincing legitimacy of the winner.

"As Putin can again take advantage of the destabilization of the situation in Ukraine, then Americans will be forced to react - much tougher and more decisive than today," the text says.

The publication also writes with reference to sources that Washington is not going to immediately withdraw from Kyiv the ambassador of the United States Marie Yovanovitch because of a scandal with the charges of Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko.

"Moreover, the State Department persuades her to stay in Ukraine at least until the summer, although family circumstances demand the return of Marie Yovanovitch to her homeland", - the article says.

"Therefore, Marie Yovanovitch still remains, there is no need to guess what her mood is, but the turbulent feelings cover not only her." As many sources of DT.UA testify, the government is not just angry, it rages, the American system does not forgive such tricks. "Yuri is f\*\*ed", - one of our well-known interlocutors summarized most briefly and meaningfully ", - the author notes.

Recall:

Attorney General Yuriy Lutsenko in an interview with The Hill stated that the US ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovitch gave him a list of people who she asked "not to prosecute".

The State Department of the United States responded that Lutsenko's statements were false.

<https://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2019/03/23/7210022/>

---

**From:** (b)(6)

**Date:** March 23, 2019 at 12:45:54 PM GMT+2

**To:** (b)(6) Kent, George P (b)(6)



(b)(6)

(b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)

(b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6) , Kyiv EXEC

<Kyiv EXEC@state.gov> (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article (Giuliani Tweet etc)

Following up on my previous email, here's more detail (summary, not full transcript, except where noted with quotation marks) on the discussion on Fox last night about Amb Y, Ukraine, former VP Biden, etc. :

Around minute 43, Ingraham opens this story by noting indictments around Paul Manafort and Ukraine were the most impactful findings of the Mueller investigation. What's missing from this story? What names from the Obama administration might be wrapped up in this?

Ingraham notes that Congressman Pete Sessions sent Sec. Pompeo an urgent letter informing him to remove Amb. Marie Yovanovitch in May 2018, an Obama holdover, who remains in her post today. She reportedly demonstrated clear anti-Trump bias. She's not the only part of Obama's orbit to have extensive exposure in Ukraine. There was then a bit of commentary about attorney Craig from the Obama admin and potential charges.

Biden and other officials were actively involved in Ukraine through Trump's inauguration. Biden visited Ukraine 10 days before Trump's inauguration.

Guests Joe DiGenova and journalist Pete Schweitzer (who has a book Secret Empires coming out next week) were introduced.

DiGenova said, quote: "In fact, Laura, you mentioned that Ambassador Marie Yovanovitch, contrary to what a lot of people thought, was still in her job. I learned this evening that the President has ordered her dismissal from her post as the United States Ambassador to Ukraine as a result of her activities there, which were complained of by Congressman Sessions. She is known and reported by people there to have badmouthed the President of the United States Donald Trump, to have told Ukrainians not to listen to him or obey his policy because he was going to be impeached. And finally her activities have caught up with her."

Ingraham made a side comment that Amb Y should have been removed a year ago, "that's a separate story of what's going on in the State Department," but transitions to ask about Biden's visits to Ukraine.

Schweitzer said Biden was the point person for the Obama Administration to Ukraine. He went to meet with Ukr officials and his son was placed on a corrupt energy board for a company run by a previous energy minister tied to the previous pro-Russian Ukrainian government. As Joe Biden interacts with Ukraine, his son for 14 months is connected to a bank account that gets \$3.1 million from the Ukrainians. Hunter Biden has no background in Ukraine or in energy policy, and his job was reportedly regulatory compliance. Troublesome.

DiGenova: This has all the markings of bribery and extortion. Very disturbing details about to come out in reporting by John Solomon [side note: this is the author of the Hill's recent pieces]. Then there will need to be a full fledged criminal investigation. The

Ambassador there who has been removed was involved in generating false information about Manafort, other information that went into the so-called black binders.

That was the end of the guest commentary; the recording I saw did not include final comments from Ingraham to wrap up the show.

---

**From:** (b)(6)

**Date:** March 23, 2019 at 7:54:25 AM GMT+2

**To:** (b)(6), Kent, George P (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

Kyiv EXEC

<Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>, (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article (Giuliani Tweet etc)

Update on social media discussions: there are about 30 tweets from the past 2-3 hours stating that President Trump has removed Amb Y from her position. None of these are

from prominent Twitter users (the largest following I saw was about 5K followers). Social media users appear to be reacting to something said (presumably 2-3 hours ago) by Joe DiGenova and/or on Ingraham's show. Haven't found specific video/text of any discussion on this theme at this point on media sites, but just letting everyone know this narrative is out there on social media.

---

**From:** (b)(6)

**Date:** March 22, 2019 at 11:09:08 PM GMT+2

**To:** (b)(6) Kent, George P (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6), Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)

(b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6) Kyiv EXEC

<Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>, (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article (Giuliani Tweet etc)

@JackPosobiec of One America News Network (with about 440 thousand followers) tweeted about 15 minutes ago: "U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine, Maria [sic] Yovanovitch,

an Obama holdover, has told U.S. Embassy employees and Ukrainian officials that they need not pay attention to Trump since he is going to be impeached.”

(This appears to be the line stated by DiGenova on the air with Hannity a couple days ago; just flagging that it is being recirculated now by a Twitter user with a large number of followers, in case it leads to new press inquiries in DC, etc)

---

**From:** (b)(6)

**Date:** March 22, 2019 at 7:16:20 PM GMT+2

**To:** (b)(6), Kent, George P (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

Kyiv EXEC

<Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>, (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article (Giuliani Tweet etc)

Summary of the Dan Bongino video mentioned in my previous email:

- The video is an hour long; the first 20 minutes are on Ukraine (and then he transitions out of the Ukraine story to focus on Senator McCain).
- No references to U.S. Embassy, State Department, or U.S. diplomatic personnel.
- Very brief overview of the commentary in the video: There was no Russian collusion, but there is taped evidence of Ukrainian collusion. The host summarized the Hill article about how Ukraine is investigating Ukrainian interference in the U.S. election. The host discussed how Obama and Clinton consultants were active in Ukraine; Manafort was working for Yanukovich, Clinton people were working for Tymoshenko, and Obama people were working for Yushchenko. American consultants were getting rich in Ukraine. The Obama people had been involved in Ukraine's election, so the Ukrainians were probably paying back a favor by feeding the USG info on Manafort to help Clinton. Biden's son Hunter had connections in Ukraine too, on the board of a natural gas company. Manafort knew what Obama and Clinton's people were up to in Ukraine, so he needed to be silenced. A Fusion GPS employee said one of their sources of info to help Clinton was a lawmaker named Sergey Lushenko (assume he meant to say Leshchenko, unless there's another lawmaker I'm unaware of with a similar name).

**Official - SBU**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

**From:** (b)(6) (Kyiv)  
**Sent:** Friday, March 22, 2019 6:36 PM  
**To:** (b)(6) Kent, George P (b)(6) (b)(6)  
(b)(6)  
(b)(6); Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6)  
(b)(6)  
(b)(6) Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6)  
(b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article (Giuliani Tweet etc)

See tweet below from Rudy Giuliani, directing people to content released by Dan Bongino (host of The Dan Bongino Show Podcast and a Fox News Contributor, per his Twitter profile). The Dan Bongino video is an hour long. I'll try to skim through and get key points now....

**Rudy Giuliani** Verified account @RudyGiuliani 50m50 minutes ago

More

Pay attention to @dbongino for an analysis of some real collusion between Hillary, Kerry and Biden people colluding with Ukrainian operatives to make money and affect 2016 election.

**Dan Bongino** Verified account @dbongino 24m24 minutes ago

More

Joe Biden is going to have A LOT of explaining to do regarding Ukraine. A LOT.

**Dan Bongino** Verified account @dbongino 15m15 minutes ago

More

The Ukrainian collusion with the anti-Trump crowd is the REAL scandal. Don't miss my show where I break it all down. Joe Biden has some explaining to do. Watch free here <https://t.co/Co2utkkAdJ>

**Official - SBU**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Friday, March 22, 2019 5:55 PM

**To:** (b)(6); Kent, George P (b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6) Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6)

(b)(6)

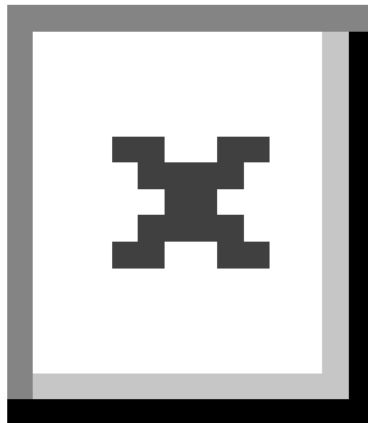
**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article



More social media reactions from Ukraine:

The following parody on a Soviet slogan, featuring Lutsenko's image, is circulating on social media (posted by the Anti-Corruption Action Center):



“Put your green dollar back into your tranche – we will stop the State Department’s revenge!”

**Journalist Marina- Danuluk-Yarmolaeva:**

For ICTV Factly: About how our system wants to dress Marie Yovanovitch in warm boots and to flatter with the vocabulary of the grandmothers, and she resists. Haha

"If the 60-year-old Marie Yovanovitch was Ukrainian and not a career diplomat, and the seller of pastry at the train station market, Lyashko would compete with Groysman for her.

She would have been lured both by the boots, and by the subsidies, and by the hundredth hryvnya on the top of it. But Marie Yovanovitch is the U.S. ambassador and any obscure clashes of our stars [sarcastically: means Lutsenko] with an influential figure are only exposing them in a bad light "*link to column: [https://fakty.com.ua/ua/opinion/babusyni-gamashi-dlya-mari-jovanovych-yak-nasha-systema-opyrayetsya-zdorovomu-gluzdu/?fbclid=IwAR3pJxeISrju\\_FZ1WRky6uybR1S9DiVeesi3h2LHdjgsIYZJT\\_Ai3KZuFpgc](https://fakty.com.ua/ua/opinion/babusyni-gamashi-dlya-mari-jovanovych-yak-nasha-systema-opyrayetsya-zdorovomu-gluzdu/?fbclid=IwAR3pJxeISrju_FZ1WRky6uybR1S9DiVeesi3h2LHdjgsIYZJT_Ai3KZuFpgc)* ]

**Mykola Katerenchuk, politician:**

Lutsenko's attack on Ambassador Marie Yovanovitch 10 days before the election is an attempt by the current authorities to neutralize the U.S. ambassador, and cast doubt on her reputation within Ukraine. Why? "Because Poroshenko is not going to win the election honestly, but declare himself president, using large-scale falsifications." The United States, of course, does not recognize such elections. And to talk about this, in the first place, will be the U.S. ambassador, giving a signal to the State Department and the rest of the world.

But it turned out exactly the opposite. After the top-breaking news about Ukraine in the world was corruption in Ukroboronprom and Svyarchuk, now the top news in the world will be the allegations and fight of the Prosecutor General of Ukraine against the United States. We are going our own way, [Poroshenko's campaign slogan] that's for sure!

**Daria Kaleniuk of Opora:**

Do you think the Prosecutor General has spring exacerbation of schizophrenia?

But, it seems, we are not lucky, and the Prosecutor General is still mentally sound, and his schizophrenic statement to the American media The Hill tries to achieve two things:

1. To discredit in Ukraine the ambassador of the United States Marie Yovanovitch for public demand to dismiss the head of the SAPO and strong criticism of the reform of the Supreme Court

Remind you that the U.S. Embassy in 2014-2016 in every way supported the reform of the GPU and even funded a cool American adviser to Lutsenko. But at some point in the embassy, it became clear that the reforms of Yuri Vitaliyovich are only beautiful speeches, so they completely stopped cooperation. I think this happened at a time when the GPU seriously presented to the Americans a new face - the symbol of Yuriy Lutsenko's reformation - Kostyantyn Kulik. And they said that he would now be in the international department of the GPU under the close supervision of Eugene Enin to be in charge of international cooperation)) I remind that Kulik at that time was already accused by NABU of illegal enrichment.

2.Help Firtash to avoid extradition in the United States.

At the moment Firtash's attorneys try to prove that the criminal case of the FBI against Firtash was politically ordered in every possible way. This is exactly what will allow Firtash not to go to jail in the United States for 100 years, but to be in slight fear in Vienna.

Therefore, a public statement by the Prosecutor General of Ukraine that the U.S. ambassador instructed him not to investigate will be automatically used by Firtash lawyers in the courts of Vienna and Chicago. As an example, it's a dictation by the State Department official who is to be investigated by the Ukrainian prosecutor's office and who is not.

Daria Kaleniuk (another post):

Bravo, Yuriy Lutsenko, what a fantastic shot in the leg!

But not to yourself, to the country.

I translate the title from American political media The Hill: "Yuriy Lutsenko has opened proceedings against a possible intervention in the Ukrainian presidential elections USA 2016".

That is, while special prosecutor Mueller is investigating possible intervention of RUSSIANS in the U.S. presidential election 2016, Lutsenko Attorney General is investigating interference in the election by UKRAINIANS.

IDIOT.

Russia does not have to invent scenarios of how to sink Ukraine. Yuri Vitaliyovich does everything himself.

The Prosecutor General and the team on Bankova are inspired by Trump's retweets of the translated messages of Rozenblat and channel 112.

In a burst of inspiration and a burning wish to demolish on this wave Sytnyk and commit revenge against U.S. Ambassador Marie Yovanovitch, Yuri V. pulls rapidly Ukraine to the bottom.

Dariya Kaleniuk (posted before P2's reaction):

If Poroshenko did not really sanction Lutsenko's attack on the U.S. ambassador, why is Lutsenko still the Prosecutor General?

And why is there not a single comment from the President of Ukraine on the day after Lutsenko's mischievous attack on the U.S. State Department, on whose support the future of Ukraine depends?

The president is well aware that such a statement is a nuclear blow on the international arena against Ukraine.

Lutsenko's statement to an American journalist, which is not supported by any facts and easily refuted by documents, has all the signs of state betrayal.

**Official - SBU**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6) (Kyiv)

**Sent:** Friday, March 22, 2019 5:46 PM

**To:** (b)(6) Kent, George P (b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6) Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

The Hill appears to have just updated their article from Wednesday with a line about NABU's statement issued today. (That part is highlighted below.)

<https://thehill.com/hilltv/rising/434892-senior-ukrainian-justice-official-says-hes-opened-probe-into-us-election>

Ukrainian Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko told Hill.TV's John Solomon in an interview aired on Wednesday that he has opened a probe into alleged attempts by Ukrainians to interfere in the 2016 U.S. presidential election.

"Today we will launch a criminal investigation about this and we will give legal assessment of this information," Lutsenko said last week.

Lutsenko is probing a claim from a member of the Ukrainian parliament that the director of the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of

Ukraine (NABU), Artem Sytnyk, attempted to influence the 2016 vote to the benefit of Democratic presidential nominee Hillary Clinton.

A State Department spokesman told Hill.TV that officials are aware of news reports regarding Sytnyk.

"We have always emphasized the need for deep, comprehensive, and timely reforms that respond to the demands the Ukrainian people made during the Revolution of Dignity: an end to systemic corruption, faster economic growth, and a European future for all Ukrainians," a State spokesperson told Hill.TV.

"We have consistently said that Ukraine's long-term success and resilience depends on its commitment to reform, in particular the fight to address corruption. To succeed, Ukraine needs committed government officials and strong anti-corruption institutions. The United States is committed to engaging with our partners in Ukraine, including on efforts to roll back the persistent corruption that continues to threaten Ukraine's national security, prosperity, and democratic development."

NABU issued a statement on Friday, calling Lutsenko's comments "not true and is an absurd effort to discredit an independent anti-corruption agency."

Hill.TV has also reached out to the U.S. Embassy in Ukraine and Clinton's spokesperson for comment.

"According to the member of parliament of Ukraine, he got the court decision that the NABU official conducted an illegal intrusion into the American election campaign," Lutsenko said.

"It means that we think Mr. Sytnyk, the NABU director, officially talked about criminal investigation with Mr. [Paul] Manafort, and at the same time, Mr. Sytnyk stressed that in such a way, he wanted to assist the campaign of Ms. Clinton," he continued.

Solomon asked Lutsenko about reports that a member of Ukraine's parliament obtained a tape of the current head of the NABU saying that he was attempting to help Clinton win the 2016 presidential election, as well as connections that helped release the black-ledger files that exposed Trump campaign chairman Paul Manafort's wrongdoing in Ukraine.

"This member of parliament even attached the audio tape where several men, one of which had a voice similar to the voice of Mr. Sytnyk, discussed the matter."

— Hill.TV Staff

**Official**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6) (Kyiv)  
**Sent:** Friday, March 22, 2019 3:08 PM  
**To:** (b)(6) Kent, George P (b)(6) (b)(6)  
(b)(6)  
(b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)		
(b)(6)	; Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv_EXEC@state.gov>	(b)(6)
(b)(6)		

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

A few pieces of social media commentary – reactions to Poroshenko’s remarks, comments by an MP, and an article with commentary from Michael Carpenter.

**MP Zalishchuk:**

It was a fantastic evening yesterday. We gathered to say goodbye to a diplomatic colleague who completed her work in Ukraine. But not [goodbye] to the American ambassador Marie Yovanovitch, about whom there are abundant rumors being spread in the Rada. To the contrary, U.S. Ambassador, as far as I understand, will not only stay, but will stay here longer.

And this is not just a reply to the Prosecutor General's slipup, this is the message to the current and future government that the U.S. won't keep silent and turn a blind eye to corruption.

I wish all of you a good pre-election week.

<https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10218743599451111&set=a.10202770840542121&type=3>



**Censor.net: If Lutsenko cannot present evidence of his claims about Yovanovitch, he should immediately resign – Carpenter**

If Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko cannot produce evidence on the list of "untouchables" that he declared receiving from US Ambassador Marie Yovanovitch, he should immediately resign.

Such a conviction was expressed by the director of the Center for Diplomacy and Global Interaction named after Biden, former U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Michael Carpenter, reports Censor.

"The Prosecutor General of Ukraine spreads some insidious conspiracy theories about the Clinton campaign - allegedly investigating Manafort was a pro-Clinton strategy (actually restoring justice) - and accuses our ambassador of his inability to resist corruption. If he cannot prove his claims, he must immediately resign," wrote Carpenter.

**Anti-corruption Action Center:**

Poroshenko about Ambassador Yovanovitch: I'd like to mention the important role of the U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine – Marie Yovanovitch – in advancing U.S.-Ukraine relations. I stress – she as the representative of the United States and the President of the United States Donald Trump, a great friend of Ukraine and great friend of mine, has my full support. –Lutsenko out?

**RFE/RL Journalist Chris Miller :**

Poroshenko doing damage control: "I'd like to note the important role of US Ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovitch in promoting Ukrainian-American

relations. As a representative of the United States and a good friend of Ukraine President Donald Trump, she has my full support."

**Official**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6) (Kyiv)

**Sent:** Friday, March 22, 2019 3:00 PM

**To:** (b)(6) Kent, George P (b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6); Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6) Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

**Ukrainian MFA speaks out in support of AMB Y (rough translation of an exclusive interview with Ukrinform below).**

**Ukrinform: The Ministry of Foreign Affairs cooperates fruitfully with Ambassador Yovanovitch and is grateful to her team for partnership**

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine fruitfully cooperates with the US Ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovitch and thanks the American diplomat and her team for their contribution to building strategic partnership between our states.

This was stated to Ukrinform by MFA Spokesperson MFA Kateryna Zelenko.

"Pavlo Klimkin maintains excellent relations with the US ambassador, and we also highly appreciate the personal role of Ambassador Marie Yovanovitch and her team in building a strategic partnership between our states," Zelenko said.

She informed that the issues of the statements made by the Prosecutor General, Yuriy Lutsenko, concerning the US ambassador to Ukraine were raised during yesterday's meeting of [Foreign Minister] Pavlo Klimkin with a delegation of American senators and congressmen, and today during an interview with the Western media.

"The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ukraine clearly stated that the US is our strategic ally and friend. He emphasized that we are grateful for the steady support of the United States in countering Russian aggression, strengthening sanctions on the Russian

Federation, facilitating reforms in Ukraine and achieving European and Euro-Atlantic standards," emphasized the spokesperson of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

As reported, Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko in an interview with The Hill stated that the US ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovitch gave him a list of people to "not be prosecuted". Lutsenko also said he was investigating interference from Ukraine in the US elections in favor of Clinton.

The State Department of the United States said that the statements of the Attorney General of Ukraine are not true and aim to tarnish the reputation of Ambassador Yovanovitch.

President Petro Poroshenko in his speech at the celebrations on the occasion of the 27th anniversary of the establishment of the Security Service of Ukraine noted the important role of the United States Ambassador to Ukraine, Marie Yovanovitch, in promoting Ukraine-US relations, and stated that she had his full support.

<https://www.ukrinform.ua/rubric-politics/2665250-mzs-plidno-spivpracue-z-poslom-jovanovic-i-vdacne-ii-komandi-za-partnerstvo-zelenko.html>

**Official**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Friday, March 22, 2019 2:12 PM

**To:** (b)(6); Kent, George P (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6); Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6); (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6); Kviv EXEC <Kviv\_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

+ others in EE

---

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Friday, March 22, 2019 8:11 AM

**To:** Kent, George P (b)(6); (b)(6)

(b)(6);

Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6); (b)(6)

(b)(6)

Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

From Poroshenko's Remarks (translated):

I want to highlight that Ukraine highly appreciates relations with its strategic partner - the U.S. - based on clear bipartisan support. Our relations with Washington have never been so efficient and productive as they are today. As the Head of State I personally contributed great efforts to this and really appreciate this valuable asset of our international policy. In this context, I'd like to mention the important role of the U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine – Marie Yovanovitch – in advancing U.S.-Ukraine relations. I stress – she as the representative of the United States and the President of the United States Donald Trump, a great friend of Ukraine and great friend of mine, has my full support.

Tweet from President Poroshenko's spokesperson (translated):

President: I want to note the important role of the US Ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovitch in promoting Ukrainian-American relations. As the representative of the United States and good friend of Ukraine, President Donald Trump, she has my full support.

**Official - SBU**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** Hawkins, Kristin K (Kyiv)

**Sent:** Friday, March 22, 2019 2:01 PM

**To:** Kent, George P (b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6);

Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov> (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

FYI for Washington – we should have exact wording for you shortly...

President Poroshenko has just publicly voiced his support of Ambassador Yovanovitch. Speaking at the event dedicated to SBU's 27<sup>th</sup> anniversary, he said that Ambassador Yovanovitch plays extremely important role in development of Ukraine – U.S. relationship, that she represents the United States of America and President Trump, who is a great friend of Ukraine, and that she can count on his full support.

**Official - SBU**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Friday, March 22, 2019 1:10 PM

**To:** Kent, George P (b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov> (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

Yesterday I circulated some content from Hannity's program. It appears Hannity also discussed this issue with a couple of guests (former assistant deputy attorney general Victoria Toensing, former attorney Joe DiGenova, and John Solomon of The Hill) on Fox News on 3/20. Below is a summary of that discussion I found on swampdrain.com. (The link to the article below and in the article is the video clip from Fox.)

<https://swampdrain.com/2019/03/21/digenova-unveils-us-ambassadors-dirty-tricks-as-ukrainian-anti-trump-efforts-get-exposed/>



# DiGenova Unveils US Ambassador's Dirty Tricks As Ukrainian Anti-Trump Efforts Get Exposed

On Wednesday, John Solomon of *The Hill*, former attorney Joe DiGenova, and former assistant deputy attorney general, Victoria Toensing, joined host Sean Hannity on *Fox News*.

This comes after Ukrainian Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko said he opened an investigation into alleged attempts by Ukrainians to interfere in the United States' 2016 presidential election on behalf of Hillary Clinton.

In an interview that aired Wednesday with The Hill's TV, John Solomon Lutsenko said, "today we will launch a criminal investigation about this and we will give legal assessment of this information."

The probe is based on a claim from a member of the Ukrainian parliament that the director of the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine (NABU), Artem Sytnyk, was working to benefit Clinton in the 2016 presidential election, per Sara Carter.

Lutsenko told Solomon the parliament member "got the court decision that the NABU official conducted an illegal intrusion into the American election campaign."

“It means that we think Mr. Sytnyk, the NABU director, officially talked about criminal investigation with Mr. [Paul] Manafort, and at the same time, Mr. Sytnyk stressed that in such a way, he wanted to assist the campaign of Ms. Clinton,” Lutsenko said.

Solomon told Hannity that Lutsenko said during their interview, “There’s enough evidence to open up a criminal investigation into the illicit effort by a Ukrainian to try and influence the United States election in favor of Hillary Clinton.” He added, “That’s a profound statement coming from the top law enforcement of Ukraine.”

Solomon explained that it’s important, because there’s a court in Ukraine that’s already concluded that Ukrainian officials leaked Paul Manafort’s financial records to try to sway the U.S. election.

He further revealed that a parliamentary member has said to having a tape of law enforcement officials admitting that “they did it to help Hillary Clinton.”

When asked how Mueller can look in the mirror and call his investigation “fair” after all the evidence is stacked up against the FBI, DOJ, Hillary Clinton, and Democrats with *no* Trump-Russia collusion, Joe DiGenova said, “I don’t know how it can be called a fair investigation for that very reason. It is quite obvious there were crimes committed with people associated within the Clinton campaign with the Democratic National Committee, with Fusion GPS and other people.”

DiGenova continued, “Here’s the thing that’s really changing: now we know that not only was there Russian collusion through Fusion GPS and through [Christopher Steele], but now we know the Ukrainian

officials were deeply involved in trying to help Hillary Clinton through this.”

He added, “And we also now know that the current United States Ambassador, Marie Yovanovitch, has bad mouthed the President of the United States to Ukrainian officials and has told them to not listen or worry about Trump policy because he’s going to be impeached.”

“This woman needs to be called home for consultation!” DiGenova declared.

When asked if Attorney General Bill Barr will do his job, DiGenova and Toensing resoundingly agreed he would. “Yes, without any doubt.”

**Official - SBU**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Friday, March 22, 2019 12:54 PM

**To:** Kent, George P (b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov> (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

Here are a few Ukrainian social media reactions from today, plus a longer statement from the Anti Corruption Action Center website:

**Tetyana Danylenko, ZIK reporter:**

This whole story of how Ukraine initially supported Democrats, indecently “drowned” [the reputation] of Trump, and for each step got “agreement” of Marie Yovanovitch, and then squeezed out blackmail for their friends to support the same Trump - that was about the country-idiot [Ukraine]. The world is already afraid to have a deal with Ukraine, because everyone is throwing each other under the bus here. Our reputation is frightening not only to civilized countries, but also to the third world countries, who compared to Ukraine feel decent and adequate. Moreover, “ours”*[hinting at authorities]* are sincerely asking “what is extraordinary here?” - everyone cares about their own national interests. And this is true. But not everyone steals forks and grunt while eating salad at a diplomatic reception.

**Volodymyr Boiko, journalist:**

The U.S. Department of State is outraged by the story of General Prosecutor Yuriy Lutsenko in an interview with the American television channel Hill.TV about how soon after her appointment as U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine, Marie Yovanovitch handed over to him a list of persons whom the Ukrainian authorities under no circumstances should never prosecute. Since in this list, which, as we now know from the statement of the State Department, never existed, were the names of MP Sergey Leshchenko and the head of the Department of Special Investigations Sergey Gorbatyuk, and here is my post published two years ago.

I remind the plot: in 2016, the Trump campaign was headed by well-known Paul Manafort and the then FBI representative in Ukraine Karen Greenaway, in order to compromise Trump, handed to Artem Sytnyk for publication on the NABU website excerpts from the "Black bookkeeping of Party of Regions" where there was information about illegal payments to Manafort. And in order to somehow explain why Sytnyk had "Black bookkeeping of Party of Regions" the then deputy U.S. ambassador (now Deputy Assistant Secretary of State) George Kent instructed MP Sergei Leshchenko and the first deputy head of the SBU Viktor Trepak to do the dirty work (Trepak at that time was already put into use and was preparing to leave the SBU, since it was documented in specific relations with the U.S. embassy). So, Leshchenko, publishing parts from the "black bookkeeping" in "Ukrainska Pravda", did not even wonder what exactly he was distributing, and after reading his own publication he realized that among the recipients of the "black cache" from the Party of Regions, was also the editorial staff of Ukrainska Pravda.

I hope Sergey Gorbatyuk, whose name is not on the list of Yovanovich (as we now know, such a list never existed), will immediately trigger the interrogation of Sergei Leshchenko, who also never used the protection of the American Embassy, and detain citizen Pytula [owner of Ukrainska Pravda] together with her PR Agency under the name "Ukrainska Pravda"

**Oleskandr Sushko, foundation Vidrodzennya, political expert:**

Lutsenko did an incredible disservice to the president at the most unfortunate moment. In addition, some say this was done with the knowledge of the president himself or his associates or consultants.

The clumsy attempt to interfere in the American infighting as if on Trump's side is now a bigger mistake than that, in 2016, an attempt (more made up than real) to help Clinton's victory. Because now the elections are here and not there. And the U.S. is a key strategic partner.

Worst of all, if we were a victim of the game of American players and their messengers-consultants who could offer to "help Trump" to get the perpetrators of the Manafort case in exchange for carte blanche to get even with Sytnik and "circle of friends" of the current U.S. ambassador. Then in the USA the number of those who consider Ukraine as a basket case will get larger. And then the surprise for us will be that the next ambassador will have the same circle of friends ...

The one who advises Lutsenko on international relations, receives the Darwin Prize. Unfortunately, this may also affect the "natural selection" of higher officials. Did you want the best? *[aimed at Lutsenko, asking if he really wished the best for Ukraine when giving this interview]*

And Ambassador Yovanovitch will be really replaced. But this will be done not immediately, and not in connection with the Manafort case and Lutsenko's

denunciations - and in the order of routine rotation - and the new ambassador will arrive, as expected, at the end of summer or in the fall of this year.

**Vitaly Shabunin, Anticorruption Action Center:**

The only document that the prosecutor provided to journalists in support of his words about the list of "untouchables" - was signed long before the appointment of Marie Yovanovitch and it was regarding the fabricated case, which at one time Lutsenko himself acknowledged as such <http://bit.ly/2JxBR43>.

Yuriy Lutsenko – you are, excuse me, a fairy-fool. You really wanted to sell the "conspiracy theory" in the U.S., based on this letter and "Rosenblat Records" (Rosenblat, Carl!)?

Let me remind you that the only source of " NABU's Director words" for helping Clinton are the records published by Rosenblat.

**Anti-corruption Action Center Website: Chronology Problems: Lutsenko told a lie, accusing the U.S. Ambassador**

The American publication TheHill has published a letter from the U.S. Embassy to the General Prosecutor's Office of Ukraine, which told journalists Yuriy Lutsenko has proof that the U.S. ambassador Marie Yovanovitch during her first meeting with him indicated which people should not be prosecuted.

This is the only document that the prosecutor has provided to journalists in support of his words about the so-called list of "untouchables". However, it was signed long before the appointment of Marie Yovanovitch and concerned a fabricated case, which at one time himself Lutsenko recognized.

Prosecutor General Lutsenko told a lie in his interview with TheHill. Let's recreate the chronology and explain why.

On March 16, 2016, the so-called Department of Kononenko-Granovsky began criminal proceedings for alleged theft by the Anti-corruption Action Center of funds that the organization did not even receive.

Investigators were looking for \$ 4.4 million dollars of American taxpayers which, according to their version, had to go for the reform of the GPU.

Already on March 22, the investigators of the General Prosecutor's Office actually misled the court regarding the allocation of these funds to the Criminal Code and received permission to access the accounts of the organization, and later its counterparts. As a result, the Anti-corruption action Center was compelled to file a statement on the crime of investigators and prosecutors in this case. At that time, the GPU was not worried about the lack of any claims by the U.S. government regarding the disappearance of US taxpayer funds in Ukraine.

Since the Anti-corruption action Center has never been involved in the reform of the prosecutor's office, this criminal proceeding was a common denominator for investigators to obtain access to bank accounts, transactions, financial and accounting documents of the organization.

On April 4, 2016, the Deputy Head of Mission of the U.S. Embassy, George Kent, sent a letter to Deputy Prosecutor General Yuri Stolyarchuk on behalf of then Ambassador Geoffrey Pyatt explaining the fake case of stealing money for the GPU reform. This letter was handed over to American journalists by Lutsenko in March 2019. [pic of the letter]

Even after these official confirmations from the U.S. government that no funds had disappeared, the General Prosecutor's Office continued investigating actions against the Anti-Corruption Action Center, and two days before the closure of the proceedings, it received 11 more decisions on temporary access to the documents of the organization, its counterparts and donors.

Deputy of the Prosecutor General Viktor Shokin, Yuri Stolyarchuk, even stated that he intended to interrogate the then Ambassador Geoffrey Pyatt in this case.

On May 12, 2016, Yuriy Lutsenko was appointed general prosecutor. Speaking at the Verkhovna Rada on the same day, Lutsenko said that the cases against the Anti-Corruption Action Center are "such grave nonsense that they simply disgrace the Prosecutor General's Office of Ukraine."

On May 30, 2016, the case was closed in the GPU because of the absence of a crime.

On August 29, 2016, Marie Yovanovitch presented credentials and embarked on the duties of the U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine.

That is, the first meeting of Ambassador Yovanovitch with Prosecutor General Lutsenko could not take place earlier than August 29, 2016, when a "grave nonsense" criminal proceeding, which "disgraced the General Prosecutor's Office of Ukraine", had already been closed.

**Official**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** Kent, George P (b)(6)

**Sent:** Friday, March 22, 2019 12:20 PM

**To:** (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6); Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6); Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** Re: Reactions to Hill Article

Thanks very much (b)(6) and team for these early heads up, particularly amplification in US media overnight. Very useful.

---

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Friday, March 22, 2019 6:10 AM

**To:** (b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L

(Kyiv) (b)(6)

(b)(6) Kent, George P; (b)(6)

(b)(6) Kyiv EXEC;

(b)(6)



**Cc:** EUR-Press

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

A few updates:

- For those in Washington who haven't already seen it – below is a transcript of National Anti-Corruption Bureau (NABU) Head Sytnyk's video in which he comments on audio leaks / election interference.
- Below I've pasted articles published by both Rush Limbaugh's website and Brietbart yesterday about Lutsenko (both focus on a Clinton-Ukraine connection, rather than the U.S. Embassy)
- This morning, we tweeted about concerns relating to Naftogaz (unrelated to the Lutsenko story, obviously, but prominent media outlet Ukrainska Pravda retweeted us with a message that's hard to translate word-for-word into English but basically indicates "we don't know about Lutsenko's list, but here the U.S. Embassy is openly expressing its positions" [in contrast to how Lutsenko alleges the Embassy operates]

**NABU Video Transcript:**

NABU posted a video of Sytnyk commenting on the audio leaks -

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r5\\_MRvL04D4](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r5_MRvL04D4). Here's a google translation of the transcript:

“We are currently seeing absurd speculations and incorrect interpretations of what seems to be my intervention in the 2016 US presidential election.

I officially declare.

The United States Government in general and the US Embassy in Ukraine, in particular, have always supported Ukraine and NABU as an institution.

On the part of our international partners who, even in the most difficult times, were standing side by side with the Bureau, much was done to combat corruption in Ukraine. I am particularly grateful to the US ambassadors who have lived with NABU all the way to our formation: Geoffrey Pyatt and Marie Yovanovich.

I made a mistake.

During a personal, private, friendly conversation that took place in 2019, I jokingly recalled the popularity of the media about allegedly interfering in the 2016 US presidential campaign.

I am ready to confirm my words and give testimonials to United States authorized persons on this matter. After all, I deeply appreciate the trust and support of our international partners.

And I have nothing to hide.

Over the past four years, the National Bureau has repeatedly argued that it is an apolitical law enforcement body that brings criminal responsibility to senior officials. It was with the advent of NABU that Ukraine, for the first time in its independence, witnessed the arrests and arrests of top officials previously considered "intact". But even under such circumstances it is difficult to imagine a situation where a newly established law enforcement agency in the country after the revolution could somehow influence the elections in the United States of America.

The competence of NABU is to expose and prosecute Ukrainian top officials. Therefore, no evidence of Paul Manafort's illegal activity was detected by NABU detectives, and they were not transmitted as it was beyond the competence of the National Bureau.

I emphasize that neither I, the Director nor the National Bureau, as a state law enforcement agency, had any influence or influence on the election of the President of the United States."

#### **Rush Limbaugh's Website: Ukrainians Investigate Hillary Clinton Collusion**

RUSH: ["TheHill.com: Ukrainian Prosecutor Investigating Alleged Plot To Aid Hillary Clinton."](#) This story you will not see in the Drive-By Media. There are two versions of this, one by Sara Carter and the other is by John Solomon. "Ukrainian Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko said he opened an investigation into alleged attempts by Ukrainians to interfere in the United States' 2016 presidential election on behalf of Hillary Clinton."

Would this not be the piece de — there wasn't any Russian collusion with Trump. What if there actually was Ukrainian collusion with Hillary? And it makes sense because the Ukrainians hate Putin! The Ukrainians despise Putin, and they don't have a whole lot of love for Putin's Russia. And so the Ukrainians colluding with Hillary, they would do this because the assumption they would make is that Putin wants no part of Hillary. I don't know about any of that.

But wouldn't this just be amazing. "In an interview that aired Wednesday with The Hill's TV, John Solomon Lutsenko said, 'today we will launch a criminal investigation about this and we will give legal assessment of this information.'"

Here's Solomon's story. He reports that "Ukraine's top prosecutor has opened an investigation into whether his country's law enforcement apparatus intentionally leaked"

Paul Manafort's financial records in order to help Hillary win in 2016. That, by the way, is the dirt that led to Manafort leaving the Trump campaign.

Let me go over this again. We're kind of in a lighthearted, jocular mood here today in spurts, but this deserves some serious explanation. And by the, the headline that's attached here to John Solomon's story: "[As Russia Collusion Fades, Ukrainian Plot to Help Clinton Emerges](#)." So we're back to is Russian collusion really fading? There wasn't — don't misunderstand. There wasn't any. But is that really what the Mueller report is gonna say?

So many leaks, so much lowering of expectations about this. And I just know how much people try to manipulate us on the left, the Democrat Party. But then again we got Trump out there suggesting that he thinks this report ought to be made public, which would tend to indicate that he's not worried about it, and so he maybe not be worried about it because he's been given a heads-up. He says he doesn't know what's in it.

But, anyway, let's look at this. "Ukraine's top prosecutor divulged in an interview aired Wednesday on Hill.TV that he has opened an investigation into whether his country's law enforcement apparatus intentionally leaked financial records during the 2016 U.S.

presidential campaign about then-Trump campaign chairman Paul Manafort in an effort to sway the election in favor of Hillary Clinton.

“The leak of the so-called black ledger files to U.S. media prompted Manafort’s resignation from the Trump campaign and gave rise to one of the key allegations in the Russia collusion probe that has dogged Trump for the last two and a half years.”

This dirt is what did in fact lead to Manafort leaving the Trump campaign. And it’s what led to Manafort being investigated by Mueller. By the way, not a single lawmaker was contacted by the FBI or the CIA about the Ukraine government being involved in our election this way. It really isn’t anything new, it’s just being reported here for the first time.

Solomon got his mitts on it. But the FBI, CIA, nobody there was contacted about the possible Ukrainian collusion with the Clinton campaign. And that’s an amazing contrast, is it not, compared to how the FBI and CIA warned a number of lawmakers about Trump’s possible collusion with Russia, which never happened?

But they weren’t out there warning politicians, hey, be very wary the Ukrainians are trying to interfere in the election. Nobody was warned of that when was it happening! You know, we actually first heard about what Ukraine did to help Hillary back in January 2017. We pointed out then that there was a huge article, it was a hundred paragraphs that carefully detailed the work done by the Ukrainian operatives to undermine Trump in order to help Hillary, including giving the Democrat National Committee dirt on Manafort. Nobody has even denied that all of this happened, yet there’s been no outrage at a foreign government interfering in our election. There wasn’t even any Drive-By Media coverage of this story.

Here it is. January 11, 2017, archives of The Politico. “Ukrainian Efforts to Sabotage Trump Backfire.” I don’t expect you remember us talking about this, but I remember the story because it was the exact antithesis of what the American people have been told for two years.

“Donald Trump wasn’t the only presidential candidate whose campaign was boosted by officials of a former Soviet bloc country. Ukrainian government officials tried to help Hillary Clinton and undermine Trump by publicly questioning his fitness for office. They also disseminated documents implicating a top Trump aide,” Paul Manafort. “And they helped Clinton’s allies research damaging information on Trump and his advisers, a Politico investigation found.”

But the story ran in The Politico and nowhere else. January 2017. This is about 10 days before Trump is inaugurated and this story surfaces. And that’s the story that Solomon and Sara Carter are zeroing back to today. And we’ll see where this goes.

<https://www.rushlimbaugh.com/daily/2019/03/21/ukrainians-investigate-hillary-clinton-collusion-2/>

## **Report: Ukraine Probing U.S. Election Interference by Local Officials on Behalf of Hillary Clinton**

**Ukraine has opened a probe into alleged attempts by domestic government officials to interfere in the 2016 presidential elections in the United States to boost Democrat candidate Hillary Clinton’s chance of winning, the Eastern European nation’s top prosecutor told the *Hill* in an interview aired on Wednesday.**

“Today we will launch a criminal investigation about this and we will give legal assessment of this information,” Ukrainian Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko told the *Hill*’s John Solomon.

The top prosecutor is reportedly investigating a claim from a local member of parliament (MP) that the director of the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine (NABU), Artem Sytnyk, attempted to interfere in the 2016 presidential election in the United States to skew the results in favor of Hillary Clinton

“According to the member of parliament of Ukraine, he got the court decision that the NABU official conducted an illegal intrusion into the American election campaign,” the top prosecutor proclaimed.

“This member of parliament even attached the audio tape where several men, one of which had a voice similar to the voice of Mr. Sytnyk, discussed the matter,” he later added.

In an editorial published by the *Hill* Wednesday, Solomon noted that as the Trump-Russia collusion investigations fade, the Ukrainian prosecutor’s probe will focus on “whether his country’s law enforcement apparatus intentionally leaked financial records during the 2016 U.S. presidential campaign about then-Trump campaign chairman Paul Manafort in an effort to sway the election in favor of Hillary Clinton.”

A spokesperson for the U.S. Department of State (DOS) confirmed that President Donald Trump’s administration is aware of the news reports about Sytnyk attempting to prop up Clinton during the 2016 elections.

The DOS spokesperson told the *Hill*:

We have always emphasized the need for deep, comprehensive, and timely reforms that respond to the demands the Ukrainian people made during the Revolution of Dignity: an end to systemic corruption, faster economic growth, and a European future for all Ukrainians.

We have consistently said that Ukraine’s long-term success and resilience depends on its commitment to reform, in particular the fight to address corruption. To succeed, Ukraine needs committed government officials and strong anti-corruption institutions. The United States is committed to engaging with our partners in Ukraine, including on efforts to roll back the persistent corruption that continues to threaten Ukraine’s national security, prosperity, and democratic development.

The top Ukrainian prosecutor’s bombshell revelation comes amid various investigations into alleged collusion between the Trump presidential campaign and Russia that so far have failed to find any evidence of the alleged offense. A

bipartisan investigation by the Senate and a more partisan one by the then-Republican-led House have found no evidence of collusion.

The American public is still waiting for the most high profile probe into the Trump campaign's relationship with Russia — the investigation led by special counsel Robert Mueller, which the president has dismissed as a witch hunt.

"Mueller is expected to present a report to the Justice Department any day now outlining the findings of his nearly two-year investigation into Russian election meddling, possible collusion with Trump campaign officials and possible obstruction of justice by Trump," the Associated Press (AP) reported Thursday.

On Wednesday, President Trump told reporters he is looking forward to perusing the report's findings, declaring that he also believes the conclusions should be made public.

"Let it come out, let people see it," the American commander-in-chief declared. "Let's see whether or not it's legit."

Several days before then President-elect Trump was inaugurated, Politico broke the story about the alleged Ukrainian ploy to benefit Hillary Clinton, revealing in January 2017:

Ukrainian government officials tried to help Hillary Clinton and undermine Trump by publicly questioning his fitness for office. They also disseminated documents implicating a top Trump aide in corruption and suggested they were investigating the matter, only to back away after the election. And they helped Clinton's allies research damaging information on Trump and his advisers, a Politico investigation found.

*Politico* found that Lutsenko is not the only Ukrainian official willing to investigate the relationship between Clinton and Ukrainian officials.

Andrei Derkach, an independent Ukrainian lawmaker who was formerly aligned with a pro-Russian party, has also urged the country's prosecutor general to "launch a pretrial investigation into 'illegal interference in the election of President of the United States organized by a criminal organization,'" *Politico* reported. "This organization, he said,



consisted of senior members of the country's National Anti-Corruption Bureau, government officials, and other public figures."

Since 2014, Russia-backed militants and the Ukrainian military have been fighting a war that has killed up to 13,000 people and injured at least 27,000 others, according to the United Nations

In October 2017, the *Hill's* Solomon and Alison Spann shed light on allegations that Clinton facilitated the sale of 20 percent of U.S. domestic uranium production to Russia under the administration of former U.S. President Barack Obama.

<https://www.breitbart.com/national-security/2019/03/21/report-ukraine-probing-u-s-election-interference-by-local-officials-on-behalf-of-hillary-clinton/>

**Official - SBU**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Thursday, March 21, 2019 9:02 PM

**To:** (b)(6)

(b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)

(b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6) Kent, George P (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6) Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <[EUR-Press-DL@state.gov](mailto:EUR-Press-DL@state.gov)>

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

Associated Press report: Ukraine, US bicker over corruption fight ahead of election

KIEV, Ukraine (AP) — Ukraine and the United States are having a diplomatic spat after Washington criticized the Ukrainian government's anti-corruption efforts ahead of the nation's March 31 presidential election.

Ukraine's Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko claimed in an interview with The Hill TV aired Wednesday that U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovitch gave him a list of people who should not be prosecuted. He said he rejected the demand.

The U.S. State Department on Thursday dismissed Lutsenko's claim as false.

The dispute came days after Yovanovitch scathingly criticized Ukraine's record on fighting corruption. She called for the firing of Ukraine's special anti-corruption prosecutor, who has been accused of helping suspects avoid corruption charges.

<https://apnews.com/9bbfccc6ba8e47e0a0398b6656e30116>

---

**From:** (b)(6)

**Date:** March 21, 2019 at 8:07:36 PM GMT+2

**To:** (b)(6)

(b)(6)

, Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)

(b)(6) (b)(6)  
(b)(6)  
Kent, George P (b)(6)  
(b)(6)  
(b)(6), Kyiv EXEC  
<Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>, (b)(6)  
(b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

Apologies folks (and thanks Brian): **the expected**Chris Miller, RFE/RL article; **note that EUR-Press just sent him the updated statement. He may update the story, too.**

U.S. Rejects Top Ukrainian Prosecutor's 'Don't Prosecute' Accusation

By RFE/RL

March 21, 2019 16:59 GMT

The U.S. State Department has dismissed a reported claim by Ukrainian Prosecutor-General Yuriy Lutsenko that U.S. Ambassador Marie Yovanovitch gave him "a list of people whom we should not prosecute."

The back-and-forth comes less than two weeks ahead of a Ukrainian presidential election in which challengers have sought to paint incumbent Petro Poroshenko as failing to combat corruption and abuses of power since taking office in mid-2014.

"The statement of Ukraine's prosecutor-general does not correspond to reality and is meant to weaken the reputation of Ambassador Yovanovitch," the State Department said.

Lutsenko's assertion came in an interview broadcast by The Hill's TV arm on March 20.

Lutsenko also reportedly told The Hill's John Solomon that Ukrainian authorities would "launch a criminal investigation" into whether Ukrainians sought to interfere in the U.S. election in 2016.

The question of Kyiv's actions in the run-up to Donald Trump's election as president took on added significance with former Trump campaign manager Paul Manafort's U.S. prosecution in part for advisory work he did in Ukraine.

On March 20, Trump cited Solomon in a tweet repeating the allegation that Ukrainians had tried to "help" his Democratic opponent, Hillary Clinton, in 2016.

[Donald J. Trump](#)

[@realDonaldTrump](#)

"John Solomon: As Russia Collusion fades, Ukrainian plot to help Clinton emerges." [@seanhannity@FoxNews](#)

62K4:40 AM - Mar 21, 2019

Poroshenko's administration was caught off-guard by Trump's election two years ago and pivoted abruptly to downplay perceived criticisms from Ukrainian officials of Trump during the campaign.

Kyiv has tried hard to maintain Western diplomatic and financial support as a simmering conflict continues in eastern Ukraine against Russia-backed separatists.

Lutsenko, a former interior minister who served jail time for charges that he and European officials described as politically motivated before a presidential pardon freed him in 2013, has served as an adviser to Poroshenko and is widely seen as the president's staunch political ally.

He was named prosecutor-general in 2016 despite having no law degree -- forcing parliament to amend legislation before approving his nomination.

He has since faced repeated calls from critics for his dismissal, and even announced his resignation as recently as November 2018.

In the halls of Ukraine's parliament after the reports of Lutsenko's comments about the U.S. ambassador, deputy speaker Oksana Syroyid said Poroshenko should either receive written, documented confirmation backing up the prosecutor-general's claim or fire Lutsenko.

"President Poroshenko this morning can only have [one of] two documents: either one substantiating the claim of Prosecutor-General Lutsenko or his submission to parliament that Lutsenko be dismissed as Ukraine's prosecutor-general," she said.

Lutsenko told Hill.TV that "from the first meeting with the U.S. ambassador in Kyiv, [Yovanovitch] gave me a list of people whom we should not prosecute," adding that such a thing was "inadmissible."

The State Department reportedly called the assertion "an outright fabrication."

Polls consistently show Poroshenko trailing comic and TV president Volodymyr Zelenskyy and neck-and-neck with former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko ahead of the March 31 vote, which will go to a two-candidate runoff in April if no one surpasses 50 percent.

Yovanovitch in a recent speech was blunt in her criticism of Kyiv's anticorruption efforts, one of the key criteria for billions of dollars in lending from international institutions since the eastern Ukrainian conflict broke out in early 2014.

Yovanovitch also said that the chief of Ukraine's Special Anticorruption Prosecutor's Office, Nazar Kholodnytskyy, should be replaced to ensure the integrity of the anticorruption institutions.

Kholodnytskyy has been embroiled in a corruption scandal over allegations that he helped officials suspected of corruption evade prosecution.

**Official - SBU**

UNCLASSIFIED

Official - SBU

UNCLASSIFIED

---

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Thursday, March 21, 2019 11:27 AM

**To:** (b)(6)

Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

Kent, George P (b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6) >

Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

Latest post from MP Mustafa Nayyem (rough translation):

Besides the political aspect of the question, this absurdity, there is also a legal component. The ambassador of the foreign state enters the office of the Attorney General and submits to him a list of untouchables, with the requirement not to expose them to prosecution.

If this is true, and Yuri Lutsenko does not deceive us, the above-mentioned actions of the US ambassador to Ukraine fall within the scope of Article 343 of the Criminal Code in relation to "interference in the activities of a law enforcement officer".

In other words, the ambassador committed or attempted to commit an offense against the principal procedural person of the country. And according to the laws of Ukraine, Yuriy Lutsenko was obliged to go to the law enforcement agencies with a statement on the crime, to hand over to the investigators all the evidence available to him and how the Prosecutor General would obtain an appropriate investigation, and then legally obtain the expulsion of the ambassador from the country.

In addition, Part 6 of Art. 16 of the Law of Ukraine "On Prosecutor's Office" gives the right to any prosecutor, in the event of a threat to his independence, to appeal to the Board of Prosecutors and to demand that measures be taken without delay to eliminate the threat.

And in fact, it is unknown, whether Yuri Lutsenko did exactly that. Sent him a request to provide relevant information. And at the same time, to transmit a copy of the list of Marie Yovanovitch. I think we have the right to know who the US embassy is "protecting" (*krisha* term used here) and what should the Prosecutor General do in order to withstand this pressure.

**Official - SBU**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Thursday, March 21, 2019 5:11 PM

**To:** (b)(6)

Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

Kent, George P (b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov> (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

In this update:

- National Corps comments

**Journalist Oleksiy Kuzmenko on Twitter:** Leader of far-right the National Corps (“nationalist hate group” per [@StateDept](#) report) party in Ukraine Biletsky brings up Lutsenko’s allegations - that the US Ambassador meddled in his work - to make own point against “colonialism”

**Biletsky of National Corps – posted on Telegram (rough translation):** The US Ambassador allegedly gave Lutsenko ‘a do-not-prosecute’ list of people in Ukraine, because they represent the interests of the same USA. Anti-corruption prosecutor Holodnitsky provides testimony about head of NABU Sytnyk to the Americans. The



testimony about how Sytnyk worked for the U.S. elections in the interests of the American Democrats. Who, in their turn, put Sytnyk as the head of NABU.

In all of this, I cannot understand one thing: where is Ukraine here and the Ukrainian interests?

Poroshenko's logo "We paddle our own canoe" means, in fact, direct external (foreign) administration. I think that the Ukrainians have made tremendous sacrifices during the Revolution and at War not for sake of replacing a Russian overlord with an American one. We have fought and continue fighting for a free, great country. The country that is a leader, but not a semi-colony of the East or the West.

An overlord may be needed for a dog, but not for a human being, and moreover for the people. A Little Russian is not the one who sees his/her overlord to be from Russia, but also the one who seeks his/her overlord to be from outside of Ukraine.

**Official - SBU**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Thursday, March 21, 2019 4:48 PM

**To:** (b)(6)

Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

Kent, George P (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

A few updates:

- More Ukrainian outlets are reporting based on the expanded NSC-cleared talking points (rather than on the more abbreviated points used in The Hill's article)
- Social media post from MP Svitlana Zalishchuk criticizing Lutsenko and Poroshenko
- One article notes that Lutsenko's statement coincided with the arrival of CODEL Crapo.

**General Note on Ukrainian Media Coverage:**

We are seeing more Ukrainian outlets picking up Washington's broader talking points on this issue (the ones cleared by the NSC, rather than the earlier version provided to the Hill). Ukrainian outlets publishing articles this afternoon with the newer talking points include:

[UkrPravda](#), [Interfax](#), [VOA Ukraine](#), [Glavcom](#), [112](#), [UMoloda](#), [Vesti-Ukr](#)

**MP Svitlana Zalishchuk:**

One could expect such a statement from the Russian Prosecutor General. The creation of an external enemy has always been an effective means of mobilizing the electorate. But here we are dealing with dangerous geopolitical schizophrenia, when along with Russian aggressors, the American Ambassador becomes an enemy as she appears to be

prohibiting the investigation of corruption. What threat does he pose? A complete discrediting of the Ukrainian authorities as a reliable partner for international friends.

Why does Lutsenko need it? In fact, one must understand that this is not Lutsenko's personal creativity, but a coordinated campaign with Poroshenko. His main goal is a knockout of NABU's head [Sytnyk]. It did not work out through a manual auditor, there was not enough compromise, and on the background of questions to NABU on the investigation of Gladkovskiy - it's a very convenient moment now. This is the first.

And the second. With Lutsenko's hands the President tries to neutralize American criticism of the corruption in the Ukrainian government and also reinforces the image of "enemies of Ukrainian government" among opposition politicians and civic activists.

Poroshenko thinks that all this old school [political game] brilliantly clears the road for him to the 2nd term. But the problem is that the president does not notice how he goes through the stage of internal Putinization [adoption of Putin's features, copying Putin]. And it has every chance to become a prism, through which the international community will look at Ukraine.

#### **Lutsenko – CODEL Crapo Timing:**

Below is an article that notes the timing of Lutsenko's statement coincides with the arrival of CODEL Crapo (the full article is below, and I've highlighted the portion where the CODEL reference begins).

#### **DSNews: List of untouchables. How Lutsenko's war with Yovanovitch would affect Ukraine**

Vladislav GIRMAN

Reviewer

Thursday March 21, 2019 2:00 p.m.

<http://www.dsnews.ua/politics/kapitoliy-nam-pripomnit-chem-grozit-ukraine-ataka-lutsenko-21032019220000>

*In the US, presidents come and go, but the establishment will remember how Kiev scammed it twice in three years*

11 days before the presidential elections in Ukraine, after the United States imposed sanctions on Russia for its aggression in the Kerch Strait and increased military assistance in 2020 US defense budget up to \$250 million, Kiev decided to shoot itself in the leg. Prosecutor General Yury Lutsenko said that the US Ambassador Marie Yovanovitch during their first meeting, gave him a list of persons whom the GPU should not prosecute.

“Unfortunately, during the first meeting with the US ambassador in Kyiv (Yovanovitch), she gave me a list of people whom we should not bring to justice. My answer to this is - unacceptable. No one in this country, neither our president, nor our parliament, nor our ambassador, will not prevent me from investigating whether a crime is taking place,” Lutsenko said last week in an interview with the influential American publication The Hill, which was published on Wednesday, March 20.

The head of the GPU did not disclose the names from the list. His speaker Larisa Sargan only clarified in an interview with BBC Ukraine that the list contained the names of some of the deputies. Which ones? The list of Ukrainian politicians and officials who enjoy the support of the US Embassy is not a big secret for anyone in Ukraine.

In addition, the Prosecutor General complained that his department did not receive \$ 4 million of US technical assistance, again hinting at some confrontation with the diplomatic mission, more precisely, even directly with the head of this embassy, as well as at the embassy's opacity. Quote: "At that time (Yovanovitch) believed that our interviews with Ukrainian citizens,

Ukrainian government officials, who were frequent visitors to the American embassy, cast a shadow on the anti-corruption policy."

"Actually," says Lutsenko in an interview, "we received a letter from the Ambassador that the money we are talking about was under the complete control of the US embassy and that the US embassy did not require our legal assessment of these facts. The situation was rather strange, as the funds we are talking about were intended for the Attorney General's Office, and we told [them] that we had never seen it, and the US Embassy replied that there was no problem. "

#### U.S. reaction

The State Department did not hesitate with the answer. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs called the accusations "frank falsification." At the same time, the representative of the State Department stressed that he is not cooperating on anything with the GPU at the moment because of the lack of political will to carry out real reforms. Yes, earlier "they tried to support the fundamental reform of the justice sector, including in the GPU," but it did not work out. Therefore, they say in the State Department, "we took responsibility before the American taxpayers and redirected assistance to more productive projects."

A similar statement was published by the US Embassy, stressing that Lutsenko is trying to damage the reputation of Yovanovitch and such accusations against representatives of the United States "are a manifestation of corruption." At the same time, they assured that "such attacks deepen our determination to help Ukraine achieve victory in the fight against corruption." That is, this is only the first battle, the battle is just beginning, which means that Lutsenko will not be so easily forgiven for this interview.

#### Why

Indeed, given the degree of risk, why did Lutsenko need this scandal? The answer lies on the surface: the conflict had already matured long ago, the confrontation with Yovanovitch did not begin yesterday or a month ago. Initially, it was clear that she would be a serious "adversary," considering her experience as a diplomat. Yovanovitch successfully worked under both George W. Bush (DCM in Ukraine, Ambassador to Kyrgyzstan) and Barack Obama (Ambassador to Armenia and from August 2016 - in Ukraine). "DS [this media]", by the way, predicted in 2016

that her main objectives would be to control the process of resolving the situation in ORDLO (with the appointment of Kurt Walker, he took this over) and "encourage the construction of a functional political system and a full-fledged market economy" in Ukraine. "In other words, the Ukrainian political bbomond should be prepared to be forced to reform," the article said. So it happened like this, which caused an increase in discontent in certain circles of power. After all, the US ambassador patronizes the same young European integrators, and even the director of the NABU Artem Sytnik. Consequently, the statements about a certain list and the \$ 4 million that the Embassy has hoarded are an attempt to discredit the current Ambassador in order to get her to leave six months ahead of time. Remember, in August Marie Yovanovitch will be the ambassador already for three years - the minimum stay as a head of the American diplomatic mission.

But why now, before the elections, when so much is at stake? First, let's note that, according to "DS" sources, the Prosecutor General played the game alone. And this is a problem, because it means that for Lutsenko there is no safe corridor, within which he can act at his discretion. The lack of a clear framework, beyond which one should not go, indicates that, by analogy with the administration of Donald Trump and his approach to recruitment, that there is a possible personalized and partial priority of loyalty over professionalism and comprehensive, long-term analysis and planning. As a result, there are such personal "initiatives" that promise serious problems. And they appear, we emphasize again, at a very, very wrong time.

Suppose that Lutsenko was planning to discredit Yovanovitch after the elections, but the investigation of the thefts in the Ukrainian defense industry, which was even more revealing the conflict between law enforcement agencies, in particular, the so-called Bigusgate, forced him to accelerate. Or, is it actually some geopolitical reflection. There was an opportunity – and [Lutsenko used it].

Speaking of opportunity. In Ukraine, for the reader who does not delve too much into American politics, only in the last couple of years, The Hill is becoming as recognizable not as The Washington Post or The New York Times, but as, for example, NBC News or Politico. The Hill, as the publication notes, is the leading US political site, which the White House and most congressmen read more actively than any other similar resource. That is why, the message of Lutsenko is addressed primarily to the American audience. And therefore it is curious how, in

fact, this interview appeared, who approached whom first: The Hill approached Lutsenko or vice versa. Or were there intermediaries? For example, Republicans offered The Hill to interview Lutsenko, and the Prosecutor General was called and asked for a service of this kind. It should be noted that, along with the statement of Lutsenko and the State Department's commentary, the publication's material does not explicitly mention an ex-member of the House of Representatives, the Republican from Texas Pete Sessions. Namely, that last year he wrote a letter to the State Department, in which he expressed concern with Yovanovitch. According to Sessions, he has evidence that Yovanovitch disdains the Trump administration.

**One more thing.** This may be just a coincidence, but on the day of the publication of an interview with Lutsenko, six lawmakers from the Senate and the House of Representatives arrived in Kiev. They are all Republicans (and half of them from Idaho) who are members or are in the leadership of influential committees. The delegation is headed by Senator, Head of the Committee on Banking, Member of the Budget Committee Mike Crapo. The rest of the legislators represent the following committees of both houses of Congress: energy and natural resources, foreign affairs, the environment and public works; on appropriations (an influential committee, decides on expenditures, including on assistance to Ukraine); banking, budget, legal; small business and entrepreneurship; on the armed forces; on agriculture, food and forestry; on trade, science and transport.

Republicans arrived officially to discuss cooperation, as we can see from the list of committees, in many areas, and instead found out that the Ambassador of their country, appointed by a Democratic president, got into a scandal. Which somewhat reinforces the hypothesis is the second reason for Lutsenko to make accusations against Yovanovitch: to play the Trump administration, to convince the US president of his friendship, because it is quite likely that he will become the next president.

#### Effects

The problem is that this way, Ukraine repeats the mistake of 2016, when Kiev, in particular, actively cooperated with American investigation on the case of Paul Manafort, since they bid on Hillary Clinton. And she lost ... They had to wash [out the consequences] for a long time.

And again, stepping on the same rake, because the same Lutsenko is playing a tactical, not a strategic game. Yes, for now Trump is the President. Yes, he can save a chair in 2020. However, in 2024, a Democrat might well be accommodated in the Oval Office, who will remember these sharp turns in Kiev. In the States, presidents are changing, but the establishment remains. And it sees that first Kiev conned the Republicans, looking into Clinton's mouth, and then the Democrats, changing sides. Accordingly, their credibility is undermined in the eyes of both. Capitol dwellers who are in charge of US policy are not sure that they will not be cheated again when the political situation changes.

Ukraine is again becoming a factor in US domestic policy, and this is very bad. Due to the vindictiveness of the American establishment. We [will eventually get the harsh payback]. Worse, even if Lutsenko is telling the truth about the list of immunity... In addition, there are signs that at least hint at the reality of if not some list of untochables, but at least of voicing urgent requests not to touch those or other persons. But this topic is too sensitive, as seen by the quick reaction of the State Department, the Embassy and the way the news is spread by Trump's supporters. And such an agiotage is another negative consequence for Lutsenko and, as a result, for Ukraine, because no one can prove anything. At least for now. Yes, the Prosecutor General claims the passing of the list, but does not show it. If it is confidential, then why talk? Or else, which is also likely, its publication is scheduled for later, when the scandal reaches its peak. Obviously, the price that Ukraine will have to pay in the future - in a year or four - will grow even more.

**Official - SBU**

**UNCLASSIFIED**



---

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Thursday, March 21, 2019 3:57 PM

**To:** (b)(6)

(b)(6); Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6) Kent, George P (b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6) Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

+ (b)(6) on the Desk.

---

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Thursday, March 21, 2019 9:56 AM

**To:** (b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)

(b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6) Kent, George P (b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6); Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

Two updates below:

- A not very credible Ukrainian outlet speculates who would be on the “so-called Yovanovitch list”
- A post from popular blogger Sergey Fursa, criticizing Ukrainian leadership.

<http://www.dsnews.ua/politics/spisok-yovanovich-kto-v-nego-vhodit--21032019090600>

YOVANOVITCH LIST. Who is on it?

After Yuriy Lutsenko declared that there is a so-called Yovanovitch list which allegedly prohibits opening criminal cases against some people, a statement was issued by the US Embassy that there is no such list.

We do not want to say whether such a list exists or not, but it is worth noting that our selective justice provides a wide field for fantasies. Moreover, it allows us to say that, besides the possible list by Yovanovitch, there are also lists by other respected actors. We decided to compose our own "Yovanovitch list".

1. Serhii Levochkin. Note that Firtash’s partner is never mentioned either by Americans or by Europeans in conjunction with Firtash himself. However, how can you not remember that he did not answer for the crimes of the Yanukovych regime, and after resigning during Euromaidan, he went to the USA for several months. Why? Many believe that he received an indulgence in 2004, when, according to legend, he persuaded Kuchma not to follow the tough scenario.

2. Anatoly Gritsenko. Here, perhaps, it is not necessary to write a lot - everyone understands everything anyway.

3. Artem Sytnyk. One of the key players on our board who, besides the appearance of anti-corruption work, is collecting information. NABU is a key tool for gathering information in Ukraine.

4. Gizo Uglava. The right hand of Sytnik and the main communicator of NABU with embassies and politicians. He is one of the main flywheels work NABU

5. Oleksander Danylyuk. Coming from the administration of Yanukovych, a man rather close to Serhii Levochkin, found himself in the position of one of the main reformers in Poroshenko Administration, and then in the chair of the head of the Ministry of Finance. His main achievement is his knowledge of the English language and the image of a certain reformer, although in reality he did nothing. He is needed because he is ready to perform any tasks. Therefore, now he, who all around said that he professes radical libertarianism, began to appear regularly in the company of Vladimir Zelenskiy.

6. Andrii Koblelev - the head of the board of the NJSC "Naftogaz", who, despite the loud scandal around the huge salary and even higher premiums, retained the chair of the head of the main enterprise of the fuel and energy complex of Ukraine.

7. David Sakvarelidze. Former Deputy Attorney General. Perhaps, it was Sakvarelidze who hinted at Lutsenko in his interview, speaking of a "rather strange situation" with the release of \$4 million by the Americans by the GPU.

Of course, our list is only an approximate assumption, and it is quite possible to continue with other assumptions. Spokeswoman for Lutsenko Larysa Sarhan, for example, separately clarified that the names of MPs were on the "Yovanovitch list". Most likely, this is also a hint at a group of Euro-optimists-anti-corruption-activists led by Serhii Leschenko, whose active cooperation with the US Embassy is more than obvious. Also number of anti-corruption social activists could be added to the list, the most popular among them being Vitalii Shabunin.

--

Social media post by prominent blogger Sergey Fursa:

<https://www.facebook.com/sergey.fursa/posts/2672460412780356>

Lutsenko's statement about the Americans, who, as it turned out, dictate him whom to imprison (that is why, therefore, Semochko, Gladkovskyi and the leadership of Kherson region are still not in jail).

Demonstrative appointment to the Supreme Court of all the discredited corrupt officials along with a ban of a decent judge.

The decision of the Constitutional Court, which rolls back the anti-corruption reform and spits in the face of creditors, announcing amnesty to corrupt officials.

What is it? And right before the elections. In the most seemingly not appropriate moment. Many think it is nonsense, greed, madness. Yes, a lot of things can be attributed to all these.

In fact, it all looks like teenage [psychological] complexes. When a dummy teenager gets a chance to put his tongue out at his teachers when going to another school. When they do not have power over him now, but nobody knows what happens in the future. And he starts breaking windows. Beat the younger ones. Get drunk before school. And revenge for the fact that he had to follow the rules for so long. That he was forced to learn. That he was not allowed to smoke at school. Hindered to skip classes. In general, he was tortured so much.

And now they have grasped the moment. Previously they could not do it, because Ukraine is completely dependent on the support of creditors. And it is difficult to retain power when the country is in default [market crash/national bankruptcy]. So they were forced to obey. To carry out reforms. Sabotage, but move forward. And now the elections. And on the one hand, if they lose, then - everything else can go to hell. What difference does it make to them, then, will there be the national bankruptcy or not. And if they win, "you can start from scratch." And to bargain about the steps in the fight against corruption. Trade loans for smaller concessions. Throwing away the old skin, like selling it for a loan at the expense of the next attorney general, who has lost confidence. And lost his coast.

On the other hand, they are sure that the West still has no choice. Like the same teenager who knows that his parents won't leave him anyway. And now, when alternative candidates look even worse, they allow themselves to enjoy themselves. Where will the West go, they will still

support them. You can spit in tea, and blame the ambassadors. Everything is possible. Moreover, they firmly believe that the West will support Ukraine anyway. After all, the disease of their brain is also called geopolitics.

Is it logical? More than yes. Especially if you are a teenager, you have hormones and [psychological] complexes. And you want to prove to everyone around that you are an alpha-male. If you think that you have been unjustly humiliated, and now you are taking revenge. And then you proudly tell the girls how you settled the score with all these old-farts. These western boring bureaucrats. These bourgeoisie. And here I remember the youth, the Komsomol, and all the lessons of the history of the CPSU [Communist Party of the Soviet Union], which they learned. And fiery speeches that all these Lutsenkos proclaimed in their youth about the struggle for the happiness of the proletariat and the opposition to the imperialists.

The problem is that we are talking about the leadership of the country, and not about teenagers who want to prove something to everyone around. If we are talking about the leadership of a country that has made a choice in favor of European values, then this is not only inappropriate but also pitiful. After all, just look at such a teenager. With pity. And hope that once he will grow up and become wiser.

**Official - SBU**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Thursday, March 21, 2019 2:26 PM

**To:** (b)(6); Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)

(b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6); Kent, George P (b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6) Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

**Expanding the distro list for these updates slightly, and providing a few news and social media updates below.**

**Interfax: POROSHENKO SHOULD EITHER RECEIVE CONFIRMATION OF LUTSENKO'S  
STATEMENT ABOUT YOVANOVITCH'S LIST OR SACK LUTSENKO – SYROYID**

KYIV. March 21 (Interfax-Ukraine) – Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko must either receive written documented confirmation backing up the claim of Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko about receiving a list from U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovitch of persons who should not be investigated, or dismiss Lutsenko, Deputy Speaker of the Verkhovna Rada, Ukraine's parliament, Oksana Syroyid has said.

"President [Petro] Poroshenko this morning can only have two documents: either information substantiating the claim of Prosecutor General Lutsenko, or his submission to parliament that Lutsenko be dismissed as Ukraine's prosecutor general," she said on Facebook on Thursday.

Lutsenko earlier in an interview with the Washington, D.C.-based The Hill publication said U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovitch gave him a list of persons whom should not be investigated. Lutsenko said he ignored the request.

"Unfortunately, from the first meeting with the U.S. ambassador in Kyiv, [Yovanovitch] gave me a list of people whom we should not prosecute," Lutsenko, who took his post in 2016, told Hill.TV last week," The Hill quoted Lutsenko as saying. The prosecutor added, "My response of that is it is inadmissible."

#### **More Social Media:**

#### **Political analyst Mykola Bielieskov:**

Probably it was decided that the mission was early withdrawal from Ukraine of the current U.S. ambassador. Because Donald Trump is trying to form the impression that Marie Yovanovitch is somehow involved in intervening in the 2016 election in favor of Hillary Clinton. Such messages have already been launched in Ukraine.

As for me, this is more a vendetta attempt for a speech from March 5- for criticism on the eve of the election, which was a hit to the head of state. What about the real fact of possible interference in the election of the ambassador herself in favor of Hillary Clinton.

In addition, there is probably a conclusion that if Yovanovitch remained short on the cadence, then skeletons can be taken out from the closet. It does not matter whether they are real or not.

But the biggest negativity will be this public clarification of relationships. Criticism of Yovanovitch is a critique of the entire American system, not just one person.

#### **Mykola Bielieskov:**

Stories about the strategic partnership between Ukraine and the United States are divided into mutual accusations, public attempts to clarify the relationship and attempts to shift responsibility of those who actually stood behind the information of the Party of Regions in the context of Paul Manafort's work here.

But the biggest concern is that the tone and individual theses are more reminiscent of the openly hostile relations between the U.S. and Russia, and not the partnership relations between Ukraine and the United States.

Against this background, it feels sad and disgusting.

#### **Anti-corruption Action Center:**

Fierce wrestler with American imperialism, Kholodnitsky now has a follower. Prosecutor General Lutsenko said that the U.S. ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovitch gave him a list of people who were not to be prosecuted. We suspect that everyone was on this list: from Ivanushchenko to Zlochevsky, from Kernes to Boyko and so on.

But seriously, one must be a "genius" to declare war on the entire diplomatic system of Ukraine's key ally in the war with Russia. There was already one "hero" who tried to fight with Western diplomats. And where is he now? Somewhere in Rostov ... And remember the story of the liberation of the "son of a bitch" Shokin? And here's another shot in the leg. Fairy tale.

#### **Blogger Alex Noinets:**

I kind of understand everything, but when one of the key government figures in the press declares that the ambassador of a key government partner, thanks to whom we are, in fact, preserving our statehood, declares that this ambassador actually committed an official crime - this means that the situation is critical.

Before that, Yovanovitch had repeatedly jumped into questions that were not within her competence. But what is especially scary is that she clung to them in public. Not just recommended to the leadership of the country, but publicly recommended. This is, of course, unacceptable.

Instead, the prosecutor general accused her of the above and beyond. And what is especially scary - accused publicly. And not in our country, but in her country.

This is an incredibly bad signal. Not just bad. Awful signal. Love each other is optional. Listen to each other is optional. But to go out with such questions in public - to close off



the possibility for a peaceful settlement of the issue to both ourselves and our opponent.

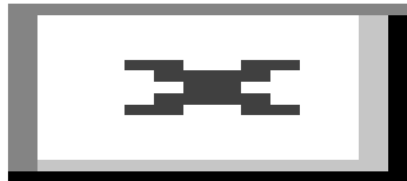
Everything. Very. Bad. Now either the prosecutor general or the ambassador must leave.

And I do not believe for a single second that Yury Vitalyevich went to war against the U.S. State Department himself, without prior agreement with Peter Alekseevich.

I cannot draw any conclusions, because I do not have any information. But to go to war with the State Department 10 days before the elections is either a prohibitively ingenious step, the meaning of which eludes me, because I am not a genius, or self-destructive.

Blogger Anton Hodza:

Yovanovitch handed Lutsenko a new list [picture with piece of paper saying: You are screwed]



MP Serhiy Leshchenko:

I heard that Prosecutor General Lutsenko decided to hit a new bottom and open a criminal investigation about alleged interference in the U.S. presidential election. The reason for this was the decision of the District Court of Kyiv (Bankova Hand Court) on the suit of MP Rosenblatt. This court, in the interval between Nasirov's restoration and Suprun's dismissal, rendered another ingenious decision, which recognized that I and the head of NABU Sytnik were interfering in the American elections. You may have seen

this court decision - Viktor Medvedchuk, a secret ally of the presidential administration, actively promoted it.

I want to inform our Prosecutor General that the court's decision on Rosenblatt's claim did not come into force, and on Monday this week the appeal proceedings were opened. Of course, such a trifle as the absence of a legal court decision is unlikely to stop our Prosecutor General. No wonder they chose a person without such burdensome baggage as a legal education.

**Mustafa Nayyem, MP:**

There are two amazing circumstances that unite the administrations of Viktor Yanukovich and Petro Poroshenko. The biggest enemies of reform and the fight against corruption are still journalists, civil society and the U.S. Embassy. And the biggest friend is Rinat Akhmetov.

And it is obvious that if there was a certain list of persons untouchable for the GPU, it would not be voiced by the U.S. ambassador to Ukraine, but by President Petro Poroshenko, his entourage and friends, partners of the Prosecutor General himself. Because for all these years, they have systematically avoided justice, openly ignoring not only the law, but also the elementary rules of decency.

Meanwhile, Yuriy Lutsenko is unlikely to be able to influence the career of U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovitch. As far as I understand, Madam Ambassador will not only not leave her post before the end of her term in the country, but will also remain in her post for some time after the end of this term.

And about the investigation of the General Prosecutor's Office of the actions of the head of the NABU on interference in the elections in the United States. Yuriy Lutsenko somewhat overestimates his capabilities. The GPU lost the investigation functions in the fall of 2017. The only body that can initiate such an investigation into the disclosure of secrets of the investigation, for example, is the State Bureau of Investigation. However, in theory, Artem Sytnik can still be accused of treason, in this case, the investigation can be carried out even in the SBU.

We are left to wait for the head of the NABU to hand over the suspicion of interfering in the election of the U.S. president, while the Americans themselves suspect the Russian Federation of such interference. I think this decrepitude can be considered final.

**Official - SBU**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 21, 2019 11:57 AM  
**To:** (b)(6); Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)  
(b)(6) (b)(6)  
(b)(6)  
(b)(6)  
(b)(6) Kent, George P (b)(6)  
**Cc:** EUR-Press <[EUR-Press-DL@state.gov](mailto:EUR-Press-DL@state.gov)>  
**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

The story is being widely discussed by prominent commentators in Ukrainian social media. Below are a set of posts (generally rough translations). Up top are a couple tweets by Western media, too, for EUR/Press' awareness. The commentary among Ukrainians on social media is mixed, but many commentators are skeptical of Lutsenko.

**BBC Journalist** Jonah Fisher:

So Ukraine's prosecutor general claims the U.S. Ambassador gave him a list of people not to prosecute. A few pertinent facts follow...

The Prosecutor General Lutsenko is very political - and very much President Poroshenko's man. There is an election in 10 days time and the polls show Poroshenko struggling to even make the second round

Two weeks ago the US ambassador to Ukraine was unusually scathing of President Poroshenko's record for tackling corruption.

**FT/NYT Journalist Mark Rachkevych:**

#USA amb. Yovanovitch implies #Ukraine PGO / Lutsenko is #corrupt in that taxpayer \$ is given where needed most and where it could make most impact in response to \$ allocated to PGO that wasn't received

**RFE/RL journalist Chris Miller on President Trump's tweet:**

Comments from Ukraine's Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko, based on alleged leaked audio of NABU chief from scandal-plagued MP, have made their way to the White House via Hannity.

**Social Media Commentary from Ukrainians:**

**Kristina Berdinskykh, Novoye Vremya journalist:**

Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko said in an interview with the U.S. media that the U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine at their first meeting, handed him a list of who cannot be prosecuted. The U.S. Embassy says it's not true.

This is an unexpected move from Lutsenko. Indeed, he is now in a position (without any law [legal] education) solely because malicious Americans publicly and non-publicly repeatedly reminded the Ukrainian authorities that the discredited Prosecutor General Shokin in the GPU is bad for the reputation of the country.

Did Lutsenko really forgot how the president was holding on to Shokin with all his strength opposing the American pressure and did not want to dismiss him. But he did

not stand, he gave his concessions, and replaced Shokin with Yuri Lutsenko. Here is the link, how Biden remembers it. [ Link where Joe Biden said that he gave 6 hours to dismiss Shokin]

Since the prosecutor general has appeared in the media with the "List of Yovanovitch" and served as a newsmaker for Russia Today, let him announce these names from the list already. His relationship with the Americans can no longer be rescued, let him hand over and publish documents with the list in Facebook.

Finally, freeing from American pressure, nothing stops Lutsenko to fight corruption in Ukraine. This, of course, was the only factor that was preventing him to do everything. And if so everyone would already be behind bars. Finally, we know why corrupt officials are at still free :)

Now should also return Shokin to the GPU, the man was hurt for nothing.

**Volodymyr Boiko, journalist:**

Ambassador of the United States Marie Yovanovitch leaves Ukraine ahead of schedule - 5 months before the end of her assignment. In her home country, together with former FBI representative in Ukraine Karen Greenaway, former deputy U.S ambassador to Ukraine (now Deputy Assistant Secretary) John[*error by author*] Kent and NABU director Artem Sytnyk. Mrs. Yovanovitch appears in the investigation into interference with the U.S. presidential election in 2016. This is about the so-called "black bookkeeping of the Party of Regions" with information on payments received in Ukraine by ex-leader of Trump campaign Paul Manafort.

As I have repeatedly said, in April-May 2016, in order to compromise Trump, Mrs. Greenaway handed excerpts from this "black bookkeeping" to Sytnyk for legalization by publishing on the NABU website. And Kent handed copies to make public to MP Sergey Leshchenko and was already practically released to the former head of the SBU's agency Viktor Trepak. At the same time in the "black bookkeeping" appeared another American - Gregory Craig. But since Craig was a lawyer serving the Barack Obama administration,

Greenaway and Sytnyk warned the head of the SAPO Kholodnitsky that Craig's name should never be found, and that fraud should not be investigated.

In early 2019, the White House received from the leadership of Ukraine testimony of the head of the SAPO Kholodnitsky, who gave the testimony at the Prosecutor General's Office regarding the circumstances of Greenaway and Sytnyk's intervention during the 2016 presidential campaign in the United States. In order to avoid responsibility, Marie Yovanovitch and Deputy Assistant Secretary of State John Kent in March 2019 tried to infiltrate the scandal surrounding the corruption of Ukroboronprom's funds in order to force Poroshenko to dismiss the head of the SAPO Kholodnitsky and disavow Kholodnitsky's testimony by blackmailing the President of Ukraine that Sytnyk would open criminal proceedings on the son of Gladkovsky (godson of Poroshenko). But there was an overhand of the performer and former member of the Council of Public Control of NABU, a professional "public activist" Denis Bihus disclosed not only the information that threw the shadow on Gladkovsky, but also the evidence of participation in the corruption of funds Ukroboronprom by Sytnyk himself.

As a result, Mrs. Yovanovitch is already packing her suitcases - she might well have made company with her friend Karen Greenaway, who was expelled from the FBI in December 2018. The main shot was an interview, which the general, sorry God, prosecutor Yuriy Lutsenko gave the American television channel Hill.TV. In particular, Yuriy Vitaliyovych confirmed that criminal proceedings are currently being investigated, registered on the fact of interference from the territory of Ukraine in the campaign of the U.S. presidential elections in 2016:

In addition, the general, sorry God, prosecutor said that as soon as he took the position, Yovanovitch handed him a list of people who were intact and who under no circumstances could be prosecuted. I would add that this list is headed by MP Sergey Leshchenko:

Lutsenko also said that \$ 4 million of American government assistance, which was allocated for the reform of the prosecutor's office (\$ 2.5 million intended directly to the General Prosecutor's Office of Ukraine), had not reached its intended destination and was stolen.

I will note that the story about theft of \$ 2.5 million is well known to me, and I'll tell it the next time.

**Serhiy Sydorenko, editor in chief Evropeiska Pravda:**

In reflections and even without ideas: Why does Lutsenko needs this naive lie/made up information of the "list of untouchables from the U.S. Ambassador"?

The possibility that this is true given the reaction - I, of course, exclude a little more than completely. This is nonsense.

An option that the journalists would have turned this around would have made sense, but it's been several hours already, and Lutsenko is silent and does not refute his statement with potentially nuclear consequences for himself ...

It is important that the statement targeted the American audience, in The Hill.

Could Lutsenko said this without Bankova's OK? It is unlikely, but I would not exclude it. But let it be so, yes, the questions do not change. What is this role for Lutsenko in a cheap American blockbuster? Why? For whom? And against whom? And is it not obvious that this role has a very artificial appearance?

Or maybe this is not an American role, and our local revenge to Yovanovitch for her latest statement? Then it is generally distilled idiocy from the handbook of shooting yourself in the leg ...

So, a bunch of questions, and zero answers. I'm running in guesses.

it seems, the worst thing has been confirmed.

Well, then I'm a little bit about Panda's diplomacy [note: meaning unclear to translators]... [next post]

**Serhiy Sydorenko (second post):**

So, it seems that our government really decided to wage war with Ambassador Yovanovitch at any price for the country ... Now it's clear that this is not an amateur Lutsenko's lie - but a sanctioned one.

By the way Yovanovitch this year is still leaving Ukraine, her term is done. But somebody on Bankova decided that at the end it is worth going to war with her, not understanding the obvious - that they declared the war not with Ambassador, but the State Department, the American diplomatic system in general.

I have one analogy here. More precisely, two.

1) Summer 2011. Yanukovych's time. The spokesman for the Foreign Ministry Voloshin comes to the French ambassador Jacques Faure and distributes ... fake that the ambassador is withdrawing from Ukraine because of the "support of the opposition". The fight with Faure was long lasting, and dirty rumors circulated against him. Everyone understood where it was coming from, but it was all "sources." But when Kyiv came out with a public official statement, then Paris was frankly shocked ...

As a result, Ukraine has significantly lost its credibility in Paris. Faure (really cool and pro-Ukrainian diplomat!) had his term prolonged as ambassador. Incidentally, after him, came an ambassador who did not love Ukraine, but that's another story.

2) Spring 2012. Again, Yanukovych's time (for such an idiocy no one else did with Western partners - only past [Yanukovych] and the present [Poroshenko]). The Foreign Ministry begins a comprehensive, open and backstage struggle with the then EU Ambassador to Ukraine Pinto Teixeira. Mistakes of history were taken into account, and acted mainly behind the scenes. Fighting enthusiastically, creatively ... on several fronts.

Teixeira, however, had already completed his assignment, but the Kyiv war against him proved to many in Brussels that he was a good ambassador.

But some, like the profile commissar, who worked very closely with Klyuev, managed to convince the opposite.



As a result, Teixeira, after leaving, was well settled (for no one listened to commissars), but the participants of that fight generally believed that they had succeeded.

The fact that the ambassador of Ukraine in Brussels then was Yeliseyev, I consider to be a coincidence and an accident.

PS: How would you explain to somebody that the U.S. is not an EU at all, and even when there is conflicts between the American parties, this is not an occasion for us to fight with their system ... Even if at any moment we help an American with this war, this does not eliminate the falsity of tactics ...

But, afraid, it's too late to explain :(

**Serhiy Sydorenko (third post):**

Who I do not really envy right now- this is our ambassador to the United States.

Chalyi was definitely not aware of the ingenious idea of war with the State Department and for some reason I believe, that he would not approve it.

But he is the one who will have to deal with the consequences on the front.

**Vitaliy Schadunin, Anti Corruption Action Center:**

I am astonished that in the " Yovanovitch list" appeared Ivanushchenko (Yenakiyevsky), Kernes and Kholodnitsky but was not for example, NV editorial offices and Radio Liberty.

If by the morning of Monday from Poroshenko there will be no document for the dismissal of Lutsenko, then he is the same brilliant diplomat, as Yanukovych.

The latter was the only president (it seems, except Poroshenko) who tried to fight in similar games<http://bit.ly/2TP97si>. [ link to previous Sydorenko's post]

Onlyatruly "brilliant diplomat" could declare war on the entire diplomatic system of Ukraine's key ally in the war with Russia. # listwhitefever

**Oleksiy Mustafin, centrist blogger and journalist with Dzerkalo Tyznya**

Let me remind you that Lutsenko is not the first. The first was Kononenko

Lutsenko, apparently, watched too many times the "Servant of the people" and also decided to send off ... American Ambassador.

**Anton Hodza, blogger, active member of the Who killed Katya Handziuk initiative**

The new motto for the Prosecutor General's Office is already: Dementia et audacia

**Fugitive MP Aleksandr Onyshenko:**

The Prosecutor General said that the U.S. Ambassador offered him a list of those who could not be prosecuted.

Given that I have already seen this somewhere, my forecast for the next month is approximately the same.

The cancellations of the U.S. visa, the ban on U.S. entry, a synchronous signal to Canada and the UK, the loss of international legitimacy, a sharp decrease in diplomatic contacts, the cancellation of upcoming meetings and the start of coordinated external activities aimed at resigning. *[not clear from his post who is exactly referring to]*

**Simon Ostrovsky, PBC Newshour, CODA:**

My sense is that @poroshenko is also trying to curry favor with Trump by pushing the narrative that Ukraine, not Russia, interfered in the 2016 U.S. election because Poroshenko is going to need his support if things go south in the upcoming poll in Ukraine

Ukrainian anti-corruption activist @fridarya says this is in part the @poroshenko administration attempting to discredit the U.S. Ambassador for her criticism of stalled reforms in the justice system

**Journalist Katya Gorchinskaya on Ostrovsky tweet:** Currying favor by shooting yourself in the foot - it's got to be a new tactic in diplomacy

**Karl Volokh, Pro-Poroshenko blogger:**

Did I tell you that Marivanna [Marie Yovanovitch] would leave us in an untimely way, without waiting for the end of the assignment? Well, and now, it was confirmed. Looks like her sponsored Sytnik needs to prepare.

I hope the Americans will not be limited to just dismissal - it was too much she screwed up here.

**Another Post from Karl Volokh, Pro-Poroshenko Blogger:**

Great foreign policy specialists panicked about the "tough reply" of the State Department to the Ukrainian Prosecutor General. Someone even foresees diplomatic complications. Do not cluck so vainly. In the State Department, George Kent - Marivanna's [Marie Yovanovitch] accomplice on most of her failures - is responsible for the Ukrainian direction and one could hardly expect a different reaction from him. I don't know what the reaction of Secretary of State Pompeo will be, but there are enough people in the White House and the Senate today who are running out of patience about the Obama's Ambassador. In general, don't worry, fellow citizens, we will break through

**Denys Bihus, investigative journalist:**

Judging by the GPU's criminal cases that resulted in imprisonment, Yovanovitch handed over to Lutsenko the telephone list of the residents of Koncha Zaspa [elite residential area in Kyiv]

**Sergiy Rudenko, Espresso journalist:**

Three years ago, U.S. Ambassador Marie Yovanovitch gave Yuriy Lutsenko, as the new Prosecutor General, as he says, a list of "untouchables" of Ukrainian politicians. And all this time Yuri Vitaliyovich was heroically silent. And now he decided to speak. Because there is no more power to endure this whole American oppression! Dope!

Lutsenko must announce the list of Marie Yovanovitch. Ukraine needs to know who is "Washington's hand". The Prosecutor General says that there are surnames of MPs.

Imagine if Yulia Tymoshenko is on the list? How then should we respond to the theory that Yulia is "the hand of Moscow"?)

Marie's List: Gladkovsky, Nasirov, Semochko, Rosenblatt

Now everything is clear?)

**Mykola Bielieskov, journalist at Glavkom:**

A cheery asymmetrical answer was invented by us on the criticism in response to Marie Yovanovitch on March 5, 2019 - that there is a list of people that was passed to the Prosecutor General during the first meeting with the new ambassador, who are better not to be investigated.

Well, at least this is what all looks like for an average man, who does not have access to sensitive data.

**Yevhen Buderatsky, Ukrainska Pravda:**

"I did not say anything like that about the Ambassador, and I do not understand where it came from." (c) Ihor Kononenko, commenting on the fact that Poroshenko asked Biden to dismiss U.S. Ambassador Geoffrey Pyatt because of criticism of Prosecutor General's Shokin, October 9, 2015

**Oleg Polomar, blogger:**

Regarding the U.S. ambassador to Ukraine.

Despite the fact that I know everything about the situation and even a little more, I do not see the point and benefit of giving a detailed and essentially commentary.

For two reasons.

1. According to a long-established plan of regular diplomatic rotation and not connected with the elections in the United States or with elections in Ukraine, the U.S. ambassador must complete her term in Ukraine in the coming months.

Therefore, I see no reason to create additional tension and make unnecessary sprays if this can be avoided.

2. Today in Ukraine the main thing is to preserve the independence and statehood on March 31, not to allow the Russian and Malorussian revenge. And, as I have written more than once, we must go through the remaining week and a half with dignity and win. Thereby - to preserve the Euro-Atlantic course of Ukraine and - this is the main thing today. Trumps come and go, and Ukraine and the United States are allies and partners for a long time.

Good luck everyone.

**Official - SBU**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Thursday, March 21, 2019 11:19 AM

**To:** (b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)

(b)(6) (b)(6);

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

Kent, George P (b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <[EUR-Press-DL@state.gov](mailto:EUR-Press-DL@state.gov)>

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

Based on a review of media coverage in significant Ukrainian outlets:

The following outlets have reported on the State Department's expanded commentary provided by EUR-Press to 1+1 :

- TSN Program on 1+1
- UNIAN (also associated with TSN/1+1)
- Interfax (major wire service)
- 112 (includes some of the expanded commentary, but overall the report is relatively short and does not include all details)

The following outlets picked up The Hill report, including the State Department commentary that was provided to the Hill (but was not as expansive as the later-approved guidance):

- Ukrainska Pravda / Yevropeiska Pravda  
<https://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2019/03/20/7209773/> (Wed, 21:30)  
<https://www.eurointegration.com.ua/news/2019/03/21/7094209/> (Thu, 08:37)
- Liga.net  
<https://news.liga.net/politics/news/lutsenko-dal-intervyu-the-hill-obvinil-yovanovich-gosdep-otvetil> (Wed, 19:23)
- BBC Ukrainian  
<https://www.bbc.com/ukrainian/news-47642452> (Wed)

- Censor.net  
[https://censor.net.ua/news/3117732/lutsenko\\_posol\\_ssha\\_yiovanovich\\_peredala\\_mne\\_perechen\\_lyudeyi\\_kotoryh\\_prosila\\_ne\\_privlekat\\_k\\_otvetstvennosti](https://censor.net.ua/news/3117732/lutsenko_posol_ssha_yiovanovich_peredala_mne_perechen_lyudeyi_kotoryh_prosila_ne_privlekat_k_otvetstvennosti) (Wed, 19:05)
- Gordon  
<https://gordonua.com/news/politics/lucenko-zayavil-chto-yovanovich-peredala-emu-spisok-lic-kotoryh-nelzya-privlekat-k-otvetstvennosti-824758.html> (Wed, 20:03)
- Strana.ua  
<https://strana.ua/news/191837-kto-i-zachem-atakuet-mari-jovanovich-posla-ssha-v-ukraine.html> (Wed., 21:45)
- Interfax (in addition to publishing the expanded State commentary, they also reported on the initial State commentary reflected in the Hill article)  
<https://interfax.com.ua/news/political/574200.html> (Thu, 09:37)

We do not see any significant Ukrainian media outlets reporting on the Lutsenko story without a U.S. reaction (either from the original statement EUR/Press provided to the Hill or the later statement EUR/Press provided to 1+1).

**Official - SBU**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Thursday, March 21, 2019 11:02 AM

To: (b)(6); Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)

(b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6) Kent, George P (b)(6)

Cc: EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

Subject: RE: Reactions to Hill Article

Here's a rough transcript of what was said on Hannity's show last night. Video footage is available at <https://video.foxnews.com/v/6016314120001/#sp=show-clips>

**Very Top of the Program:**

Breaking Tonight according to The Hill's John Solomon, we now have major evidence of election collusion in 2016. Real evidence to back it up. This collusion surrounds Hillary Clinton and a top Ukrainian government official that wanted her elected. We're going to have all the details coming up with John Solomon.

*Other stories covered, then the report closed with ...*

[Transition] into this damning new story which we now get to tonight from John Solomon. We know tonight that a high-ranking government official in Ukraine actively tried to benefit the Clinton campaign in 2016. This is breaking tonight according to Solomon. Ukraine's top prosecutor has opened a criminal probe into whether senior law enforcement officials in that country tried to sway the U.S. election – influence our election - to help Hillary Clinton win. Now a tape recording released by a member of the Ukrainian parliament captured an official talking about leaking Manafort financial records in the middle of the 2016 election for the stated



purpose to help Hillary Clinton. The Ukrainian court even ruled the leak was an improper effort to influence the American election. That's not all. According to this report by John Solomon, Ukraine's top prosecutor accused the U.S. Embassy of interfering in corruption prosecutions inside the country, including one probe into the alleged misuse of American aid. And a letter surfaced from a senior member of Congress to Secretary Pompeo accusing the current U.S. Ambassador in Kyiv of badmouthing the Trump administration. Now this is exactly what Mark Meadows was talking about Tuesday on this show. So where's the Mueller investigation into these matters? After all, it's already under investigation in the country of Ukraine, there's a tape recording that has all this information? Where's equal justice under our laws? There's single application of our laws. There's no Trump-Russia collusion as we now know – well, the FBI told us after 9 months, then of course the House Intel Committee told us, then the Senate Intel Committee told us, and as Congressman Nunes pointed out, many years ago – by the way, 2014 – he was among many people, by the way, to do this – Russian interference he told us in 2014 is a real threat. He warned us in 2014. And not to the Trump campaign, by the way, it's power-obsessed Clintons who may have been the most susceptible. That's where the real collusion ends up being. And this week we learn that former White House Council Craig may soon be facing charges linked to Mueller's probe. Oh, maybe a little [inaudible – bit?] of justice.

**Official - SBU**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Thursday, March 21, 2019 10:08 AM

**To:** (b)(6); Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)

(b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6) Kent, George P (b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <[EUR-Press-DL@state.gov](mailto:EUR-Press-DL@state.gov)>

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

From looking through the English language press a bit more this morning:

- The Lutsenko story does not appear to have been picked up by other significant U.S. outlets beyond what has already been detailed in the chain below. It does appear, however, to have been not only on Hannity's social media feeds and website, but also on his show about 6-7 hours ago. (I'll look for the tape of that.)
- The story was discussed on Twitter in the U.S. (seemingly around the time of Hannity's show). Hannity's tweets alone received about 1.5K comments, and President Trump's received over 8K comments. (Not all comments are on topic, obviously.) There are some tweets (perhaps a couple dozen) discussing Ambassador Yovanovitch by name, some of which call for her to be fired or face treason charges.

Looking through Ukrainian media in more depth now...

**Official**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Thursday, March 21, 2019 9:32 AM

**To:** (b)(6); Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)

(b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6) Kent, George P (b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

+ EUR Press

---

**From:** (b)(6)

**Date:** March 21, 2019 at 8:36:16 AM GMT+2

**To:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6)

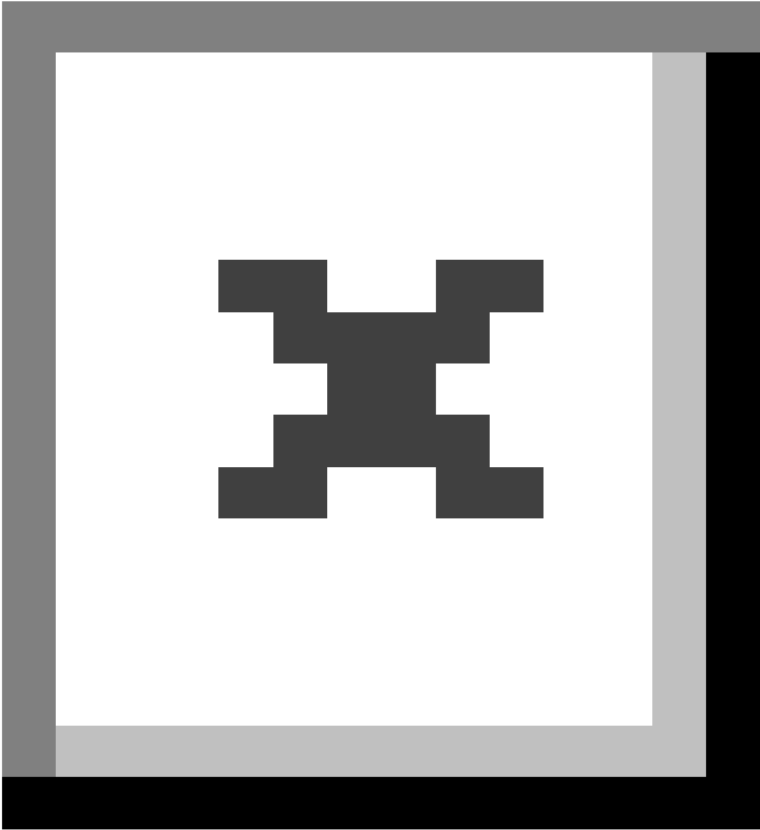
(b)(6)

(b)(6) Kent, George P (b)(6)

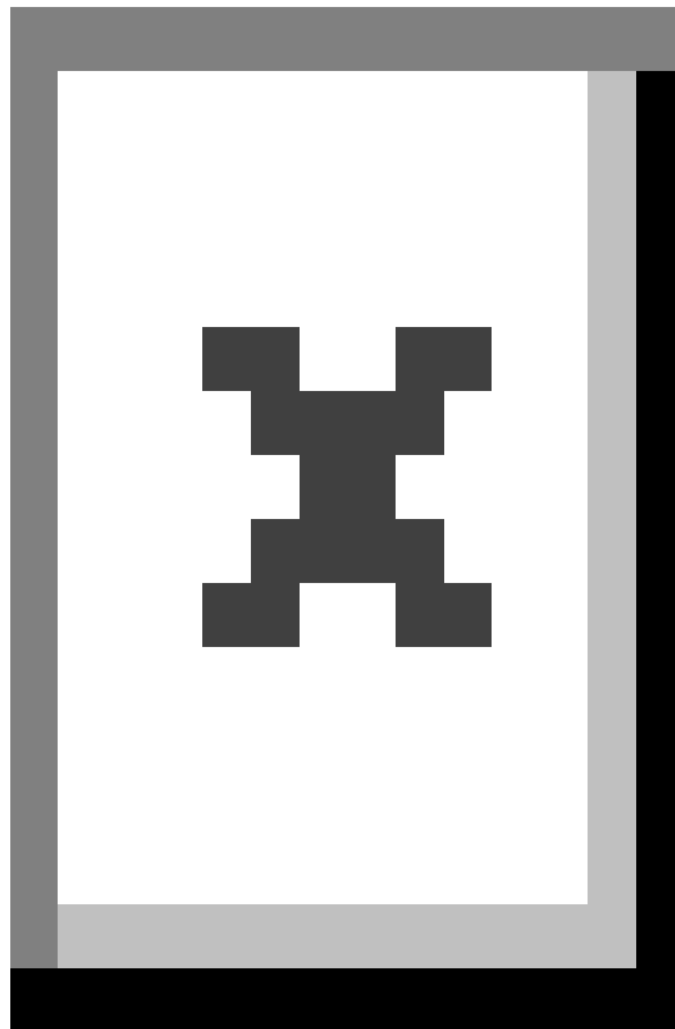
**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

+George (b)(6) (DC colleagues -- please scroll down a bit if you haven't seen the latest developments, which occurred overnight in Kyiv -- publication of a Hill column about the Lutsenko situation which refers to the Embassy and George, as well as a tweet by POTUS).

Per AMB's latest question – here is a screenshot of the letter seemingly signed by George to the Deputy PG included in The Hill's column, saying (broadly generalizing) we see no need for the PGO to investigate the U.S. assistance package to the PGO, and raising concerns about an investigation into ANTAC.

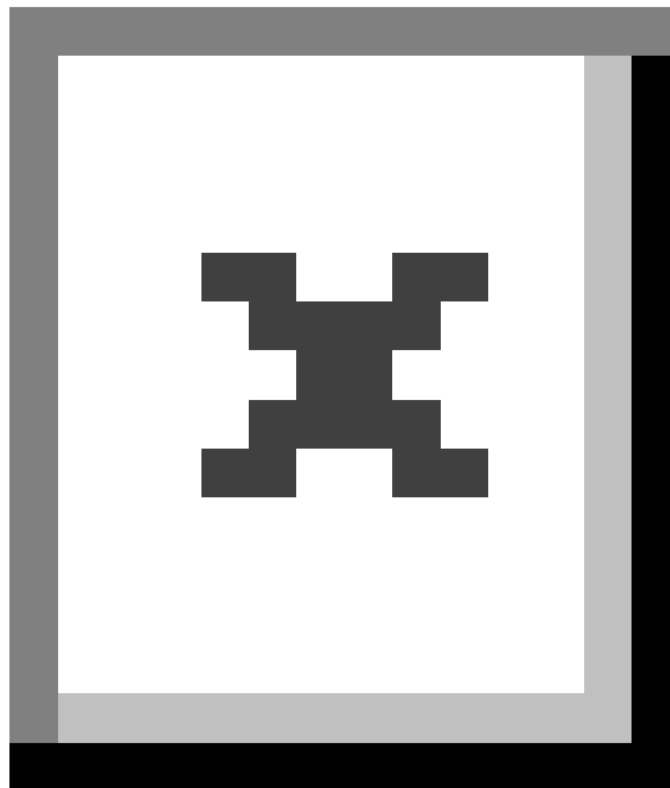






And The Hill column also included an image of the full letter from Pete Sessions to Secretary Pompeo (pasting that below too).





**Official - SBU**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Thursday, March 21, 2019 8:29 AM

**To:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

There is a copy of the letter in the Hill piece. Couldn't copy and paste on my phone, but at my desk now – I'll send the screenshots momentarily (and loop in George, (b)(6))

**Official**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6)

**Sent:** Thursday, March 21, 2019 8:25 AM

**To:** (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Subject:** Re: Reactions to Hill Article

(b)(6) do you know what the letter that George allegedly signed is about?

(b)(6) we need to make sure George, (b)(6) get all this in real-time.

---

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Thursday, March 21, 2019 7:30 AM

**To:** (b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

Thanks, (b)(6) A couple initial updates from overnight:

The Hill reporter published an opinion column about the whole Lutsenko story (which concludes that it is important to investigate what's going on at US Embassy Kyiv). I'm pasting that text below.

Sean Hannity retweeted that about 4 hours ago. President Trump then tweeted the same headline, with Hannity and Fox tags, about 2 hours ago.

The top story on Hannity's website is now "Ukraine Bombshell" which quotes the Hill report about the Ukr government opening a probe into election interference. (No Embassy related content in that one.)

There's likely more coverage - I'll check more thoroughly when I'm in the office soon.

### **The Hill: As Russia collusion fades, Ukrainian plot to help Clinton emerges**

After nearly three years and millions of tax dollars, the Trump-Russia collusion probe is about to be resolved. Emerging in its place is newly unearthed evidence suggesting another foreign effort to influence the 2016 election — this time, in favor of the Democrats.

Ukraine's top prosecutor divulged in an interview aired Wednesday on [Hill.TV](#) that he has opened an investigation into whether his country's law enforcement apparatus intentionally leaked financial records during the 2016 U.S. presidential campaign about then-Trump campaign chairman [Paul Manafort](#) in an effort to sway the election in favor of [Hillary Clinton](#).

The leak of the so-called "black ledger" files to U.S. media prompted Manafort's resignation from the Trump campaign and gave rise to one of the key allegations in the Russia collusion probe that has dogged Trump for the last two and a half years.

### **ADVERTISEMENT**

Ukraine Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko's probe was prompted by a Ukrainian parliamentarian's release of a tape recording purporting to quote a top law enforcement official as saying his agency leaked the Manafort financial records to help Clinton's campaign.

The parliamentarian also secured a [court ruling](#) that the leak amounted to "an illegal intrusion into the American election campaign," Lutsenko told me. Lutsenko said the tape recording is a serious enough allegation to warrant opening a probe, and one of his concerns is that the Ukrainian law enforcement agency involved had frequent contact with the Obama administration's U.S. embassy in Kiev at the time.

"Today we will launch a criminal investigation about this and we will give legal assessment of this information," Lutsenko told me.

#### ADVERTISEMENT

Lutsenko, before becoming prosecutor general, was a major activist against Russia's influence in his country during the tenure of Moscow-allied former president Viktor Yanukovich. He became chief prosecutor in 2016 as part of anti-corruption reforms instituted by current President Petro Poroshenko, an ally of the U.S. and Western countries.

Unlike the breathless start to the Russia collusion allegations — in which politicians and news media alike declared a Watergate-sized crisis before the evidence was fully investigated — the Ukraine revelations deserve to be investigated before being accepted.

After all, Ukraine is dogged by rampant corruption. It is a frequent target of Russian President Vladimir Putin's dirty tricks. And it is a country that, just last year, faked a journalist's death for one day, reportedly to thwart an assassination plot.

But the chief prosecutor, a member of parliament and a court seemingly have enough weight to warrant serious scrutiny of their allegations and an analysis of the audio tape.

#### ADVERTISEMENT

Furthermore, the mystery of how the Manafort "black ledger" files got leaked to American media has never been solved. They surfaced two years after the FBI investigated Manafort over his Ukraine business activities but declined to move forward in 2014 for lack of evidence.

We now have strong evidence that retired British spy Christopher Steele began his quest in what ultimately became the infamous Russia collusion dossier with a series of conversations with top Department of Justice (DOJ) official Bruce Ohr between December 2015 and February 2016, about securing evidence against Manafort.

We know the FBI set up shop in the U.S. embassy in Kiev to assist its Ukraine/Manafort inquiry — a common practice on foreign-based probes — while using Steele as an informant at the start of its Russia probe. And we know Clinton's campaign was using a law firm to pay an opposition research firm for Steele's work in an effort to stop Trump from winning the presidency, at the same time Steele was aiding the FBI.

Those intersections, coupled with the new allegations by Ukraine's top prosecutor, are reason enough to warrant a serious, thorough investigation.

If Ukraine law enforcement figures who worked frequently with the U.S. embassy did leak the Manafort documents in an effort to influence the American election for Clinton, the public deserves to know who knew what, and when.

#### ADVERTISEMENT

Lutsenko's interview with [Hill.TV](#) raises another troubling dynamic: The U.S. embassy and the chief Ukrainian prosecutor, who America entrusts with fighting corruption inside an allied country, currently have a dysfunctional relationship.

In our interview, Lutsenko accused the Obama-era U.S. embassy in 2016 of interfering in his ability to prosecute corruption cases, saying the U.S. ambassador gave him a list of defendants that he would not be allowed to pursue and then refused to cooperate in an early investigation into the alleged misappropriation of U.S. aid in Ukraine.

Lutsenko provided me with a letter from the embassy, supporting part of his story by showing that a U.S. official did in fact ask him to stand down on the misappropriation-of-funds case. "We are gravely concerned about this investigation for which we see no basis," an embassy official named George Kent wrote to the prosecutor's office.

The State Department on Wednesday issued a statement declaring that it no longer financially supports Lutsenko's office in its corruption-fighting mission and considers his allegation about the do-not-prosecute list "an outright fabrication."

#### ADVERTISEMENT

My reporting, however, indicates Lutsenko isn't the only person complaining about the U.S. embassy in Kiev.

Last year, when he served as House Rules Committee chairman, Rep. [Pete Sessions](#) (R-Texas) wrote a private letter asking Secretary of State [Mike Pompeo](#) to recall the current U.S. ambassador, alleging that she made disparaging statements about [President Trump](#).

The ambassador "has spoken privately and repeatedly about her disdain for the current administration in a way that might call for the expulsion" of America's top diplomat in Ukraine, Sessions wrote.

Such dysfunction does not benefit either country, especially when Russia is lurking around the corner, hoping to regain its influence in the former Soviet republic.

Investigating what's going on in the U.S. embassy in Kiev, and whether elements in Ukraine tried to influence the 2016 U.S. election to help Clinton, are essential steps to rebooting a key relationship.

*John Solomon is an award-winning investigative journalist whose work over the years has exposed U.S. and FBI intelligence failures before the Sept. 11 attacks, federal scientists' misuse of foster children and veterans in drug experiments, and numerous cases of political corruption. He serves as an investigative columnist and executive vice president for video at The Hill.*

---

**From:** (b)(6)

**Date:** March 21, 2019 at 6:37:21 AM GMT+2

**To:** (b)(6), Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)

(b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

It looks like the President tweeted about this an hour ago:

"John Solomon: as Russia collusion fades, Ukrainian plot to help Clinton emerges."

@seanhannity @FoxNews

It's been retweeted 7,322 times.

Apologies, I can't copy the link on my iPhone.

---

**From:** (b)(6)

**Date:** March 20, 2019 at 7:56:03 PM GMT+2

**To:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

The Hill article about Lutsenko opening an investigation into a plot to aid Clinton has also been picked up by Fox News correspondent Sara Carter.

The Hill story about the list of people not to prosecute is also starting to get more actively picked up in Ukrainian media within the past half hour or so. It's been reported by Censor, Liga, Radio Svoboda, LB, etc. Liga contacted the press service of the PGO to confirm that Lutsenko did indeed give an interview to Hill TV. Larisa Sargan from the PGO office responded, "She [Amb Y] at the meeting voiced a list of people who should not be prosecuted." When Liga asked why Lutsenko only now reported this, Sargan answered: "Because now they asked him about it." Sargan also said the list included "not two or three names, but more," and among them are representatives of the legislative branch.



**Official - SBU**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Wednesday, March 20, 2019 7:17 PM

**To:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

Samopomich MP Olena Sotnyk posted on Facebook:

Well, I think it's not even worth commenting ... #epicfail [*link to BBC Ukrainian article about The Hill's article about a list of people to not prosecute*]

**Official - SBU**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Wednesday, March 20, 2019 7:09 PM

**To:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

Post from Volodymyr Oliinyk, another fugitive MP, from Yanukovych's team – rough translation.  
(From 3 hours ago, so likely not a reaction specifically to the Hill article)

#### EVERYTHING IS JUST STARTING

After Manafort we assumed that the testimony of Sytnik and other actors would drag a whole group of Ukrainian politicians, and not only Ukrainian ones, into responsibility for the events during the US presidential election in 2016. The United States Ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovitch has already been suspected. She is already preparing to leave Kyiv. I do not rule out that even Petro Poroshenko can easily become a figure of the interference with Democratic elections in favor of Hillary Clinton. This is stretched out into the light of God with the help of one of the deputy heads of the head of the SBU, who was engaged in this on the initiative of Petro Poroshenko. Americans are slowly finishing with the main curator, this is Manafort, they begin to figure out who was transferring money, who revealed the fictitious data of discrediting the head of Donald Trump's election headquarters. Trump will never forgive that. He began to take steps [against] many politicians and Ukrainians in particular. And these will not be the latest findings of the American Justice regarding the presence of the crime of interference with the US electoral process. It is just beginning. Revenge is always a dish best served cold.

**Official - SBU**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Wednesday, March 20, 2019 7:04 PM

**To:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

Bloomberg and RFE/RL are seeking comment on today's issues, FYI – (b)(6) is directing them to Washington (due to Washington's preference to handle U.S. media inquiries).

**Official - SBU**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Wednesday, March 20, 2019 6:50 PM

**To:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

Here's a new article from The Hill about their Lutsenko interview (no U.S. connection in this one, but just for awareness). This was published about 10 minutes ago:

### **Top Ukrainian official accuses Putin of 'blackmail' ahead of country's election**

Ukraine's Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko told Hill.TV that Russian President Vladimir Putin is forcing Ukrainian voters to choose between further conflict with Russia or electing a presidential candidate preferred by Putin.

Lutsenko, when asked by Hill.TV's John Solomon last week if there has been any evidence of Russian interference in the upcoming elections, said, "This question was raised by Mr. Putin. Whether we go together with [President Petro] Poroshenko and we continue to wage war, or we go with anybody besides Mr. Poroshenko, and he works with anybody besides him."

"The question has been complicated not only because of direct blackmail of Putin of the Ukrainian people but also of his influence on media resources in the country," Lutsenko added.

Hill.TV has reached out to the Russian Embassy in Washington for comment.

Voters in Ukraine head to the polls on March 31 for presidential elections, where Poroshenko is seeking reelection. The first round of elections began Dec. 31. There are 39 candidates on the ballot.

Ukraine's security services are gearing up for potential Russian cyberattacks during the election amid tensions between the countries.

Russia annexed Crimea from Ukraine in 2014, prompting significant international backlash and sanctions against Moscow. The international community has not formally recognized Russia's seizure of the territory, and military tensions have been heightened ever since.

— Hill.TV Staff

<https://thehill.com/hilltv/rising/434910-putin-has-blackmailed-ukrainian-people-ahead-of-election-says-top-ukrainian>

**Official - SBU**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Wednesday, March 20, 2019 6:44 PM

**To:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

BBC-Ukrainian has picked up The Hill report with Lutsenko claiming AMB gave him a list of people not to prosecute. <https://www.bbc.com/ukrainian/news-47642452>

A Zik TV reporter Natasha Vlaschenko has also tweeted the following – likely not in response to the Hill pieces but the other rumors Stephanie circulated earlier today (rough translation):

“There are serious rumors that Marie Yovanovitch is packing her suitcases. Recalled. Too much wonderful happened in the past months. Trump got tired of tweeting :) “

Official - SBU

UNCLASSIFIED

---

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Wednesday, March 20, 2019 6:27 PM

**To:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

Sean Hannity of Fox News just retweeted one of the Hill articles. His tweet says:

Senior Ukrainian official says he's opened probe into US election interference[with a link to the Hill piece]

Official - SBU

UNCLASSIFIED

---

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Wednesday, March 20, 2019 5:59 PM

**To:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

Chris Miller tweets about the Hill article:

Wild claim by Ukraine's Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko, who President Poroshenko appointed & had his party in parliament push thru law allowing person with no legal experience to hold the PG position. Seems Lutsenko is bitter about US \$ pulled from PGO

The AMB Y early departure narrative is also being promoted on Facebook by fugitive MP Aleksandr Onyshenko.

**Official - SBU**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Wednesday, March 20, 2019 5:56 PM

**To:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

Not directly related to the Hill article ... but the Volodymyr Bokyo Facebook post that Stephanie flagged earlier (about (b)(6); (b)(7)(C) etc.) is being picked up by some propaganda-style outlets, some of which are reporting as of 5ish hours ago that AMB Y may leave her post early and return to Washington.

<http://news24ua.com/poyavilas-informaciya-hto-posol-ssha-v-ukraine-mari-yovanovich-dosrochno-pokidaet-svoy-post>

<https://www.politnavigator.net/posol-ssha-v-kieve-vlyapalas-v-grandioznyj-skandal.html>

Back on the subject of The Hill – the article has been picked up by RIA Novosti in Russian.

<https://ria.ru/20190320/1551968770.html>

**Official - SBU**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Wednesday, March 20, 2019 5:52 PM

**To:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)



(b)(6)

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

Kyiv Post has reprinted the first Hill article (Top Ukrainian Justice Official Says U.S. AMB Gave Him a Do Not Prosecute List)

<https://www.kyivpost.com/ukraine-politics/the-hill-top-ukrainian-justice-official-says-us-ambassador-gave-him-a-do-not-prosecute-list.html>

**Official - SBU**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

**From:**

(b)(6)

**Sent:** Wednesday, March 20, 2019 5:44 PM

**To:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

**Nick Short – Security Studies Group (only about 5K followers, but has a verified account, @PoliticalShort)**

Lutsenko is probing a claim from a member of the Ukrainian parliament, saying the director of the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine (NABU), Artem Sytnyk, attempted to interfere in the 2016 U.S. presidential election on behalf of Hillary Clinton.

**Yossi Gestetner – has about 20K followers and a verified Twitter account:**

Ukrainian Prosecutor Yuriy Lutsenko told [@jsolomonReports](#) that he has opened a probe into alleged attempts by Ukrainians to interfere in the US 2016 POTUS election. Story of the collusion between DNC and Ukraine was first reported in Jan 2017 by Politico, but then buried.

**Official - SBU**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Wednesday, March 20, 2019 5:39 PM

**To:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Subject:** Reactions to Hill Article

Starting an email chain to share traditional and social media reactions to the Hill story. This is a small distro; if Front Office wants it expanded, just let me know. I'll reply to this group with further updates as they come in.

**Tweets from Oleksiy Kuzmenko, a DC-based journalist focusing on Ukraine, associated with Bellingcat:**

Big! Shots fired re the US Ambassador Yovanovitch by Ukraine's Pros. Gen. Lutsenko@thehill "From the first meeting, with the U.S. Ambassador in Kiev, [Yovanovitch] gave me a list of people whom we should not prosecute," Lutsenko tells@jsolomonReports

No need to guess if Lutsenko is happy with the US support for the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine

"At that time, [Yovanovitch] thought that our interviews of the Ukrainian citizens of the Ukrainian civil servants who were frequent visitors in the U.S. embassy put a shadow on that anti-corruption policy." Lutsenko told@jsolomonReports

**Official - SBU**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

<b>Sender:</b>	"Kent, George P"	
<b>Recipient:</b>	(b)(6)	
	Reeker, Philip T	(b)(6)
	(b)(6)	

(b)(6)

<b>From:</b>	"Kent, George P"	(b)(6)
<b>To:</b>	Kent, George P	(b)(6)
<b>Subject:</b>	Blue Star engagement in 2016 with Ukr prosecutors	
<b>Date:</b>	Fri, 27 Sep 2019 18:23:05 +0000	

(b)(5)

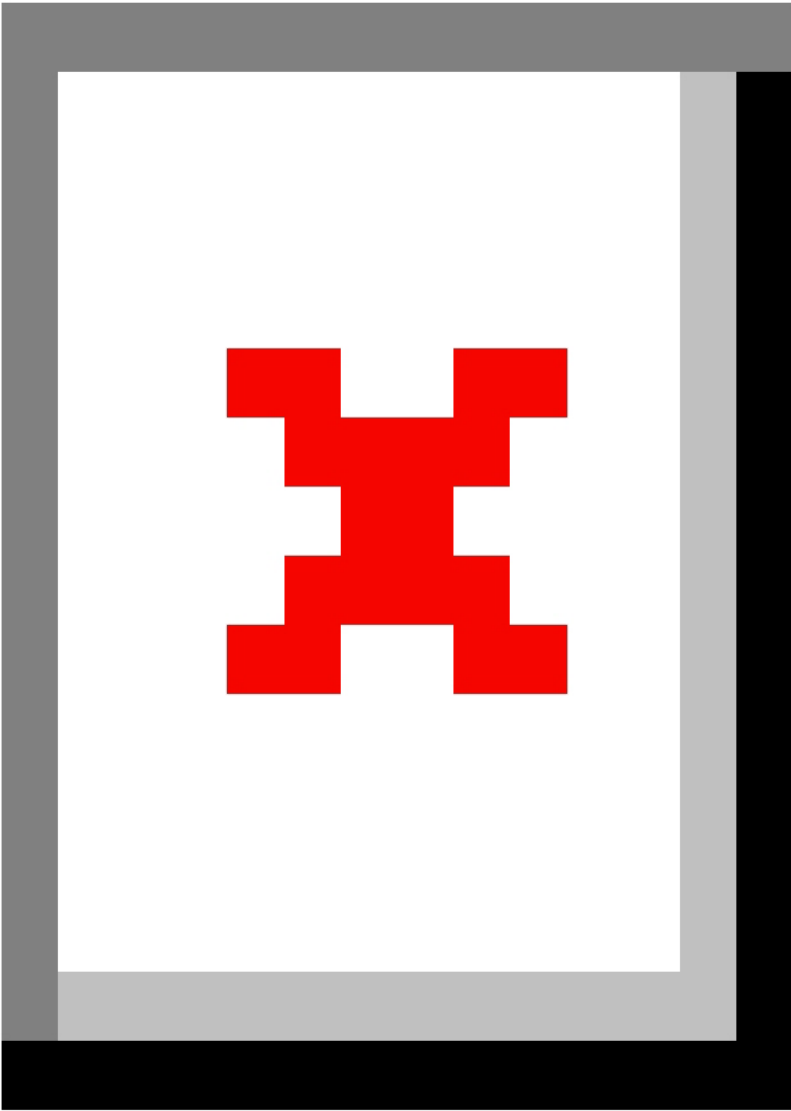
Daria Kaleniuk, ANTAC:

Yuriy Sevruck, the former deputy of Shokin, whose dismissal we demand, met with lobbyists of the American company Blue Star Strategies in spring 2016.

Karen Tramantano of the agency seemed to apologize for criticizing activists and the U.S. Embassy for GPU inaction in the Zlochevsky case.

Sevruck himself wrote about this in a certificate published by John Solomon. Solomon is a journalist to whom Lutsenko gave a scandalous, lying interview in March this year. <http://bit.ly/2n7N54t>

Later, in 2017, Blue Star Agencies executed lobbying services from a Martynenko-affiliated NGO to discredit the ANTAC.



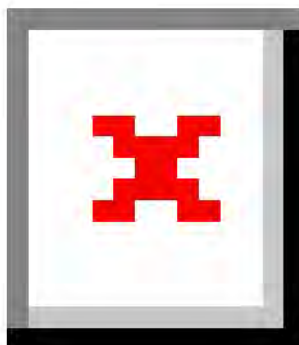
<b>Sender:</b>	"Kent, George P"	(b)(6)	
<b>Recipient:</b>	Kent, George P	(b)(6)	

<b>From:</b>	"Pyatt, Geoffrey R (Athens)" (b)(6)
<b>To:</b>	Reeker, Philip T (b)(6)
<b>Subject:</b>	Fox News on Giuliani, Shokin and me (in OIG docs)
<b>Date:</b>	Thu, 3 Oct 2019 12:18:35 +0000

(b)(5)

<https://www.foxnews.com/politics/ukraine-prosecutor-biden-burisma-back-off-state-department-files>

# Ex-Ukraine prosecutor said he was told to back off probe of Biden- linked firm, files show





By **Brooke Singman | Fox News**

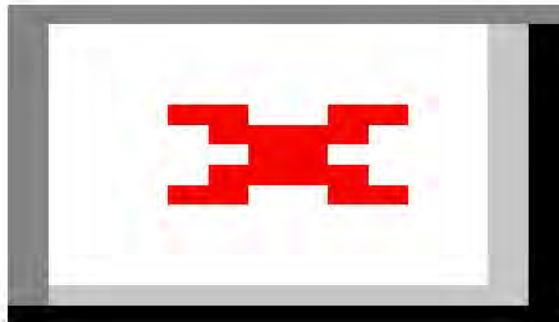
Few questions over Ukraine dealings by former Vice President Joe Biden's son; Mark Meredith reports from Washington.

The fired prosecutor at the center of the [Ukraine controversy](#) said during a private interview with President Trump's personal attorney [Rudy Giuliani](#) earlier this year that he was told to back off an investigation involving a natural gas firm that was linked to Joe Biden's son, according to details of that interview that were handed over to Congress by the State Department's inspector general Wednesday.

Fox News obtained a copy of Giuliani's notes from his January 2019 interview with fired Ukrainian prosecutor Viktor Shokin in which he claimed that his "investigations stopped out of fear of the United States."

"Mr. Shokin attempted to continue the investigations but on or around June or July of 2015, the U.S. Ambassador Geoffrey R. Pyatt told him that the investigation has to be handled with white gloves, which according to Mr. Shokin, that implied do nothing," the notes from the interview stated. The notes also claimed Shokin was told Biden had held up U.S. aid to Ukraine over the investigation.

### **RENEWED INTEREST IN JOE BIDEN'S OFFICIAL TRIP TO CHINA IN 2013 WITH SON HUNTER**



**Then-Prosecutor-General of Ukraine Viktor Shokin speaking at a news conference in Kiev, Ukraine, November 2, 2015. (REUTERS/Valentyn Ogirenko, File)**

Shokin was fired in April 2016, and his case was “closed by the current Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko,” according to the notes. Despite his claims, Shokin, on both sides of the Atlantic, had been widely accused of corruption.

But Biden's role is back in the spotlight after Democrats launched an impeachment inquiry over Trump's efforts to convince Ukraine to look into Biden's actions.

Biden, who has been seeking to unseat President Trump in 2020, once famously boasted on camera that when he was vice president and spearheading the Obama administration’s Ukraine policy, he successfully pressured Ukraine to fire Shokin who was the top prosecutor at the time. He had been investigating the founder of Burisma Holdings, where Hunter Biden had a lucrative role on the board.

Allies of the Democrat, though, maintained that his intervention prompting the firing of Shokin had nothing to do with his son, but rather was tied to the corruption concerns. The Biden campaign has also slammed Giuliani and blasted media outlets for giving him air time. The campaign wrote to NBC News, CBS News, Fox News and CNN to voice “grave concern that you continue to book Rudy Giuliani on your air to spread false, debunked conspiracy theories on behalf of Donald Trump.”

“The substance of President Trump and Rudy Giuliani’s claims has been roundly discredited,” Biden Deputy Campaign Manager Kate Bedingfield said last week. “This is not a claim from the campaign or Joe Biden. This is an irrefutable fact.”

The Wall Street Journal [reported](#) last week that by the time of Biden's intervention, the Burisma probe had been dormant.

However, Shokin, at the time, according to the interview, was investigating Mykola Zlochevsky, the former minister of ecology and natural resources of Ukraine — also the founder of Burisma. Hunter Biden was appointed to the board of the firm, which



Shokin claimed was an appointment made by Zlochevsky “in order to protect himself.”

The interview purportedly conducted by Giuliani took place on Jan. 23, 2019 at an office on Park Avenue in New York City. Shokin was interviewed over the phone, and interpreters were used — one in Ukraine and one in New York, according to the notes obtained by Fox News.

In a statement to Fox News after this report was first published, Giuliani said the details were gathered before Biden announced his presidential run and the allegations were brought to him.

"I explored them as part of my duty as an attorney to show that the crimes committed, were not by my client, but by Democrats. I was not seeking to investigate Joe Biden. I was not investigating Joe Biden," Giuliani said.

He also confirmed that he brought the documents to the State Department, saying that he was disappointed they had not been investigated.

"Maybe they will now," he said.

The new documents were shared with Fox News by sources familiar with the “urgent” briefing held by State Department Inspector General Steve Linick on Wednesday.

#### Video

Linick gave a closed-door briefing on Ukraine to aides from the Senate committees on Intelligence, Foreign Relations, Appropriations and Homeland Security, as well as aides from the House committees on Foreign Affairs, Intelligence, Appropriations and Oversight. The briefing lasted over an hour and took place in a sensitive compartmented information facility (SCIF) on Capitol Hill Wednesday afternoon.

Linick shared a file with those who attended the briefing, containing multiple folders with the Trump Hotel logo on them. Inside the folders were notes from an interview conducted by Giuliani in January 2019 with Shokin, as well as Lutsenko. Another folder contained news clips, as well as several timelines about investigations related to Burisma.

A State Department spokesman on Wednesday confirmed to Fox News that the “relevant” materials Linick shared with Congress “were provided by the Department to the Inspector General on May 3, 2019 for his review and for such action as the Inspector General deemed appropriate.”

### **HOUSE DEMOCRATS PREP WHITE HOUSE SUBPOENA, AS TRUMP CALLS BS ON IMPEACHMENT PUSH**

Linick told aides in the meeting that he received the package of information in the spring but did not know the sender. Linick sent it to the FBI because it included allegations of improper activities in Ukraine that were outside of his jurisdiction, according to sources familiar with the meeting. Last week, though, Linick was given permission by the FBI to share the files with Congress and said they were relevant to the congressional interviews being conducted, according to sources.

The documents came amid the uproar surrounding Trump’s July 25 phone call with Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky, in which he sought an investigation into Biden’s Ukraine dealings, as well as his son’s. That phone call sparked a formal impeachment inquiry in the House of Representatives and had the Trump administration facing a new round of subpoenas.

Amid the rapidly moving impeachment inquiry being led by House Democrats, the details included in the folder turned over by the State Department inspector general could be used by the Trump administration to fuel its claim that the real scandal



surrounded the Bidens. However, Democrats already have cast the files as “debunked conspiracy theories” and “propaganda.”

“The briefing and documents raise troubling questions about apparent efforts inside and outside the Trump Administration to target specific officials, including former Vice President Joe Biden’s son and then-U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Masha Yovanovitch, who was abruptly removed as Ambassador in May after a sustained campaign against her by the President’s agent, Rudy Giuliani,” House Intelligence Committee Chairman Adam Schiff, D-Calif., Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Eliot Engel, D-N.Y., and Oversight Committee Chairman Elijah Cummings, D-Md., said in a statement late Wednesday.

“The documents provided by the inspector general included a package of disinformation, debunked conspiracy theories, and baseless allegations in an envelope marked ‘White House’ and containing folders labeled ‘Trump Hotel.’ These documents also reinforce concern that the president and his allies sought to use the machinery of the State Department to further the president’s personal political interests.”

## Video

Meanwhile, the sources also shared pages of the Shokin interview with Fox News which revealed that in February 2016, prior to his firing, there were warrants placed on the accounts of “multiple people in Ukraine.”

## **POMPEO HITS BACK AT HOUSE DEMS IN DEPOSITION STANDOFF, CONFIRMS HE WAS ON UKRAINE CALL**

“There were requests for information on Hunter Biden to which nothing was received,” Shokin said, according to the notes. “It is believed that Hunter Biden receives a salary, commission plus one million dollars. There were no documents or information on Hunter Biden, and Mr. Shokin stated he was warned to stop by Ambassador Geoffrey R. Pyatt.”

The notes add that “President of Ukraine Petro Poroshenko told Mr. Shokin not to investigate Burisma as it was not in the interest of Joe and/or Hunter Biden. Mr. Shokin was called into Mr. Poroshenko’s office and told that the investigation into Burisma and the Managing Director where Hunter Biden is on the board, has caused Joe Biden to hold up one billion dollars in U.S. aid to Ukraine.”

Shokin then told Giuliani, according to the notes, that “in or around April of 2016” Poroshenko “told him he had to be fired as the aid to the Ukraine was being withheld by Joe Biden.”

Biden reportedly threatened to withhold \$1 billion in critical U.S. aid if Shokin was not fired.

Shokin also claimed, according to the notes, that Ambassador Marie L. Yovanovitch denied him visa travel to the U.S., and claimed it was because “she is close to Mr. Biden.”

Meanwhile, Trump is facing a rapidly escalating House investigation after an intelligence community whistleblower filed a complaint regarding his call with Zelensky, claiming he had solicited a foreign power to help influence the 2020 presidential election.

Democrats have claimed that the Trump-Zelensky call revealed a quid pro quo, saying Trump tied his request to investigate the Bidens to military aid. Trump reportedly even ordered his staff to freeze nearly \$400 million in aid to Ukraine a few days before the phone call with Zelensky, a detail that fueled impeachment calls. However, the call transcript did not show Trump explicitly mentioning the aid as a bargaining chip.

**[CLICK HERE FOR THE ALL-NEW FOXBUSINESS.COM](#)**

As part of the impeachment inquiry, House Democrats have subpoenaed Giuliani for key documents related to the Ukraine controversy. They also have subpoenaed Secretary of State Mike Pompeo and are expected to receive depositions from nearly half a dozen State Department officials named in the whistleblower complaint.

One source told Fox News that prior to the “urgent” briefing Wednesday, it was reported that Linick would discuss alleged retaliation against those State Department officials ahead of their depositions, but the source told Fox News that Linick said that there had been no complaints of retaliation filed with his office.

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

<b>Sender:</b>	"Pyatt, Geoffrey R (Athens)"	(b)(6)
<b>Recipient:</b>	Reeker, Philip T	(b)(6)



**From:** (b)(6)  
**To:** [Redacted]  
**Subject:** FW: Former Amb Herbst's comments to Interfax on U.S.-Ukraine issues  
**Date:** Wed, 15 May 2019 13:58:05 +0000

Perhaps a base of info for the Free Russia/Herbst event you're attending tomorrow?

**Official - Transitory**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 15, 2019 4:19 PM  
**To:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6); (b)(6)  
(b)(6)  
(b)(6) Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>; Kyiv POL Core <KyivPOLCore@state.gov>;  
(b)(6)

**Cc:** Kyiv IOs <KyivIOs@state.gov>

**Subject:** Former Amb Herbst's comments to Interfax on U.S.-Ukraine issues

FYI - rough translation from Interfax this afternoon:

Ukraine has found itself in the midst of tensions between supporters of incumbent US President Donald Trump and the Democrats in connection with the story around former US Vice President Joseph Biden and Ukrainian Ex-Minister of Environment Nikolay Zlochevsky, said Director of the Eurasian Center at the Atlantic Council of the United States, former US Ambassador to Ukraine John Herbst.

"I hope that this scandal will not affect in any way ( the future of Ukrainian-US bilateral relations). I see no basis for blaming Vice President Biden because we know that he had worked a lot to oust Mr. Shokin (former Ukrainian Prosecutor General). And Mr. Shokin was accused by our embassy of not making enough efforts in persecuting Burisma. There is no logic here. But now it has become part of the issue between Trump supporters and the Democrats in the United States. And this is not good for Ukraine, "he said in a comment to agency "Interfax-Ukraine" on Wednesday.

Herbst underscored the importance of bipartisan support for Ukraine in the United States.

"Some things that have happened since the beginning of work with one of the American parties are not benefiting Ukraine, which has had bipartisan support in the United States and is in the midst of these tensions," he added.

<https://interfax.com.ua/news/political/587372.html>

**Official - Transitory**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

**Sender:** (b)(6)  
**Recipient:** [Redacted]



**From:** (b)(6)  
**To:** (b)(6)  
**Subject:** FW: Lutsenko's long interview  
**Date:** Tue, 19 Nov 2019 09:47:51 +0000

Just in case it's interesting and useful to you.

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Tuesday, November 19, 2019 11:22 AM  
**To:** Kyiv PAS FSOs <KYIVPASFSOs@state.gov>  
**Subject:** Lutsenko's long interview

Since it came up in the PAS Americans meeting – here's the Lutsenko interview translation for anyone who wishes to read.

(Also if anyone from CAO wants to be added to the Kyiv Social Media Updates distro list to receive random updates on all sorts of topics, happy to add anytime.)

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Monday, November 18, 2019 4:57 PM  
**To:** Kyiv Social Media Updates <[KyivSocialMediaUpdates@state.gov](mailto:KyivSocialMediaUpdates@state.gov)>  
**Cc:** Kyiv IOs <[KyivIOs@state.gov](mailto:KyivIOs@state.gov)>  
**Subject:** Ukraine social media updates: Lutsenko's long interview

Journalist and blogger Roman Kravets of Ukrainska Pravda posted a link to his long interview with former Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko, along with a Facebook post reading:

Today, one of the best recent Yuriy Lutsenko interviews has appeared in UP [Ukrainska Pravda]. It details Lutsenko's position on the US case. Among other things, we talked about how the ex-prosecutor discouraged Poroshenko to run a second time, talks with Zelenskyy, about the "Combinator" of Kolomoisky and Ukrainian oligarchs.

**Full text of the article below** (note – this was a very long translation done quickly by various members of the PAS team, so if anyone needs clarification of any particular portion, let me know):

**Yuriy Lutsenko: Giuliani asked if I wanted to have a phone conversation with Trump. I said no**

*Whether Yuriy Lutsenko wanted it or not, he managed to get into one of the biggest international scandals, dubbed "Ukraine-gate".*

*His name is now regularly heard in the US Congress during the Donald Trump impeachment hearings.*

*And all thanks to several informal meetings between Lutsenko and Trump's lawyer, Rudolph Giuliani, discussing the case of Burisma, whose board included the son of US presidential candidate Joe Biden.*

*Former US Special Representative for Ukraine Kurt Volker told congressmen straightforwardly that the Prosecutor General was spreading fabrications to appear important to the United States and cling to his office.*

*Moreover, in a closed hearing, Volker said that Lutsenko, through contacts with Giuliani, fueled the US President's distrust of Ukraine.*

*In order to listen to Lutsenko himself, Ukrainska Pravda met with him in one of Kyiv's hotels.*

*For more than two hours, the former Prosecutor General was telling us in detail how and why he met with the Trump's lawyer, explaining his conflict with the former U.S. [Ambassador], denying his desire to remain Prosecutor General, claiming that he advised Poroshenko not to run for the second term, and recalling his meetings with Ukrainian oligarchs.*

**"There is a lie in the testimony of Marie Yovanovitch"**

**- Yuri Vitaliyovich, what are you doing now?**

- What I have always been doing – working in the capacity of Lutsenko (smiles).

**- When we corresponded with you, you wrote that you are unemployed.**

- This is my official status as a citizen in employment age. What do I do? After retirement, took care of my health a bit, went into sports, and then decided to upgrade my skills and paid a month worth of training in London, and this was before any major upheaval in the U.S. domestic arena. And so for four weeks I studied at the London School of English. Since no one believes it, I brought my certificates with me (shows two certificates to cameras).

**- I see the level of "General English" ...**

- General English and General English Combi. In four weeks, I received, I think, good upgrade of my English. I set the objective to read more freely, not only to read the credits in movies and documentaries, but to also be able to understand the films when watching or and, of course, to speak less barbaric English than is taught in our schools.

**- How much did this cost?**

- About one and a half thousand pounds per week. It's both a lot, and little, because it included food and other things.

**- Recently, your name appears more often in the American media space than in the Ukrainian media. Let's start with the situation called "Ukraine-gate" from the very beginning. In the year 2016, the "black ledger" of the Party of Regions surfaces. What do you know about its origin?**

- If we may, let's look at development that a bit closer and then come back to this question. Okay?

**- Want to start with the latest events? OK.**

- How did Lutsenko's trip to Giuliani come about and what did they talk about there? What you are asking for is actually related stuff. Under my watch, the Prosecutor General's Office, together with colleagues from the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Security Service of Ukraine, and the State Fiscal Service, returned \$4 billion to the state of assets, in cash or property. \$4 billion. Of those, \$1.5 billion is money from the Yanukovich criminal organization. Another \$7 billion from the same organization taken out of Ukraine and to the United States.

**- Is this 7 billion money of Yanukovich personally?**

- No, I am using legally accurate formulation: this is money of the criminal organization of Yanukovych. When we confiscated one and a half billion, they were piped through more than 10 different offshore, connected to the same individuals.

Some offshore companies were also implicated in the withdrawal of 7 billion. This means that the same organization operated with the same methods, and sometimes with the same tools.

Accordingly, I have appealed to US officials to assist us with this investigation. I did not get any answer. Then I asked the US Embassy to arrange a meeting with the US Attorney General to discuss the matter.

There is a direct lie in the testimony by Marie Yovanovitch in Congress. She states that I wanted this meeting, but that I refused to provide the documents about what I wanted to discuss in the States. I brought these documents.

**- I see, you have prepared.**

- I understood that we would talk about it. This letter is dated October 18, 2017 (shows the letter to the camera). And Marie Yovanovitch told a lie to the U.S. Congress when she said that I had not provided the information over which I wanted to meet with the Attorney General.

What does \$7 billion mean for Ukraine, you probably can imagine? If one and a half billion allowed to rearm the army, start building roads, building military infrastructure, etc.  
So I had a national interest and had ambitions to achieve results.

I wanted to get \$7 billion back to Ukraine. Unfortunately, I did not find support in either the US central law enforcement [agencies] or the Embassy.

**- Now explain: why would the Ambassador tell lies about you?**

- I don't know, ask her. It just amazes me how loosely they behave in their testimonies before Congress.

**"Giuliani met with Tymoshenko and asked if she knew what the situation was with Burisma"**

**- Will you tell us about Giuliani?**

- So. I have exhausted all the official channels to somehow establish relations with the country, which is our direct ally, the most important defender of Ukraine, which talks the most about the need to strengthen the fight against corruption.

But 7 billion is stuck in their territory. After all that, a visit was paid to me by Yulia Tymoshenko, who met with Giuliani, and, among other things, he asked her if she knew what the situation was with Burisma in Ukraine. Yulia, of course, said: "Well, the Prosecutor General is an acquaintance of mine, so I will organize everything."

Then she came to me and said, "If you want, you can help people. If you need anything, then my man over there in Washington will help you." I said, "Yulichka, thank you, I will somehow manage myself, I am the Prosecutor General, I do not use partisan activists."

That was it then. But of course, I remembered about Mr. Giuliani's interest.

**- That is, Tymoshenko told you that Giuliani wants to meet?**



- She orally told me that she had a meeting with him and he was interested in this issue.

- **When was it?**

- This was 2017, I think, in the fall.

- **What happened next?**

- Then one of my regional prosecutors comes to me and says that his acquaintances convey Giuliani's wish to meet with me in New York.

- **Regional prosecutor?**

- Now it is known – it was the then prosecutor of Crimea Mr. Mamedov. Before that, he was a prosecutor in Odesa, and there he met one of Giuliani's two advisers.

- **Fruman or Parnas?**

- Either Fruman or Parnas – I do not know, to be honest, with whom he met personally there.

But one of them found contact through Mamedov, and so Mr. Giuliani invited me to a meeting. It was no surprise to me, because I had met Mr. Giuliani before.

- **How did you meet Giuliani?**

- There was one of those international conferences at a Hyatt Hotel under the auspices of Pinchuk. And there I met with Mr. Soros and Giuliani.

At that time, I was a freshly elected Prosecutor General, and I had an hour-long meeting with both. I spoke about general things that I planned to do in my position.

- **So, it's Pinchuk who introduced you to Giuliani?**

- No, we met on our own will, but we met at his conference. It was interesting because, in addition to being the famous mayor of New York, Giuliani was also a federal prosecutor. Therefore, we had an interesting discussion.

When I received this invitation from him, I thought, "Why not?" I can talk to a person who can advise me on what to do next, how to advance and activate the \$7 billion business.

- **At that point, was he already a lawyer for Trump?**

- Yes. But I was not interested in [his capacity as] Trump's lawyer. I was interested in a person who knows everything about the US law enforcement system. In fact, the meeting was about procedures, that is, I had one question: how to activate a joint investigation into the 7 billion withdrawn from Ukraine. I also had a guess about what he was interested in, but not completely.

**"We exchanged views with Giuliani about the role of Marie Yovanovitch"**

- **Did you not guess that he would talk about Burisma?**

- I say – not completely. I knew Burisma would come up. I didn't know what was coming next. In fact, several times we failed to meet. The first time, I wanted to come, but Savchenko case happened, I had to report to the

parliament, so I canceled the meeting. Next time, the meeting was canceled because of the Saakashvili affair, which I also had to report to the parliament.

The third time, I flew as far as Amsterdam, but the flight from Amsterdam to the United States was canceled. I decided to let it go – it seemed to not going to work. And then, sometime after the New Year, I again received an oral invitation.

**- Invitation from whom?**

- From Giuliani, transmitted through the Crimean prosecutor. I took a leave and flew with my younger son, as he had never been to New York. We stayed there, if I'm not mistaken, for four days, three of which we had several-hour meetings with Mr. Giuliani in his office.

There were no global conspiracies. The conversation was clear enough. I laid out my vision: here are my documents, here is my address, but I never got a single answer. What should I do in this situation?

He said that in the United States, a new Attorney General would soon be selected and then I would have to meet with him to tell the details that I could only tell in a meeting with the Attorney General and to decide on a joint investigation.

Afterwards, Giuliani asked, "Why do you think the US Embassy doesn't want to help you?" We exchanged views on the role of Marie Yovanovitch, who, from my point of view, took a destructive position in Ukraine.

**- Why did you criticize Yovanovitch in talking to Giuliani?**

- She tried to control the law enforcement system of Ukraine.

**- How exactly?**

- We established, in the framework of the official case of the SBU based on a Ukrainian court decision, that NABU employees officially feed the procedural documents to the U.S. Embassy. They provide to them suspicion [notices], information about investigative activities, information about criminal proceedings, including on Burisma.

**- Do you mean that the U.S. Embassy had information in advance who would be served with suspicions?**

- The U.S. Embassy received this information from a NABU employee. I don't want to say more. I have never said this out loud because I thought it was to the Kremlin's advantage to report that the U.S. Embassy was trying to establish total control over Ukraine's law enforcement system.

**- Are you saying now that the Embassy wanted to control the GPU? Is that your position?**

- My position is that the Embassy wanted to control the GPU in the same way as it controlled the activities of NABU.

**"Giuliani asked if I wanted to have a phone conversation with Trump"**

**- Let's get back to Giuliani.**

- Remember, there was a case about \$ 3 million? Before me, Mr. Shokin started testing prosecutors, and the United States offered \$ 3 million in technical assistance to the GPU to develop the tests. Any foreign aid is registered in the Ministry of Economy and Justice in Ukraine.

And these \$ 3 million were registered. The beneficiary was the Ministry of Justice and the recipient was the GPU. And, to Shokin's surprise, they never received that money.

The tests were developed on their own, the tests were conducted transparently, but the funds were not received. And Shokin then brought the case for misuse of these funds. Then it became known that the embassy decided to give them to one of the international public organizations. It was a serious enough situation.

But I have officially received a letter from Mr. (George) Kent stating that they, as the owners of the funds, prefer not to forward them to the GPU. In this situation, I may have disagreed with their assessment - because if people promised to give someone money and even registered with government institutions, then to somehow frame the recipient is not good. But, from a legal point of view, the United States is the owner of the money, and if they do not consider themselves victims, then the case is gone. I closed it.

**- And what about Giuliani?**

- He asked me: "Do you know about the \$ 3 million that did not reach the GPU?" I told him about this situation.

**- You told him this story or he asked you to?**

- He asked me. I will explain to you where this all came from. Then there were some more questions.

**- Wait. They say that during this conversation, when you spoke to him, Trump was connected to you...**

- He came into the room himself and even wrote down a notebook after me (smiles). Of course not!

**- And didn't call Giuliani in your presence?**

- I do not control who calls Giuliani, but there was no phone on the table, and from there the President of the United States of America did not control the process.

I totally refute that, I have had no contact with Mr. Trump.

**- And you did not seek them?**

- No, I didn't. I'll tell you more: at the end of the conversation, Mr. Giuliani asked if I wanted to have a phone conversation with Trump. I said no. He was very surprised. I said, "Look, if there would be an official visit - I'll be happy to meet you. I don't speak English very well and don't understand American pronunciation very well on the phone. So, I don't think I need to show off. And it won't do anything good for our case."

During the Maidan, I refused to talk to Biden, then Vice President. And now I refused to speak with Trump, because, look, I have never "look for an opportunity to show off." It's about work.

I asked Giuliani how to procedurally start the case. What I am interested in, and I hope Ukraine - \$ 7 billion. He asked me what he was interested in, but then again, not about any specific criminal proceedings - I would never tell it. He asked for well-known information.

**- What exactly did Giuliani ask you?**

- He then went on to the Burisma case. Of course, I was ready for this and told him that I could not explain to Ukraine, not even to *Ukrainska Pravda*, which regularly writes about the GPU as the main culprit in these cases. So many times I tried to prove to you that this case is at NABU...

So, the situation was this: in the year 2014, Prosecutor General Yarema opened a case against Burisma. After that, this time under Shokin, these cases were grouped into three key areas.

The first: Articles 191 and 365 - abuse of office for theft. This is about how environmental minister Zlochevsky's subordinate issued licenses to Zlochevsky's company in an unspecified manner. He probably abused his ministerial position to have his subordinates illegally license his firm. This is the most significant case and it could amount to 12 years in prison.

The second, let's call it "money laundering and tax evasion." It was alleged that Burisma had been understating its profits to avoid paying 30% income taxes. How did they understate? Through sham companies - they dumped money for non-existent services. Thus, less income was generated from income and much less income tax was paid.

And the third thing is about laundering personally by Zlochevsky a long before Hunter Biden joined Burisma. That is, he said in London he had, if I'm not mistaken, \$ 35-36 million that he received from the sale of certain property.

The money were believed to be illegal, laundered, and actions were also taking place around it. The actions went so badly that the GPU workers of the Shokin era somehow "very casually" informed Zlochevsky's lawyers that he was under no suspicion - that was the first argument in a London court. And then, "very casually," they failed to translate the answer to English colleagues.

**- Are these people still working at the GPU?**

- Already working.

**- What does "already" mean?**

- They didn't work under me. Here. And as a result, the London court, having considered the case and these two pieces of paper, found Zlochevsky innocent, our British law enforcement colleagues also paid the costs of the trial.

**- Are you hinting at Vitaliy Kasko or at whom?**

- I don't know what you're hinting at, see, I'm talking about the British colleagues.

In December 2015, Shokin for some reason decided to transfer these 2 cases to NABU. According to investigative jurisdiction, in my opinion, this was the wrong decision, but he gave them the first case on Minister Zlochevsky's abuse, and the second case on the laundering.

NABU did not take long investigated these cases. One of them was returned to the GPU and the other, on allegedly abuse by Minister Zlochevsky, was closed without any investigative action. I say "without any investigative action" from Kholodnitsky's words because I do not have access to their materials.

But the key case was closed. After all, at the time of my arrival, we still have 2 cases half-alive – on taxes and money laundering. Before the meeting with Giuliani, I think we have successfully completed the tax case. We forced the company to pay the full amount of the arrears to the budget, as well as the statutory penalties.

It was the largest payment under the budget arrears of Ukraine's independence - UAH 180 million.



It was very difficult to explain even to you, and more so, to Giuliani why the case was closed after that. According to Ukrainian law, in case of payment of arrears to the budget, the case is closed by a court decision. For any American, this is nonsense, you know that tax evasion is one of the most serious crimes, and Manafort is an example to you. But we have the law: if the money is paid, the court considers it and decides to close the case. This is exactly what happened.

**- Could Petro Poroshenko have helped Zlochevsky? You say that Shokin transferred the cases to NABU. Could he have influenced Shokin then?**

- Do you think that transfer to NABU is an aid to Zlochevsky?

**- You know that Poroshenko has a normal relationship with Zlochevsky. It's impossible for you not to know this.**

- I do not know.

**- But you know, for example, about Kononenko's meeting with Zlochevsky.**

- I learned it from *Ukrainska Pravda*. But, again, I am not sure that this is connected with any criminal cases, because, as far as I understand, it was a matter of supplying gas to one of Kyiv plants.

Look, I'm not going to hide something right now. I believe that Kononenko did wrong; I would say he even crossed a red line in such conversations. If a person is under investigation, such a close person to the president should not have negotiated with him about gas supplies from his companies, to put it mildly.

But I do not see this as a crime. Moreover, if I see it, it's up to NABU, please, it's their legacy. I did my job.

We fined Burisma the largest amount in Ukrainian history at that time. And secondly, I can tell you that we did not turn a blind eye to them for the next year, and as a result, they were so trained in this bitter experience that they paid far more taxes - it seems, by a third more - than in the previous period, despite the fact that the volume of gas was the same.

**- What did Giuliani ask about Burisma?**

- What I'm telling you. That there are three cases, one of them is buried in NABU.

After talking about it, he asked me if I knew that Hunter Biden, son of a U.S. ex-president, was on the Burisma board. Of course, I was ready for this, got the same piece of paper - just click on the computer and see the whole board of Burisma.

There are such famous people as my friend Alexander Kwasniewski, Hunter Biden, Devon Archer, Alan Apter. He said: "Do you think if a case can be opened against them in Ukraine?" I replied, "No, of course, I don't see where they could break the law."

In our country, any payment to the members of the Supervisory Board is legal. Well, I'm really surprised by the size of these payments. They are unusually large, even compared to Western companies.

**- 200 thousand a month?**

- I didn't say the number.

**- Is the number I say correct?**



- I will say so – those are quite large amounts. There were two payments a month. However, any company may pay to the members of its Supervisory Board any funds it deems appropriate. This is their right, it is not a violation of Ukrainian law.

Moreover, this company is registered in Cyprus, and payments go through Latvia. What are the questions for Ukraine?

He then smiled and retrieved his phone, Mr. Giuliani, and showed me the now well-known recording that shocked me. When Mr. Joe Biden, sitting in a chair the way I am in front of you, tells how he easily learned how to handle issues in Ukraine. This is not a literal translation. I say from my memory.

**- I remember him saying it.**

- He seems to have said "managing", that is, well, how he find out how to manage problems. And he says, "One day I brought them \$ 1 billion ... I tell him, 'We need to take down your Prosecutor General'". And Poroshenko started to say something, but I told him: "You have 6 hours, I fly back: either firing or a billion."

Honestly, it was a shock to me. I didn't think anyone could do that with the head of an independent state, even in times of war and being an ally.

**- Have you never seen this video before?**

- I have not seen it. And Giuliani asked me with a sly smile, "Well, Mr. Prosecutor, what do you say? Did he document himself?" I say, "It seems to me, yes" - I think that's how it went.

Because, you know, it's one thing to put pressure on someone, and another thing to brag about it later. And in such a case.

He says, "Well, are you ready to open a case?" And I say, "No, I am not ready." Because, if there is an excess of powers here by an American top official, it is not the jurisdiction of Ukraine.

**- Did Giuliani want you to initiate criminal proceedings in Ukraine?**

- He asked me, he was interested whether we had the jurisdiction. I said no. If so, it should be a case brought by you against your official. And then, international legal aid starts working.

In this case, America or any country has two options: the first is to send us a request, like I showed you.

Well, for example, in the case of Lazarenko, we received a request from the United States of America every month and we conduct interrogations, searches, examinations until today and actively enough, on a monthly basis. This process was especially active since last year's October.

Alternatively, you could set up a JIT - Joint Investigation Team, as we did, for example, with the Netherlands in the MH17 case.

And then all of our information becomes shared information, and all your information also becomes shared information. And it's much faster and more efficient.

But I do not see Ukrainian jurisdiction here.

In the "black ledger" of Party of Regions opposite of Manafort's name is the amount and signature of the acting MP.

- What happened next?

- There were many different clarifications, after that - I am telling you about it these three days, it does not mean that it went very fast. Just to explain to the American that by paying the arrears to the budget, one can avoid going to jail, took me probably an hour and a half.

After that, he said, you're probably right, and setting up a joint investigative team is the best option.

Then he says, "What do you know about the Ukrainian interference in the 2016 U.S. election?" Here I also was ready. I took out another piece of paper (shows the paper of printed Facebook post of Sergiy Leshchenko).

In August 2016, Sergiy Leshchenko writes on Facebook - this is exactly how we approach your first question about the "black ledger": "Our exposition of corruption ties of Manafort and Yanukovych on the second page in the main newspaper of International Business Circles Financial Times. I do not want to seem immodest, but they have never written about Ukraine in such a context. As the newspaper notes, the prospect of Trump's victory has urged us to do what we have never done before, even if not directly, but to influence the presidential election."

And this is not written by a journalist, it is written by a Member of Parliament, a civil servant.

- Did you also show Giuliani Leshchenko's posts?

- No, I didn't show it. What was that about? It was about that sometime in 2016, the so-called black ledger, or as the Americans say, the "black book" of the Party of Regions, got to the officer of the Security Service of Ukraine Mr. Trepak.

Mr. Trepak says he was given it by a concierge. When asked what this concierge looked like, he says she slipped the book under the door. Well, I saw this "book" and frankly, it would not fit under the door, but okay.

It happens that people receive important documents from sensitive sources. Mr. Trepak did the job as an officer and a lawyer. He took it to NABU, announced about it and warned against disclosing its contents. This is a very important detail. After a while, these documents were released at your media, Ukrainian Pravda and then in the American press.

- Yes

- Later, Mr. Kholodnitsky officially prohibits the disclosure of these materials. And despite this prosecutor's ban Mr. Sytnyk, when asked by an American journalist, confirms: "Yes, Manafort is on those lists." Knowing that there is a last name but no signature.

Now I can already tell you - opposite Manafort's name is the amount and signature of the acting MP of Ukraine, which was established by examination.

- Which one?

- I will not say it.

- This MP is from the Opposition Platform – For Life faction?

- I told you what I can say. But it was known that the signature there was definitely not Manafort's. However, Sytnyk did it.

And then (I am telling you what Kholodnitsky told me) Kholodnitsky asked Sytnyk: "Why did you do this?" He says, "I really want to help Hillary." In fact, anyone can root for any politician, even abroad. But those who hold

official positions must be slowed down in their public sympathies, and more so in actions for the benefit of someone.

Further - more. I was very surprised, but my press service showed me a video of one of the small TV channels, where Sytnyk explicitly states that Trump is pro-Russian, and we in Ukraine need Hillary, very much.

And then, as you know, much later, at Rivne hunting ground, he told locals how he rules the universe and says, "Trump is probably cool for Americans, but for us, Hillary would be good."

So I said to Giuliani: "Look, I don't know how to interpret this, whether this is a serious interference with your election campaign or not." He says, "Of course, it's serious, because in a hot campaign momentum, a leak from law enforcement in Ukraine has led to a huge scandal and the resignation of the Trump campaign head. And can you open the case about it?"

I said, "No, about this I can't, because we don't have such a criminal article" for interfering in a foreign election. "So if you see this as a violation of your American laws, open the case and act as I say - through requests, or through a joint group."

### **"Poroshenko did not know that I went to see Giuliani"**

- How did your conversations end?

- On the last day at the end of these conversations, Mr. Giuliani told me: "You are probably right, and I think the best way is to wait for the election of the new Attorney General of the United States and arrange a meeting with you. After that, you can discuss with him everything we've talked about, but in more detail, as a prosecutor with a prosecutor, already with certain legal factors and evidence, and to create a joint investigation team. We think that would be best, I think. "

I said, "It also think so, but on one condition. See: 7 billion went from Ukraine to the United States as part of Yanukovich's alleged criminal activity and his criminal gang. Let's do a common case: theft and other criminal offenses in Ukraine committed by Yanukovich and his subordinates.

In the context of this big case, we can jointly resolve issues of interest to a party within the jurisdiction. For example, Ukraine cannot resolve the issue of U.S. officials and it cannot consider possible interference with your election. It is your competence, but within a joint group we can handle it."

He said, "Great!" - cool. That's how we left it, and if you ask me, then I'll tell you, I still don't understand why they didn't do it.

- You never met with the prosecutor?

- To me, this is an absolute mystery. A few months later, the new United States Attorney General was elected. On several occasions, I called Giuliani's assistants or advisers with the question, "Will this be a meeting?"

In the end, they said that a meeting was impossible until I hired a company to lobby for this meeting, because, they said, these are the law in the U.S. And they even offered me such a company. I said that I am the Attorney General of Ukraine and will not pay a penny. They say, "We want to be symbolic [means to help with money]." I say, "Not a penny. I will not go for any meeting for money."

Then they say, "Well, that's impossible otherwise." I say, "Okay. Then let your Attorney General come to me. I'll accept him for free. No, let's go to a third country if necessary. But I won't pay for any meeting!"

- It turns out that Giuliani used you?

- What do you mean "used"?

- You gave him all the information.

- This information, which I told you today, is all published in the pages of "Ukrainska Pravda" separately. It just needs to be put together.

- Did you try to "remove" Marie Yovanovitch through him?

- Here is another interesting point. When I spoke with him, his colleagues constantly brought him, as we say, "folders", they say "files." There were many files. I think he was very well prepared for my conversation. Now I know for sure that he had a serious conversation with Shokin before and many other Ukrainian citizens.

So when we talked about Ms. Yovanovitch, I noticed that he and his team were very negative about her. It even got to the point where they showed me a letter signed by the U.S. Secretary of State a year before our meeting about her removal. And this letter, in his words, "got lost" and did not get to the U.S. president. It is his words.

He showed me a copy of this letter, a photo, featuring them handing a copy to their president. That is, talks that I wanted to "remove" Yovanovitch are meaningless.

I really did not have good relationship with her. This is the only ambassador of the Western countries, and especially the United States, with who I did not have relations.

- Petro Poroshenko knew that you were meeting Giuliani?

- No, he didn't know that I went [for a meeting]. But I reported to him about the result of this meeting, even more than I told you. At the first meeting with President-elect Zelenskyy I also reported about this meeting.

**"Giuliani's aides came to Ukraine several times. In the end, they sought an audience with Zelenskyy, I said that I couldn't help there with anything."**

**- Let's face it: in your meetings with Giuliani, you tried to get the support of the Americans so that they would still support you ...**

- Me?

**- ... as General Prosecutor, and to lobby for you to President Zelenskyy.**

- I do not have any evidence, but just believe me.

I was going to be at the Prosecutor General's Office (GPU) for a year and a half, and I said that many times. I was criticized for that, and including by the Americans, who would be saying that I should not say so, because, allegedly, it weakened the GPU.

I missed a bit because I completed all the internal processes in two years.

For the last year, I forced myself to go to work, I gritted my teeth every morning when I woke up and had to go to the GPU.

At that moment, the situation was that the parliament did not want to help us even by a millimeter. For example, we needed the parliament to extend the right of charging in absentia.

If I'm not mistaken, six times I asked for it, and six times not only Samopomich (Self Reliance), Opposition block, Batkivshchyna did not vote - God forbid, Lutsenko becomes successful, and maybe it could somehow help Poroshenko, - but even Poroshenko Block (BPP) did not vote.

On the contrary, the parliament passed laws that simply fettered investigators, and not just prosecutors. I went to work that already had mission impossible. Without the legislative help, the General Prosecutor in our country is just a fall guy.

**- Then why did you hold onto your post?**



- And how do you imagine discarding it? And what's then?

- **Let them choose a new General Prosecutor.**

- And don't you think that a well-deserved citation for fair election should not be received only by Avakov? Don't you think that without the impartiality of the prosecutor's office, and not just of the police, we would not hold fair and transparent elections?

Yes, I did grit my teeth and say: "I will still continue doing my job, I will not give up this "foxhole " to those who can use the GPU in the old methods." And we did held awesome elections.

- **You yourself mentioned Avakov. Giuliani met with Avakov, he also met with Yulia Tymoshenko. Maybe you know what they were talking about?**

- Even if I knew, I would not tell. I do not have this way of behaving, unlike these figures in the U.S. Congress, to retell other people's conversations, and even more so when I have not been present at them.

I actually had another meeting - in March or February. In Warsaw, Mr. Giuliani participated in an energy conference, and we met again briefly, literally for half an hour, or maybe an hour.

Once again, nothing has changed. And the talk was more about the prospects of the political process in Ukraine. Who of the candidates was more likely to win, and etc. What we always say at any political get-together. At that moment I made a wrong guess, I thought that in the runoff elections there would be Poroshenko and Tymoshenko.

We talked about that, and that was it. Actually, I've never had Giuliani's phone number, I still don't have it and I have never called him. He suggested that we kept in touch via those his two counselors or assistants.

- **Fruman and Parnas?**

- Yes, they are Russian-speaking, so it may be a little easier with the translation into English. But in principle, we also had no peculiarities with him.

They have come to Ukraine several times, and they met with other Ukrainian officials. In the end, they sought an audience with Zelenskyy, but I said that there was nothing I could do to help.

- **What did it look like? "Help Us: Can you arrange a meeting?"**

- "Can you arrange a meeting"? In Ukraine, by the way, there is no lobbying, this is done for free.

I'd say, *"I'm sorry, I, of course, know the president-elect and I know his team, but it will not be right when I propose any meetings."* I suggested who to contact and they went.

- **To who?**

- Well, you are still, thank God, not a representative of Giuliani. Why do you need to know this?

- **It is your right not to answer. Are you ready to testify in U.S. Congress?**

- If an invitation comes, we will decide. So far, nobody is asking about it. If they ask - we will answer.

- **Is it for your testimony in U.S. Congress that you were brushing up your English?**

- No. Don't fall into this conspiracy theory.

- **Don't you feel that you may have unconsciously dragged Ukraine to Ukrainegate?**

- That is, do you think that I used documents of law enforcement agencies' [investigation] during the US presidential election in favor of a particular candidate ?! Ask this question to your colleague Serhyi Leshchenko.

- **He is also your former colleague.**

- But all the publications went through you.

- **And you have your own blog on the Ukrainska Pravda site.**

- Yes, but for some reason you believe that what Leshchenko, (Darya) Kaleniuk, (Vitaliy) Shabunin and all the other guards of the US Democratic Party, including Sytnik and others, was normal! And when I have to tell the truth to protect national interests, then I break some rules!

**"I advised Poroshenko against running for office for the second time, that's true"**

- **Let's turn to the Ukrainian politicians. Do you communicate with Poroshenko today?**

- Not today, but generally yes (*laughs*). It seems we talked the day before yesterday.

- **What do you talk about now?**

- About what I have always talked about. I outline my vision of what is happening in Ukraine, and my vision of his right and not entirely right approaches. I have had the luxury of criticizing Poroshenko at any time, since 2005 to the present.

- **By the way, is it true that you advised him against running for president [for the second time]?**

- It's true. I believed that his chances of winning were miniscule, and that his loss casts doubt on the popular support for the European and NATO course declared by the Maidan. Unfortunately, that's what has happened.

- **And if he did not run, what would change electorally?**

- Something may have changed. This election was quite manipulative from both sides ...

- **Manipulation is always present in politics.**

- I'm sorry, but the police has radically pre-empted any Poroshenko Block grids. I don't know, whether there were those grids or not, but at least they didn't work. And the GPU radically made it impossible for the expanded activity of the deployed "Motherland" grid. And that's true. And, accordingly, the elections were held fairly in compliance with law.

Now as to what happened. In fact, Ukraine is still heavily influenced by Moscow's propaganda. And you, as a media person, cannot dismiss this. And [the propaganda] was seriously overlapped with severest criticism by one of the national TV channels, who was destroying Poroshenko's image.

- **Are you talking about "1 + 1" now?**

- Including and in the first place. And often enough minor episodes were framed as a universal betrayal.

I believe that the election was mobilized by a contrived hatred for Poroshenko on the basis of existing real poverty and war fatigue .

And the fact that "1 + 1" has taken such a position is the fault of Poroshenko himself. He had, shall we say, actions that gave Kolomoisky the moral right to do so. As much as other TV channels would support Poroshenko, nothing will replace "1 + 1", which has been the basic TV channel for the "orange" voters.

It became clear that it would be difficult for him to win, and his campaign methods, especially during the first round, were weak, to put it mildly.

And only during the runoff, when he went to the people, he became the Poroshenko, who I voted for in the previous [presidential] election. But it was too late.

I have always had the right to criticize, and as the General prosecutor, I had the right to say "no". I have already denied two presidents, for example, to arrest TV channels. It is also normal.

- **What channel did Poroshenko ask you to arrest?**

- I denied the both presidents to arrest different TV channels.

- **And Zelenskyy?**

- And Zelensky too. Under other presidents I did not work as a prosecutor general.

- **What TV channels are we talking about now?**

- I think things are alright, so what's the point of making publicity for the channels?

In my view, any assaults, especially arrests, changes of owners, management transfer of large TV channels, is impossible otherwise than committing a state treason.

- **In other words, do I understand it right that Poroshenko wanted to have arrested "1+1", and Zelensky wanted to have arrested "112 channel"?**

- Roma, you are already halfway to become the General Prosecutor. You understand things almost right, all that remains to be done is to restore the law that one can be a prosecutor general without a legal education (laughs).

**"During the Election Campaign Zelenskyy Was My Guest, at My House. We Have Normal Human Relations."**

- **Why you didn't participate in the Parliamentary election together with European Solidarity?**

- Because I had to ensure the legitimacy of both Presidential and Parliamentary elections.

- **Not because you wanted to dissociate yourself from Poroshenko?**

- It is an interesting dissociation, when the wife [Lutsenko's wife Iryna Lutsenko] runs together with ES [European Solidarity.]

- **The wife could be asked to join the list to avoid a quarrel with Poroshenko.**

- No, we have other kind of relations. Again, don't follow the myths. Look, I'm sitting in front of you and I'm almost open. At some moments I say, "stop." But I'm not lying to you. I'm assuring you – I'm not lying to you.

That is why when you ask me, I answer, I thought I was obliged, clenched teeth, remain at my position till the new President and the Parliament would be elected.

Messages about my intention to remain the General Prosecutor with the new President, and moreover, with the new Parliament, they are ridiculous. During the last year, I hardly worked with that Parliament. I'm very tired and the only thing holding me back was the goal to ensure the elections legitimacy.

- **You and Zelenskyy used to be friends, right?**

- Yes. I think now we also have normal human relations. Again, let's separate human and working relations. That happens often. For instance, your favorite example. I love dearly Yulia Volodymyrivna [Tymoshenko,] and I'm serious.

- **Does she love you?**

- She does it in a different way. (laughing) I love her very much, as a person, and I try to protect her where it's possible.

- **What about Zelenskyy?**

- There is a real problem with Zelenskyy. I remember, when I got permission to make calls from the jail, one of the first ten calls was to Zelenskyy.

I thanked him because it seemed to me the "Kvartal" show was very positive towards me those days, despite everything. For example, on the first "Kvartal" show after my arrest, they used to say, "Thank you everyone who came. Our special thanks to those who didn't come. There is no Yuriy Vitaliyevich [Lutsenko] with us."

That meant a lot those days. Only the "95<sup>th</sup> Kvartal" performed against Yanukovich's regime those days, not very courageously, but still they performed. No one else.

And I was thankful for that. On the other hand, later I expressed my negative attitude to the "Fabulous Rus" cartoon. They portrayed Yulia [Tymoshenko] in an immoral way.

In other words, when a woman is imprisoned, dirty sexual jokes, in my opinion, are taboo. Frankly, probably after that conversation, a rift between us appeared. Because later many jokes from "Kvartal" became politically killing. Probably you remember what did they do with Yatsenyuk? It seems to me it was called "The Transporter?"

- **Yatsenyuk used to tell me about this.**

- It's terrible! Later they had few more. And later I didn't have time to watch their shows as I worked at the GPO.

We met few times when I worked at the GPO. During the elections, I met few times with Mr. Zelenskyy and Mr. Bohdan. Before he announced Presidential bid, I think in November, and after the announcement. Those were interesting meetings. We even met at my house.

- **And he was your guest at your home? Now?**

- As I say, during the election campaign.

- **During the election campaign?**

- But when a hot time started, I haven't met with any of the candidates. So to say, I did my job. I had only one task – to conduct elections without interference of a law enforcement structure, without bribery, that's all.

- **Do you call each other now?**

- Sometimes we see each other.

- **What do you talk about? Do you provide consultations?**

- No, we don't. "Once you decide to go away – do it..."

- **Are you joking?**



- Different things happen. Sometimes he asks the questions, and I answer. Sometimes I have an information that, in my opinion, a head of the state should know. These are some episodic things, I don't want to be arrogant. In my opinion, we have normal human relations. At least he [Zelenskyy] assured me during our last official meetings. We had approximately 3-4 large meetings when I was a Prosecutor General – I was telling him about everything going on at the GPO.

**- You manage to be friends not only with Zelenskyy, but with Kolomoiskyy as well, don't you?**

-Friendship - it's probably a little exaggerated, but I communicate with dozens of smart and influential people.

**-On August 31, "Schemes" shot Kolomoiskyy visiting you at your residence.**

-Ihor Valeriyovych [Kolomoiskyy] is a well-known prankster. He came to my place and said "I brought "Schemes" on my trail." So we had to have dinner inside, not on the terrace, because there were drones flying everywhere. And why should we allow the drones to take a peek at what kind of mineral water we drink? This would be an advertising of one of the brands.

**-What other oligarchs do you communicate with?**

-I communicate with Kolomoiskyy, with Akhmetov - very rarely, but I met him. I used to regularly meet with Pinchuk. I met with Taruta. When you are in politics and even in law enforcement, you have to communicate with people. When I was the Prosecutor General [Attorney General], at all of my meetings there was someone else. I've never met with anyone one on one, that's my rule. And following this rule helped me many times.

**-Kolomoiskyy provides media support to you. For instance, you had your first interview after London trip not with us, but "Snidanok on 1+1 [Breakfast]."**

-I wouldn't have an interview with you today, I'm just in a good mood. I had an interview with "Snidanok on 1+1 [Breakfast]" only because we made an important and difficult decision that Iryna [Lutsenko's wife and former European Solidarity MP] will quit her work in the Parliament for health reasons, and everywhere in the online community there appeared quite noticeable ridicule, mockery, and what outraged me even more - instigated by the media, including your media outlet, information that "they [the Lutsenkos] are fleeing to Britain". I've got that impression judging by the widespread headlines that Lutsenko left for London.

**-What did you talk about with Kolomoiskyy when he visited you?**

-We met to talk about life. Kolomoiskyy is one of the smartest people in this country. It doesn't necessarily mean that I concur with him on the legal side. He is a great schemer.

**-Journalists used to call him a "combinator." [a famous colloquial nickname of Ilf's and Petrov's protagonist [Ostap Bender](#), an extremely attractive, resourceful crook, full of energy while operating within the law ("Bender knew 400 relatively legal ways to make the population part with their money."); his description as "The Great Combinator" became a catch phrase in the Russian language.]**

-Oh yes, that's even better! He is a genius combinator. But as long as there is no [official] suspicion [announced to him], I think it's possible to communicate.

**-What can you say about Pinchuk?**

-Pinchuk is also very smart and deals with Ukrainian global politics strategically. Just right now.

**-Do you recall his [article about Crimea](#)?**

-Yes, and I was strongly against [the views expressed there], I told him my stance about it. There is one nuance - we were born with him on the same day, in different years, but on the same day.

When I was a young socialist, once I told him, "Let's make presents exchange: I will give you "Grani" newspaper, and you give me "Fakty" newspaper. For some reason, he did not want to do it (laughs).

But whoever I meet, I always have the luxury of expressing my own stance.

**-What do you talk about with Pinchuk?**

For example, last time I saw him, maybe a month or so ago, we discussed land reform. I believe that today it is the key to understanding what the new government is doing.

The government is apparently weak, it resembles more a decoration, and its task is only to sanctify land reform, which, according to Mr. Pinchuk and many other players around Ukraine, has been a key issue for this decade.

The stance here is also quite complicated. For, on the one hand, I am for the sale of land (strategically, it is absurd that it cannot be sold). But on the other hand, the question is, as always: how [will it be sold]?

**-What did Pinchuk say?**

He believes that life and the economy will regulate [equilibrate] everything, while I believe that if we start [allowing selling of] 200,000 hectares per person, it is an irreparable strategic mistake.

If we sell 200 thousand hectares of land per person, or, as it was planned [initially], one million hectares of land per person, then 10 players will create exorbitant prices for food supplies in our country and we won't be able to influence it in any way. So once again I say - rapid agrarian reform is very, let's just say, strategically dangerous.

**- Since you've already mentioned Akhmetov, what do you talk about with him?**

-I always bother Akhmetov on the question of - why there is rent for gas [production], while there isn't one for coal [production]? He hates such questions.

**-And by the way how can you describe Akhmetov?**

-Very smart! All these three people, but we can add to this cohort Taruta, Yaroslavsky, Bakhmatyuk - they are all very smart. One cannot become an oligarch just like that. Even if your father-in-law, who is the President, helps you [meaning Pinchuk], you won't be able to keep and secure all that without being smart.

**-What do you plan doing next? Are you holing up and waiting for the right moment to jump on the bandwagon?**

-No, I never holed up.

**-Are you waiting for a better opportunity?**

-No, I'm not for a better opportunity. Life is short. One should enjoy it and use it. Frankly speaking, I didn't run for Parliament because I do not feel a demand for my role in politics. This is normal.

However, I do not want to hole up. Therefore, I think that the Foundation of Book Support named after the Ostrogski family will be finally registered in the near future. My family will make the first donation, after that I plan to invite my well-known countrymen from Rivne to the supervisory board and I will work to support the Ukrainian books in the first place.

And second - I want to build a monument to Prince Ostrozky.

This will be the politics for me for now. I will be developing it.

And if the political trumpet sounds and I am needed for the country in any status, I am ready. But now I want to do this.

I do not want to be a kind of an advisor, or a fixer. Of course, it is not easy for me to watch what is happening. I see a lot of slips and mistakes. I see strategic threats. Concerning the type of land sale that is currently being chosen and, for example, the type of the war ending that is currently being promoted.

Maybe I don't know everything. I had many different offices, but I never was the prime minister nor the president. Maybe the president knows something more.

If someone needs me, I am ready to express my point of view.

I expressed it to both the president and to the people in charge of military issues. In my opinion, they do not hear me. Maybe I'm wrong. I do not claim a monopoly. But from my point of view, the path we are following now leads to continuation of the Russian destructive influence on Ukraine, not to the war ending.

Original text of interview: <https://www.pravda.com.ua/articles/2019/11/18/7232239/>

**Sender:** (b)(6)

**Recipient:**



<b>From:</b>	(b)(6)	
<b>To:</b>		
<b>Subject:</b>	Fw: MP press conference on U.S.-Ukraine relations (reference to Embassy staff member, etc.)	
<b>Date:</b>	Wed, 9 Oct 2019 12:01:44 +0000	

(b)(5) FYI.

(b)(6)

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Wednesday, October 9, 2019 5:39 AM

**To:** (b)(6) Kyiv Senior Staff; Kyiv POL Core; Kyiv ECON FSOs; (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Cc:** Kyiv IOs; EUR-Ukraine Desk-DL; Kent, George P (b)(6)

**Subject:** RE: MP press conference on U.S.-Ukraine relations (reference to Embassy staff member, etc.)

All – I spoke with the LE staff who were named in the allegations (b)(5)

(b)(7). Here's the background on the story:

(b)(5)

(b)(5) The technical assessment was not a secret, we actually organized an event for its launch in early summer 2018.

(b)(5)

Thanks,

(b)(6)

UNCLASSIFIED

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Wednesday, October 9, 2019 11:54 AM

**To:** Kyiv Senior Staff <KyivSeniorStaff@state.gov>; Kyiv POL Core <KyivPOLCore@state.gov>; Kyiv ECON FSOs <KYIVECONFSOs@state.gov>; (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Cc:** Kyiv IOs <KyivIOs@state.gov>; EUR-Ukraine Desk-DL <EUR-UkraineDesk-DL@state.gov>; Kent, George P (b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Subject:** MP press conference on U.S.-Ukraine relations (reference to Embassy staff member, etc.)

Please find below a very rough translation of an article about a press conference today by an MP about U.S., Ukraine, elections interference, investigations, etc. Original text at <https://interfax.com.ua/news/general/617802.html>. Flagging for awareness that this article seems to specifically discuss a member of the U.S. Embassy staff by name. We'll be on the lookout for additional coverage as the day proceeds.

People's Deputy of Ukraine Andriy Derkach, initiator of a criminal case on interference in the US elections, released documents from which it follows that the first deputy director of the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine (NABU) Gizo Uglava for several years provided the US Embassy in Kyiv with information that negatively affected the course events in Ukraine and the USA.

At a press conference at the Interfax-Ukraine agency on Wednesday, he made public documents received from investigative journalists, including correspondence between NABU officers and representatives of diplomatic missions of foreign states in the framework of criminal proceedings opened under article 111 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine "High Treason". In particular, the documents that the people's deputy possesses indicate that Uglava, through assistant Polina Chizh, passed on to the US Embassy information that, according to him, is an important part of the "puzzle" of interference in US elections and international corruption.

According to Derkach, he has already transferred these documents to the State Bureau of Investigation (SBI) and the Prosecutor General of Ukraine. The parliamentarian also initiated the creation of a temporary investigative commission of the Verkhovna Rada, and filed a petition for the court to resume the investigation of interference in the US elections by divulging pre-trial investigation.

"According to the correspondence, repeatedly, starting from July 14, 2017, from the electronic mailbox of the assistant to the first deputy of NABU Gizo Uglavy Polina Chizh, the lists of criminal proceedings that NABU detectives are engaged in were sent to the legal specialist of the anti-corruption program of the US Department of Justice of the US Embassy in Ukraine Anna Iemelianova," Derkach said.

Derkach issued a letter in which Polina Chizh, an NABU employee, received an order from Anna Iemelianova, an employee of the US Embassy, to provide information on the case of Nikolai Zlochevsky, the former Minister of Ecology and owner of the Burisma Group.

The MP also announced the amount of funds transferred to the representatives of the Burisma Group, among which Hunter Biden also appears. According to documents, Burisma paid at least \$ 16.5 million in favor of Hunter Biden, Alexander Kwasniewski, Alan Apter and Devon Archer.

At the same time, Derkach claims that international corruption of this magnitude could not take place without the participation of the fifth president of Ukraine Petro Poroshenko. "International corruption of this magnitude, as well as interference in the election of the US president, could not have occurred without the participation of Petro Poroshenko," he said.

"We see the conflict in which the new government of Ukraine fell due to the activities of the previous president Poroshenko. I want to emphasize that I'm practically sure, and not only I, but many journalists, that Petro Poroshenko personally bears responsibility for the situation in which Ukraine has ended up - for dragging Ukraine into interfering in the US presidential election, for a huge number of corruption scandals and international corruption that could not have occurred without his control or participation," the deputy said.

"Due to the actions of the former President of Ukraine Petro Poroshenko, the new President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelensky was drawn into a scandal with interference in the US presidential election and the fact that Ukraine is accused of international corruption," Derkach believes.

Derkach also unveiled documents that he claims relate to illegally collected personal information from NABU on former prosecutor general Viktor Shokin and his family.

As noted in the press release, "since 2016, Polina Chizh has sent documents with the subject: "Text for a conversation with FBI officers on the "Black Bookkeeping Party of Regions" by e-mail to Guizo Uglov. From the documents, according to Derkach, the collection of data on the former prosecutor general Viktor Shokin and his wife follows.

According to a press release, Derkach initiated the removal of the assistant to the first deputy director of NABU Guizo Uglov Polina Chizh from duties during the investigation.

Derkach also noted that he filed a lawsuit to resume the case of meddling in US elections by divulging pre-trial investigation data related to "synchronization of illegal actions by NABU, international corruption activities with the US presidential campaign in 2016." The lawsuit will be examined on October 21.



"According to the results of my appeal, a criminal proceeding was registered in 2017. On January 28, a senior investigator of the Main Investigation Department of the Prosecutor General's Office issued a decision to close this criminal proceeding. At the moment, this decision is appealed in civil procedure, the case is scheduled for October 21 in the Pechersk court "- said Derkach

UNCLASSIFIED	
<b>Sender:</b>	(b)(6)
<b>Recipient:</b>	

**From:** (b)(6)  
**To:** [Redacted]  
**Subject:** FW: MP press conference on U.S.-Ukraine relations (reference to Embassy staff member, etc.)  
**Date:** Wed, 9 Oct 2019 10:30:13 +0000

(b)(5)

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 09, 2019 1:12 PM  
**To:** Kent, George P; (b)(6) Kyiv Senior Staff; Kyiv POL Core; Kyiv ECON FSOs; (b)(6)  
**Cc:** Kyiv IOs; EUR-Ukraine Desk-DL; Fishel, Eugene; Brace, Tyler R  
**Subject:** Re: MP press conference on U.S.-Ukraine relations (reference to Embassy staff member, etc.)

(b)(5)

---  
Sent from [Workspace ONE Boxer](#)

On October 9, 2019 at 1:02:40 PM GMT+3, Kent, George P (b)(6) wrote:

(b)(5)



(b)(5)

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Wednesday, October 9, 2019 5:39:46 AM

**To:** (b)(6); Kyiv Senior Staff  
<KyivSeniorStaff@state.gov>; Kyiv POL Core <KyivPOLCore@state.gov>; Kyiv  
ECON FSOs <KYIVECONFSOs@state.gov>; (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Cc:** Kyiv IOs <KyivIOs@state.gov>; EUR-Ukraine Desk-DL <EUR-UkraineDesk-  
DL@state.gov>; Kent, George P (b)(6); (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Subject:** RE: MP press conference on U.S.-Ukraine relations (reference to Embassy staff  
member, etc.)

All – I spoke with the LE staff who were named in the allegations (b)(5)

(b)(5) Here's the background on the story:

(b)(5)

(b)(5)

The technical assessment was not a secret, we actually  
organized an event for its launch in early summer 2018.

(b)(5)

Thanks,

(b)(6)

UNCLASSIFIED

**Official**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Wednesday, October 9, 2019 11:54 AM

**To:** Kyiv Senior Staff <KyivSeniorStaff@state.gov>; Kyiv POL Core  
<KyivPOLCore@state.gov>; Kyiv ECON FSOs <KYIVECONFSOs@state.gov>;

(b)(6)

**Cc:** Kyiv IOs <KyivIOs@state.gov>; EUR-Ukraine Desk-DL <EUR-UkraineDesk-DL@state.gov>; Kent, George P (b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Subject:** MP press conference on U.S.-Ukraine relations (reference to Embassy staff member, etc.)

Please find below a very rough translation of an article about a press conference today by an MP about U.S., Ukraine, elections interference, investigations, etc. Original text at <https://interfax.com.ua/news/general/617802.html>. Flagging for awareness that this article seems to specifically discuss a member of the U.S. Embassy staff by name. We'll be on the lookout for additional coverage as the day proceeds.

People's Deputy of Ukraine Andriy Derkach, initiator of a criminal case on interference in the US elections, released documents from which it follows that the first deputy director of the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine (NABU) Gizo Uglava for several years provided the US Embassy in Kyiv with information that negatively affected the course events in Ukraine and the USA.

At a press conference at the Interfax-Ukraine agency on Wednesday, he made public documents received from investigative journalists, including correspondence between NABU officers and representatives of diplomatic missions of foreign states in the framework of criminal proceedings opened under article 111 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine "High Treason". In particular, the documents that the people's deputy possesses indicate that Uglava, through assistant Polina Chizh, passed on to the US Embassy information that, according to him, is an important part of the "puzzle" of interference in US elections and international corruption.

According to Derkach, he has already transferred these documents to the State Bureau of Investigation (SBI) and the Prosecutor General of Ukraine. The parliamentarian also initiated the creation of a temporary investigative commission of the Verkhovna Rada, and filed a petition for the court to resume the investigation of interference in the US elections by divulging pre-trial investigation.

"According to the correspondence, repeatedly, starting from July 14, 2017, from the electronic mailbox of the assistant to the first deputy of NABU Gizo Uglavy Polina Chizh, the lists of criminal proceedings that NABU detectives are engaged in were sent to the legal specialist of the anti-corruption program of the US Department of Justice of the US Embassy in Ukraine Anna Iemelianova," Derkach said.

Derkach issued a letter in which Polina Chizh, an NABU employee, received an order from Anna Iemelianova, an employee of the US Embassy, to provide



information on the case of Nikolai Zlochevsky, the former Minister of Ecology and owner of the Burisma Group.

The MP also announced the amount of funds transferred to the representatives of the Burisma Group, among which Hunter Biden also appears. According to documents, Burisma paid at least \$ 16.5 million in favor of Hunter Biden, Alexander Kwasniewski, Alan Apter and Devon Archer.

At the same time, Derkach claims that international corruption of this magnitude could not take place without the participation of the fifth president of Ukraine Petro Poroshenko. "International corruption of this magnitude, as well as interference in the election of the US president, could not have occurred without the participation of Petro Poroshenko," he said.

"We see the conflict in which the new government of Ukraine fell due to the activities of the previous president Poroshenko. I want to emphasize that I'm practically sure, and not only I, but many journalists, that Petro Poroshenko personally bears responsibility for the situation in which Ukraine has ended up - for dragging Ukraine into interfering in the US presidential election, for a huge number of corruption scandals and international corruption that could not have occurred without his control or participation," the deputy said.

"Due to the actions of the former President of Ukraine Petro Poroshenko, the new President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelensky was drawn into a scandal with interference in the US presidential election and the fact that Ukraine is accused of international corruption," Derkach believes.

Derkach also unveiled documents that he claims relate to illegally collected personal information from NABU on former prosecutor general Viktor Shokin and his family.

As noted in the press release, "since 2016, Polina Chizh has sent documents with the subject: "Text for a conversation with FBI officers on the "Black Bookkeeping Party of Regions" by e-mail to Guizo Uglov. From the documents, according to Derkach, the collection of data on the former prosecutor general Viktor Shokin and his wife follows.

According to a press release, Derkach initiated the removal of the assistant to the first deputy director of NABU Guizo Uglov Polina Chizh from duties during the investigation.

Derkach also noted that he filed a lawsuit to resume the case of meddling in US elections by divulging pre-trial investigation data related to "synchronization of illegal actions by NABU, international corruption activities with the US presidential campaign in 2016." The lawsuit will be examined on October 21.

"According to the results of my appeal, a criminal proceeding was registered in 2017. On January 28, a senior investigator of the Main Investigation Department

of the Prosecutor General's Office issued a decision to close this criminal proceeding. At the moment, this decision is appealed in civil procedure, the case is scheduled for October 21 in the Pechersk court "- said Derkach

UNCLASSIFIED

<b>Sender:</b>	(b)(6)
<b>Recipient:</b>	

<b>From:</b>	(b)(6)	
<b>To:</b>		
<b>Subject:</b>	FW: NYT Ukraine/Biden article out; no mention of JAW or INL	
<b>Date:</b>	Thu, 2 May 2019 13:49:00 +0000	

FYSA.

(b)(6)

**Official - Transitory****UNCLASSIFIED**

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Thursday, May 2, 2019 9:45 AM  
**To:** (b)(6)  
(b)(6); Anti-Corruption  
<Anti-Corruption@state.gov>  
**Subject:** RE: NYT Ukraine/Biden article out; no mention of JAW or INL

Flagging for C for awareness given the reference to asset recovery.

Concerns about Mr. Shokin notwithstanding, the cases against Burisma had high-level support from the Obama administration. In April 2014, it sent top officials to a forum on Ukrainian asset recovery, co-sponsored by the United States government, in London, where Mr. Zlochevsky's case was highlighted.

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Date:** May 1, 2019 at 10:38:11 PM EDT  
**To:** (b)(6)  
**Cc:**  
**Subject:** NYT Ukraine/Biden article out; no mention of JAW or INL

FYI

[https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/01/us/politics/biden-son-ukraine.html?rref=collection%2Fbyline%2Fkenneth-p.-vogel&action=click&contentCollection=undefined&region=stream&module=stream\\_unit&version=latest&contentPlacement=1&pgtype=collection](https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/01/us/politics/biden-son-ukraine.html?rref=collection%2Fbyline%2Fkenneth-p.-vogel&action=click&contentCollection=undefined&region=stream&module=stream_unit&version=latest&contentPlacement=1&pgtype=collection)

Sent from my iPhone

<b>Sender:</b>	(b)(6)	
<b>Recipient:</b>		

<b>From:</b>	"Kent, George P"
<b>To:</b>	(b)(6)
<b>Subject:</b>	FW: Sen. Shaheen tweet -- Wednesday Updates on The Hill Article, Social Media Commentary, Etc.
<b>Date:</b>	Wed, 27 Mar 2019 19:33:04 +0000

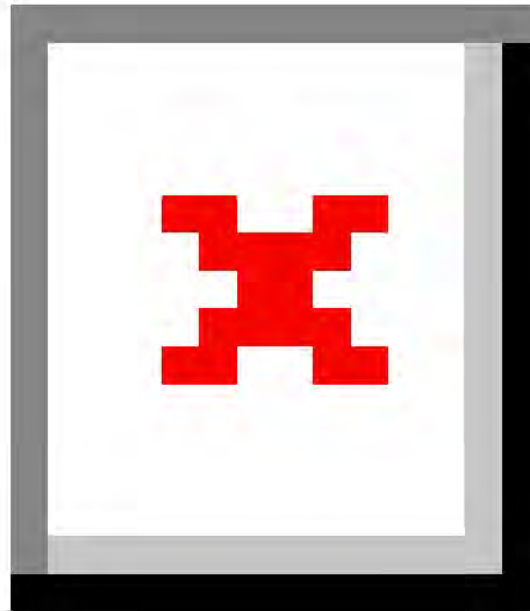
Naz lining up tweet support for Amb Y in Shaheen's name...

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 27, 2019 2:33 PM  
**To:** (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Kent, George P  
 (b)(6) Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Freden, Bradley A (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Sen. Shaheen tweet -- Wednesday Updates on The Hill Article, Social Media Commentary, Etc.





(b)(6)

*Press & Policy Outreach Office--Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs*

*Department of State*

Office (b)(6)

Cell: 2

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Wednesday, March 27, 2019 12:27 PM

**To:** (b)(6)

(b)(6)

Kent, George P

(b)(6) Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6)

; Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)

(b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6) Freden, Bradley A

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6) Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov> (b)(6);



(b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <[EUR-Press-DL@state.gov](mailto:EUR-Press-DL@state.gov)>

**Subject:** RE: Wednesday Updates on The Hill Article, Social Media Commentary, Etc.

Flagging a couple tweets below for general awareness, from high-profile Twitter users (who have large numbers of followers). Below that is an article from RT from about 45 minutes ago recapping the latest Hill column (no significant new narratives in that RT piece, just flagging that it's been picked up by this outlet).

In general, a search for Ukraine + Soros on Twitter is quite active at this time (and has been since the RT article was tweeted), with one or more tweets coming per minute relating to last night's Hill report. However, there are relatively few tweets this evening mentioning AMB Y specifically by name (only about 5 tweets in the past eight hours.)

#### Tweets

- **Pamela Geller (200K followers)**  
CRIMINAL: Obama Admin Pressured **Ukraine** Not to Investigate "Mega-Donor" George **Soros**: The Obama administration was the most corrupt in American history while aiding and abetting America's worst enemies \_
- **Lou Dobbs** of "Lou Dobbs Tonight" at Fox Business Network retweeted John Solomon's post from earlier today (Why was the Obama administration funding a Soros group in Ukraine during the 2016 election and Manafort probe? And why did US embassy seek to protect the group?)
- **Writer Tom Fitton (500K followers)** tweeted a link to the Hill piece with the topper: "Obama admin pressed Ukraine to drop probe of George Soros group during 2016 election"
- **Former AMB Michael McFaul Tweeted:** Those involved in running a presidential campaign should not seek assistance from foreign adversaries. Period. **Dan Bongino** retweeted with the topper: Then why were Ukrainians helping Hillary?

**RT Article: Washington told Ukraine to end probe into George Soros-funded group during 2016 US election – report**

An NGO co-funded by George Soros was spared prosecution in 2016 after the US urged Ukraine to drop a corruption probe targeting the group, the Hill reported, pointing to potential shenanigans during the US presidential election.

Bankrolled by the Obama administration and Hungarian-American billionaire George Soros, the Anti-Corruption Action Centre (AntAC) was under investigation as part of a larger probe by Ukraine's Prosecutor General's Office into the misallocation of \$4.4 million in US funds to fight corruption in the eastern European country.

As the 2016 presidential race heated up back in the United States, the US Embassy in Kiev gave Ukraine's Prosecutor General Yuri Lutsenko *"a list of people whom we should not prosecute"* as part of the probe, the Hill [reported](#). Ultimately, no action was taken against AntAC.

Lutsenko told the paper that he believes the embassy wanted the probe nixed because it could have exposed the Democrats to a potential scandal during the 2016 election.

A State Department official who spoke with the Hill said that while the request to nix the probe was unusual, Washington feared that AntAC was being targeted as retribution for the group's advocacy for anti-corruption reforms in Ukraine.

AntAC wasn't just the benefactor of well-connected patrons – at the time it was also collaborating with FBI agents to uncover then-Trump campaign manager Paul Manafort's business dealings in Ukraine. Manafort later became a high-profile target of Special Counsel Robert Mueller's probe into alleged Russian collusion, and was sentenced to seven-and-a-half years in prison for tax fraud and other financial crimes.

Lutsenko divulged in an interview with the Hill last week that he has opened an investigation into whether Ukrainian officials leaked financial records during the 2016 US presidential campaign in an effort to sway the election in favor of Hillary Clinton.

While AntAC may have failed to help the FBI find the Russia collusion smoking gun, the group's activities constitute yet another link between the anti-climactic Russiagate probe and Soros, a Democrat mega-donor who bet big on Hillary Clinton taking the White House in 2016.

In 2017, the billionaire philanthropist siphoned money into a new group, the Democracy Integrity Project, which later partnered with Fusion GPS to create the now-infamous Steele dossier.

Spokespersons for AntAC and the Soros umbrella group Open Society Foundations declined to comment on the Hill's scoop.

Ironically, the prosecutor general who had preceded Lutsenko, Viktor Shokin, resigned under pressure from Washington – which accused Shokin of corruption.

Virtuous US officials continue to make similar demands of Ukraine's justice system. Earlier this month, Washington urged the Ukrainian government to fire its special anti-corruption prosecutor, again over accusations of administrative abuse.

**Official - SBU**  
**UNCLASSIFIED**

From: (b)(6)

Sent: Wednesday, March 27, 2019 4:50 PM

To: (b)(6)

(b)(6)

Kent, George P



(b)(6); Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Freden, Bradley A (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Wednesday Updates on The Hill Article, Social Media Commentary, Etc.

Ukrainian media are now picking up the latest Hill column from last night. Here's a link to a sample article from Ukrainska Pravda (which notes the column was the personal opinion of journalist John Solomon, and highlights in the headline that Solomon called Lutsenko a "hero"). The UkrPravda article notes AntAC is preparing a refutation of the article. (Aside from the details just mentioned, the text of the article basically just recaps the Hill column.)

<https://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2019/03/27/7210380/>

**Official - SBU**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 27, 2019 4:34 PM  
**To:** (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Kent, George P  
 (b)(6) Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6); Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Freden, Bradley A (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Wednesday Updates on The Hill Article, Social Media Commentary, Etc.

**Tweeted 20 minutes ago by Sara A Carter, 640K followers:**

Under @BarackObama, the @USEmbassyKyiv Pressured Ukraine Not To Investigate Liberal "Mega-Donor" @georgesoros. Why was Obama's @StateDept funding a #Soros group in Ukraine during the 2016 election and #Manafort probe? | via @jsolomonReports @thehill

This tweet links to an article on her website:

# The Hill: U.S. Embassy Pressured Ukraine Not To Investigate Liberal “Mega-Donor”

During the 2016 U.S. presidential race Ukrainian prosecutors said they were stymied by then-President Obama’s appointed U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine from pursuing investigations into the activities of a nonprofit known as the [Anti-Corruption Action Centre](#) (AntAC), according to John Solomon with The Hill.

Ukraine’s Prosecutor General Yuri Lutsenko, who is considered a hero in the West for spending [two years as a political prisoner](#) for fighting Russian aggression in Ukraine , told Solomon that he was invited to meet new U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovitch. He was appointed to this position in 2016 and it was then that he spoke to Yovanovitch, he said.

He said they, “gave me a list of people whom we should not prosecute.” According to Yovanovitch, it included a founder of the AntAC group and two members of Parliament. Those people “supported the group’s anti-corruption reform agenda, according to a source directly familiar with the meeting,” according to Solomon, who spoke to a source.

Ukrainian law enforcement was probing a group that was co-funded by the Obama administration, as well as billionaire donor George Soros. Further, according to Solomon the group was allegedly collaborating with the FBI agents investigating then-Trump campaign manager [Paul Manafort’s](#) business activities in Ukraine.

## From The Hill

*The focus on AntAC — whose youthful street activists famously wore “Ukraine F\*&k Corruption” T-shirts — was part of a larger probe by Ukraine’s Prosecutor General’s Office into whether \$4.4 million in U.S. funds to fight corruption inside the former Soviet republic had been improperly diverted.*



*he prosecutors soon would learn the resistance they faced was blowing directly from the U.S. Embassy in Kiev, where the Obama administration took the rare step of trying to press the Ukrainian government to back off its investigation of both the U.S. aid and the group.*

*"The investigation into the Anti-Corruption Action Center (sic), based on the assistance they have received from us, is similarly misplaced," then-embassy Charge d' Affaires George Kent wrote the prosecutor's office in April 2016 in a letter that also argued U.S. officials had no concerns about how the U.S. aid had been spent...*

<https://saraacarter.com/the-hill-u-s-embassy-pressured-ukraine-not-to-investigate-liberal-mega-donor/>

**Official - SBU**  
**UNCLASSIFIED**

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 27, 2019 2:25 PM  
**To:** (b)(6)  
(b)(6) Kent, George P  
(b)(6) Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)  
(b)(6) (b)(6)  
(b)(6)  
(b)(6) Freden, Bradley A (b)(6)  
(b)(6)  
(b)(6) Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov> (b)(6)  
(b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Wednesday Updates on The Hill Article, Social Media Commentary, Etc.

Below is a Medium article allegedly listing the names on the "Yovanovitch list")

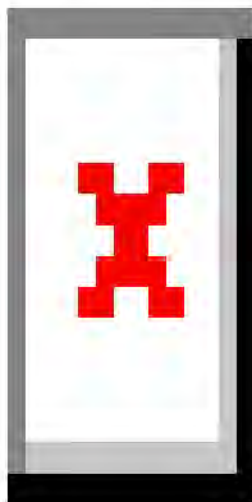
### **The names of 'improsecutable' Ukrainians from the Yovanovitch list got out**

By Tony Sealy

The main thing appeared in the scandal around the Ukrainian Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko's statement on the list of individuals he should not prosecute given to him by the American Ambassador. That thing is the names. Ukrainians started to actively share the photo leaked out to the web on Facebook communities oppositional to the current President of Ukraine.

*(Note: Photo below – in case it doesn't display well for those reading on Blackberries, etc. -- lists the names: Sergej Leshchenko, Mustafa Najem, Svetlana Zalishchuk, Oleg Gladkovskij (Svinarchuk), Svyatoslav Vakarchuk,*

*Valeriya Gontareva, Anatolij Gricenko, Boris Lozhkin, Aleksandr Pasenyuk, Sergej Berezenko, Dmitrij Gordon, Arsenij Yatsenuk, Sergej Pashinskij, and also displays what appears to be a business card of George Kent.)*



To recap, earlier on, the Prosecutor General of Ukraine stated in an interview to the Hill that in 2016 US Ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovitch had given him a list of individuals who should not be prosecuted by his department. However, Lutsenko did not mention any names.

The fact that such classified document could get out on the web behind the Trump Administration's back is now as hard to believe as the fact that a high ranked official like Lutsenko could even make such a revelation without the knowledge of Poroshenko.

Most likely Poroshenko himself ordered to set Yovanovitch up trying to gain support of both Donald Trump and the Republicans at the elections. However, Trump did not appreciate such an attempt. He made it clear he never forgave Poroshenko's support of Clinton at the elections in the United States. After receiving an aggressive reaction, Poroshenko instantly passed the buck to Lutsenko, and confirmed he completely backed Yovanovitch. Yet, the last move was still made by the White House. The list of the names that were not mentioned in the sensational interview by the Prosecutor General of Ukraine has magically appeared on the web.

<https://medium.com/@tosealy/the-names-of-improsecutable-ukrainians-from-the-yovanovitch-list-got-out-117b096b02ac>

**Official - SBU**  
**UNCLASSIFIED**



From: (b)(6)

Sent: Wednesday, March 27, 2019 2:10 PM

To: (b)(6)

(b)(6)

Kent, George P

(b)(6) Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6); Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6) Freden, Bradley A (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6) Kyiv EXEC <[Kyiv\\_EXEC@state.gov](mailto:Kyiv_EXEC@state.gov)>; (b)(6)

(b)(6)

Cc: EUR-Press <[EUR-Press-DL@state.gov](mailto:EUR-Press-DL@state.gov)>

Subject: RE: Wednesday Updates on The Hill Article, Social Media Commentary, Etc.

**Social Media Commentary:**

John Solomon, the Hill (a new tweet from this morning about yesterday evening's article):

Why was the Obama administration funding a Soros group in Ukraine during the 2016 election and Manafort probe? And why did US embassy seek to protect the group? *[link to last night's article]*

Chris Miller, RFE/RL (commenting on the abovementioned article):

This sentence alone makes it pretty clear @jsolomonReports hasn't the slightest clue what he's writing about: "...Yuri Lutsenko, widely regarded as a hero in the West for spending two years in prison after fighting Russian aggression in his country..."

Matthew Shaaf, Freedom House (commenting on the abovementioned article):

Ukrainian politicians try to play DC politics in an effort to weaken key anti-corruption institutions and distract from challenges at home. DC insiders respond, yes please! and throw in a little Soros bashing

Ukrainian journalist Volodymyr Boiko:

The American official publication - The Hill - continues to please its readers with a story about what's happening in Ukraine under the roof of the United States embassy. The next publication is about the activities of the conversion center entitled "ANTAC," which is registered as a public organization (ie the main source of income should be membership fees).

The article mentions how, through the accounts of this pseudo-public organization (and, incidentally, it has 20 accounts with bank institutions), American government assistance that was assigned to the Government of Ukraine, in particular for holding competitions for administrative posts in the prosecutor's office in Ukraine, has been stolen. This story is well known to me and if American journalists or law enforcement agencies turn to me, I would like to hand them documents, and tell them how a professional "public activist" Vitaliy Shabunin, [who should be in not only Ukrainian, but also American prison], international swindler David Sakvarelidze, FBI representative in Ukraine Karen

Greenaway, and U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary George Kent stole US \$ 4 million, which were allocated by the U.S Government.

This money was supposed to arrive in the account of the General Prosecutor's Office of Ukraine to pay for the development of examinations and prosecutorial post selections. But in August 2015, Kent summoned Sakvarelidze to the embassy and, without any authority, Sakvarelidze signed a letter stating that the GPU refused these funds; instead they had to be redirected to the account of private lobbyist Shabunin's company and the Odesa regional state administration headed at that time by Saakashvili. After that, the American taxpayers' money was redirected and transferred to cash and settled in the pockets of "fighters of corruption."

It's telling that Karen Greenaway, who was party to this scam and mentioned by The Hill, after having left the FBI in December 2018 (this was the result of an investigation into NABU's involvement in the US presidential election in 2016), went to work at this very ANTAC.

I recommend reading the article in the American outlet close to the United States Department of State, The Hill

#### ANTAC/ Shabunin:

Lutsenko's lies continue to spread in the world. A new column appeared on The Hill. This time about us: <http://bit.ly/2uv2sUP>.

Most of all, we liked the part about Lutsenko, who fought Russian aggression in 2010 and was in prison for that.

And again, the article mentions a fake case involving theft of \$4 million, which Lutsenko himself called "idiotic" and closed. Again about "Yovanovitch's List" ....

If only part of what the current Prosecutor General tells the American media was true, he would go to testify to law enforcement in the United States.

But he does not go. Because in the United States you go to jail for lying. For several years.

We are reading and preparing refutations.

#### Vitaly Shabunin: (written with sarcasm)

The "ordered material" in the opinion section (not editorial material) of the American The Hill against ANTAC is direct acknowledgment [of the importance of our anti-corruption work] <http://bit.ly/2UYCIBo>. Yuriy Lutsenko, Petro Poroshenko, thank you.

Later, we will refute the message of the author, who (by the way, not for the first time), has mixed together Soros, Trump, Lutsenko, the U.S. ambassador, the State Department and millions of stolen dollars :)

I will quote from the article that demonstrates its "professionalism": "Yuri Lutsenko, widely regarded as a hero in the West for spending two years in prison after fighting aggression in his country."

Reminder: Yuriy Lutsenko went to jail (illegally, in my opinion) in 2010 - FOUR YEARS before the beginning of Russian aggression.

Yuriy Lutsenko is a pathological liar: if at least a part of what he said was true, he should have formally turned to the U.S. law enforcement agencies to demand an investigation to punish the perpetrators.

He did not do this for a simple reason - a lie to U.S. law enforcement is punishable by imprisonment. By the way, it is a good norm - it is necessary to implement in our legislation.



The campaign for discrediting ANTAC is gaining momentum. Petro Poroshenko, when you win, do not restrain yourself - just put us in jail, why these preludes?

And it's fun to watch what kind of media will disband this ordered material. A reminder that Lutsenko closed the case against the ANTAC THREE MONTHS before Yovanovitch arrived in Ukraine.

UPDATE: TheBabel first published the news in Ukrainian media <http://bit.ly/2UXuFiH>. I repeat - Lutsenko closed the case against the Center for the Fight Against Corruption THREE MONTHS before Yovanovitch arrives in Ukraine. L stands for "logic."

#### Dariya Kaleniuk, ANTAC:

I very much hope that Yuriy Lutsenko will be summoned for questioning by the U.S. Department of Justice or by Congress. And at this interrogation he will provide the same lies he is feeding Ukraine with. Because for lies in the United States you go to jail for several years.

And so a new lie from Lutsenko: a hint that Biden demanded the release of Shokin, because he very much wanted to investigate Zlochevsky.

Truth: the case against Zlochevsky dramatically poured into the GPU under Yarema, and then finished for Shokin and Lutsenko. Separately distinguished Nazar Kholodnitsky.

In December 2014, the GPU issued a certificate to Zlochevsky's lawyers, which they presented in a court in London, where British law enforcers froze 23.5 million dollars in Burisma accounts. This certificate is one of the main arguments for the freezing of these funds in Britain. After that, the Prosecutor General becomes Shokin, the case is sluggishly investigated.

The Americans and the British are outraged by such an apparent merger of criminal proceedings. In September 2015, Ambassador Pyatt publicly calls for the investigation of those officials of the GPU who have not provided the British prosecutor with evidence of Zlochevsky and who buried the case <http://bit.ly/2U8Q3o9>

In January 2016, the case with the GPU calls for the study by NABU, after the prosecutors do not find evidence of Zlochevsky's fault, but find evidence of a violation of the law in obtaining permits for gas extraction. NABU's evidence was transferred to the SAPO, but Nazar Holodnitsky magically missed the deadline in the 6 months of filing the lawsuit to cancel these permits. Ukraine loses the opportunity to return illegally issued permits for gas extraction to subsidiaries of Burisma. Here we describe in detail the role of Nazar Holodnitsky and Lutsenko in the storm of the proceedings against Zlochevsky.

<http://bit.ly/2Yp4WBV>

#### Daria Kaleniuk:

More lies and manipulations from Lutsenko, who turned out to be a hero who spent 2 years in prison for fighting Russian aggression.

Yuriy Lutsenko himself re-qualified the case against Zlochevsky for illegal enrichment and money laundering in tax evasion by one of Zlochevsky's companies in October 2016 and closed the criminal proceedings in the fall of 2016.

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 27, 2019 11:48 AM  
**To:** (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Kent, George P  
 (b)(6) Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Freden, Bradley A (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6); Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov> (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Wednesday Updates on The Hill Article, Social Media Commentary, Etc.

Yuriy Butusov, Editor-in-chief of Censor.net, posts on his Facebook page (rough translation):

<https://www.facebook.com/butusov.yuriy/posts/2798311563542455>

Ukraine directly affects the largest political scandals in the presidential elections of 2018-2020 in the United States! I studied the allegations of the Prosecutor General against the U.S. Ambassador [Yovanovitch], collected exclusive comments from Prosecutor General Lutsenko, Special Prosecutor Kholodnytskyi, SBU General Trepak and MP Leshchenko, and it turned out that Ukraine is now the main intrigue of the 2018 and 2020 elections in the United States.

I think that:

1. Lutsenko's allegations against US Ambassador Yovanovitch are agreed upon with the U.S. President Trump administration.
2. Poroshenko and Lutsenko are helping Trump to repel the Democrats' attack on Manafort and strike the democratic candidate Biden - Lutsenko's statement is related in time to the chronology of the announcement of Manafort's verdict.
3. I think the list of Marie Yovanovitch actually did not exist. But I fully admit that the U.S. Ambassador could have been asking the prosecutor general about the case of the illicit enrichment of the MP Sergey Leschenko, and he interpreted this in his own way. Neither there is evidence of the biased position of the U.S. Ambassador.
4. NABU has disclosed the investigation data about Manafort without the permission of the procedural curator, and most likely at the request of someone from the staff of the U.S. Embassy. But it doesn't mean that Yovanovitch herself asked to do it, I think she acted in good faith.
5. It turns out that Clinton's Democrats got Ukrainian politicians involved in discrediting Republican Trump, and Trump got Ukrainian politicians involved in discrediting Democrats and Biden. Ukrainian topic remains one of the main ones in American politics.

Link to the longer article about this by Butusov:



[https://censor.net.ua/resonance/3118475/poroshenko\\_podderjal\\_trampa\\_v\\_atake\\_na\\_demokraticeskuy\\_u\\_partiyu\\_ssha\\_genprokuror\\_lutsenko\\_vse\\_cho](https://censor.net.ua/resonance/3118475/poroshenko_podderjal_trampa_v_atake_na_demokraticeskuy_u_partiyu_ssha_genprokuror_lutsenko_vse_cho)

**Official**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Wednesday, March 27, 2019 8:27 AM

**To:** (b)(6)

(b)(6)	Kent, George P
(b)(6)	Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6)
(b)(6)	Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)
(b)(6)	(b)(6)
(b)(6)	
(b)(6)	Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6)
(b)(6)	

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** RE: Wednesday Updates on The Hill Article, Social Media Commentary, Etc.

Just published by Kyiv Post:

**Anti-Corruption Action Center: Lutsenko's speculation regarding Burisma**

By [Daria Kaleniuk](#), [Tetiana Shevchuk](#), [Olena Halushka](#).

Published March 27, Updated March 27 at 8:03 am

On March 20, 2019, Yuriy Lutsenko, the prosecutor general of Ukraine, [gave a controversial interview](#) to The Hill political new website. His comments were saturated with speculation. Apart from the groundless attack against National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine (NABU) director Artem Sytnyk and the U.S. Ambassador Marie L. Yovanovitch, Lutsenko also made some loud allegation claiming that Sytnyk closed criminal investigations against Mykola Zlochevsky's Burisma company. On March 25, Ukrainian media [announced](#) that Lutsenko and Special Anti-Corruption Prosecutor Nazar Kholodnytsky recorded other pieces of the interview for The Hill regarding Burisma.

Burisma appeared in this scandal not accidentally. This is an energy exploration and production company operating in the Ukrainian oil and gas market. During President Viktor Yanukovich's presidency, which ended on Feb. 22, 2014, amid the EuroMaidan Revolution, Zlochevsky used to be the minister of environmental protection in 2010-2012 and deputy secretary of the National Security and Defense Council in 2012-2014.

In order to gain international weight right after the EuroMaidan Revolution, the company appointed some well-known people to the board of directors, among whom is Hunter Biden, a son of former U.S. Vice President Joe Biden.

In his infamous interview, Lutsenko hinted on warm relations between Biden and Sytnyk and then claimed that NABU closed the case against Burisma.

The irony is that, actually, it was the Prosecutor General's Office (PGO) who repeatedly covered Zlochevsky up from the criminal prosecution. Moreover, the only ongoing investigations into activities of Zlochevskyi's companies are conducted by NABU.

In total there were four criminal proceedings related to Burisma and Zlochevsky's time in office, two of which were watered down by the Prosecutor General's Office and two are still investigated by NABU. These are:

- the criminal case concerning the arrest of Zlochevsky's money in the U.K. and personally charging Zlochevskyi with illicit enrichment was sabotaged and later closed by prosecutors;
- in the other Prosecutor General's Office case, companies related to Burisma suddenly disappeared from the list of suspects;
- two cases regarding the extraction of licenses by Zlochevsky's companies and embezzlement of public funds at the ministry's procurements during Zlochevskyi's Ministerial tenure remain active and are investigated by NABU.
- 

None of the criminal proceedings against Burisma was closed by NABU. Let us explain to you more in details.

### **Prosecutors helped Zlochevsky to unfreeze assets in the U.K.**

In 2014-2015, the prosecutor's office, managed by then Prosecutor General Vitaliy Yarema, assisted Zlochevsky with unblocking \$23.5 million seized in the U.K.

In April 2014, British law enforcement officers opened a case into possible \$35 million money laundering allegedly committed by Zlochevsky. The Ukrainian party became aware of this in late July 2014.

However, instead of providing maximum support and evidence for British investigation, the PGO issued two controversial letters to Zlochevsky's defense party claiming "uncertain legal status and absence of notification of suspicion of Mykola Zlochevsky." In the meantime, the British law enforcers received just a partial response on their inquiry.



The PGO announced charges to Zlochevsky only in December 2014, but this was too late. The London court decided to unblock the seized assets, as the Prosecutor General's Office failed to provide evidence on illicit origin of \$23.5 million on the accounts of Zlochevsky's companies.

Back in September 2015, U.S. Ambassador Geoff Pyatt during a speech highlighted that the Prosecutor General's Office sabotaged cooperation with the U.K. authorities on the case and called that "the misconduct by the PGO officials who wrote those letters should be investigated, and those responsible for subverting the case by authorizing those letters should – at a minimum – be summarily terminated." Such a statement shows anything but Joe Biden's alleged attempt to help Burisma avoid justice.

### **PGO blurred money laundering and illicit enrichment charges against Zlochevskyi**

In the course of the abovementioned investigation, on Dec. 29, 2014, Zlochevsky was notified of charges in illicit enrichment in large-scale and money laundering. To investigate this case, Ukrainian investigators had to establish the origin and legitimacy of significant funds on bank accounts of companies belonging to Zlochevskyi as a former top official.

However, despite considerable public attention, the illicit enrichment of Zlochevskyi was never properly investigated and sent to the court – in two years the investigation mystically transformed into the case of tax evasion by chief accountant of one the Burisma holding companies. This was done under the Yuriy Lutsenko's leadership at the PGO.

In the same criminal proceeding into alleged illicit enrichment, in October 2016, PGO investigators asked the State Fiscal Service to hold an unscheduled tax audit of Esko-Pivnich LLC, one of the companies of Burisma holding. The audit concerned the period of 8 months of 2016 and established some violations. As a result, the chief accountant of the company was declared a scapegoat and notified of suspicion of tax evasion.

The accountant paid outstanding taxes as prescribed by the audit, thus eliminating the grounds for criminal charges in tax evasion. The amount paid by accountant constituted 50 million UAH (approx. \$1.9 mln), which was only a fraction of alleged evasion.

However, this resulted also in closure in November 2016 of the criminal proceedings regarding possible illicit enrichment and money laundering allegedly committed by Zlochevsky. Available information shows no logic in the actions of PGO investigators who combined the episode of company's tax evasion in 2016 with the criminal proceedings on illicit enrichment and money laundering allegedly committed by Zlochevskyi in 2010-2014.

### **PGO covered up Burisma in the case of embezzlement of Ukrgezvydobuvannya funds**

Since May 7, 2014, PGO was investigating alleged criminal activity of Ukrainian subsidiaries of Burisma, which in conspiracy with state-owned enterprise Ukrgezvydobuvannya caused

substantive losses to Ukrainian budget. Burisma subsidiaries were suspected of extracting and selling gas in Ukraine for significantly discounted prices to related companies to reduce official profits, which according to the agreements on joint activity had to be shared with the state-owned company.

On July 7, 2016, Lutsenko personally held a press briefing and accused Burisma subsidiaries of conspiracy and tax evasion amounting to Hr 1 billion (\$70 million) during 2014-2015.

Strangely enough, starting from October 2016 the criminal investigation abruptly stopped mentioning subsidiaries of Burisma. Thus, the company was cleared even without closing criminal investigation.

### **SAPO sabotaged justice for Burisma for illegal obtaining extraction licences**

The other criminal case related to Burisma concerns illegal natural resources extraction licenses issued to Burisma group companies by officials of the Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources during 2010-2015. The case was investigated by the PGO until the end of 2015 and in December 2015 transferred to NABU.

NABU established the violations during the issue of licences, namely absence of obligatory approval of the municipal authorities. The evidence confirming this was promptly transferred by NABU to the Specialized Anti-corruption Prosecution office (SAPO) to take administrative court actions to cancel these licences as illegal.

SAPO, however, groundlessly missed procedural deadlines for a lawsuit on cancelling extracting licences in question: having had complete grounds for lawsuit since January 2016, SAPO only filed the case in August 2016. SAPO avoided giving a thorough explanation of why it took so long to file a claim. The case was dismissed by the court due to missed deadlines and the Appellate Court upheld this decision. As a result, Burisma companies still benefiting from these highly questionable extraction licences.

Later, on August 1, 2017, SAPO closed the criminal case stating that there was not enough evidence to prove the crime. On June 15, 2018, the investigation was renewed following the appeal of MP Tetiana Chornovol. As of March 2019, the NABU investigation is ongoing.

In addition, as of March 2019, NABU has also an ongoing investigation into alleged embezzlement of state funds totaling to Hr 49 million (\$8 million) at public procurement of consulting services for implementing technologies of remote land exploration. The case does not directly concern Zlochevsky or Burisma, but regards the ministry's activity during his tenure. The case was transferred from the PGO to NABU at the beginning of 2016.



*Daria Kaleniuk is the executive director of the Anti-Corruption Action Center. She is experienced in international legal mechanisms for anti-corruption actions, particularly in stolen assets recovery and anti-money laundering initiatives. Kaleniuk holds a master's degree in financial services law from Chicago-Kent College of Law. She was a Fullbright program student in 2010-2011.*

*Tetiana Shevchuk is a lawyer with the Anti-Corruption Action Center in Kyiv.*

*Olena Halushka is the head of international relations at the Anti-Corruption Action Center.*

**Official**  
**UNCLASSIFIED**

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 27, 2019 8:17 AM  
**To:** (b)(6)  
(b)(6) Kent, George P  
(b)(6) Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6); Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)  
(b)(6) (b)(6)  
(b)(6)  
(b)(6) Freden, Bradley A (b)(6)  
(b)(6)  
(b)(6) Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6)  
(b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** Wednesday Updates on The Hill Article, Social Media Commentary, Etc.

Below is some social media commentary from overnight, plus the latest Hill column published overnight for those who have not yet seen it.

**Tweets by John Solomon (author of The Hill piece)**

Many members of Congress I talked with today said they did not know US tax dollars were going to support a Soros group in Ukraine. [\[link to article\]](#)

1.8K retweets, 229 [comments](#)

US embassy pressed Ukraine to drop probe of George Soros group during 2016 election

2.2K retweets, 197 [comments](#)

**Sebastian Gorka** tweeted the latest Hill piece, with the comment: "Why @BarackObama?"

**Nina Jankowicz, Wilson Center, sharing yesterday's Washington Post column:**

Please, I am begging you, let this excellent piece by [@melindaharing](#) put the "Ukraine-Clinton collusion" narrative that is now targeting Amb. Yovanovitch to bed.

**Molly Montgomery of Brookings, sharing yesterday's Washington Post column:**

.@melindaharing is right. If we allow Ukraine to push out an ambassador they don't like because she's tough on them in all the right ways, it will be open season on every ambassador who does his/her job and doggedly pursues US interests. The Administration is getting played.

**Former Amb Pifer, responding to a critical tweet about Amb Y creating the "fake Kolchuga case" (before the latest Hill column):**

You are correct that Kolchuga case hit US-Ukraine relations hard. You are wrong that Amb Yovanovitch created it. What caused problem was recording in which President Kuchma was heard approving transfer of Kolchugas to Iraq.

**Former DRL A/S Melia, responding to a post in support of Amb Y:**

Agree 100%. This is absurd. Masha Yovanovitch is the gold standard in professionalism in diplomacy. Smart, battle-tested and accomplished.

**The Hill: US embassy pressed Ukraine to drop probe of George Soros group during 2016 election**

While the 2016 presidential race was raging in America, Ukrainian prosecutors ran into some unexpectedly strong headwinds as they pursued an investigation into the activities of a nonprofit in their homeland known as the [Anti-Corruption Action Centre](#) (AntAC).

The focus on AntAC — whose youthful street activists famously wore "Ukraine F\*&K Corruption" T-shirts — was part of a larger probe by Ukraine's Prosecutor General's Office into whether \$4.4 million in U.S. funds to fight corruption inside the former Soviet republic had been improperly diverted.

The prosecutors soon would learn the resistance they faced was blowing directly from the U.S. Embassy in Kiev, where the Obama administration took the rare step of trying to press the Ukrainian government to back off its investigation of both the U.S. aid and the group.

"The investigation into the Anti-Corruption Action Center (sic), based on the assistance they have received from us, is similarly misplaced," then-embassy Charge d'Affaires George Kent [wrote the prosecutor's office in April 2016](#) in a letter that also argued U.S. officials had no concerns about how the U.S. aid had been spent.

At the time, the nation's prosecutor general had just been fired, under pressure from the United States, and a permanent replacement had not been named.



A few months later, Yuri Lutsenko, widely regarded as a hero in the West for spending [two years in prison](#) after fighting Russian aggression in his country, was [named prosecutor general](#) and invited to meet new U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovitch.

Lutsenko told me he was stunned when the ambassador “gave me a list of people whom we should not prosecute.” The list included a founder of the AntAC group and two members of Parliament who vocally supported the group’s anti-corruption reform agenda, according to a source directly familiar with the meeting.

It turns out the group that Ukrainian law enforcement was probing was co-funded by the Obama administration and liberal mega-donor George Soros. And it was collaborating with the FBI agents investigating then-Trump campaign manager [Paul Manafort](#)’s business activities with pro-Russian figures in Ukraine.

The implied message to Ukraine’s prosecutors was clear: Don’t target AntAC in the middle of an America presidential election in which Soros was [backing Hillary Clinton](#) to succeed another Soros favorite, [Barack Obama](#), Ukrainian officials said.

“We ran right into a buzzsaw and we got bloodied,” a senior Ukrainian official told me.

Lutsenko suggested the embassy applied pressure because it did not want Americans to see who was being funded with its tax dollars. “At the time, Ms. Ambassador thought our interviews of the Ukrainian citizens, of the Ukrainian civil servants who were frequent visitors in the U.S. Embassy, could cast a shadow on that anti-corruption policy,” he said.

State officials told me privately they wanted Ukraine prosecutors to back off AntAC because they feared the investigation was simply retribution for the group’s high-profile efforts to force anti-corruption reforms inside Ukraine, some of which took authorities and prestige from the Prosecutor General’s Office.

But it was an unusual intervention, the officials acknowledged. “We’re not normally in the business of telling a country’s police force who they can and can’t pursue, unless it involves an American citizen we think is wrongly accused,” one official said.

In the end, no action was taken against AntAC and it remains thriving today. Nonetheless, the anecdote is taking on new significance.

First, it conflicts with the State Department's official statement last week after Lutsenko [first mentioned the do-not-prosecute list](#). The embassy responded that the claim was a fabrication and a sign that corruption is alive and well inside Ukraine.

But Kent's letter unequivocally shows the embassy did press Ukrainian prosecutors to back off what normally would be considered an internal law enforcement matter inside a sovereign country. And more than a half-dozen U.S. and Ukrainian sources confirmed to me the AntAC case wasn't the only one in which American officials exerted pressure on Ukrainian investigators in 2016.

When I asked State to explain the letter and inclusion of the Soros-connected names during the meeting, it demurred. "As a general rule, we don't read out private diplomatic meetings," it responded. "Ambassador Yovanovitch represents the President of the United States in Ukraine, and America stands behind her and her statements."

Second, the AntAC anecdote highlights a little-known fact that the pursuit of foreign corruption has resulted in an unusual alliance between the U.S. government and a political mega-donor.

After the Obama Justice Department launched its [Kleptocracy Asset Recovery Initiative](#) a decade ago to prosecute corruption in other countries, the State Department, Justice Department and FBI outsourced some of its work in Ukraine to groups funded by Soros.

The Hungarian-American businessman is one of the largest donors to American liberal causes, a champion of the U.S. kleptocracy crackdown and a man with [extensive business interests in Ukraine](#).

One key U.S. partner was AntAC, which received 59 percent (or \$1 million) of its nearly \$1.7 million budget since 2012 from U.S. budgets tied to State and Justice, and nearly \$290,000 from Soros's International Renaissance Foundation, [according to the group's donor disclosure records](#).

The U.S.-Soros collaboration was visible in Kiev. Several senior Department of Justice (DOJ) officials and FBI agents appeared in pictures as participants or attendees at Soros-sponsored events and conferences.

One attendee was Karen Greenaway, then the FBI supervisor in charge of international fraud cases and one of the lead agents in the Manafort investigation in Ukraine. She



attended [multiple such events](#) and won [glowing praise in a social media post](#) from AntAC's executive director.

In [one event during 2016](#), Greenaway and Ambassador Yovanovitch participated alongside AntAC's executive director, Daria Kaleniuk, and Lutsenko was present. The message was clear: The embassy supported AntAC.

The FBI confirmed Greenaway's contacts with the Soros group, saying they were part of her investigative work: "In furtherance of the FBI's mission and in the course of their duties, FBI employees routinely travel and participated in public forums in an official capacity. At a minimum, all such travel and speaking engagements are authorized by the employee's direct supervisor and can receive further authorization all the way up to the relevant division head, along with an ethics official determination."

Greenaway recently retired, and Soros's AntAC [soon after announced](#) she was joining its supervisory board.

Internal memos from Soros's umbrella charity organization, [Open Society Foundations](#), describe a concerted strategy of creating friendships inside key government agencies such as State, DOJ and the FBI that can be leveraged inside the countries Soros was targeting for anti-corruption activism.

"We have broadly recognized the importance of developing supportive constituencies in order to make headway in tightening the global web of anti-corruption accountability," a [Feb. 21, 2014, memo](#) states. "We first conceived of this in terms of fostering and helping to build a political environment favorable to high-level anti-corruption cases."

That same memo shows Soros's organization wanted to make Ukraine a top priority, starting in 2014, and planned to use the Anti-Corruption Action Centre as its lead.

"Ukraine: Behind the scenes advice and support to Ukrainian partner Anti-Corruption Action Centre's efforts to generate corruption litigation in Europe and the U.S. respecting state assets stolen by senior Ukrainian leaders," the memo states.

The memo included a chart of Ukrainians the Soros team wanted to have pursued, including some with ties to Manafort.

Senior U.S. law enforcement officials confirmed to me that the early kleptocracy collaborations inside Ukraine led to highly visible U.S. actions against the oligarch Dmitri Firtash, a major target of the Soros group, and Manafort. Firtash is now represented by former [Hillary Clinton](#) lawyer Lanny Davis and former U.S. Attorney Dan Webb.

Documents posted online by Open Society Foundations show that after U.S. officials scored some early successes in corruption cases in Ukraine, such as asset forfeitures, AntAC requested to receive some of the seized money.

“Ukrainian NGO Anticorruption Action Centre (AntAC) petitioned the United States Justice Department on behalf of Ukrainian civil society to dedicate the nearly \$3 million in forfeited and seized assets allegedly laundered by former Ukrainian Prime Minister Pavlo Lazarenko, to creating an anti-corruption training facility,” a [2015 foundation document](#) stated.

Spokespersons for AntAC and Open Society Foundations did not respond to repeated requests for comment.

Michael Vachon, a spokesman for Soros, deferred any comment about AntAC to the group. But he did he confirm his boss supported the continued investigation of Russia collusion allegations against Trump well past 2016.

Vachon said Soros wrote a sizable check from his personal funds in fall 2017 to a new group, Democracy Integrity Project, started by a former FBI agent and Senate staffer Daniel Jones to continue “investigation and research into foreign interference in American elections and European elections.”

Vachon said the group asked Soros not to divulge the size of his contribution, and Soros later learned the group hired Fusion GPS, the same firm that was paid by Hillary Clinton’s campaign and the Democratic Party to create the infamous “[Steele dossier](#)” alleging Trump-Russia collusion.

The he said-she said battle playing out between Ukraine’s chief prosecutor and the American ambassador doesn’t benefit either side, but an honest, complete and transparent account of what the embassy communicated to Ukraine’s law enforcement does.

And the tale of AntAC raises some cogent questions:

- Why would the U.S. Embassy intervene on a Ukrainian internal investigation and later deny it exerted such pressure?
- Did Soros's role as a major political funder have any impact?
- Do Americans want U.S. tax dollars commingled with activists' private funds when it comes to anti-corruption probes?

Someone in State and Congress should try to get the answers.

**Official**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

<b>Sender:</b>	"Kent, George P"
<b>Recipient:</b>	(b)(6)



<b>From:</b>	(b)(6)
<b>To:</b>	Kent, George P (b)(6)
<b>Subject:</b>	Fwd: Latest Western media reports on Ukraine, Amb. Y, former VP Biden, etc. (Vanity Fair, Washington Post, Diplopundit)
<b>Date:</b>	Fri, 10 May 2019 11:30:39 +0000

George, I think (b)(6) told you what we heard about Giuliani alleged planned trip this weekend, right?

Best,

(b)(6)

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Thursday, May 9, 2019 10:30:50 PM

**To:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv); (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Cc:** Kyiv IOs; EUR-Ukraine Desk-DL; Kent, George P; (b)(6)  
EUR-Press

**Subject:** Re: Latest Western media reports on Ukraine, Amb. Y, former VP Biden, etc. (Vanity Fair, Washington Post, Diplopundit)

Flagging the article below, published by Newsweek today. This report, unlike other recent media reports on the subject, appears to include direct quotes from Rudy Giuliani on Amb Y's departure.

#### HOW RUDY GIULIANI'S UNFOUNDED CLAIMS OF AN ANTI-TRUMP CONSPIRACY IN UKRAINE MAY HAVE OUSTED AN AMBASSADOR

Associates of President Donald Trump are bringing Ukraine into political battles with Democrats, in a move that may have led to the early dismissal of the U.S. ambassador to Ukraine, experts say.

Ukraine's Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko, who in March claimed that the U.S. ambassador Marie Yovanovitch had given him a list of individuals who should not be prosecuted, has been meeting regularly with Trump's lawyer Rudy Giuliani. Some of the meetings took place in Poland, people familiar with the matter said, including on the sidelines of a U.S.-led summit on the Middle East that took place in Poland's capital Warsaw in February.

Giuliani told Newsweek that he last met with Lutsenko six weeks ago. "I have met with him. I interviewed him for two days in New York. I met with him once in Poland...and I may have met with him one other time in America, I don't remember," Giuliani told Newsweek. "I may have just gotten a coffee with him sometime when he was here."

In the wake of these meetings, Lutsenko has been publicly criticizing ambassador Yovanovitch, who was appointed by the Obama administration. Conservative commentators like Laura Ingraham also reported that Republicans were concerned that

ambassador Yovanovitch was biased against Trump. The president's son Donald Trump Jr. tweeted in favor of the ambassador's removal, calling her "Obama's Ambassador to Ukraine."

This week, the Trump administration recalled Yovanovitch two months before her scheduled departure. Voicing what appeared to be a number of theories without evidence, Giuliani told Newsweek that the ambassador was "fired" because the embassy under her direction had conspired with George Soros to have a key anti-corruption investigation quashed.

"My interest is really to get everybody to focus on the conspiracy between the Ukrainians, the [Democratic National Committee], and the embassy, including our ambassador who was just fired," Giuliani told Newsweek. "She was using her embassy to dig out negative political shit on Trump, on [former Trump campaign manager Paul] Manafort, and possibly others."

Giuliani also claimed that the U.S. ambassador had "possibly contributed" to the controversial dossier compiled by former British intelligence officer Christopher Steele. There is no evidence to support this claim.

A State Department spokesman told Newsweek that the ambassador's departure would coincide with the appointment of Ukraine's new President Volodymyr Zelenskiy, who beat incumbent President Petro Poroshenko in elections held in April.

"Ambassador Yovanovitch is concluding her three-year diplomatic assignment in Kyiv in 2019 as planned. Her confirmed departure date in May aligns with the presidential transition in Ukraine," the spokesman told Newsweek.

But analysts say that it is unusual for diplomatic appointments to coincide with political transitions in the country where diplomats are based, and that Yovanovitch is the victim of partisan politicking.

"It's appalling to see Secretary Pompeo recalling a career ambassador only a few months before the end of her tenure—and at a very critical juncture in Ukrainian politics—just to pander to partisan conspiracy theorists like Laura Ingraham," Michael Carpenter, a former deputy assistant secretary of defense in charge of Russia, Ukraine, told Newsweek.

"By throwing a career diplomat under the bus, Pompeo has shown he's willing to put partisanship above the interests of the Department. Yovanovitch has been with State for three decades and served two ambassadorships under the George W Bush administration before being appointed as envoy in Ukraine by President Obama," Carpenter added.

Meanwhile, analysts say that current Prosecutor General Lutsenko has also been used to launch attacks on former Vice President and current Democratic presidential candidate Joe Biden. Giuliani has alleged that Biden intervened to have Ukraine's former prosecutor general Viktor Shokin removed from his position because Shokin was investigating a natural gas company called Burisma where his son, Hunter Biden, was working.

Burisma brought Biden's son Hunter onto the company's board of directors in April 2014. Insiders say he was one of a handful of American consultants used to whitewash the company's tarnished reputation. The company released a statement at the time stating that the young Biden would help with "transparency, corporate governance and responsibility, international expansion." Hunter Biden's decision to join the company was criticized at the time.

Representatives from the Biden campaign said that the former vice president did not speak with his son about his work in Ukraine. Giuliani, meanwhile, has called for the U.S. to investigate this alleged conflict of interest.

But experts with knowledge of the case say that Giuliani's version of the story is misleading because Shokin was not responsible for opening the investigation into Burisma. Although an investigation was re-opened within the prosecutor general's office during Shokin's tenure, it was done at the request of Ukrainian lawmakers and Shokin himself did little to move the case forward, experts say. By the time Shokin was dismissed in 2016, the case had already been abandoned.

Daria Kaleniuk, the executive director of Ukraine's anti-corruption action center, says that contrary to the version of events promoted by Giuliani, Shokin helped shield Burisma and its owner from prosecution.

"Shokin was the symbol of lost hopes for justice and a symbol of lost hopes for the reform of prosecution," Kaleniuk told Newsweek. "Under Shokin there were many investigations dumped, and those were landmark investigations into associates of [former President Viktor] Yanukovych."

"I am actually very thankful to the United States and to Joe Biden for being tough on that issue," Kaleniuk added.

Giuliani has accused Kaleniuk's organization of being a wing of George Soros that is used to attack Soros' enemies in Eastern Europe, echoing anti-Soros conspiracy theories often propagated by the far-right. The anti-corruption action center does receive some funding from the Open Society Foundation, which Soros founded, as do many civil society organizations in Ukraine and elsewhere.

The Obama administration, along with the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and representatives of the European Union, widely supported Shokin's removal because he was viewed as corrupt and ineffective. Consequently, Biden's advocacy for Shokin's removal was in line with Western policies and unrelated to the prosecutor's investigation into Burisma, Biden's advocates argue.

Burisma belongs to Ukrainian oligarch Mykola Zlochevsky, a former energy minister in the government of Ukraine's former pro-Russian President Yanukovych, who fled the country for Russia after being deposed by a pro-Western movement in 2014. Investigations into Burisma and Zlochevsky's alleged corruption, including self-dealing, illicit enrichment, and money laundering, were launched in Ukraine and the United Kingdom that year.

John Herbst, a former ambassador to Ukraine, noted that Biden also criticized Shokin for not providing the British courts with more evidence to prosecute Burisma and



Zlochevksy.

"It is true that Vice President Biden and the U.S. government, our ambassador at the time Geoff Pyatt, were strongly critical of Prosecutor General Shokin. They did not see him as a reformer. And in fact they criticized Shokin for not providing information in Britain in a suit against Burisma," Herbst told Newsweek. "So the notion that's spun out in a variety of stories that the U.S. government, Biden, the embassy were going after the reformers was silly."

In December 2014, when Biden was the U.S. government's highest-ranking emissary for Ukraine, the U.S. government sent a letter to the country's prosecutors warning that there would be consequences if they did not assist the investigation in the U.K. The assistance never came. Biden later withheld \$1 billion in U.S. financial assistance to Ukraine until Shokin was voted out by the country's parliament in 2016.

Prosecutor General Lutsenko, however, recently said that he would re-open the Ukrainian case into Burisma, including into its payments to Hunter Biden. Experts say that this claim is meant to promote Republican talking points, and that the case has not in fact been officially reopened.

"It's not about justice here. I think Lutsenko is colluding here with some consultants in the United States and he's playing politics," Kaleniuk told Newsweek. "I think it has all of the signs of state treason, because Ukraine's sovereignty depends on international support and the support of the United States. It's suicidal to play on the side of one or another political force."

<https://www.newsweek.com/rudy-giuliani-trump-ukraine-ambassador-1420074>

**From:** (b)(6)

**Date:** May 9, 2019 at 9:23:00 AM GMT+3

**To:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov> (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Cc:** Kyiv IOs <KyivIOs@state.gov>, EUR-Ukraine Desk-DL <EUR-UkraineDesk-DL@state.gov>, Kent, George P (b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6) EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>

**Subject:** Latest Western media reports on Ukraine, Amb. Y, former VP Biden, etc. (Vanity Fair, Washington Post, Diplopundit)

Flagging a few new Western media articles/columns relating to Ukraine – from Vanity Fair, Washington Post, and Diplopundit. (The Vanity Fair one, in particular, has some new details I haven't seen in other media reports, such as a comment that President Trump is personally aware of the situation with Amb Y, and that the decision to recall her came directly from the White House.)



**Vanity Fair: “THERE IS NO OTHER REASON”: SOURCES BLAME THE WHITE HOUSE, AND A FOX NEWS-FUELED CONSPIRACY THEORY, FOR THE SUDDEN OUSTER OF MASHA YOVANOVITCH**

The U.S. ambassador to Ukraine is abruptly leaving her post following a concerted effort by Rudy Giuliani and Trump’s media allies to connect Yovanovitch to a wide-ranging conspiracy theory involving Hillary Clinton, Paul Manafort, and Joe Biden’s work in Ukraine.

A convoluted, Fox News-fueled story involving the Clinton campaign and the Biden family’s potential conflicts of interest in Ukraine appears to have claimed its first victim: **Masha Yovanovitch**, a career diplomat and the U.S. ambassador to Ukraine. This week, Yovanovitch was suddenly recalled from her post, months before she was expected to end her three-year assignment this July, following increasingly feverish accusations in Trumpworld that Yovanovitch has demonstrated disloyalty to the president. **Donald Trump** has alluded to a “Ukrainian plot to help Clinton.” Democrats are calling Yovanovitch’s ouster a “political hit job.” According to two congressional sources familiar with the situation, the decision to recall Yovanovitch two months early did not come from the seventh floor of the State Department, but directly from the White House.

The strange circumstances surrounding Yovanovitch’s early exit provide a window into what is becoming a new front in a wide-ranging information war between Democrats and Republicans that could have a significant impact on the 2020 election. The official story coming out of Foggy Bottom is that Yovanovitch’s departure is timed to the arrival of a new administration in Kiev and “as planned.” But few believe it. “There is no other reason for her early departure,” one of the congressional aides told me, adding that the president is “aware” of the situation. In fact, Secretary of State **Mike Pompeo** had previously asked Yovanovitch to stay on beyond the three-year mark, the other source said.

The trouble for Yovanovitch can be traced, in part, to a speech she gave in March, during which she took a firm stand against political corruption in Ukraine and called for the ouster of **Nazar Kholodnytsky**, the chief of the Special Anti-Corruption Prosecutor’s Office. Those remarks, notable for their asperity, outraged Ukrainian Prosecutor General **Yuriy Lutsenko**. Two weeks later, he gave [an interview](#) to *The Hill*’s **John Solomon** in which he alleged, without evidence, that Yovanovitch had given him “a list of people whom we should not prosecute” during their first meeting, presumably to shield Obama–Clinton allies.

The State Department bluntly dismissed the allegation at the time as an “outright fabrication.” And in April, Lutsenko [walked back](#) his remarks entirely. (In this new telling, it was Lutsenko who asked for a “do-not-prosecute list,” and Yovanovitch who said no.) But by that point, the allegation had already been injected into the bloodstream of the conservative media.

The same day the Solomon–Lutsenko interview was published, frequent Fox News guest **Joseph diGenova** called for Yovanovitch’s removal as ambassador to Ukraine in an interview with Trump confidant **Sean Hannity**, saying she “has bad-mouthed the president of the United States to Ukrainian officials and has told them not to listen or worry about Trump policy because he’s going to be impeached.” Later that week, Fox



News host **Laura Ingraham** piled on, revealing a May 2018 letter former congressman **Pete Sessions** had sent to Secretary of State Pompeo, which accused Yovanovitch of having “reportedly demonstrated clear anti-Trump bias.” Two days after Ingraham’s show, **Donald Trump Jr.** tweeted a [Daily Wire](#) roundup of conservative attacks on the diplomat. “We need more □@RichardGrenell’s and less of these jokers as ambassadors,” the president’s eldest son wrote on [Twitter](#), referencing the current U.S. ambassador to Germany.

Among veterans of Foggy Bottom, Yovanovitch has an impressive reputation and the allegations against her ring false to many. “Very much a role-model female diplomat,” one former high-ranking State Department official said. “Admired, respected, liked. Very professional.” Another former senior U.S. official echoed the sentiment. “She’s everyone’s idea of the best kind of professional diplomat,” they told me. But it appears she made enemies in high places—and became a convenient scapegoat.

Behind the scenes, Trump allies have been developing a labyrinthine counter-theory of collusion, designed to distract from and deflect the Mueller report. One aspect involves allegations that Ukrainian officials sought to boost **Hillary Clinton’s** candidacy in 2016 by questioning Trump’s fitness for office and leaking damaging information about former Trump campaign chairman **Paul Manafort**—information that ultimately made its way to **Robert Mueller**. Another aspect involves allegations that [Joe Biden](#) abused his position as vice president to engineer the ouster of **Viktor Shokin**, Lutsenko’s predecessor, to kill an investigation into Burisma, a Ukrainian energy company that was paying Biden’s son **Hunter Biden** up to \$50,000 a month to sit on the board. (Hunter Biden told *The New York Times* he had “no role whatsoever in relation to any investigation of Burisma, or any of its officers.”) Lutsenko has reportedly reopened the investigation into Burisma, and told Solomon that he has opened an investigation into whether Ukrainian law enforcement worked in favor of Clinton, too. (On Tuesday, citing a Ukrainian official, Bloomberg [reported](#) the Burisma case has not been reopened. The *Times* is standing by its reporting.)

Of course, Lutsenko has not been working alone. Trump’s personal lawyer **Rudy Giuliani** has met with Lutsenko multiple times over the past year and has discussed the Burisma case with him, according to the *Times*. Lutsenko’s decision to reopen the investigation was reportedly interpreted by some as an attempt “to curry favor” with the Trump administration on behalf of his boss, President **Petro Poroshenko**. (Poroshenko lost his re-election bid last month; incoming president **Volodymyr Zelensky**, a television comedian, has said he intends to replace Lutsenko as prosecutor general.)

Giuliani told the *Times* that he has discussed the Burisma affair with Donald Trump on multiple occasions, and has called on the Justice Department to investigate the Bidens’ involvement in Ukraine. Trump himself recently suggested that Attorney General **William Barr** should look into materials gathered by Lutsenko. “I would imagine [Barr] would want to see this,” he told Hannity in an April 25 interview. “It sounds like big stuff, very interesting with Ukraine. . . . But that sounds like big, big stuff, and I’m not surprised.” (The White House did not respond to a request for comment.)

It is unsurprising that Yovanovitch was quickly ensnared in this narrative. Despite the fact that she was first nominated as a U.S. ambassador by [George W. Bush](#), she was appointed to her post in Ukraine by [Barack Obama](#) at the tail end of his presidential



term. As a result, she has been cast by Fox News talking heads and allies of the president as an “Obama holdover” and a “deep state” agent.

As the attacks on Yovanovitch were escalating, Congressmen **Eliot Engel**, the chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and **Steny Hoyer**, the House majority leader, privately called on Pompeo to publicly defend Yovanovitch. “It is disappointing that certain political actors within Ukraine have criticized Ambassador Yovanovitch, given her anti-corruption efforts that touch on their interests,” the lawmakers wrote in an April 12 letter. “It is critical that State Department leadership support ambassadors and foreign service officers in the field and make clear that they will not be subjected to any politically motivated attacks. We urge you to make public statements personally defending your team and those who represent our country from these spurious disparagements.”

Less than a month later, Yovanovitch is on her way out. An internal management notice sent to embassy staffers in Kiev and shared with me reveals that there is no succession plan in place, suggesting the decision was abrupt. Yovanovitch’s last day as ambassador to Ukraine will be May 20. “We expect the Department to appoint a long-term Charge d’Affaires to lead the Mission until a new Chief of Mission is nominated and confirmed,” the notice reads. During the transition, **Joseph Pennington** will serve as the charge d’affaires and acting deputy chief of mission until **Kristina Kvien** arrives at the embassy on May 28.

**WaPo column: Why the alleged Joe Biden ‘Ukraine conspiracy’ doesn’t hold up**  
By Oliver Bullough

*Oliver Bullough, a frequent contributor to the Guardian, is the author of “[Moneyland: The Inside Story of the Crooks and Kleptocrats who Rule the World](#).”*

Ukraine recently held [a democratic election](#) that ushered in a peaceful transfer of power; it is stubbornly resisting an onslaught by Russian-backed troops; it is making small but significant steps toward restraining corruption. With democracy on the retreat worldwide, Ukraine may be the closest thing the West has to a foreign policy win.

To cement that victory, Ukraine [needs more](#) of what it has received since its 2014 revolution: Western money, Western support and sustained Western insistence that its rulers keep their promises to clean up their country.

What it does not need is underinformed dinosaurs wading into its sensitive political ecosystem to make points for domestic American consumption. Unfortunately, this is precisely what is now happening — thanks to President Trump’s personal lawyer, [Rudy Giuliani](#).

Almost as long as there have been questions over Trump’s Russian dealings, there have been [rival questions](#) about former vice president Joe Biden’s role in post-revolutionary Ukraine. To sort out the truth, it’s imperative to understand two things. The first is that Biden’s son Hunter took a job at a Ukrainian oligarch’s gas company, known as Burisma, shortly after the 2014 revolution, which was unwise, greedy and rightly [criticized](#) at the time.

The second is that Joe Biden was the White House’s Ukraine enforcer, and it was in this capacity that he [forced](#) Ukraine’s president to sack an at-best ineffectual prosecutor



general as a condition for a billion dollars' worth of loans. Biden has himself [boasted](#) of this episode, and most Ukrainians are perfectly content about it, since they saw prosecutor [Viktor Shokin](#) as incapable of the investigations needed to uncover the previous regime's crimes.

The trouble began when right-wing bloggers sought to meld these two points into [a single conspiracy](#) in which Joe Biden had the prosecutor sacked to protect his son's business interests. I may be an outsider to the bewildering mess that is Ukrainian politics, but, on this particular issue, I have a genuine insight into what happened, having written extensively about Hunter Biden's ex-employer, [Mykola Zlochevsky](#).

As a result, when journalists seek the fire behind the smoke in the Biden-Ukraine tale, they often call to ask my opinion. Many are eager to flesh out what seems a satisfyingly simple conspiracy, but I have to tell them: [It isn't true](#). The timeline doesn't work. The investigation into Burisma, Hunter Biden's employer, [had ground to a halt](#) long before the prosecutor was sacked. A subsequent probe into the company's owner was opened because of a request [from Ukrainian legislators](#), not because of prosecutorial initiative. There is, in short, no there there; the bloggers are putting two and two together — and coming up with 22.

Hunter Biden should not have taken the job; Joe Biden should probably not have boasted about bullying the president of another country. But those are judgment matters for them personally, not proof of conspiracy, and certainly not an affair worth destabilizing the fragile democracy of a new U.S. ally.

But that has not stopped Giuliani, who [tweeted](#) last week: "how deep and how high did the alleged Ukraine conspiracy go?" He was responding to [a story in the New York Times](#) (the Times apparently not "failing" on this occasion, since Trump [retweeted](#) the paper's story), which analyzed the theories around the Bidens' Ukraine connection. The article ticked all the journalistic boxes, giving father and son space to deny wrongdoing, but still raised a cloud of smoke for those shouting "fire." If a major newspaper devotes 2,500 words to conflict-of-interest questions, then those questions presumably exist. How often do *you* beat your wife?

This non-scandal [appears to have already wrecked](#) the career of the U.S. ambassador in Kiev, a respected career diplomat who is leaving her post this month. That will inevitably affect the continuity of U.S. anti-corruption efforts in Ukraine. It is also emboldening oligarchs opposed to the activists who have led the fight against corruption, because they also campaigned for Shokin to be sacked and risk being blackened by association.

President-elect Volodymyr Zelensky is assembling his team, and it is imperative that the West stay as firm with him as it was with his predecessor on fulfilling the conditions that went with its loans. One official he should consider jettisoning is current General Prosecutor Yuriy Lutsenko, who has not only been as ineffective as Shokin at prosecuting the crooks of the past, but has also been feeding Giuliani the partial information that underpins his conspiracy.

We are all resigned to the fact that U.S. politicians will do their utmost to divide their nation still further over the next two years. But Giuliani must stop using Ukraine as a political piñata. It is a country of [44 million people](#) who are defending their freedom at the cost of much blood. There was a time that all Americans would have applauded them for



that, regardless of party. It is shameful that petty political considerations have blinded Trump's allies to that truth.

### **Diplopundit: State Dept Recalls Amb. Marie Yovanovitch from Ukraine after Persistent Campaign for Removal**

The U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovitch has reportedly been recalled and now expected to depart post on or about May 20. This development followed a persistent campaign for her removal among conservative media outlets in the United States as well as allegations by Ukrainian Prosecutor-General Lutsenko concerning a do not prosecute list.

The State Department reportedly [told](#) RFE/RL on May 6, that Ambassador Yovanovitch "is concluding her 3-year diplomatic assignment in Kyiv in 2019 as planned." And that "her confirmed departure date in May aligns with the presidential transition in Ukraine," which elected a new president in April.

While that may well be true – she was confirmed in 2016, a 3-year tour is a typical assignment; the new Ukraine president takes office on June 3rd — it is hard to ignore the louder voices calling for the ambassador's removal from post for political reasons. It doesn't help that there is no Senate confirmed EUR Assistant Secretary or that the Secretary of State did not see it fit to come forward to defend his top representative in a priority country in Europe.

[Ambassador Yovanovitch](#) is a career diplomat and a Senate-confirmed Ambassador representing the United States in Ukraine. She previously served as Ambassador to the Republic of Armenia (2008-2011) under President Obama and to the Kyrgyz Republic (2005-2008) under President George W. Bush. We've seen people calling career diplomats "holdovers". If they were political appointees, they would be called "holdovers" or "burrowers," but they are career public servants; that term does not apply to them. If some folks insists on calling them "holdovers," then the least that these folks can do is to accurately enumerate all the public servants' prior presidential appointments, some going back 30 years at the start of their careers in the diplomatic service.

Perhaps it is helpful to point out that as career appointees, ambassadors like Ambassador Yovanovitch do not go freelancing nor do they go rogue; they do not make their own policy concerning their host country. They typically get their marching orders from their home bureau, in this case, the Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs (EUR) at the State Department, under the oversight of the Under Secretary for Political Affairs, who report to the Secretary of State. And they follow those orders. Even if they disagree with those orders or the administration's policies. Career diplomats who do not follow their instructions do not have lengthy careers in the diplomatic service.

After all that, if the United States is taking the word of a foreign official over our own ambassador, it's open season for our career diplomats. Will the "you want a U.S. ambassador kicked out from a specific country go on teevee " removal campaign going to become a thing now? Will the Secretary of Swagger steps up?

**Official  
UNCLASSIFIED**

<b>Sender:</b>	(b)(6)	
<b>Recipient:</b>	Kent, George P	(b)(6)

**From:** (b)(6)  
**To:** Volker, Kurt D (b)(6)  
(b)(6)  
**Subject:** Fwd: New BuzzFeed and OCCRP articles on Ukraine  
**Date:** Mon, 22 Jul 2019 11:32:32 +0000

On Giuliani

Get [Outlook for iOS](#)

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Monday, July 22, 2019 7:12:52 AM

**To:** (b)(6)

(b)(6) Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Cc:** (b)(6)

EUR-Ukraine Desk-DL <EUR-UkraineDesk-DL@state.gov>; EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>; Kent, George

p (b)(6) (b)(6)

**Subject:** New BuzzFeed and OCCRP articles on Ukraine

Flagging for situational awareness new reports from BuzzFeed and OCCRP on Ukraine that have just been published. (Note: the articles are different, but it appears the two outlets collaborated with one another on research). Haven't read them in depth yet, but both contain extensive mentions of former Ambassador Yovanovitch. Not seeing these in Ukrainian press yet, but Ukrainian press do often pick up OCCRP reporting within a day or two of its publication in English.

If Post receives any media inquiries, we'll be in touch with EUR-Press before responding to anyone.



**Buzzfeed:**

Two unofficial envoys reporting directly to Donald Trump's personal lawyer have waged a remarkable back-channel campaign to discredit the president's rivals and undermine the special counsel's inquiry into Russian meddling in US elections.

In a whirlwind of private meetings, Lev Parnas and Igor Fruman — who pumped hundreds of thousands of dollars into Republican campaigns and dined with the president — gathered repeatedly with top officials in Ukraine and set up meetings for Trump's attorney, Rudy Giuliani, as they turned up information that could be weaponized in the 2020 presidential race.

The two men urged prosecutors to investigate allegations against the Democratic frontrunner Joe Biden. And they pushed for a probe into accusations that Ukrainian officials plotted to rig the 2016 election in Hillary Clinton's favor by leaking evidence against Paul Manafort, Trump's campaign chair, in what became a cornerstone of the special counsel's inquiry.

They also waged an aggressive campaign in the United States, staying at the Trump International Hotel in Washington, DC, and meeting with key members of Congress as they joined in a successful push that led to the removal of the ambassador to Ukraine, after she angered their allies in Kiev.

Meanwhile, the two men — who both have troubled financial histories — rose to prominence in Republican circles, meeting with party leaders while injecting hundreds of thousands of dollars into top Republican committees and dozens of candidates' campaigns.

As they carried out their campaign, they used their proximity to the White House to tout a new business they set up to sell natural gas in Ukraine, with photos posted on Facebook showing Parnas posing with President Trump in the White House and top House members on Capitol Hill.

Their work proved influential. Prosecutors in Kiev announced in March they would investigate the officials accused of trying to steer the election in Clinton's favor — a month after meeting with Parnas, Fruman, and Giuliani — and Trump applauded the plan in an interview with Fox News, calling the allegations "big" and "incredible." The next month, Attorney General William Barr announced he had appointed a federal prosecutor to lead a probe into the origins of the Mueller investigation.

Parnas said he expected the information that he and Fruman advanced to become an important focus of 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."

In an exclusive interview with BuzzFeed News at the Trump International Hotel, the 47-year-old former stock broker 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, who previously served as mayor of New York City. That was what kick-started the campaign to dig up information on Democrats in Kiev — an effort that "is not going away," Parnas added. "We're American citizens, we love our country, we love our president."

Fruman did not respond to detailed questions sent by BuzzFeed News, nor did Giuliani or the White House. Giuliani has previously said the two men were his clients, and that neither he nor they did anything improper in pushing prosecutors to pursue investigations into Trump's rivals.

But Kenneth McCallion, a former federal prosecutor who once represented Ukraine's former prime minister Yulia Tymoshenko, said Parnas and Fruman were "playing with

fire” by carrying out their campaign in the US and Ukraine without registering as foreign agents or being vetted by the State Department.

“Trump has either authorized Giuliani to engage in private diplomacy and deal-making, or even worse, remains silent while Giuliani and his dodgy band of soldiers of fortune engage in activities that severely undermine US credibility and are contrary to fundamental US interests,” he said.

What’s clear is that, for Parnas and Fruman, the stakes were more than just political. While they launched a new energy company to operate in Ukraine, large sums of money were flowing into various bank accounts belonging to the men that are now the focus of legal complaints.

In one transaction in 2018, more than \$1 million was wired to a bank account belonging to Parnas from the client trust account of a Florida lawyer specializing in real estate and foreign investments. Parnas and Fruman then redirected \$325,000 to a Trump-supporting super PAC — without declaring the original source of the funds, records and interviews show.

The money is now the target of a complaint before the Federal Election Commission by a non-profit watchdog group.

The mission by the two men in Ukraine follows a tumultuous period when, at the height of the US presidential election in 2016, Manafort was forced to resign from Trump’s campaign after the leak of a “black ledger” detailing clandestine payments he had taken from the country’s recently toppled pro-Russian regime. Manafort’s work for the government of Viktor Yanukovich later became a focus of the special counsel’s inquiry into Russian election meddling, and the former campaign chair was convicted on tax and bank fraud in 2018.

Allies of Trump, including Giuliani, have since pushed the theory the ledger might have been faked by officials from the anti-Kremlin government that replaced Yanukovich in a bid to harm Trump and tilt the US election in Clinton’s favor.

The dispute over the black ledger has placed Ukraine's diplomatic relations with the White House under strain at a time the country is heavily reliant on US military aid in its ongoing conflict with Russia. The relationship has also been fraught by public clashes between US diplomats and prosecutors in Kiev over floundering attempts to root out rampant corruption in the country since the toppling of Yanukovich.

The president's allies have seized on that tension, touting allegations that Biden — the Democratic 2020 frontrunner — intervened during the Obama administration to orchestrate the firing of a prosecutor who was probing corruption claims at a company where Biden's son Hunter had earned \$3 million as a board member.

The first public glimpse of Parnas and Fruman's work emerged in May of this year, when Giuliani told the New York Times that Parnas had helped arrange a trip for him to Ukraine, where he hoped to meet with the newly elected president, Volodymyr Zelenskyy, about matters that could help Trump. Critics said that amounted to evidence of foreign meddling in U.S. elections, and Giuliani quickly announced the meeting was off.

But the full extent to which the two unofficial envoys had inserted themselves into America's diplomacy with Ukraine — a country both at war with and deeply compromised by Russia — has never previously been revealed.

BuzzFeed News and the Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project have examined scores of court filings and confidential financial records and interviewed dozens of people — including Parnas — to piece together the international maneuvers of the two men. The results raise questions about the origins of the money they were spending and whether their work should have been declared — as well as the impact of their efforts on the 2020 election.

**On a balmy evening in May**, Lev Parnas and Igor Fruman hunkered over a table on the terrace of the gleaming Hilton hotel tower in Kiev, a hookah pipe burning between them.



The gathering was one of their last stops on a tour of four countries to meet with Ukrainian authorities and unearth critical information on Trump's potential 2020 challenger, Joe Biden, as well as Trump's former opponent, Hillary Clinton, before the new president of Ukraine took office.

They were on familiar territory: Both men were born in the Soviet Union and had immigrated to the United States — Parnas in 1976, when he was 4, and Fruman as a young adult.

Both eventually settled in South Florida, where Parnas worked for three stockbrokerages that were later expelled by regulators for fraud and other violations — though he was never individually charged — and racked up nine court judgements for failing to pay loans and other debts. One of his businesses, Fraud Guarantee, set up to help people safeguard against fraud and other financial crimes, was evicted in 2015 for not paying the office rent, records show.

Fruman, 53, continued to make his money in Ukraine, running an export business that ships goods to and from the United States and a boutique hotel in Odessa — long known as a hub for both tourism and organized crime. One of his investments, a milk canning plant, was declared bankrupt seven years ago over debts that reached nearly \$25 million.

But, over the past year, their connections in Kiev had suddenly helped propel them to the highest echelons of American society.

They had shared a breakfast last year with Donald Trump Jr. and Tommy Hicks Jr., current cochair of the Republican National Committee, at the Polo Lounge in Beverly Hills as they collectively poured \$576,500 into GOP campaigns — and dined with the president himself in Washington.

In their role as unofficial US envoys, Parnas and Fruman had met at least four times with top Ukrainian prosecutors — two of whom are steeped in corruption allegations of their own — as

they pushed for investigations into Trump's rivals. And they had jetted to Israel to meet with a powerful Ukrainian oligarch accused of stealing billions from one of the country's largest banks.

In one of a series of interviews with BuzzFeed News, near his home in Boca Raton, Florida, Parnas said the behind-the-scenes efforts started in late 2018 when Fruman received a call from "an acquaintance" in Ukraine who wanted to set up a meeting with the country's most controversial prosecutor.

Viktor Shokin had been fired two years earlier, but he now wanted to unload on the man he held directly responsible for his fall from power: former vice president Biden. Parnas saw that the information about Biden, who was then eyeing a bid for the presidency, could eventually benefit the Trump campaign. He immediately turned to Giuliani, who had become a friend as Parnas rose to prominence as a GOP supporter.

"I don't remember if we were having dinner, or smoking a cigar, whenever we told him at the time," Parnas said, but he viewed Giuliani as a "powerful, astute individual" who would make good use of the information. "I knew he would steer it in the right direction," he said.

On a Skype meeting set up by Parnas and his partner, Shokin told Giuliani that he had overseen an investigation into a large energy company that was paying up to \$50,000 a month to Biden's son Hunter through a consulting firm that he cofounded, records show.

The former vice president had traveled to the country in 2016 as the White House's point person on Ukraine to demand that Shokin be stripped of his job. If the government refused, he said, the US would withhold \$1 billion in loan guarantees. The prosecutor was dismissed a week later.

Shokin had already been facing criticism that he was not doing enough to fight crime, and voices around the world had been calling for his removal. As for the company, there are multiple investigations into the owner, but he has never been charged.

Giuliani seized on the former prosecutor's allegations, calling publicly for an investigation into whether Biden's intervention had been calculated to protect his son.

Hunter Biden said in a statement that he had never discussed his work for the energy company with his father. "In this political climate, where my qualifications and work are being attacked by Rudy Giuliani and his minions for transparent political purposes, I have decided not to renew my directorship," he added.

Buoyed by the success of their first encounter, Parnas and Fruman soon helped set up meetings for Giuliani with Ukraine's new prosecutor general — Yuriy Lutsenko — who had details on another heated issue.

Parnas and Fruman helped arrange meetings in New York between the prosecutor and Giuliani in January. Armed with documents from Ukraine, the prosecutor unloaded explosive evidence that he claimed showed that Americans in the US embassy in Ukraine had tried to rig the 2016 election in favor of Hillary Clinton. Lutsenko said officials at the US embassy had pressured Ukrainian agents to leak entries from the ledger that showed the millions taken by Manafort.

No public records have emerged to support the charges that the embassy was steeped in a concerted effort to help either side. But Giuliani leapt on the allegation. Trump had long claimed the special counsel's inquiry was a political hit job by Clinton's allies, and Lutsenko's evidence seemed to bolster that claim.

"Every day, we just got more involved," said Parnas. Giuliani "was angry."

In February, Giuliani and Parnas met privately again with Lutsenko, this time in Warsaw, on the sidelines of the US-led Middle East conference that included US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo and the Russian President Vladimir Putin. The following month, the Ukrainian prosecutor general announced to the US-based news site the Hill that the allegations he had divulged in the meetings with Giuliani in New York were under investigation.

“As Russia Collusion fades, Ukrainian plot to help Clinton emerges,” Trump tweeted in response to the news, citing the headline in the Hill. Giuliani urged his own Twitter followers to “Keep your eye on Ukraine.”

Parnas and Fruman had scored a victory. But their growing association with Lutsenko put the men on a collision course with America’s official ambassador in Kiev.

**Ambassador Yovanovitch** inflamed tensions with Lutsenko in March when she publicly lambasted Ukraine’s efforts to root out corruption. The Obama appointee took the unusual step of calling for the firing of the country’s special anti-corruption prosecutor, Nazar Kholodnytsky, who was reprimanded last year after government agents found that he had shared investigative records with suspects.

Lutsenko, the top prosecutor, hit back against America’s official envoy to Ukraine by claiming, without evidence, that Yovanovitch had given him a list of people he should not prosecute during their first meeting two years earlier. His claim against Yovanovitch was dismissed as an “outright fabrication” by the US State Department — and Lutsenko himself retracted it the following month by saying he never actually saw a list. But the battle lines had been drawn.

Parnas and Fruman both shared the prosecutors’ antipathy toward the ambassador. The previous May, the pair had met with one of the most powerful Texas House members at the time on Capitol Hill, Republican Pete Sessions, and ripped into Yovanovitch. Parnas said he told Sessions that she was disloyal to Trump and had been “bad-mouthing our president about getting impeached.”

On the same date that Parnas posted a Facebook photo of the meeting, Sessions fired off a letter to Pompeo, saying he should consider firing her. “I have received notice from close companions that Ambassador Yovanovitch has spoken privately and repeatedly about her disdain for the current administration,” he wrote.



The Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA) requires anyone operating on behalf of a foreign entity in the United States to declare their work to the Department of Justice. Parnas and Fruman did not register.

Parnas said neither he nor his partner were acting at the behest of anyone. Sessions said in an interview that he raised the issue of Yovanovitch in the meeting — not Parnas and Fruman. “I sought their input,” he said.

But the partners’ briefing against the ambassador to a key lawmaker at a time the federal government was picking up its enforcement of FARA raised “the thorniest red flag,” said Ron Oleynik, a Washington attorney and expert on anti-bribery laws. “That, to me, is clearly trying to influence an office of the United States toward Ukraine.”

Yovanovitch was recalled from Kiev in May 2019, months after clashing with the local prosecutors with whom Parnas and Fruman had been meeting, in a decision branded as a “political hit job” by Democrats. “It’s clear that this decision was politically motivated, as allies of President Trump had joined foreign actors in lobbying for the Ambassador’s dismissal,” Democratic Reps. Steny Hoyer, House majority leader, and Eliot Engel, chair of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, said in a joint statement.

The State Department said the ambassador’s rotation had ended after three years. But Yovanovitch’s removal left the US without an official representative in Ukraine at a critical juncture: A new administration was taking office following the country’s April elections.

**By the spring of 2019**, Parnas and Fruman’s efforts to curry favor with the authorities in Ukraine had hit a stumbling block. The president was ousted by the new administration of Volodymyr Zelensky — a comedian and political novice who rode a wave of anti-corruption fervor to sweep the board in the elections that April. They needed to find a way to reach Zelensky, and they set their sights on the Ukrainian oligarch Igor Kolomoisky.

The 56-year-old billionaire was not just a major supporter of Zelensky's. He owned the television channel that had broadcast the comedy shows in which the newcomer had once played the part of the president of Ukraine, which had made him a household name.

Parnas and Fruman jetted to Israel in late April to meet Kolomoisky, who was living in self-exile after the previous administration took over a bank he founded amid accusations of fraudulent loans and money laundering. (Kolomoisky has vehemently denied the allegations.)

The meeting went badly.

In an interview, Kolomoisky said he was led to believe Parnas and Fruman wanted to talk about their new export business. Instead, he said, they pushed to meet with Zelensky. "I told them I am not going to be a middleman in anybody's meetings with Zelensky," he said to reporters for BuzzFeed News and the Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project. "I am not going to organize any meetings. Not for them, not for anybody else. They tried to say something like, 'Hey, we are serious people here. Giuliani. Trump.' They started throwing names at me."

Kolomoisky called Parnas and Fruman "fraudsters" in [an interview](#) shortly after the meeting. Soon after, a lawyer for the two men filed a claim for damages and told police in Kiev that the oligarch had threatened their lives.

"It was a threat that we took seriously," said Parnas.

Giuliani jumped into the dispute, denouncing Kolomoisky in Tweets as a "notorious oligarch" who "must be held accountable for threats."

Kolomoisky said he did not threaten their lives and that he was in the process of filing a court response to fight their claim. "They have an opportunity to say there was a misunderstanding," he said. "They misinformed their lawyer about the threats."

But the men continued their mission. In May, they flew to Paris, where they joined Giuliani in talks with Kholodnytsky, the prosecutor who had been caught sharing investigative records with suspects. The prosecutor refused to say what he discussed with Giuliani when contacted by BuzzFeed News.

But Parnas said they managed to extract a key promise from him: If they needed someone to testify about the black ledger and the efforts to damage the Trump campaign, he would do so.

**While they met** with prosecutors abroad, the men faced challenges at home that threatened to place their activities under scrutiny and derail their efforts to help the Trump campaign.

It began with a court judgment against Parnas in a case brought by an investor in a Hollywood movie that was never produced. The backer had invested \$350,000 in the film, which was promoted by Parnas, and now he was alleging fraud and demanding his money back.

Parnas was forced to turn over bank records that showed a company he owned had received a payment of \$1.26 million from the client trust account of a lawyer specializing in real estate and foreign investments — and records further showed that he and Fruman then tapped into that money to give \$325,000 to the super PAC supporting Trump candidates, America First Action, without disclosing its source in their filings.

The contribution prompted a campaign watchdog to file a complaint in 2018 alleging irregularities, while the investor's lawyer began questioning where the money came from. "I have never seen anything like this," said Tony Andre, a Miami-Dade attorney who represents the investor in the movie deal. "Someone takes a half million dollars from you and he's hanging with the president and the president's lawyer. In 12 years, I've never gone after anyone who is so tied to the president of the United States."

Andre filed a series of demands with the court, including questions over whether the men were working on behalf of Giuliani or Trump. Those queries, he said, have yet to be answered.

Parnas said the money was from a Florida real estate deal involving Fruman and that neither he nor his partner received any favors from Trump or Giuliani. "It was our money," he said.

As far as Trump, Parnas said he has met with the president multiple times, in Washington and at Mar-a-Lago, but refused to say what they discussed.

He promoted his business, Global Energy Producers, to some US lawmakers last year, he said, including Pete Sessions, but he did not ask for anything from them.

Sessions, who received \$2,700 each from both partners, said he recalled talking to them about their native country. "They are Republicans. They have a strong interest in America not backing away from Ukraine," said Sessions, who was defeated for reelection in November.

The Campaign Legal Center, the watchdog group challenging the contribution to America First Action PAC, said it sent its complaint to the Federal Election Commission and the Department of Justice to review for civil and criminal violations.

Records show the money that funded the contribution was from the gas export business the two men had created just weeks earlier.

"It was not the true donor," said Brendan Fischer, an attorney for the Campaign Legal Center. "We still don't know where the money actually came from." The FEC has yet to rule in the case.



In addition to the large contribution to the super PAC, both men individually gave money to candidates, with Fruman the biggest donor: \$226,300 to GOP candidates and organizations like the House Majority Trust, records show.

Parnas said the contributions were designed to get the attention of key lawmakers at a time he and Fruman were launching their gas export business. “We’ve got a business. We just want to get recognized,” he said. Both men continue to push for business in Ukraine, as well as more information from leaders in Kiev.

The new administration in Ukraine has so far proved unreceptive to their overtures. Giuliani announced angrily that he was calling off his planned trip to Kiev in May because he had learned of “enemies” of Trump on Zelensky’s team. But Parnas is confident the fruits of their work will come to the fore in the presidential campaign.

“Barr is going to get to the bottom of it,” he said. “So many people did so many bad things. And I don’t think it matters whether you support the president or not. I think it’s going to be a surprise to a lot of the American public, how explosive it’s going to be.”

<https://www.buzzfeednews.com/article/mikesallah/rudy-giuliani-ukraine-trump-parnas-fruman>

#### **OCCRP:**

Two Soviet-born Florida businessmen — one linked to a Ukrainian tycoon with reputed mafia ties — are key hidden actors behind a plan by U.S. President Donald J. Trump’s personal attorney to investigate the president’s rivals.

Trump’s attorney, former New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani, said in May that he planned to visit then-incoming Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky to win support for probes into potentially damaging claims raised by senior Ukrainian officials.

Among them was the misleading contention that Trump’s main 2020 Democratic rival, Joe Biden, improperly pressured Ukraine’s government to fire a top

prosecutor; that American diplomats in Ukraine had exhibited pro-Democrat bias; and that local officials conspired to undermine Trump's presidential campaign and help Hillary Clinton in 2016.

Giuliani set off a firestorm in the conservative media by promoting the allegations.

"We're not meddling in an election; we're meddling in an investigation, which we have a right to do," he told the New York Times.

The claims he was pressing have since largely been debunked, but remain politically potent as the next U.S. elections approach.

Within days of announcing the planned trip to Ukraine, Giuliani called it offamid a storm of criticism that he was inappropriately interfering in U.S. relations with a foreign country. His efforts in Ukraine, however, have continued.

At the center of Giuliani's back-channel diplomacy are the two businessmen, Lev Parnas and Igor Fruman, who Giuliani has publicly identified as his clients.

Until now, the men have escaped detailed scrutiny. But a joint investigation by the Organized Crime and Corruption Reporting Project (OCCRP) and BuzzFeed News, based on interviews and court and business records in the United States and Ukraine, has uncovered new information that raises questions about their influence on U.S. political figures.

Both men were born in the Soviet Union and immigrated to the United States. Parnas came with his family at the age of four. Fruman first arrived as a young adult in the 1980s, but later moved to Ukraine and established a series of businesses. Both now live in South Florida.

Since late 2018, the men have introduced Giuliani to three current and former senior Ukrainian prosecutors to discuss the politically damaging information.

The effort has involved meetings in at least five countries, stretching from Washington, D.C. to the Israeli office of a Ukrainian oligarch accused of a multi-billion dollar fraud, and to the halls of the French Senate.

Parnas and Fruman's work with Giuliani has been just one facet of their political activity.



Since early last year, the men have emerged from obscurity to become major donors to Republican campaigns in the United States. They have collectively contributed over half a million dollars to candidates and outside campaign groups, the lion's share in a single transaction that an independent [watchdog has flagged](#) as a potential violation of electoral funding law.

The men appear to enjoy a measure of access to influential figures. They've dined with Trump, had a "power breakfast" with his son Donald Jr., met with U.S. congressmen, and mixed with Republican elites.

Months before their earliest known work with Giuliani, Parnas and Fruman also lobbied at least one congressman — former U.S. Rep. Pete Sessions, a Texas Republican — to call for the dismissal of the United States' ambassador to Ukraine, Marie Yovanovitch. She stepped down a year later after allegations in the conservative media that she had been disloyal to Trump.

While setting up meetings for Giuliani with Ukrainian officials, the men also promoted a business plan of their own: Selling American liquefied natural gas to Ukraine to replace Russian imports disrupted by war.

In a series of interviews, Parnas said he and Fruman weren't paid by anyone for their work in Ukraine and that he and his partner have done nothing illegal.

"All we were doing was passing along information," he said. "Information coming to us — either I bury it or I pass it on. I felt it was my duty to pass it on."

He said their political activities were motivated by sincere conviction that they had uncovered wrongdoing that should be investigated.

"We're American citizens, we love our country, we love our president," he said.

The men make for unlikely back-channel diplomats. Parnas, 47, is a former stockbroker with a history of unpaid debts, including half a million dollars owed to a Hollywood movie investor. Fruman, 53, has spent much of his career in Ukraine, and has ties to a powerful local [businessman reputed](#) to be in the inner circle of one of the country's most infamous mafia groups.

Giuliani and Fruman didn't respond to multiple requests for interviews or to written questions. The White House did not respond to a request for comment.

Kenneth McCallion, an ex-federal prosecutor who has represented former Ukrainian Prime Minister Yuliya Tymoshenko in U.S. court, said that Parnas and Fruman were “playing with fire” by lobbying in the United States and Ukraine without registering as foreign agents.

“Trump has either authorized Giuliani to engage in private diplomacy and deal-making, or even worse, remains silent while Giuliani and his dodgy band of soldiers of fortune engage in activities that severely undermine U.S. credibility and are contrary to fundamental U.S. interests,” McCallion said.

## ***‘It Opened Giuliani’s Eyes’***

Parnas and Fruman’s work with Giuliani has largely centered on efforts to connect the president’s personal attorney with current and former senior Ukrainian prosecutors believed to hold information harmful to Trump’s rivals.

In late 2018, Parnas and Fruman organized a Skype call between Giuliani and Viktor Shokin, who served as Ukraine’s prosecutor general until he was dismissed by parliament in 2016 [amid allegations](#) he was blocking anti-corruption efforts.

Parnas and Giuliani visited the French Senate building, where Giuliani attended a meeting that included Nazar Kholodnitsky, the head of Ukraine’s Special Anti-Corruption Prosecutor’s Office, according to social media posts and interviews. (Kholodnitsky has faced calls to step down after wiretaps in his office last year allegedly caught him [interfering in corruption cases](#).)

By the new year, Parnas said, he and Fruman had also connected Giuliani with Shokin’s replacement as top prosecutor, Yuriy Lutsenko. The Ukrainian official and Giuliani met in New York in January and again in Warsaw the following month.

“[Lutsenko] brought documentation, verification. It opened Giuliani’s eyes,” Parnas said.

Shortly after their February meeting in Poland, both Lutsenko and Giuliani began airing a series of allegations in the U.S. media.

In March and April, the online publication The Hill published a series of opinion pieces largely based on an interview with Lutsenko. The articles relayed the [allegations about the Bidens](#), and went further.



[Lutsenko also claimed](#) that officials at the U.S. Embassy in Kyiv had worked with Ukrainian law enforcement to interfere in the 2016 U.S. election by coordinating the disclosure of the so-called “black ledger,” a document that appeared to detail millions of dollars in [secret payments from Ukraine’s](#) former ruling party to Paul Manafort, then Trump’s campaign manager. Some of those payments were later [verified to be real](#).

The revelation of the black ledger in 2016 [contributed to Manafort’s resignation](#) from the Trump campaign, and helped lead to his prosecution and conviction by Special Counsel Robert Mueller. Since then, prominent Trump supporters have used allegations that the ledger’s disclosure was motivated by anti-Trump bias to cast doubt on the origins of Mueller’s investigation into Russian interference in the 2016 election.

Lutsenko also told The Hill that Yovanovitch, who was still the U.S. ambassador to Ukraine, had handed him a “do not prosecute” list at their first meeting. The Hill characterized the claim as evidence that Yovanovitch was favoring Democrats in the middle of a presidential election because the purported list contained the names of supposed Democrat allies in Ukraine’s parliament and civil society groups.

The State Department has forcefully rejected the claims. In a statement, the U.S. Embassy in Kyiv told reporters: “The allegation of a ‘do not prosecute’ list is an outright fabrication. Such allegations only help the corrupt.”

Still, the allegations caught like wildfire in U.S. conservative media, and were amplified by Giuliani in a series of interviews with cable news and newspapers.

Trump called claims that Ukrainian officials had helped Clinton’s candidacy “big” and “incredible” in an April [interview with Fox News](#), and said that he would leave it to Attorney General William Barr to decide whether to look into them. [Barr announced a probe](#) into the origins of the Mueller investigation — in which Manafort’s Ukrainian work became a focus — the following month.

Parnas said he expected all the information he and Fruman had helped advance to become an important part of Barr’s inquiry, and that it would 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.”



## ***Debunked But Not Dead***

Experts have largely dismissed most of the allegations raised by the prosecutors and relayed by Giuliani as being at best unfounded, and at worst deliberate disinformation.

Both Shokin and Lutsenko are widely viewed among Ukrainian reformers as lacking credibility, and civil society [groups have accused them](#) of covering for suspects in major corruption cases.

Joe Biden had indeed pushed for Shokin's dismissal, threatening that the U.S. would withhold \$1 billion in loan guarantees if he remained.

"I looked at them and said: 'I'm leaving in six hours. If the prosecutor is not fired, you're not getting the money,'" Biden recounted in a [2018 speech at the Council on Foreign Relations](#). "Well, son of a bitch. He got fired."

However, Biden was not alone in his disdain for Shokin. The former top prosecutor was dismissed by parliament after a [chorus of criticism](#) by European diplomats and international organizations, and even [street protests calling for his resignation](#).

Local anti-corruption activists had become convinced Shokin was quashing investigations into Burisma's owner, Mykola Zlochevsky, and other oligarchs, said Daria Kaleniuk, the director of the Anti-Corruption Action Center, a Ukrainian transparency group.

"Shokin was not dismissed because he wanted to investigate Burisma," Kaleniuk said. "Quite the contrary. He was dismissed because of a lack of willingness to investigate this particular case as well as other important cases involving high-level associates of [ousted former President Viktor] Yanukovich."

As for Lutsenko, Kaleniuk said his claims were likely motivated by a desire to hold on to his job as top prosecutor with the incoming Zelensky administration, as well as to find friends in the United States government, where he has long been viewed as toxic.

"He 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," Kaleniuk said.

Hunter Biden's work for Burisma, however, still raises eyebrows in Ukraine. The younger Biden's paid tenure on Burisma's board came at a time the company and its owner faced [multiple corruption investigations](#). He was likely hired simply to impart his famous last name, Kaleniuk said.

"I think [working for Burisma] was wrong from an ethical point of view," she said.

In a statement, Hunter Biden defended his previous position on Burisma's board, saying he worked to help reform the company's "practices of transparency, corporate governance and responsibility."

"At no time have I discussed with my father the company's business, or my board service. Any suggestion to the contrary is just plain wrong," Biden said.

There is also no known documentary evidence that U.S. officials had worked with Ukrainians to release the black ledger.

Though Giuliani's visit was canceled and many of his claims debunked, the allegations emerging from Ukraine remain very much alive in the lead-up to the 2020 U.S. election.

The accusation that [Yovanovitch had exhibited](#) political bias was reported to be behind her stepping down as ambassador in May.

Lutsenko and Shokin did not respond to requests for interviews. Reporters were unable to reach Yovanovitch.

## ***From the Black Sea to Boca***

The previous business dealings of both Parnas and Fruman raise serious concerns about their newfound access to senior American political figures.

A resident of upscale Boca Raton, Parnas once ran an electronics business that was successfully sued for its role in a fraudulent penny stock promotion scheme. He has also worked for three brokerages that later lost their licenses for fraud and other violations. He has never been personally charged.

Court records also show that judges have awarded a series of default judgements against Parnas for multiple unpaid debts. These include over \$500,000 he owes to an investor in a Hollywood movie that he had promoted but was never made. He



has also been sued a dozen times over the last decade for failing to pay rent on various Palm Beach County properties and has been evicted from two homes.

Fruman's backstory is even more colorful.

His network of businesses extends from the United States to the city of Odesa, a Ukrainian Black Sea port notorious for corruption and organized crime.

Reporters found that Fruman has personal ties to a powerful local: Volodymyr "The Lightbulb" Galanternik, a shadowy businessman commonly referred to as the "Grey Cardinal" of Odesa.

Galanternik is described by local media and activists as a close associate of Gennadiy Trukhanov, the mayor of Odesa who was shown in the late 1990s to be a senior member of a feared organized criminal group involved in fuel smuggling and weapons trading.

Galanternik also owns a luxury apartment in the same London building as the daughter of another leader in the gang, Aleksander "The Angel" Angert, OCCRP has previously reported.

Vitaly Ustymenko, a local civic activist, describes Galanternik as an overseer of the clique's economic domination of the city.

"[Galanternik] is not 'one of the' — he is actually the most powerful guy in Odesa, and maybe in the region," Ustymenko said.

Fruman's recent ex-wife, Yelyzaveta Naumova, is the self-declared best friend of Galanternik's wife, Natasha Zinko, according to her Instagram posts. Galanternik and Zinko also celebrated the New Year in 2016 with the Frumans in South Florida, according to a photo posted online by an acquaintance of Fruman.

Galanternik's name is seldom tied directly to his businesses. Instead he operates via a network of offshore companies and trusted proxy individuals. But there are signs that either Fruman or his long-standing local partner, Serhiy Dyablo, may have a business relationship with Galanternik via two Odesa firms (see box).

In an interview, Parnas said that Fruman and Galanternik knew each other through their wives, but said there were no business connections between the two men.

Galanternik and Fruman did not respond to written questions. Neither Dyablo nor Naumova responded to multiple requests for interviews.

## ***“Where is the money coming from?”***

Parnas and Fruman’s work with Giuliani was just one part of a broader foray into U.S. politics.

In 2018, the men made hundreds of thousands of dollars in donations to Republican causes while enjoying VIP access to party and Trump administration circles.

Filings with the U.S. Federal Election Commission (FEC) show that Fruman and Parnas spread their money widely.

Fruman kicked off the effort on Feb. 20, giving \$2,700 each to two pro-Trump groups, Trump Victory and Donald J. Trump for President.

Less than two weeks later, Fruman and Parnas attended a fundraiser for Trump’s re-election at his Mar-a-Lago club in Palm Beach, Florida.

This was followed by a several-month-long spree of donations — of a total value of at least \$576,500 — to campaigns including the successful 2018 Senate bid of former Florida governor Rick Scott, and the re-elections of Texas Representative Pete Sessions and South Carolina Representative Joe Wilson. All are Republicans.

The lion’s share of these donations, however, was just one \$325,000 payment, made on May 17, 2018, to America First Action. The group is one of the largest pro-Trump Super Political Action Committees (commonly known as Super PACs), a kind of outside campaign organization that is allowed to raise unlimited funds in support of a candidate, but is barred from working directly with their campaign.

That payment was declared as coming from a Delaware company, Global Energy Producers LLC, set up by Fruman and Parnas just weeks before as part of their plan to sell gas to Ukraine.

The donation is subject to an [ongoing complaint to the FEC](#) by the Campaign Legal Center, a watchdog group, alleging the company is likely a shell intended to hide other donors.



Parnas said the complaint was unfounded. “We have a real business,” he said.

Parnas said the contributions were designed to get the attention of key lawmakers at a time he and Fruman were launching their gas export business. “We’ve got a business. We just want to get recognized,” he said.

However, Parnas and Fruman’s plans to sell American gas to Ukraine has so far not borne fruit. In response to inquiries, Naftogaz, Ukraine’s natural gas monopoly, said that Global Energy Producers has not participated in any tenders to sell gas to Ukraine and has concluded no contracts. [The company’s website](#) contains only a countdown timer that has already reached zero.

The donation ascribed to Global Energy Producers in fact came from the bank account of another company belonging to Parnas. Days earlier, that company had received a wire transfer of \$1.26 million from the trust fund of a Florida lawyer who specializes in real estate, court records show.

Parnas said that money came from the sale of a Florida condominium, but did not provide documents to back up his claim.

Within months of Parnas and Fruman’s six-figure donations, and even as their work with Giuliani began, allegations emerged in a public lawsuit in Florida that they had jilted an early investor in their Ukraine gas venture.

Felix Vulis, the head of Eurasian Natural Resources Corporation, a firm [owned by a trio of Kazakhstani oligarchs](#), asserted that Parnas and Fruman had failed to repay a two-month \$100,000 loan he had given to Global Energy Producers earlier in the year. The two men had boasted about their relationship with Giuliani and other influential figures while asking for the loan, according to the complaint.

Vulis has yet to be paid, according to his lawyer, Robert Stok.

The men said “they had all this influence,” Stok said. “They said Trump and his associates were going to back their company. That they had direct access to the White House.”

Tony Andre, a Florida lawyer who has been trying to collect the \$500,000 movie deal judgement against Parnas, also expressed astonishment at what he sees as the businessman’s brazenness.

“Someone takes a half million dollars from you and he’s hanging with the president and the president’s lawyer,” Andre said.

“I’ve never seen anything like this,” he said. “Where is the money coming from?”

## ***Dinner with the President***

Amid their donation spree, Parnas and Fruman took part in an impressive series of meetings with senior Republicans.

On or about May 1, 2018, while staying at the Trump International Hotel in the U.S. capital, both men had dinner with the president in a meeting documented by Parnas in a now-deleted Facebook post.

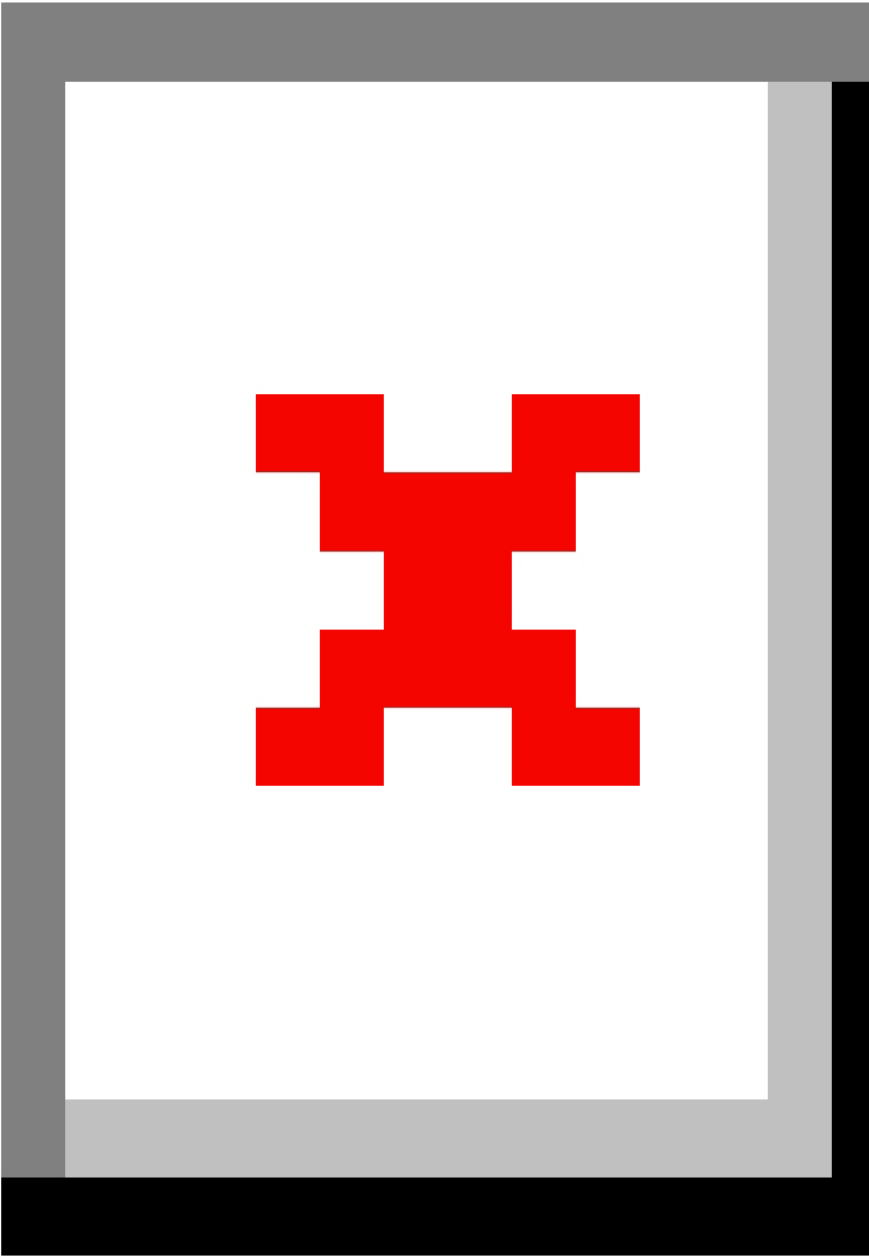
Later that month, the two men had a “power breakfast” in Beverly Hills with Donald Trump Jr. and Tommy Hicks Jr., who has since become co-chair of the Republican National Committee, according to a now-deleted Facebook post by Parnas. At the time, Hicks was head of America First Action, which had received the men’s \$325,000 donation in the same month.

Parnas also had meetings in May on Capitol Hill with several Republican congressmen.

Among them was Sessions, the Texas Republican, according to a now-deleted May 9 Facebook post by Parnas. In a meeting also attended by Fruman, the two men urged the dismissal of the United States’ ambassador in Kyiv, Marie Yovanovitch.

On the same day that Parnas posted pictures of the meeting, Sessions wrote a private letter to Secretary of State Mike Pompeo calling for Yovanovitch’s dismissal.

Parnas said he and Fruman told Sessions that Yovanovitch was disloyal to the president and questioned whether she should serve. “She was bad-mouthing our president about getting impeached,” said Parnas.





Lev Parnas meeting with then-Texas Representative Pete Sessions in May 2018. *Credit: Deleted Facebook post*

Sessions, however, said he had been the one to bring up concerns about Yovanovitch with Parnas and Fruman, but that he could not remember when or where the discussion took place.

“I do know both these gentlemen,” Sessions said. “They are Republicans. They are people who have an interest in foreign affairs. They have a strong interest in America not backing away from Ukraine.”

The next month, Parnas and Fruman donated a total of \$5,400 to Sessions’ unsuccessful 2018 re-election campaign, FEC records show.

Yovanovitch stepped down this May following a [flurry of negative stories](#) about her in the conservative media, which included the [publication in The Hill](#) of a leaked copy of Sessions’ letter. The press blitz also included frequent reference to Lutsenko’s inflammatory allegations against the ambassador.

Given Parnas and Fruman’s relationships with senior Ukrainian officials and their business interests in the country, their lobbying against a U.S. ambassador raises questions about their compliance with the Foreign Agents Registration Act (FARA).

The act requires Americans operating on behalf of a foreign entity in the United States to declare their work to the Department of Justice. Parnas and Fruman did not do so.

Their lobbying of Sessions raises “the thorniest red flag,” said Ron Oleynik, a Washington attorney who advises clients on FARA compliance. “That, to me, is clearly trying to influence an office of the United States toward Ukraine.”

Parnas, however, said they acted on their own accord.

“I just kept hearing [about Yovanovitch] from different people,” he said.

## ***Introduction to an Oligarch***

After setting up meetings between Giuliani and Ukrainian prosecutors, Parnas and Fruman set their sights on connecting with Ukraine’s new president, former television comic Zelensky.

As Zelensky stormed to a landslide victory in the April election, Parnas and Fruman flew to Israel to meet Ihor Kolomoisky, a Ukrainian oligarch who is [alleged to have stolen](#) \$5.5 billion from the country's largest private bank. Earlier that month, the [Daily Beast reported](#) that Kolomoisky, who is a key Zelensky backer, was under FBI investigation for financial crimes.

Fruman and Parnas were introduced to the oligarch by Alexander Levin, another pro-Trump Ukrainian-American businessman, on the pretence that they wanted to talk about their plan to sell gas to Ukraine, Kolomoisky said in an interview.

However, once inside the meeting, the two men told Kolomoisky that they wanted his help getting in touch with Zelensky, in order to help set up a meeting between Giuliani and the president-elect.

Offended, Kolomoisky said, he then stormed out of the meeting.

"I told them I am not going to be a middleman in anybody's meetings with Zelensky," Kolomoisky said. "Not for them, not for anybody else. They tried to say something like, 'Hey, we are serious people here. Giuliani. Trump.' They started throwing names at me."

In response to inquiries, Levin said of Parnas and Fruman: "I met these gentlemen for the first time in March of 2019. I have no information about what they have done in the past, or what they have done since they met with me. I plan no involvement with them in the future."

"I broke no laws and any suggestion otherwise constitutes slander."

Despite the debacle in Israel, Parnas and Fruman continued their efforts to connect Giuliani with Zelensky. By mid-May, in the lead-up to Zelensky's inauguration, both men were in Kyiv, staying in the city's Hilton as they set up appointments around town.

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 Fruman that supports the reconstruction of a Jewish village outside of Kyiv that was the setting of the musical "Fiddler on the Roof." The meeting with Zelensky was intended to take place on the sidelines of the event.



Though Giuliani cancelled his trip, Parnas and 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, now acting head of Ukraine's secret police. 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, company spokeswoman Aliona Osmolovska confirmed in response to reporters' questions.

"Among other initiatives, we had meetings with a number of potential suppliers of LNG. In this context, we have been approached by Mr. Parnas and Mr. Furman [sic], and met them," Osmolovska wrote.

While Parnas and Fruman were in Kyiv, Kolomoisky, who had just returned from years of exile abroad, [gave an impromptu interview](#) to a local media outlet where he denounced the men as "scammers" and said he would take them "into daylight soon."

Giuliani responded quickly. In a series of tweets, he labeled Kolomoisky a "notorious oligarch."

"This is real test for President [Zelensky]," [Giuliani tweeted](#). "Will [Kolomoisky] be arrested?"

Parnas and Fruman responded by filing a criminal complaint with Ukrainian police, alleging that Kolomoisky had threatened their lives. They also lodged a defamation suit against the oligarch, their lawyer Alina Samarets said.

Giuliani personally joined at least one call to discuss the case, Samarets said.

Despite these setbacks, Parnas told reporters that his and Fruman's work in Ukraine would continue.

"It's all going to come out."

***Additional reporting by Anna Babinets, Dima Replianchuk, Elena Loginova, Vladimir Petin, Karina Shedrofsky and Ilya Lozovsky.***

<https://www.occrp.org/en/investigations/meet-the-florida-duo-helping-giuliani-dig-dirt-for-trump-in-ukraine>

Official

UNCLASSIFIED

**Sender:** (b)(6)

**Recipient:** Volker, Kurt D (b)(6)  
(b)(6)

<b>From:</b>	"Pyatt, Geoffrey R (Athens)" (b)(6)
<b>To:</b>	(b)(6)          Reeker, Philip T (b)(6)
<b>Subject:</b>	George on Pyatt, Shokin and the campaign against corruption in Ukraine
<b>Date:</b>	Thu, 7 Nov 2019 21:21:53 +0000

So George's full testimony PDF is too big to send, but you can download it [here](#).

(b)(5)

(b)(5)

MR. KENT: No, I wouldn't say that. It's just that I think that's a public mark where people could see this is the American Ambassador speaking on the record about our concerns about the lack of progress and the rule of law reform in 2015 a year and a half after the Revolution of Dignity. At the same time, there was constant private messaging, messages and meetings that Ambassador Pyatt had in Kyiv, conversations or meetings when Assistant Secretary Nuland would travel, and conversations would happen when Vice President Biden would talk to both President Poroshenko as well as then prime minister Arseniy Yatsenyuk.

In Ukraine at that time, we had a war with Russia occupation, we had an embassy staff going from 150 Americans to 250 Americans, from



no Special Force U.S. Government soldiers to close to 70 in country, our assistance went from \$130 million to nearly a billion. And we were working nearly nonstop. Ambassador Pyatt, I can tell you from working for him, would wake up between 4:58 and 5:01, because that was when I got the first email from him, and went to bed between 12:59 and 1:01, because that's when I would get the last email. He had an internal clock. He only slept 4 hours. And it was nonstop, 20 hours a day, 7 days a week

## SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

<b>Sender:</b>	"Pyatt, Geoffrey R (Athens)" (b)(6)	
<b>Recipient:</b>	(b)(6)	
	Reeker, Philip T (b)(6)	

## **Opening Statement Before the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence**

George P. Kent

Deputy Assistant Secretary, Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs  
U.S. Department of State

November 13, 2019

Good morning. My name is George Kent, and I am Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Eastern Europe and the Caucasus. I have served proudly as a non-partisan career Foreign Service officer for more than 27 years, under five Presidents, three Republicans and two Democrats. As I mentioned in my opening comments last month in the closed-door deposition, I represent the third generation of my family to have chosen a career in public service and sworn the oath all U.S. public servants do, in defense of our Constitution.

Indeed, there has been a George Kent sworn to defend the Constitution continuously for nearly 60 years, ever since my father reported to Annapolis for his plebe summer. After graduating first in his Naval Academy class in 1965, the year best known for his Heisman-winning classmate Roger Staubach, my father served a full 30 years, including as Captain of a nuclear ballistic missile submarine.

Five great uncles served honorably in the Navy and in the Army in World War II. In particular, Tom Taggart was stationed in the Philippines at the time of the attack on Pearl Harbor; he survived the brutal Bataan Death March and three more years in a Japanese Prisoner of War camp, unbroken. He returned to service as an Air Force Judge Advocate, upholding the rule of law until his death in 1965.

Today I appear before you once again, under subpoena, as a fact witness ready to answer all of your questions about the events and developments examined in this inquiry to the best of my ability and recollection subject to limits placed on me by the law and this process.

I begin with some opening comments on the key principles at the heart of what brings me before you today. To wit: principled public service in pursuit of our enduring national interests, and the place of Ukraine in our national and security interests.

For the past five years, we have focused our united efforts across the Atlantic to support Ukraine in its fight for the cause of freedom, and the rebirth of a country free from Russian dominion and the warped legacy of Soviet institutions and post-Soviet behavior.

As I stated in my closed-door deposition last month, you don't step into the public arena of international diplomacy in active pursuit of principled U.S. interests without expecting vigorous pushback, including personal attacks. Such attacks came from Russians, their proxies, and corrupt Ukrainians. This tells me that our efforts were hitting their mark.

It was unexpected, and most unfortunate, to watch some Americans -- including those who allied themselves with corrupt Ukrainians in pursuit of private agendas -- launch attacks on dedicated public servants advancing U.S. interests in Ukraine. In my opinion, those attacks undermined U.S. and Ukrainian national interests and damaged our critical bilateral relationship.

The United States has clear national interests at stake in Ukraine. Ukraine's success is very much in our national interest, in the way we have defined our national interests broadly in Europe for the past 75 years. U.S. leadership furthered far-sighted policies like the Marshall Plan and the creation of a rules-based international order. Protected by the collective security provided by NATO, Western Europe recovered and thrived after the carnage of World War II, notwithstanding the shadow of the Iron Curtain. Europe's security and prosperity contributed to our security and prosperity.

Support of Ukraine's success also fits squarely into our strategy for central and Eastern Europe since the fall of the Wall 30 years ago this past week. A Europe truly whole, free, and at peace -- our strategic aim for the entirety of my foreign service career -- is not possible without a Ukraine whole, free, and at peace, including Crimea and Donbas, territories currently occupied by Russia.

Looking forward, the Trump administration's National Security Strategy makes clear the global strategic challenge now before us: great power competition with rivals such as Russia and China, and the need to compete for positive influence, without taking countries for granted.

In that sense, Ukraine has been on the front lines, not just of Russia's conventional war in eastern Ukraine since 2014 and its broader campaign of malign influence, but of the greater geopolitical challenges now facing the United States.

Ukraine's popular Revolution of Dignity in 2014 forced a corrupt pro-Russian leadership to flee to Moscow. After that, Russia invaded Ukraine, occupying seven percent of its territory, roughly equivalent to the size of Texas for the United States. At that time, Ukraine's state institutions were on the verge of collapse.

Ukrainian civil society answered the challenge. They formed volunteer battalions of citizens, including technology professionals and medics. They crowd-sourced funding for their own weapons, body armor, and supplies. They were the 21st century Ukrainian equivalent of our own Minutemen in 1776, buying time for the regular army to reconstitute.

Since then, more than 13,000 Ukrainians have died on Ukrainian soil defending their territorial integrity and sovereignty from Russian aggression. American support in Ukraine's own de facto war of independence has been critical in this regard.

By analogy, the American colonies may not have prevailed against British imperial might without help from transatlantic friends after 1776. In an echo of Lafayette's organized assistance to General George Washington's army and Admiral John Paul Jones' navy, Congress has generously appropriated over \$1.5 billion over the past five years in desperately needed train and equip security assistance to Ukraine. These funds increase Ukraine's strength and ability to fight



Russian aggression. Ultimately, Ukraine is on a path to become a full security partner of the United States within NATO.

Similar to von Steuben training colonials at Valley Forge, U.S. and NATO allied trainers develop the skills of Ukrainian units at Yavoriv near the Polish border, and elsewhere. They help rewrite military education for Ukraine's next generation, as von Steuben did for America's first. In supporting Ukraine's brave resistance to Russian aggression, we have a front row seat to the Russian way of war in the 21st century, gaining priceless insights that contribute to our own security.

In 2019, Ukraine's citizens passed the political torch to a new generation, one that came of age not in the final years of the Soviet Union, but in an independent Ukraine. Presidential and parliamentary elections this year swept out much of Ukraine's previous governing elite and seated a 41-year-old President Zelenskyy, a cabinet with an average age of 39, and a parliament with an average age of 41.

At the heart of that change mandate five years after Ukraine's Revolution of Dignity is a thirst for justice, because there cannot be dignity without justice. Without a reformed judicial sector that delivers justice with integrity for all, Ukrainian society will be unsettled. Foreign investors will not bring the investment needed to ensure Ukraine's long-term prosperity.

This is why the principled promotion of the rule of law and institutional integrity has been so necessary to our strategy for a successful Ukraine. It is also true for other former captive nations still recovering from the ashes of Soviet misrule. It is why acting inconsistently with the core principle of rule-of-law comes with great peril.

I am grateful to all of the members of Congress and staffers who have traveled to Ukraine over the past five years and appropriated billions of dollars in assistance in support of our primary policy goals. Those funds increase Ukraine's ability to fight Russian aggression in the defense, energy, cyber, and information spheres. They also empower state institutions and civil society to undertake systemic reforms and tackle corruption.

I believe all of us can be proud of our efforts in Ukraine over the past five years, even though much remains to be done. And by all of us I mean those in the legislative and executive branches, both parties, the interagency community working out of our embassy in Kyiv, with Ukrainians in government, the military, and civil society, and our transatlantic allies and partners. We cannot allow our resolve to waiver, since too much is at stake, not just for Ukraine and the future of European security, but for the national interests of the United States broadly defined.

My prior deposition covered a lot of ground over some ten hours. Here are the main themes from my testimony:

- I outlined my experience with longstanding U.S. interests in supporting anti-corruption efforts in Ukraine. This work gave me a front-seat to problematic activities by successive prosecutors general in Ukraine.

- For many of the issues that this Committee is investigating, my knowledge and understanding is sometimes first hand, and sometimes comes from others involved in some specific conversations and meetings. This is no different than how any one learns and carries out his or her job responsibilities. I have been and remain willing to share my factual observations with the Committee, and will make it clear when those are based on personal knowledge, or information gained from others.
- U.S. efforts to counter corruption in Ukraine focus on building institutional capacity so that the Ukrainian government has the ability to go after corruption and effectively investigate, prosecute, and judge alleged criminal activities using appropriate institutional mechanisms -- that is -- to create and follow the rule of law. That means if there is any criminal nexus for activity in the United States, then U.S. law enforcement should pursue that case. If we think there has been some criminal act overseas that violates U.S. law, we have the institutional mechanisms to address that. It could be through the Justice Department and FBI agents assigned overseas, or through treaty mechanisms, such as the Mutual Legal Assistance Treaty. As a general principle, I do not believe the United States should ask other countries to engage in selective, politically associated investigations or prosecutions against opponents of those in power, because such selective actions undermine the rule of law regardless of the country.
- The pervasive and long standing problem of corruption in Ukraine included exposure to a situation involving the energy company Burisma. The primary concern of the U.S. government since 2014 was Burisma's owner -- Mykola Zlochevsky -- whose frozen assets abroad we had attempted to recover on Ukraine's behalf. In early 2015, I raised questions with the deputy Prosecutor General about why the investigation of Mr. Zlochevsky had been terminated, based on our belief that prosecutors had accepted bribes to close the case.
- Later, I became aware that Hunter Biden was on the board of Burisma. Soon after that, in a briefing call with the national security staff in the Office of the Vice President, in February 2015, I raised my concern that Hunter Biden's status as board member could create the perception of a conflict of interest. Let me be clear; however, I did not witness any efforts by any U.S. official to shield Burisma from scrutiny. In fact, I and other U.S. officials consistently advocated reinstituting a scuttled investigation of Zlochevsky, Burisma's founder, as well as holding the corrupt prosecutors who closed the case to account.
- Over the course of 2018-2019, I became increasingly aware of an effort by Rudy Giuliani and others, including his associates Lev Parnas and Igor Fruman, to run a campaign to smear Ambassador Yovanovitch and other officials at the U.S. embassy in Kyiv.
- The chief agitators on the Ukrainian side of this effort were some of those same corrupt former prosecutors I had encountered, particularly Victor Shokin and Yuriy Lutsenko. They were now peddling false information in order to exact revenge against those who

had exposed their misconduct, including U.S. diplomats, Ukrainian anti-corruption officials, and reform-minded civil society groups in Ukraine.

- During the late spring and summer of 2019, I became alarmed as these efforts bore fruit. They led to the ouster of Ambassador Yovanovitch and hampered U.S. efforts to establish rapport with the new Zelenskyy administration in Ukraine.
- In mid-August, it became clear to me that Giuliani's efforts to gin up politically-motivated investigations were now infecting U.S. engagement with Ukraine, leveraging President Zelenskyy's desire for a White House meeting.
- There are and always have been conditionality placed on our sovereign loan guarantees for Ukraine. Conditions include anti-corruption reforms, as well as meeting larger stability goals and social safety nets. The International Monetary Fund does the same thing. Congress and the executive branch work together to put conditionality on some security assistance in the Ukraine Security Assistance Initiative.

Regarding my testimony, I will do my best to answer your questions today, questions that will involve issues, conversations, and documents that span a number of years. I may be limited by three considerations:

- First, the State Department has collected materials in response to the September 27 subpoena that may contain facts relevant to my testimony. I have no such documents or materials with me today. I will thus do my best to answer as accurately, completely, and truthfully as I can, to the best of my recollection.
- Second, as this Committee knows from my deposition testimony, throughout this process there have been concerns that questions may be asked about classified information. We have asked the State Department for guidance about any classification concerns related to the public release of my deposition, and the State Department has declined to provide any. So if I am asked a question today that I believe may implicate classified information, I will respectfully decline to answer in this public forum.
- Third, there may also be questions focusing on the identity of people in the Intelligence Community. These questions were redacted from my deposition's transcript. If such a question arises today, I am going to follow my counsel's advice and decline to answer.

I would like to conclude my opening remarks with an observation about some of my fellow public servants who have come under personal attack -- Ambassador Yovanovitch, LTC Vindman, and Dr. Hill -- at least one of whom is going to appear before this body in the coming days. Masha, Alex, and Fiona were born abroad before their families or they themselves personally chose to immigrate to the United States. They all made the professional choice to serve the United States as public officials, helping shape our national security policy, towards Russia in particular. And we and our national security are the better for it.

In this sense, they are the 21st century heirs of two giants of 20th century U.S. national security policy who were born abroad: my former professor Zbigniew Brzezinski; and his fellow immigrant Henry Kissinger. Like the Brzezinskis and Kissingers, the Yovanovitches and Vindmans fled Nazi and communist oppression to contribute to a stronger, more secure America.

That honorable transatlantic tradition goes back to the very founding of our republic: our 18th century independence would not have been secured without the choice of European officers -- the French-born Lafayette and Rochambeau, the German-born von Steuben, and the Poles Pulaski and Kosciuszko -- to come to the New World and fight for our cause of freedom, and the birth of a new country free from imperial dominion. It is my privilege to sit next to Ambassador Taylor today, and it is my honor to serve with all of these patriotic Americans.

Thank you.

November 26, 2019

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

MEMORANDUM TO:      A – Carrie Cabelka                      (action)  
                                 S/ES – (b)(6)                                      (action)  
                                 EUR – Mr. Reeker                              (action)  
                                 H – Ms. Taylor                                      (info)  
                                 L – Mr. String                                      (info)

FROM:                      S/ES – Lisa Kenna

SUBJECT:                      Congressional Request for Documents Related to VP Biden and  
   Removal of Viktor Shokin (STATE-2019-19)

H Coordinator:

L Coordinator:

A Coordinator:

**DUE DATE:**                      **November 18, 2019**

SUMMARY AND BACKGROUND

In connection with a letter from the Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee (SJC), the Department is collecting records as outlined below.

**Action bureaus**, please provide:

(b)(5)

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

SBU - DELIBERATIVE PROCESS



SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

- 2 -

(b)(5)



SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

SBU - DELIBERATIVE PROCESS

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

- 3 -

(b)(5)



SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

SBU - DELIBERATIVE PROCESS



SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

- 4 -

(b)(5)



SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

SBU - DELIBERATIVE PROCESS

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

- 5 -

(b)(5)



SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

SBU - DELIBERATIVE PROCESS

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

- 6 -

Drafted: H/FO: (b)(6)

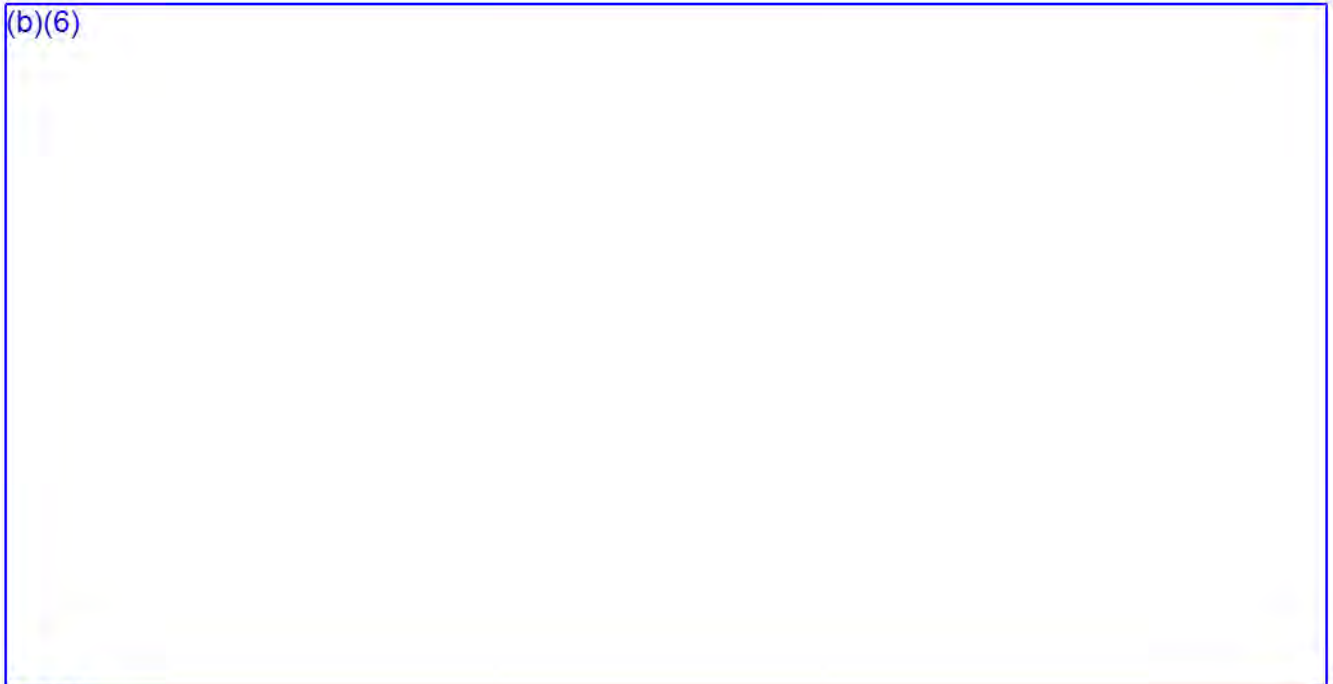
Cleared: A/GIS/IPS: (b)(6) (ok)  
L/M: (b)(6) (ok)  
M: ( )  
S/ES: (ok)

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

SBU - DELIBERATIVE PROCESS

<b>From:</b>	(b)(6)	
<b>To:</b>		
<b>Subject:</b>	RE: Biden	
<b>Date:</b>	Thu, 3 Oct 2019 10:24:48 +0000	

(b)(6)



(b)(6)



(b)(6)

Senior Management Analyst  
Vanguard 2.2.2. |IRM/FO|The Prospective Group

(b)(6)



[Foreign Operations Service Catalog](#)

UNCLASSIFIED

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 2, 2019 2:11 PM  
**To:** (b)(6)  
**Subject:** RE: Biden

(b)(6)



(b)(6)

UNCLASSIFIED

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Wednesday, October 2, 2019 6:49 AM

**To:** (b)(6)

**Subject:** RE: Biden

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

[https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/the-gas-tycoon-and-the-vice-presidents-son-the-story-of-hunter-bidens-foray-in-ukraine/2019/09/28/1aadff70-dfd9-11e9-8fd3-d943b4ed57e0\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/the-gas-tycoon-and-the-vice-presidents-son-the-story-of-hunter-bidens-foray-in-ukraine/2019/09/28/1aadff70-dfd9-11e9-8fd3-d943b4ed57e0_story.html)

(b)(6)



(b)(6)

Senior Management Analyst  
Vanguard 2.2.2. |IRM/FO|The Prospective Group

(b)(6)

[Foreign Operations Service Catalog](#)

UNCLASSIFIED

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Tuesday, October 1, 2019 12:18 PM

**To:** (b)(6)

**Subject:** Biden

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UXA--dj2-CY>

UNCLASSIFIED

**Sender:** (b)(6)

**Recipient:**



**From:** (b)(6)

**To:**

**Subject:** Re: David's Testimony

**Date:** Tue, 19 Nov 2019 14:54:54 +0000

(b)(6)

W

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Monday, November 18, 2019 10:27 AM

**To:** (b)(6)

**Subject:** Re: David's Testimony

(b)(6)

---

Sent from [Workspace ONE Boxer](#)

On November 18, 2019 at 2:53:31 PM GMT+1, (b)(6) > wrote:

(b)(6)

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Saturday, November 16, 2019 10:51 AM

**To:** (b)(6)

**Subject:** Fwd: David's Testimony

(b)(6)

---

Sent from [Workspace ONE Boxer](#)

----- Forwarded message -----

**From:** Pyatt, Geoffrey R (Athens) (b)(6)  
**Date:** November 16, 2019 at 1:00:33 PM GMT+1  
**Subject:** David's Testimony  
**To:** ATHENS-CORE <ATHENS-CORE@state.gov>

## I. Introduction

My name is David Holmes, and I am a career Foreign Service Officer with the Department of State. Since August 2017, I have been the Political Counselor at the U.S. Embassy in Kyiv, Ukraine. While it is an honor to appear before you, I want to make clear that I did not seek this opportunity to testify today. You have determined that I may have something of value to these proceedings, and it is therefore my obligation to appear and tell you what I know. Indeed, Secretary Pompeo stated last week, "I hope everyone who testifies will go do so truthfully, accurately. When they do, the oversight role will have been performed, and I think American will come to

see what took place here." That is my goal today: to testify truthfully and accurately to enable you to perform that role. And to that end, I have hurriedly put together this statement over the past couple days to describe as best I can my recollection of events that may be relevant to this matter.

## II. Background

I have spent my entire professional life serving my country as a Foreign Service Officer. Prior to my current post in Kyiv, Ukraine, I served at the Embassy of Moscow, Russia as Deputy and Internal Unit Chief in the Political Section, and before that as Senior Energy Officer in the Economics Section. In Washington, I served on the National Security Council staff as Director for Afghanistan and as Special Assistant to the Under Secretary of State. My prior overseas assignments include New Delhi, India; Kabul, Afghanistan; Bogotá, Colombia; and Pristina, Kosovo. I am a graduate of Pomona College in Claremont, California and received graduate degrees in international affairs from the University of St. Andrews (Scotland) and Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs.

As the Political Counselor at the U.S. Embassy in Kyiv, I lead the Political Section covering Ukraine's domestic politics, foreign policy, and conflict diplomacy, and serve as the senior policy and political adviser to the Ambassador. The job of an embassy political counselor is to gather information about the host country's internal politics, foreign relations, and security policies, report back to Washington, represent U.S. policies to foreign contacts, and advise the Ambassador on policy development and implementation.

In this role, I am a senior member of the Embassy's Country Team and continually involved in addressing issues as they arise. I am also called upon to take notes in meetings involving the Ambassador or visiting senior U.S. officials with Ukrainian counterparts, particularly within the Ukrainian Presidential Administration. For this reason, I have been present in many meetings with President Zelenskyy and his administration, some of which may be germane to this inquiry. Other issues that may be relevant to this inquiry, including energy and the justice sector, did not fall under my specific portfolio and I was not the expert, but I followed those issues inasmuch as they had a political component.

While I am Political Counselor at the Embassy, it is important to note that I am not a political appointee or engaged in U.S. politics in any way. It is not my job to cover or advise on U.S. politics. On the contrary, I am an apolitical foreign policy professional and my job is to focus on the politics of the country in which I serve so that we can better understand the local landscape and better advance U.S. national interests there. I joined the

Foreign Service through an apolitical, merit-based process under the George W. Bush administration and I have proudly served administrations of both parties and worked for their appointees, both political and career.

### III. Service in Ukraine Prior to Zelenskyy's Inauguration

I arrived in Kyiv to take up my assignment as Political Counselor in August 2017, a year after Ambassador Yovanovitch received her appointment. From August 2017 until her removal from Post in May 2019, I was Ambassador Yovanovitch's chief policy advisor and developed a deep respect for her dedication, determination, and professionalism.

During this time, we worked together closely, speaking multiple times per day, and I accompanied Ambassador Yovanovitch to many of her meetings with senior Ukrainian counterparts. I was also the note-taker for senior U.S. visitors with President Poroshenko, who I met at least a dozen times.

Our work in Ukraine focused on three pillars addressing peace and security, economic growth and reform, and anti-corruption and rule of law. These pillars match the three consistent priorities of the Ukrainian people since 2014 as measured in public opinion polling, namely, an end to the conflict with Russia that restores national unity and territorial integrity, responsible economic policies that deliver European standards of growth and opportunity, and effective and impartial rule of law institutions that deliver justice in cases of high-level official corruption.

Our efforts on this third pillar merit special mention because it was during Ambassador Yovanovitch's tenure that we achieved the hard-fought passage of law establishing an independent anti-corruption court to try corruption cases brought by the National Anti-corruption Bureau (NABU), another independent institution established with U.S. support.

These efforts strained Ambassador Yovanovitch's relationship with President Poroshenko and some of his allies, including Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko, who resisted fully empowering truly independent anti-corruption institutions that would help ensure that no Ukrainians, however powerful, were above the law. However, the Ambassador and the Embassy kept pushing anti-corruption and the other pillars of our policy toward Ukraine.

Beginning in March 2019, the situation at the Embassy and in Ukraine changed dramatically. Specifically, our diplomatic policy that had been focused on supporting Ukrainian democratic reform and resistance to Russian aggression became overshadowed by a political agenda being promoted by Rudy Giuliani and cadre of officials operating with a direct channel to the White House.

That change began with the emergence of press reports critical of Ambassador Yovanovitch and machinations by Mr. Lutsenko and others to discredit her. In mid-March 2019, an Embassy colleague learned from a Ukrainian colleague that Mr. 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. In retaliation, Mr. Lutsenko made a series of unsupported allegations against Ambassador Yovanovitch, mostly suggesting that Ambassador Yovanovitch improperly used the Embassy to advance the Democrats' political interests. Mr. Lutsenko claimed that the Embassy had ordered NABU to investigate the former head of Ukraine's tax service solely because the former head was the main Ukrainian contact of the Republican Party and of President Trump personally. Mr. Lutsenko also claimed that the Embassy had pressured former Prosecutor General Shokin to engineer the closing of the case against former Minister of Ecology Zlochevsky because of the connection between his company Burisma and former Vice President Biden's son. Mr. Lutsenko said that after Ambassador Yovanovitch's posting in Kyiv, she would face "serious problems" in the United States.

Embassy colleagues also heard from a reporter that Mr. Lutsenko had made additional unsupported claims against Ambassador Yovanovitch, including that she had allegedly given him a "do not prosecute list" containing the names of her supposed allies, an allegation that the State Department called an "outright fabrication," and that Mr. Lutsenko later retracted. Mr. Lutsenko also alleged he never received \$4.4 million in U.S. funds intended for his office. Finally, he alleged that there was a tape of the current head of NABU saying he was trying to help Hillary Clinton win the 2016 election. Public opinion polls in Ukraine indicated that Ukrainians generally did not believe Mr. Lutsenko's allegations, and on March 22, President Poroshenko issued a statement in support of Ambassador Yovanovitch.

Around this same time, the Ukrainian presidential election was approaching and Volodymyr Zelenskyy was surging in the polls, ahead of Mr. Lutsenko's political ally, President Poroshenko. On April 20, I was present for Ambassador Yovanovitch's third and final meeting with then-candidate Mr. Zelenskyy ahead of his landslide victory in the runoff election the next day. As in her two prior meetings that I also attended, they had an entirely cordial, pleasant conversation and signaled their mutual desire to work together.

On April 26, Ambassador Yovanovitch departed for consultations in Washington, DC, where she learned she would be recalled. I did not know the details of her conversations in Washington until I read her deposition statement, but it was clear at the time that she was being removed early. 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.

#### IV. Zelenskyy's Inauguration, Rudy Giuliani and the "Three Amigos"

Following President-elect Zelenskyy's victory, our attention in the Embassy focused on getting to know the incoming Zelenskyy administration and coordinating with Washington on preparations for the inauguration scheduled for May 20, the same day Ambassador Yovanovitch departed Post permanently. In early May, shortly after Mr. Giuliani cancelled a visit to Ukraine alleging Mr. Zelenskyy was "surrounded by enemies of the (U.S. President)," we learned that Vice President Pence no longer planned to lead the Presidential Delegation to the inauguration. The White House ultimately whittled back an initial proposed list for the official Presidential Delegation to the inauguration from over a dozen individuals to just five: Secretary Perry as its head, Ambassador to the European Union Gordon Sondland, Special Representative for Ukraine Negotiations Kurt Volker representing the State Department, National Security Council Director Alex Vindman representing the White House, and temporary acting Charge d'Affaires Joseph Pennington representing the Embassy. While Ambassador Sondland's mandate as Ambassador to the European Union did not cover individual member states, let alone non-member countries like Ukraine, he 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. Secretary Perry, Ambassador Sondland, and Ambassador Volker later styled themselves the "Three Amigos, and made clear they would take the lead on coordinating our policy and engagement with the Zelenskyy Administration.

Around the same time, I became aware that Mr. Giuliani, a private lawyer, was taking a direct role in Ukrainian diplomacy. On April 25, Ivan Bakanov, who was Mr. Zelenskyy's childhood friend, campaign chair, and ultimately appointed head of the Security Services of Ukraine, indicated to me privately he had been contacted by "someone named Giuliani who said he was an advisor to the Vice President." I reported Mr. Bakanov's message to Deputy Assistant Secretary of State George Kent. Over the following months, it became apparent that Mr. Giuliani was having a direct influence on the foreign policy agenda that the Three Amigo were executing on the ground in Ukraine. In fact, at one point during a preliminary meeting of the inauguration Delegation, someone wondered aloud about why Mr. Giuliani was so active in the media with respect to Ukraine. My recollection is that Ambassador Sondland stated, "Dammit Rudy. Every time Rudy gets involved he goes and f---s everything up."

The inauguration took place on May 20, and I took notes in the delegation's meeting with President Zelenskyy. During the meeting, Secretary Perry passed President Zelenskyy a list of "people he trusts" from whom

Zelenskyy could seek advice on energy sector reform, which was the topic of subsequent meeting between Secretary Perry and key Ukrainian energy-sector contacts, from which Embassy personnel were excluded by Secretary Perry's staff.

On May 23, Ambassador Volker, Ambassador Sondland, Secretary Perry, and Senator Ron Johnson (who had also attended the inauguration, though not in the official delegation) returned to the United States and briefed President Trump. On May 29, President Trump signed a congratulatory letter to President Zelenskyy, which included an invitation to visit the White House at an unspecified date.

It is important to understand that a White House visit was critical to President Zelenskyy. He needed to demonstrate U.S. support at the highest levels both to advance his ambitious anti-corruption agenda at home, and to encourage Russian President Vladimir Putin to take seriously President Zelenskyy's peace efforts. President Zelenskyy's team immediately began pressing to set a date for a visit. President Zelenskyy and senior members of his team made clear they wanted President Zelenskyy's first overseas trip to be to Washington to send a strong signal of Western support, and requested a call with President Trump as soon as possible. We at the Embassy also believed that a meeting was critical to the success of President Zelenskyy's administration and its reform agenda, and we worked hard to get in arranged.

When President Zelenskyy's team did not receive an affirmative reply, they made plans for President Zelenskyy's first overseas trip to be to Brussels, in part to attend an American Independence Day event that Ambassador Sondland hosted on June 4. Ambassador Sondland hosted a dinner in President Zelenskyy's honor following the reception, which included President Zelenskyy, Jared Kushner, Ulrich Brechbuhl, Federica Mogherini, and comedian Jay Leno, among others. In the week leading up to the event, Ambassador Sondland, Secretary Perry, and Secretary Perry's staff were taking a very active and unconventional role in formulating our priorities for the new Zelenskyy Administration and personally reaching out to President Zelenskyy and his senior team.

#### V. Ambassador Taylor and an Oval Office Meeting

Ambassador Bill Taylor arrived in Kyiv as Charge d'Affaires on June 17. For the next month, a focus of our activities – along with the Three Amigos – was to coordinate a White House visit, and to that end we were working with the Ukrainians to deliver things we thought President Trump might care about, such as commercial deals benefitting the United States. Ambassador Taylor reported that Secretary Pompeo had told him prior to his arrival in Kyiv, "We need to work on turning the President around on Ukraine."



Ambassador Volker told us the next five years (i.e. President Zelenskyy's term) could hang on what could be accomplished in the next three months.

Within a week or two, it became apparent that the energy sector reforms, commercial deals, and anti-corruption efforts on which we were making progress were not making a dent in terms of persuading the White House to schedule a meeting between the presidents. On June 27, Ambassador Sondland told Ambassador Taylor in a phone conversation (the gist of which Ambassador Taylor shared with me at the time) that President Zelenskyy needed to make clear to President Trump that President Zelenskyy was not standing in the way of "investigations." I understood that this was referring to the Burisma/Biden investigations that Mr. Giuliani and his associates had been speaking about in the media since March. While Ambassador Taylor did not brief me on every detail of his communications with the Three Amigos, he did tell me that on a June 28 call with President Zelenskyy, Ambassador Taylor, and the Three Amigos, it was made clear that some action on a Burisma/Biden investigation was a precondition for an Oval Office meeting. We became concerned that even if a meeting could occur it would not go well, and I discussed with Embassy colleagues whether we should stop seeking a meeting together.

#### VI. The Freezing of Security Assistance

I was present in the Embassy conference room for the National Security Council secure video conference call July 18 when an Office of Management and Budget staff members surprisingly announced the hold on Ukraine security assistance near the end of an almost two-hour meeting. The official said the order had come from the President and had been conveyed to OMB by Mr. Mulvaney with no further explanation. This began a week or so of efforts by various agencies to identify the rationale for the freeze, conduct a review of the assistance, and to reaffirm the unanimous view of the Ukraine policy community of its importance. NSC counterparts affirmed that there had been no change in our Ukraine policy, but could not determine the cause of the hold or how to lift it. While I am now aware of testimony regarding discussions between Ambassador Taylor, Ambassador Volker, and the Three Amigos on July 19-20, I was not aware of those discussions at the time.

#### VII. July 26 Meetings and Ambassador Sondland Call to the President

On July 25, President Trump made a congratulatory phone call to President Zelenskyy, after his party won a commanding majority in Ukraine's parliamentary election. Contrary to standard procedure, the Embassy received no readout of the call, and I was unaware of what was discussed until the transcript was released September 25. Upon reading the transcript, I was deeply disappointed to see that the President raised none of what I understood to be our inter-agency agreed upon foreign policy priorities in Ukraine and instead raised the Biden/Burisma investigation and referred to

the theory of Crowd strike, which was supposedly connected to Ukraine and allegedly played a role in the 206 election.

The next day, July 26, 2019, I attended meetings at the Presidential Administration Building in Kyiv with Ambassador Taylor, Ambassador Volker, and Ambassador Sondland and took notes during those meetings.

We first had a meeting with Andriy Bohdan, the Chief of Staff to President Zelenskyy. The meeting was brief, as Mr. Bohdan had already been summoned by President Zelenskyy to prepare for a subsequent broader meeting, but he did say that President Trump had expressed interest during the previous day's phone call in President Zelenskyy's personnel decisions related to the Prosecutor General's Office.

The delegation then met with President Zelenskyy and several other senior officials. During the meeting, President Zelenskyy stated that during the July 25 call, President 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." Not having received a readout of the July 25 call, I did not know what those sensitive issues were.

After meeting with President Zelenskyy, Ambassador Volker and Ambassador Taylor quickly left the Presidential Administration Building for a trip to the front lines. Ambassador Sondland, who was to fly out that afternoon, stayed behind to have a meeting with Andriy Yermak, a top aide to President Zelenskyy.

As I was leaving the meeting with President Zelenskyy, I was told to join the meeting with Ambassador Sondland and Mr. Yermak as note-taker. I had not expected to join that meeting and was a flight of stairs behind Ambassador Sondland as he headed to meet with Mr. Yermak. When I reached Mr. Yermak's office, Ambassador Sondland had already gone in. I explained to Mr. Yermak's assistant that I was supposed to join the meeting as the Embassy's representative and strongly urged her to let me in, but she told me that that Ambassador Sondland and Mr. Yermak had insisted that the meeting be one-on-one, with no note-taker. I then waited in the anteroom until the meeting ended, along with a member of Ambassador Sondland's staff and a member of the U.S. Embassy Kyiv staff.

When the meeting ended, the two staffers and I accompanied Ambassador Sondland out of the Presidential Administration Building and to the embassy vehicle. Ambassador Sondland said that he wanted to go to lunch. I told Ambassador Sondland that I would be happy to join if he wanted to brief me on his meeting with Mr. Yermak or discuss other issues, and Ambassador Sondland said that I should join. The two staffers joined for lunch as well.

The four of us went to a nearby restaurant and sat on an outdoor terrace. I sat directly across from Ambassador Sondland and the two staffers sat off to our sides. At first, the lunch was largely social. Ambassador Sondland selected a bottle of wine that he shared among the four of us, and we discussed topics such as marketing strategies for his hotel business.

During the lunch, Ambassador Sondland said that he was going to call President Trump to give him an update. Ambassador Sondland placed a call on his mobile phone, and I heard him announce himself several times, along the lines of "Gordon Sondland holding for the President." It appeared that he was being transferred through several layers of switchboards and assistants. I then noticed Ambassador Sondland's demeanor change, and understood that he had been connected to President Trump. While Ambassador Sondland's phone was not on speakerphone, I could hear the President'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.

I heard Ambassador Sondland greet the President and explain that he was calling from Kyiv. I heard President Trump then clarify that Ambassador Sondland was in Ukraine. Ambassador Sondland replied, yes, he was in Ukraine, and went on to state that President Zelenskyy "loves your ass." I then heard President Trump ask, "So, he's gonna do the investigation?" Ambassador Sondland replied that "he's gonna do it," adding that President Zelenskyy will do "anything you ask him to." Even though I did not take notes of these statements, I have a clear recollection that these statements were made. I believe that my colleagues who were sitting at the table also knew that Ambassador Sondland was speaking with the President.

The conversation then shifted to Ambassador Sondland's efforts, on behalf of the President, to assist a rapper who was jailed in Sweden, and I could only hear Ambassador Sondland's side of that part of the conversation. Ambassador Sondland told the President that the rapper was "kind of f---d there," and "should have pled guilty." He recommended that the President "wait until after the sentencing or it will make it worse," adding that the President should "let him get sentenced, play the racism card, give him a ticker-tape when he comes home." Ambassador Sondland further told the President that Sweden "should have released him on your word," but that "you can tell the Kardashians you tried."

After the call ended, Ambassador Sondland remarked that the President was in a bad mood, as Ambassador Sondland stated was often the case early in the morning. I then took the opportunity to ask Ambassador Sondland for his candid impression of the President's views on Ukraine. In particular, I asked

Ambassador Sondland if it was true that the President did not "give a s—t about Ukraine." Ambassador Sondland agreed that the President did not "give a s—t about Ukraine." I asked why not, and Ambassador 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 Ambassador Sondland replied that he meant "big stuff" that benefits the President, like the "Biden investigation" that Mr. Giuliani was pushing. The conversation then moved on to other topics.

Upon returning to the Embassy, I immediately told the Deputy Chief of Mission and others at the Embassy about the call with the President and my conversation with Ambassador Sondland. I also emailed an Embassy official in Sweden regarding the issue with the U.S. rapper that was discussed on the call.

July 26 was my last day in the office ahead of a planned vacation that ended on August 6. After returning to the Embassy, I told Ambassador Taylor about the July 26 call. I also repeatedly referred to the call and conversation with Ambassador Sondland in meetings and conversations where the issue of the President's interest in Ukraine was potentially relevant. At that time, Ambassador Sondland's statement of the President's lack of interest in Ukraine was of particular focus. We understood that in order to secure a meeting between President Trump and President Zelenskyy, we would have to work hard to find a way to explain Ukraine's importance to President Trump in terms that he found compelling.

#### VIII. Lifting the Hold on Security Assistance

Over the ensuing weeks, we continued to try to identify ways to frame the importance of Ukraine in ways that would appeal to the President, and to try to move forward on the scheduling of a White House visit by President Zelenskyy. On July 28, while President Trump was still not moving forward with a meeting with President Zelenskyy, he met with Russian President Putin at the G20 Summit in Osaka, Japan, sending a further signal of lack of support for Ukraine.

Ukrainian Independence Day is August 24 and presented a good opportunity to show support for Ukraine. Secretary Pompeo had considered attending (National Security Advisor Bolton attended in 2018 and Defense Secretary Mattis attended in 2017), but in the end nobody senior to Ambassador Volker attended.

Shortly thereafter, on August 27, Ambassador Bolton visited Ukraine and brought welcome news that President Trump had agreed to meet President Zelenskyy on September 1 in Warsaw. I took notes in Ambassador Bolton's meeting with President Zelenskyy and Chief of Staff Mr. Bohdan.



Ambassador Bolton told Mr. Bohdan that the meeting between the presidents in Warsaw would be "crucial to cementing their relationship."

Between meetings that day, I heard Ambassador Bolton express to Ambassador Taylor and National Security Council Senior Director Tim Morrison his frustration about Mr. Giuliani's influence with the President, making clear there was nothing he could do about it. He recommended that new Prosecutor General Ruslan Ryaboshapka, who would replace Mr. Lutsenko, open a channel with Attorney General Barr in place of Mr. Yermak's channel with Mr. Giuliani. He also expressed frustration about Ambassador Sondland's expansive interpretation of his mandate, musing that he should ask his staff to confirm that the mandate of the U.S. Ambassador to the European Union was limited to the European Union and had no authority with the individual member states, let alone non-members like Ukraine. Ambassador Bolton further indicated the hold on security assistance would not be lifted prior to the Warsaw meeting, where it would hang on whether President Zelenskyy was able to "favorably impress" President Trump.

President Trump ultimately pulled out of the Warsaw trip, so the hold remained in place with no clear means to get it lifted. After the trip was cancelled, Ambassador Taylor also told me that Ambassador Bolton recommended that Ambassador Taylor send a first-person cable to Secretary Pompeo articulating the importance of the security assistance. At Ambassador Taylor's direction, I drafted and transmitted the cable August 29, which further attempted to explain Ukraine's importance and the importance of the security assistance to U.S. national security.

During this time, we were still trying to appeal to President Trump in foreign policy and national security terms. 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. I have since read in Ambassador Taylor's testimony an account of a meeting in Warsaw in which Ambassador Sondland told Mr. Yermak (according to Mr. Morrison) that the security assistance freeze would not be lifted until President Zelenskyy committed to the Burisma/Biden investigation. I have also read Ambassador Taylor's testimony about the text exchange and phone call between Ambassador Taylor and Ambassador Sondland in which Ambassador Sondland admitted that "everything" was dependent on such an announcement and that President Trump wanted President Zelenskyy "in a public box."

On September 5, I took notes at Senator Johnson and Senator Chris Murphy's meeting with President Zelenskyy in Kyiv. President Zelenskyy asked about the security assistance. Although both Senators stressed

bipartisan Congressional support for Ukraine, Senator Johnson cautioned President Zelenskyy that President Trump has a negative view of Ukraine and that President Zelenskyy would have a difficult time overcoming it. Senator Johnson further explained that he was "shocked" by President Trump's negative reaction during an Oval Office meeting on May 23, when he and the Three Amigos proposed that President Trump meet President Zelenskyy and show support for Ukraine.

I was not aware until I read Ambassador Taylor's testimony of the various exchanges on September 7-8 about President Trump apparently insisting that President Zelenskyy personally go to a microphone and say he was opening investigations of the Bidens and 2016 election interference, or Mr. Yermak's message to Ambassador Sondland that President Zelenskyy was prepared to make a statement on CNN. However, Ambassador Taylor did tell me on September 8 "now they're insisting Zelenskyy commit to the investigation in an interview with CNN." I was surprised the requirement was so specific and concrete. While we had advised our Ukrainian counterparts to voice a commitment to following the rule of law and generally to investigating credible corruption allegations, this was a demand that President Zelenskyy personally commit to a specific investigation of President Trump's political rival on a cable news channel.

On September 11, the hold on security assistance was lifted, though it remained unclear why it was imposed in the first place. Although we knew the hold was lifted, we were still concerned that President Zelenskyy may have committed to give the interview at the annual YES! Conference in Kyiv on September 12-14 where CNN's Fareed Zakaria was one of the moderators. On September 13, an Embassy colleague received a phone call from a colleague at the U.S. Embassy to the European Union (under Ambassador Sondland) and texted me regarding the call, "Sondland said the [Zelenskyy] 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 our European Union Embassy colleague did not know if this was decided or if Ambassador Sondland was advocating for it.

Also on September 13, following a meeting with President Zelenskyy in his private office in which I took notes, Ambassador Taylor and I ran into Mr. Yermak on the way out. When Ambassador Taylor again stressed the importance of staying out of U.S. politics and said he hoped no interview was planned, Mr. Yermak shrugged in resignation and did not answer, as if to indicate they had no choice. In short, everyone thought there was going to be an interview, and that the Ukrainians believed they had to do it. The interview ultimately did not occur.

On September 21, Ambassador Taylor and I collaborated on input he sent to Mr. Morrison to brief President Trump ahead of a September 25 meeting that had been scheduled with President Zelenskyy in New York on the margins of the UN General Assembly. The transcript of the July 25 call was released the same day. As of today, I still have not seen a readout of the September 25 meeting.

As the current impeachment inquiry has progressed, I have followed press reports and reviewed the statements of Ambassador Taylor and Ambassador Yovanovitch. Based on my experience in Ukraine, my recollection is generally consistent with their testimony and I believed that the relevant facts were therefor being laid out for the American people. However, in the last week or so, I read press reports expressing for the first time that certain senior officials may have been acting without the President's knowledge in their dealings and suggesting that the only evidence being elicited at the hearings was "hearsay." I came to realize I had first-hand knowledge regarding certain events on July 26 that had not otherwise been reported, and that those events potentially bore on the question of whether the President did, in fact, have knowledge that those officials were using the levers of our diplomatic power to induce the new Ukrainian President to announce the opening of a particular criminal investigation. It is at that point that I made the observation to Ambassador Taylor that the incident I had witnessed had acquired greater significance, which is what he reported in his testimony earlier this week.

#### IX. Conclusion

I would like to take a moment to turn back to Ukraine. Next week marks six year since throngs of pro-Western Ukrainians spontaneously gathered on Kyiv's Independence Square to launch what became known as the Revolution of Dignity. While the protests began in opposition to a turn toward Russia and away from the West, they expanded over three months to reject the entire corrupt, repressive system that the President oversaw and ultimately led to his flight from Ukraine to Russia. Those events were followed by Russia's occupation of Ukraine's Crimean peninsula and invasion of Ukraine's eastern Donbas region, masterminding an ensuing war that, to date, has cost Ukraine almost 14,000 lives. Over the past five years they have rebuilt a shattered economy, adhered to a peace process, and moved economically and socially closer to the West – toward our way of life.

Earlier this year, large majorities of Ukrainians again chose a fresh start by voting for a political newcomer as president, replacing 80 percent of their parliament, and endorsing a platform consistent with our democratic values, reform priorities, and strategic interests. This year's revolution at the ballot box underscores that, despite its imperfections, Ukraine is a genuine and



vibrant democracy and an example to over post-Soviet countries and beyond – from Moscow to Hong Kong.

How we respond to this historic opportunity will set the trajectory of our relationship with Ukraine and our position on core principles central to our vital national interests for years to come. Ukrainians want to hear a clear and unambiguous reaffirmation that our long-standing, bipartisan policy of strong support for Ukraine remains unchanged and that we fully back it at the highest levels. Vice President Pence said after his meeting with President Zelenskyy in Warsaw, "The U.S.-Ukraine relationship has never been stronger." Ukrainians and their new government earnestly want to believe that.

Ukrainians cherish their bipartisan American support that has sustained their Euro-Atlantic aspirations, and they recoil at the thought of playing a role in U.S. domestic politics or elections. At a time of shifting allegiances and rising competitors in the world, we have no better friend than Ukraine – a scrappy, unbowed, determined and above all dignified people who are standing up against Russian authoritarianism and aggression. We are now at an inflection point in Ukraine, and it is critical to our national security that we stand in strong support of our Ukrainian partners. Ukrainians and freedom-loving people everywhere are watching the example we set of democracy and the rule of law.

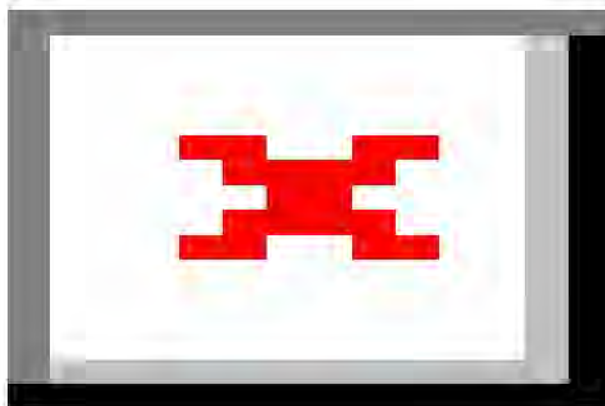
Thank you, I am happy to answer any questions.

**Sender:** (b)(6)  
**Recipient:**

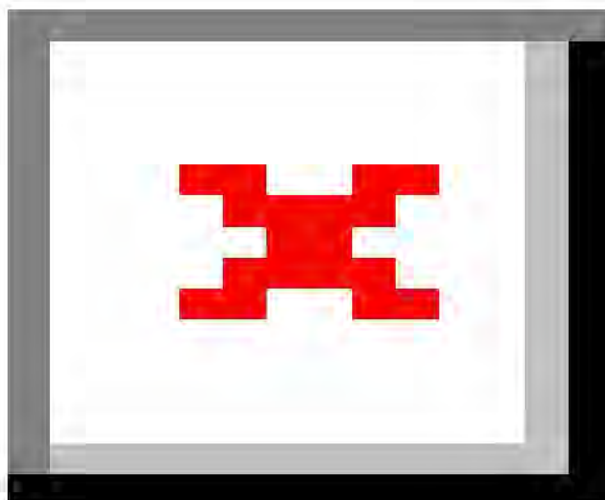
**From:** (b)(6)**To:****Subject:** RE: Derkach Allegations Compendium**Date:** Thu, 10 Oct 2019 12:48:03 +0000

And now distilled to allegations of alleged U.S. Embassy activity in Derkach's news story:

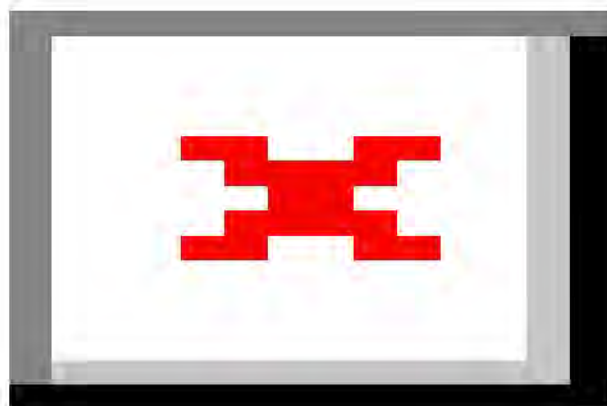
- NABU First Deputy Director Gizo Uglava via his assistant Polina Chizh had been for several years offering information to the U.S. Embassy in Kyiv including specific criminal cases, and coordinated its activity with the Embassy in a number of resonant cases via Olena Kustova, including on how best to respond to two MP information requests. Thus NABU "operated under control of a specific Embassy representatives." General pressure on NABU from the Embassy in the period from 2016-2018.
- The Embassy involved itself in the Nasirov case. Uglava had "coordinated" the case presented to Nasirov with the Embassy (what was on the slides appeared to be a copy of the filing against Nasirov), "while one of its leaders John Kent" (sic) "probably just happened to be wandering around outside the court, likely coordinating the protersters' actions."
- Claimed to be in possession of documents about pressure on former PGO Viktor Shokin with regards to his investigations of Burisma but did not disclose these, or where the pressure originated from.
- Embassy employee allegedly requested information from NABU regarding the activity of former ecology minister Nikola Zlochevsky who is a subject of the Burizma investigation.
- Embassy had allegedly queried NABU regarding Shokin's "very detailed" personal data, and alleged without any further elucidation that this was tied to the Burisma case. A separate slide allegedly showed Shokin's file from the Migration Service reportedly requested by NABU. Unclear if this was supposedly a response to the alleged Embassy request or merely intended to confuse correlation with causation.
- Published alleged correspondence from Chiz to Uglava regarding conversations with the FBI in the black ledger case, recommending the FBI to interview Larry King. No concrete link to Embassy alleged.
- Alleged Rudy Guiliani's notes (published last week according to Derkach, NFI) state Zlochevsky case was closed by Shokin out of fear of the United States. (According to Derkach Shokin had an investigative plan regarding Burisma that would include questioning of its board members.) No claims of Embassy/U.S. activity here. Derkach adduced motivation for Biden's call to fire Shokin to the latter's investigation of the Burisma case, but unclear why this would have occurred after the alleged closure of the case.



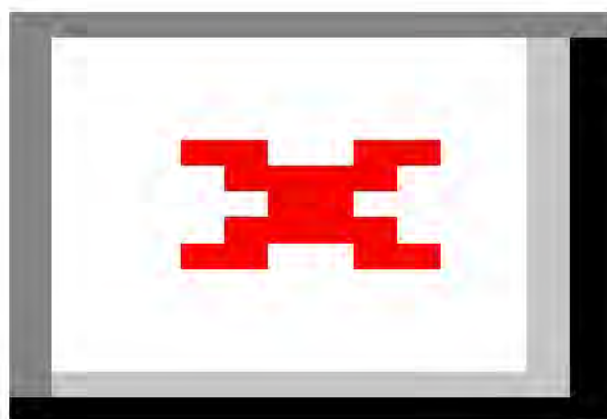
0000000000000000



0000000000000000



третий слайд



**Узнать больше:**

UNCLASSIFIED

**Sender:** "Cooper, Anton M (Kyiv)" (b)(6)

**Recipient:**

(b)(6)



<b>From:</b>	"Kent, George P"
<b>To:</b>	(b)(6)
<b>Subject:</b>	RE: EE Items of Interest: 10/18 (Friday) - inland waterways ahoy
<b>Date:</b>	Fri, 18 Oct 2019 12:18:23 +0000

I have. She asked me to run it by Michael Murphy, who will be SBO that week (both Phil and Maureen will be traveling). So thin bench overall.

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Friday, October 18, 2019 8:18 AM  
**To:** Kent, George P (b)(6)  
**Subject:** RE: EE Items of Interest: 10/18 (Friday) - inland waterways ahoy

Can you also ask (b)(6) about October 30?

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

**From:** Kent, George P (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Friday, October 18, 2019 8:16 AM  
**To:** (b)(6)  
**Cc:** (b)(6)  
**Subject:** RE: EE Items of Interest: 10/18 (Friday) - inland waterways ahoy

(b)(5) USAID and the Dutch have done some preliminary studies.

I met a Greek American last year whose great grandfather, a so-called Pontic Greek (the Black sea greeks) was involved in the barge traffic in Ukraine in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century; the barge business then essentially was divided between ethnic Greeks and ethnic Jews. A greater percentage of goods transport was conveyed by barge then compared to now; despite all the other infrastructure and transport/tech advances, barge traffic remains by far the cheapest form of goods transport, followed by rail, then road, then air.

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Friday, October 18, 2019 7:53 AM  
**To:** Kent, George P (b)(6)  
**Cc:** (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(5)





(b)(5)



(b)(6)

Deputy Director, EUR/EE

(b)(6)

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

<b>Sender:</b>	"Kent, George P"
<b>Recipient:</b>	(b)(6)

<b>From:</b>	(b)(6)
<b>To:</b>	Kent, George P (b)(6)
<b>Subject:</b>	RE: EE Items of Interest: 10/18 (Friday) - inland waterways ahoy
<b>Date:</b>	Fri, 18 Oct 2019 12:20:03 +0000

(b)(6)

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

**From:** Kent, George P <KentGP@state.gov>

**Sent:** Friday, October 18, 2019 8:16 AM

**To:** (b)(6)

**Cc:**

(b)(6)

**Subject:** RE: EE Items of Interest: 10/18 (Friday) - inland waterways ahoy

(b)(5)

USAID and the

Dutch have done some preliminary studies.

I met a Greek American last year whose great grandfather, a so-called Pontic Greek (the Black sea greeks) was involved in the barge traffic in Ukraine in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century; the barge business then essentially was divided between ethnic Greeks and ethnic Jews. A greater percentage of goods transport was conveyed by barge then compared to now; despite all the other infrastructure and transport/tech advances, barge traffic remains by far the cheapest form of goods transport, followed by rail, then road, then air.

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Friday, October 18, 2019 7:53 AM

**To:** Kent, George P <KentGP@state.gov>

**Cc:** (b)(6)

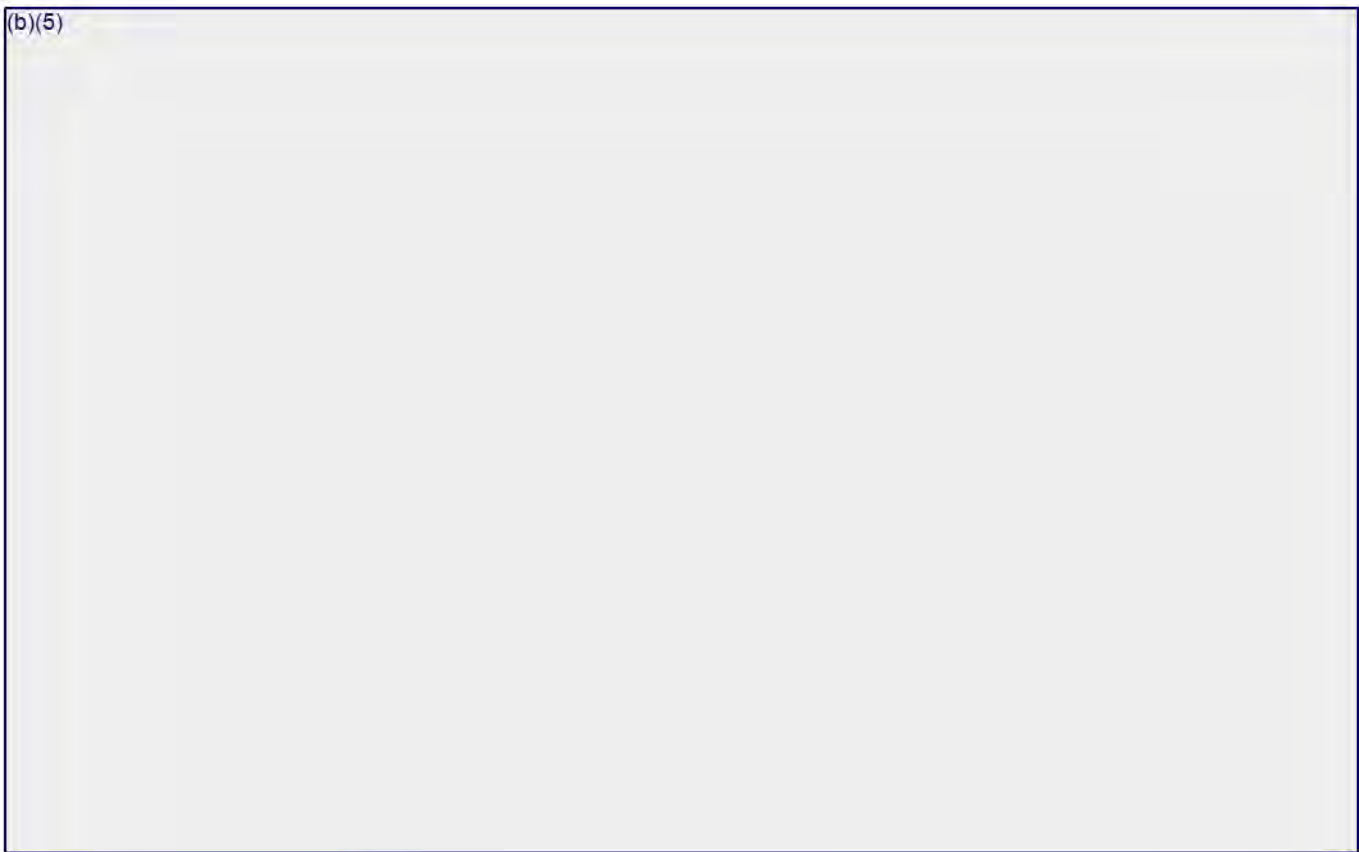
(b)(6)

(b)(5)

(b)(5)



(b)(5)



(b)(6)

Deputy Director, EUR/EE

(b)(6)

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED

<b>Sender:</b>	(b)(6)
<b>Recipient:</b>	Kent, George P (b)(6)

<b>From:</b>	(b)(6)
<b>To:</b>	
<b>Subject:</b>	RE: Excerpts of Lutsenko interview on U.S. issues
<b>Date:</b>	Thu, 22 Aug 2019 12:18:48 +0000

Yup, it was his apartment building. [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/how-ukraines-attempt-to-arrest-saakashvili-ended-in-a-rousing-rooftop-speech/2017/12/05/2523f88a-d9bc-11e7-a241-0848315642d0\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/how-ukraines-attempt-to-arrest-saakashvili-ended-in-a-rousing-rooftop-speech/2017/12/05/2523f88a-d9bc-11e7-a241-0848315642d0_story.html)

**Official - Transitory**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Thursday, August 22, 2019 2:48 PM  
**To:** (b)(6)  
**Subject:** RE: Excerpts of Lutsenko interview on U.S. issues

Yikes. Why was he barefoot? Was it his residence roof? (just curious!)

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Thursday, August 22, 2019 1:58 PM  
**To:** (b)(6)  
**Subject:** RE: Excerpts of Lutsenko interview on U.S. issues

It's Lutsenko's shorthand way of referring back to a situation where law enforcement officers were arresting Saakashvili to extradite him (in December 2017). He was hiding on the roof, and there is a video of how officers captured him barefoot running on the roof.

**Official - Transitory**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Thursday, August 22, 2019 1:29 PM  
**To:** (b)(6)  
**Subject:** RE: Excerpts of Lutsenko interview on U.S. issues

What does it mean "Saakashvili was on the roof"?

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Thursday, August 22, 2019 12:57 PM  
**To:** Kyiv Senior Staff <[KyivSeniorStaff@state.gov](mailto:KyivSeniorStaff@state.gov)>; Kyiv POL Core <[KyivPOLCore@state.gov](mailto:KyivPOLCore@state.gov)>  
**Cc:** Kyiv IOs <[KyivIOs@state.gov](mailto:KyivIOs@state.gov)>; EUR-Ukraine Desk-DL <[EUR-UkraineDesk-DL@state.gov](mailto:EUR-UkraineDesk-DL@state.gov)>; Kent, George P (b)(6) (b)(6)  
**Subject:** Excerpts of Lutsenko interview on U.S. issues

Below is an excerpt of some U.S.-related issues from Prosecutor General Lutsenko's interview with Censor.net, published yesterday. Other topics covered in the interview include Lutsenko's relations with NABU, Lutsenko's relations with Zelenskyy, the Handziuk case, etc. The interview is quite long – we're working on a translation and hope to have it complete by COB. We'll circulate it ASAP.



**- Let's get back to your conversation with Giuliani in the U.S.**

- We meet at his invite. Twice I couldn't come on days we agreed to. First, Saakashvili was on the roof, second – I was reporting to the Parliament on Savchenko's case. Giuliani again sent an invite and asked: who is this Lutsenko that makes me change my plans? Although we were acquainted before. I took days off, my youngest son, who had long dreamed of seeing New York, and we went there in January. We were there, it seems, 4-5 days. About 6 hours altogether, I spent talking to Giuliani. These were general political conversations with a focus on what is happening in the law enforcement system. It seemed to me that the inviting party already had a lot of materials on issues that they were interested in. At least I saw clearly that they were operating information from predecessor and other law enforcement officials.

**- With Shokin, Giuliani was communicating on Skype. How did you understand: what goals Giuliani was pursuing talking to you? Probably, he was interested in the criminal case against Sytnik?**

- No. He was interested in how NABU works and why we have a conflict with them. Do not forget that he is also a prosecutor, among other things. The questions were of this kind: how truly independent and honest are these two leaders? How do you cooperate with the police?

**- Well, it is unlikely that he was interested as a person who is going to write a book about the effectiveness of the law enforcement system in Ukraine. He was interested as an ally of Trump who needs to win another election from Democrats.**

- No. He is interested in the situation in Ukraine, as he wishes Ukraine success. Rudolph knows a lot about the political maneuvers of the entire Ukrainian elite and about the conflicts of the law enforcement system. And he wants to understand what is the cause of the blatant irresponsibility of Ukrainian corrupt officials. It seems that even before our meeting, he realized that NABU instead of catching corrupt officials from the upper echelons of power, NABU was engaged in politics. Ukrainian and American. In this context, he was interested in how the leakage of the so-called "black ledger" of the Party of Regions occurred. And why Ukrainian officials, including People's Deputy Leshchenko and NABU head Sytnik, released the data of a pre-trial investigation regarding Manafort during the hot phase of the U.S. presidential election.

**- Did he himself name Leshchenko's last name, or as Leshchenko believes, you were pedaling this topic?**

- Do you think they don't have an interview with Leshchenko about "that I threw the last nail into Manafort's coffin and, hopefully, Trump's?"

**- This is not an interview, but a phrase from Twitter.**

- From a Facebook post. Honestly, I only realized there that Leshchenko was already a deputy at that time. I always treated him as a journalist. And Giuliani says: so is he an official, a Member of Parliament. And to be honest, I was quite confused.

**- What else is Trump interested in?**

- The case of Zlochevsky.

**- In the context of Biden as a future Democratic candidate?**

- Well, it's common knowledge. I'm sorry, grab your mobile, search Burisma online - and you'll get the board of the company. Biden was younger, and in fact another person close to Kerry, on the Burisma board - isn't that obvious?

**- Yes, there is Devon Archer.**

- All processes are clear. A good friend of mine (as Mr. Giuliani said, a "prominent European politician") Kwasniewski, came to the Burisma board during the Maidan. And then, when it was quite clear that we had



taken the western vector, there appeared to be representatives delegated by the U.S. establishment. How can this be evaluated? In terms of our legislation, there is no criminal offense here. Any firm can pay any money to its board members. Moreover, because Biden's son did not receive funds as an individual, unlike all others, but through his legal consulting company. This information is known to everyone. They asked if there was a crime in Ukraine. I replied that I did not see it. But we are ready to set up a joint investigation team on this issue.

**- Giuliani's interest in this conversation is more or less clear. And yours?**

- My interest, that is, the Ukrainian interest, was also here. I wanted them all to do or respond to the proposal of the GPU to continue the investigation of illegally withdrawn Yanukovych funds. Because the famous 1.5 billion is just the beginning of the journey to another \$ 7 billion that was in one of the hedge funds in the U.S. at the time. They were brought there and placed by well-known members of the organized Yanukovych group. By the way, Ukraine pays almost a billion in interest every year for this money.

**- Do you want these funds to be returned?**

- I wanted these funds to be confiscated in the same way as the previous 1.5 billion. Without U.S. help, this is impossible. It was my Ukrainian interest... I also spoke with Giuliani about supporting Ukraine's NATO membership. I often remain a supporter of revolutionary things. Yes, I know that the NATO Charter does not allow a country that has territorial conflicts to join the Alliance. But I also know the exceptions to this rule. We talked about it, and I saw how Giuliani lit up. I believe that the American president can go down in history as a man who pushed the freedom zone to the very borders of the Evil Empire. Borders that were in Berlin in the 60's, in the 80's in Warsaw, and in the 90's in Lviv, can now move to our eastern border. NATO's umbrella for security over Ukraine is the only way to prevent future waves of Russian aggression. This could be a historic achievement for the U.S. president. By the way, I gave absolutely all the details of this conversation to the newly elected president before the inauguration, during my first meeting with him.

**- What was next?**

- And then there was an explosion after I gave an interview to the American "The Hill" in March. Everything I said there, everything, to the last word, is documented. The only problem is that someone very clumsily translated my Ukrainian, because for some reason in the English text it was said that the ambassador gave me a list. And I said, She voiced the list. Writing and voicing are a somewhat different things... Everything else is I absolutely confirm. That was true. I am asked: why was this truth [needed]? I answer: truth is always useful. It can never be bad. The interaction between the U.S. and Ukrainian presidents should be straightforward and all stones on the road should be eliminated. Especially, when it comes to party plots used by high-ranking officials.

**Official**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

<b>Sender:</b>	(b)(6)
<b>Recipient:</b>	



<b>From:</b>	"Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)"
<b>To:</b>	(b)(6)
<b>Subject:</b>	RE: Latest Lutsenko news and interview
<b>Date:</b>	Thu, 18 Apr 2019 04:13:21 +0000

Thanks.

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, April 17, 2019 11:16 PM  
**To:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Kent, George P (b)(6) EUR-Ukraine Desk-DL <EUR-UkraineDesk-DL@state.gov> (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
**Cc:** (b)(6)  
**Subject:** Re: Latest Lutsenko news and interview

Went ahead and translated the long Lutsenko interview tonight; here it is. (Not 100 percent polished, but it should be understandable - if anyone needs any portions clarified in a more formal translation tomorrow, let me know.) The portion relevant to Amb, the U.S., etc starts about 1/3 to 1/2 of the way through the article. Note that The Babel suggests in the intro that more content from this interview is still to be published in the future, too.

**Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko is not resigning. Here is what he told us about the conflicts with the U.S. Ambassador and the head of NABU, the Burisma case, Rosenblat recordings, and sources of corruption - a big interview**

*Yuriy Lutsenko assumed the post of Attorney General in May 2016. His term began with a dubious episode: the day before the appointment, the parliament changed the law "under Lutsenko" - the head of the Prosecutor General's Office was able to be occupied by a person without legal education. Under Lutsenko, the GPU completed the investigation in cases of former President Viktor Yanukovich and businessman Sergei Kurchenko. The Prosecutor General's Office also survived the legal reform; now it is not conducting investigations, but oversees the investigators of the police, the SBU, the fiscal service and the SBI; High-ranking corrupt officials are now investigated by NABU under the supervision of the SAP. Journalists and opposition politicians have accumulated many claims against Yuriy Lutsenko: on high-profile cases (shootings on the Maidan, the murder of Katerina Handziuk, the case of Nikolai Zlochevsky), a conflict with the US ambassador and head of the NABU, and even the behavior of his employee, prosecutor Konstantin Kulik. TheBabel spoke to Yuriy Lutsenko for two and a half hours. In the interview there are dozens of names, dates, criminal cases and company names. This is just the first material on the results of our conversation.*

**What will you do if Petro Poroshenko loses the presidential election?**

Work as the Prosecutor General of Ukraine.

### **You won't write a resignation letter?**

No. By law, the Prosecutor General does not give up powers after the election of a new president. But the president can initiate my resignation. And if parliament supports him, he can appoint a new candidate. I believe that the Prosecutor General's Office is now working more efficiently than ever. But I of course don't hold the chair. I am ready for such a test. The last time 38 deputies voted for my resignation.

### **Last September, you said that you would write a letter of resignation immediately after the elections. What changed?**

I got acquainted with the way the team of Vladimir Zelenskyi sees the fight against corruption. I consider [their vision] absolutely amateurish. Even where they say smart things, there is no consistency. It is wrong to delegate authority in such an important body as the GPU to people who do not understand how things are in the country.

Take their plan and read it. Blatant amateurishness. [They want to] fight corruption by introducing digital services. Or restarting the National Agency on Corruption Prevention. I do not see the system. I know exactly what to do to counter corruption. Long ago, [when I worked] in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Western experts explained to me that the arrests of corrupt officials are a tenth of the whole case. It is necessary to remove the sources of corruption.

Ukraine is a big ship, who under Yanukovych filled with water. After the Maidan, they installed pumps, started pumping out water - detained 25 thousand corrupt officials. But there are new ones. Therefore, you need to seal the holes. Some of the holes have closed up. The ship rose, maneuvering a little. It is fired at by an enemy squadron, it shoots back and sometimes even gets hit. In this case, the team, of course, never for a second leaves the fight for the helm.

But, speaking without humor, much has been done. One of the colossal holes was government purchases. Any official without competition could allocate billions to "his" company for the desired service. In this, as evidenced by the materials of criminal proceedings, kickbacks of 20–50 percent were made. ProZorro is not the perfect answer, but it has closed the billions of dollars hole.

The ProZorro public procurement system became mandatory for use on August 1, 2016. According to the Deputy Minister of Economic Development Maxim Nefedov, it saved 52 billion hryvnas in two years.

The second problem is VAT refund on export.

On April 3, 2017, the State Fiscal Service launched an electronic register of VAT refunds. The company applies for a VAT refund, the amount is agreed upon 30 days, after which it is automatically returned to the company.

Kickbacks for it reached up to forty percent. Now the VAT is refunded automatically, on the day of the application. Many have forgotten about the VNO [external independent evaluation for admission to higher ed]. And now, people no longer need to carry bags in order for a child to go to college. "Naftogaz" closed a huge hole, which was called "agreements on joint activities". It looked like this: the state gives its resource, a finished [oil or gas] well. From above, the necessary firm "sat down" and took everything to itself, leaving the state 20-40 percent [of profit]. And this hole is closed. As well as liquidated intermediaries in the gas trade, such as the notorious Rosukrenergo.



The government has introduced auctions for licenses [for the extraction] of natural resources. Previously, licenses for oil, gas, amber, sand, and granite were issued "under the table." After Maidan, out of 722 licenses at the auction, only 43 were issued, the rest - "under the table". And there was a decision to run auctions through ProZorro.

In June 2018, the Cabinet of Ministers banned the State GeoNedram from issuing special permits for mining minerals to bypass auctions at the ProZorro site. It is very cool. But, unfortunately, there are still holes.

The biggest problem in Ukraine is the size of the public sector. We have the most state-owned enterprises in the world — 3,400. Of these, two-thirds are unprofitable or unprofitable. But not for party bosses. Any political force that comes to parliament is primarily interested in how it can appoint its manager to one of the state-owned enterprises. Those who are lucky - Turboatom, State Reserve Agency, Ukrnafta. Those who are less - "Horse-breeding of Ukraine" organization, where several tens of thousands of hectares of land are divided among three horses. Hectares for horses, the rest is illegally sowed and crops are sold. "Horse breeding in Ukraine" is unprofitable, but for party management, who got there, it is a cool thing.

### **Management of which party got "Horse Breeding of Ukraine"?**

Management of the majority party. The largest faction of Rada is the Petro Poroshenko Bloc.. There are enterprises for minority parties: "Ukrspirt [beverage company] "Water of Ukraine", "Herbs of Ukraine", whatever. I'm not saying that you need to immediately privatize Naftogaz or Ukrnafta, but Ukraine's Horse Breeding is one hundred percent. Only big privatization. This is the only way to break the vicious circle, when politicians get money from the public sector, hand out to voters and re-enter parliament. I responsibly declare that in the public sector there are representatives of all parliamentary factions: BPP, the Popular Front, the Radical Party, the Opposition Bloc - anyone. The government of Vladimir Groysman gave ten times different lists of [enterprises for privatization] to the parliament ten times and never received a go-ahead.

The second unclosed hole is customs and a huge smuggling of three to four billion dollars. It feeds the regional clans. The solution is simple - buy special scanners. It must be said that for this a lot was done by the head of the State Fiscal Service (SFS) Miroslav Prodan. The very Prodan, who we caught buying a luxury property in Turkey through intermediaries. It happens in our world - black and white [in one person]. Prodan fought for scanners and even announced a tender, but it was canceled by the Anti-Monopoly Committee. He could not defeat the opposition of the system.

**You are a little inconsistent. Corruption comes from the public sector. So smuggling appears due to barrage tariffs. If in Europe a car costs two thousand, and for us it is twenty, then smuggling is inevitable and scanners will not help.**

Yes, smuggling is not a criminal, but an economic phenomenon. And we once had a famous political bogey - ZAZ, a symbol of the struggle for domestic producers, for the sake of which they kept import tariffs. It was preserved so that there is neither a domestic producer, nor normal customs duties. From here, second-hand European cars, but these are abnormal exceptions. Any country has customs fees and will have to pay them. If the issuance of licenses for resources forms an oligarchy, then smuggling is a regional clan.

The third problem is [how the] registration service of the Ministry of Justice works. If you have friends in the business, you will surely hear about it. The fact is that any mayor can create a public utility (KP) with registrar rights. What they do: two girls from the occupied territories come to controlled territory,

create controls, receive money, give access keys to registries and return home. The owner of the keys can change the owners. And with the help of such a scheme, the raiders rip off the new owners of different objects for 14 billion hryvnia. To return the property, you need to go through an insane number of courts.

Who is your owner? Kolomoisky? And imagine that instead of Kolomoisky - once, and Lutsenko. And Igor V. will go through the courts and reach the Supreme Court in two years. And it's good that the Babel can just quit [all edited] and create a new media. And if it is an agricultural company with dozens of hectares of land or [shopping center] Ocean Plaza?

The Ministry of Justice realized this problem two years ago. They tried to amend the relevant law through parliament. We went to the deputies. There were no votes, because the mayors called them and said that they needed these controls, and the majority deputies worked on their mayors.

Well, the fourth, very "small" thing - the land. It is on state lands that the greatest chaos occurs. Take, for example, the National Academy of Agrarian Sciences. Most of its land is sown and exported without any taxes. The ban on the privatization of land gives nothing.

Here are the system causes of corruption. And what I hear from the teams of [Zelensky and other candidates] seems to me to be incompetent and populist.

**You are now explaining why you did not succeed? Or is it a roadmap for the new government for the next five years?**

This is a roadmap for any president, if he cares a little for the state. And I do not think that the GPU failed.

I will explain. The law enforcement system is divided into two unequal parts. The first is the GPU with its function of procedural guidance and the authorities for which it oversees. Prosecutors ensure that the police, the fiscal service, the Security Service of Ukraine, and, more recently, the State Bureau of Investigation (SBI) are legally operating. Previously, the investigation was conducted by the prosecutor's office, now it does not have this function.

In November 2017, amendments to the Code of Criminal Procedure came into force: prosecutors can no longer initiate pre-trial investigations; they have only the function of "procedural direction and supervision".

The second part of the system that does not depend on the GPU is the Specialized Anti-Corruption Prosecutor's Office (SAP) and the National Anti-Corruption Bureau (NABU). SAP provides the procedural management of only one structure - NABU. The meaning of their creation was that it was difficult for the prosecutor's office in the midst of plundering, robbery, murder, and hooligan cases to focus on what is most important for Ukraine — punishment of civil servants of category "A", that is, officials from the deputy governor level and above. Since 2016, this has been the work of NABU, which is headed by Artem Sytnik.

The head of SAP Nazar Kholodnitsky is formally my deputy. But according to the law, I am forbidden not only to set tasks for him, but also to receive information from him. My deputy did it formally, because only the Deputy Prosecutor General can sign some procedural decisions.

What do we have as a result of these two systems? I consider myself a successful attorney general. Because in three years we have transferred 6,438 cases of corrupt officials in category "B" to the courts. We received sentences in 2,876 cases, and returned assets of approximately UAH 112 billion.

What happens to the category "A", under investigation of the SAP and NABU? If I am not mistaken, about 200 cases are handed over to the court, and there are zero sentences. Return of money to the state - 450 million hryvnia. For three years. You can say: a young body, they all interfere. Do they all help me? You can also say that the courts are bad. Is it better for me? I have a Pechersk court, and they have Solomenskiy - they are the same. I'm not saying that NABU needs to be eliminated. I am one of the co-authors of the law on NABU. You just need to separate the leaders and institutions. [Head of NABU] Mr. Sytnik is clearly ineffective. To not give a single sentence for three years, you need to try.

Let's remember the case of Rosenblat. In the summer of 2017, an agent of NABU "Katerina" conducted an undercover operation, as a result of which NABU employees detained a guard of the Deputy Borislav Rosenblat when receiving a bribe. This is an ideal example - for such cases NABU was created. Secret agents are introduced to deputies, ministers, governors and fix bribes. A year and a half has passed since the time of the "agent Katerina's" operation. Have you heard of even one?

**Why do you think Artem Sytnik is ineffective? The US Embassy believes that you need to remove Nazar Kholodnitsky.**

Because the result depends on operational services. For the Prosecutor General's Office this is the police and the SBU. Police gives six out of ten bribes, section "K" SBU gives the other four. Every day they fix from three to seven bribes. On Friday it happens more - for some reason, this is the favorite day of the bribe takers. Sometimes it comes to eighteen.

I understand that NABU cannot fix so much, because they have category "A". But it all depends on the detective. The prosecutor's office has no operational staff. The prosecutor only fixes the process and accompanies it. [Head of SAP Nazar] Kholodnitsky cannot independently, without NABU, give a result. If in one and a half year secret agents did not work even once in category "A", what questions are there for Kholodnitsky? If NABU does not carry eggs, SAP will not have scrambled eggs.

**To this NABU says: we carry eggs - we detained people's deputy Nikolai Martynenko, opened a case on UIA, but Kholodnitskyi blocks all this. And the US Embassy insists on his dismissal. Why does this happen?**

I do not know. I do not understand why the US ambassador [Marie Yovanovitch] proposes to abolish the directorate "K" of the SBU of a country at war. I do not understand why the US ambassador should determine the leaders of the SAP and NABU. The embassy has its own point of view, but to demand someone to dismiss is crossing a red line.

**How many times have you had conflicts with the US embassy over NABU?**

Never.

**When you made public the names of NABU agents and safe houses, didn't the ambassador talk to you about this?**

She spoke. I have my own position. They have the right to ask their questions. This is normal. But I do not understand why someone instead of Ukrainians can determine who will lead, figuratively speaking, with the state's sword.



What infuriates the most is that, inside and outside the country, I personally and Ukraine are being destroyed for what NABU is not doing in the fight against corruption. There are no category “A” results, but everyone is to blame except them! There is an impotent NABU, but for some reason the GPU must be responsible for this.

The moment came when it was necessary to recognize: NABU was ineffective, its head needed to be changed. This causes resistance from the US ambassador. Why? I think because the head of the NABU intervened in American politics during the presidential elections in the United States [in 2016 on the side of the Democrats]. Mr. Sytnik, despite the prohibition of Nazar Kholodnitsky, divulged data from the pre-trial investigation that the Party of Regions’s “black cash” lists includes [the head of the election headquarters of Donald Trump] Paul Manafort. True, he forgot to say that there is still [former presidential adviser to Barack Obama] Gregory Craig. When Kholodnitsky asked him why he did it, he replied, they say, wants to help [Donald Trump's rival] Hillary Clinton.

These revelations of the head of NABU caused a storm [of indignation] in the USA. I don’t know how, but the Americans received an audio recording of Mr. Sytnik’s conversation: he is resting with his family and friends and is discussing how Hillary would like to help. A part of this audio recording was announced by MP Borislav Rosenblat. And he filed a statement with me. Honestly, I was disgusted to take the document out of his hands, because it was not Rosenblatt who was fighting corruption in Ukraine. But according to the law, I am obliged to consider it, and now the case of [intervening in the US presidential election] is being investigated by the SBI.

I heard this record in its entirety, [it goes] for about 15 minutes. As far as I understand, Mr. Sytnik was recorded without a court order. This means that the recording has no legal force, and there will be no consequences for it in Ukraine. Although two of his interlocutors confirmed that there was such a conversation, and they recognized their voices.

This is the answer to the question of why Mrs. Ambassador [USA Marie Yovanovitch] is protecting Sytnik. It seems obvious to me.

**Let’s talk about how it all looks from the outside. You criticize Artem Sytnik. Borislav Rosenblat, whose machinations Sytnik investigated, will publish an audio recording with the voice of Sytnik. How it got to him is not clear. You open a case on interference in the US presidential election. It looks like you are using the enemy of NABU to attack NABU. And in addition, try to help Republicans get kompromat on Democrats.**

Let me explain how this happened. [In early March 2019] when the scandal around “Ukroboronprom” started, Artem Sytnik, Nazar Kholodnitsky and I were summoned to meetings of relevant parliamentary committees - “anti-corruption” and “law enforcement”. We spoke in turns. At the end of the meeting, Rosenblatt spoke. It turned out that he spoke about commission of a crime. And he relied not just on the recording with a voice similar to Sytnik's voice, but on a court decision [who assessed Sytnik's actions as interference in the election of the US president].

That was a sensation for me. Our courts, of course, can do almost anything. But for a Ukrainian court to rate someone’s actions as interfering with elections in the United States, that’s just wow. The decision of the court was in December [2018], the meetings of the committees - in March [2019], and I knew nothing about it. Where did he get the record, why the court came out with such qualification, why Rosenblat did it - for me it was a sensation.

But there is a legal side: I cannot fail to register the application, and now the SBI is investigating the case. They have a court decision, there is a flash drive with audio recordings. They searched where Sytnik vacationed. This is a hunting farm, with houses for resting. They thought that they would find a recording device, but found a flash drive [with recording] of a full conversation. There were three flash drives: two empty and one with a record. Why they lay in the closet, in the house - I do not know. They interviewed the house owners. They confirmed that Sytnik was [their guest]. They said who came with him. Those confirmed [that there was such a] conversation.

Everyone understands that the record, which is not authorized by the court, can not be evidence in court. But if its [content] is confirmed by witnesses - you can use it. At the same time, we do not have an article of the Criminal Code on interference in elections, there is only an article "for exceeding official authority". But the problem is that Artem Sytnik intervened in the American elections, and the Americans look at it quite differently. In the United States they launched an investigation. The plans are to interview all actors.

**You gave an interview to the pro-Republican publication The Hill. Before that, you met with Donald Trump's lawyer Rudolph Giuliani. Is it somehow related?**

I have known Mr. Giuliani for many years. In the framework of the YES forum, we met in Kyiv, then in the USA. At the end of January [2019] I met him in New York. He invited me, I took a vacation, went with my younger son. We spent three days there, mainly showing the city of the Big Apple to my son. I had a conversation with Giuliani - he is a former prosecutor, he was interested in how we fight corruption.

He asked me about how we work with the US embassy. I honestly answered that the cooperation did not succeed. I have a good relationship with all the previous US ambassadors. I respect Madam Ambassador Marie Yovanovitch as a representative of our strategic ally, but we do not have normal personal relations.

Then he asked about the affairs of [the owner of the Burisma Group holding] Nikolay Zlochevsky and Paul Manafort. I told what everyone in Ukraine knows. That "the Zlochevsky case" was under [the Attorney General Viktor] Shokin transferred to NABU, where it was successfully closed, and the GPU was left with a fragment - money laundering and tax evasion. Money laundering could not then be proved. But tax evasion was proved, and Zlochevsky paid extra [to the budget] a record amount - 180 million hryvnia. Burisma Group was so frightened that it removed the system of work with fictitious firms and paid significantly more taxes.

My interest in Rudolph Giuliani is very simple. We have been knocking at the door [of the US Department of Justice] for a long time and asking us to help us in the theft of seven billion dollars. There is a well-known case, after which the court held a confiscation of one and a half billion [dollars] - it was a fraud with a home loan. But there is the same fraud with an external loan.

To investigate this case, we need the help of the US Department of Justice. Unfortunately, the correspondence did not give anything. I asked Giuliani to speak with [the new] US Attorney General [Bill Barr]. He promised to help. Then he called and said that they were very interested and even advised a law firm that could serve us. But in order to hire it, you need to adjust the Ukrainian legislation.

After that, on March 7 [2019, The Hill columnist] offered me this interview. I did it on Skype. Everything I said in it is true. There is a clarification regarding the list of [inviolable corrupt officials], which was voiced by Ms. Ambassador Marie Yovanovitch,



### **Who did she name? Who was on her list?**

The meeting [with the ambassador] was in the GPU, at this table in January 2017. She was not alone. She was not alone, and I was not alone. Mrs. Yovanovitch was interested in the case [of the former Deputy Attorney General] Vitaly Kasko [of whom the Kyiv prosecutor's office suspected of fraud during the privatization of housing]. The fact is that Mr. Kasko prescribed a the service apartment to a mother who never left Lviv - there were signs of abuse.

According to her, Kasko was an outstanding anti-corruption activist, and the criminal case [against him] discredited the anti-corruptionists. I set out the details of the [case] and explained that I cannot open and close cases at will. I noted a number of so-called anti-corruptionists, involved in cases. She said that this is unacceptable, they say, will undermine the credibility of anti-corruption activists. I took a piece of paper, wrote down the names of the voiced and said: "Dictate the list of untouchable persons." She says: "No, you misunderstood me." I say: "No, I understood you correctly; earlier such lists were written [in the Presidential Administration] on Bankova, and you offer new lists from Tankova [previous name of the street the U.S. Embassy is on]. The meeting was over. I'm afraid the emotions were not very good.

### **The conversation was not only about Kasko? And do you have a witness to this conversation? Can he confirm that the conversation happened?**

Yes sir. This is an employee of the prosecutor's office. I asked him, he says he is ready to confirm. But I do not see the point.

**Let's go back to the question of whether you helped the Republicans or not. There is a famous episode with Democrat Joe Biden: he boasted that he had removed Prosecutor General Shokin. Republican media are building the following narrative: Democrat Biden pressed Ukrainian justice to close the case against the holding Burisma Group, where his son is an independent director. And here comes your interview with The Hill, which confirms this narrative. It looks like you are helping the GOP during the US election campaign.**

Please note: I have not helped and I am not going to help any presidential candidates. I was asked if I could confirm that the case of the Burisma Group was in the GPU and was transferred to NABU? I can confirm. Can you confirm that NABU closed the case? I can. Can you confirm that Joe Biden came before? I can. Can you confirm that his son is on the board of the Burisma Group? I can.

**The question remains about the perception of history around criminal cases against the Burisma Group. Because a year ago "Onishchenko films" appeared. There, Onishchenko transmits the request of the owner of the Burisma Group, Nikolai Zlochevsky, "to resolve the issue globally." And a voice similar to Poroshenko's voice says what he will think. After this case, embezzlement against the Burisma Group is closed, and the holding pays extra taxes. It looks like "decided globally."**

The Zlochevsky case under the article on embezzlement on a particularly large scale was taken to NABU and closed. I cannot take it back, I do not have that right. Do you think Poroshenko decided with Sytnik? I know something about the relationship between him and NABU. He definitely could not get them to close the case. I also brought my part of the case [to the end, and the company paid taxes].

**But then prosecutor Konstantin Kulik appears. On the eve of the first round of elections, he announces suspicions to people from the circle of President Poroshenko. The GPU replies that he**

**did it in violation of the procedure. Kulik declares that he is being pursued. He claims that on April 11 he filed a report with you that Poroshenko and members of the GPU intervened in the course of the investigation.**

Indeed, two days before the first round of the presidential election, Mr. Kulik ...

**Flew to Israel [where businessman Igor Kolomoisky lives]?**

No no. He's not from there. He was also in Austria.

**At Firtash's? He interrogated Firtash.**

Yes, he interrogated Firtash. But there are still other characters there ... It doesn't matter. In general, he comes to me two days before the election and puts information on the structure of suspicion in the case of Sergey Kurchenko - it is 1,200 pages. There are 2 500 volumes.

This is a colossal mass grave. Everything is there: one and a half billion dollars [special confiscation], Chernomornaftogaz and UMH holding, [deputy head of Naftogaz Sergey] Katsuba and [deputy head of board of Ukrghasdobycha Alexey Tamrazov, Miheil Saakashvili and Nikolai Zlochevsky. Tells me: "You will not like the text." Well, let's look. 1200 pages I can not read, so I look at the structure. I turn the page, and it says that in this case suspicion has been announced to 97 people, including [the former head of the Presidential Administration Boris] Lozhkin, [the deputy head of the Administration Alexei] Filatov, [the former head of the NBU Valeria] Gontareva and [ICU managing director Konstantin ] Stetsenko.

I say - when did you do it? He says - today. I ask - and you interrogated them? He says - no, I called them the next week, and sent suspicions by mail. I say - Kostya, the Criminal Code is not my forte, but even I know that you have to call a person first, then call again, and if he evades, then you can by mail. He says - and I have already entered the registry. I say - listen, it's a violation of the procedure. Who is your senior group? [Deputy Attorney General Eugene] Enin. He should have appointed a prosecutor who hands the suspicion. He has 22 people in the group. But 22 people cannot write suspicions to whom they want. Did he instruct you to do this? Kulik says no. I say - according to the procedure, you need to call a person, read him the rights and what exactly he is suspected of, hand over the suspicion, he signs, and after that the prosecutor introduces suspicion into the registry. I ask: did you do all this? He says - no, I think it would be better for the investigation.

I say - what are you, where did your brain go? Why are you doing all this two days before the presidential election? He says: maybe it [my brain] left ! I say - there is only one way out: remove suspicion from the registry as mistakenly entered. He says - well, I'll take it off. After that, he disappears. I call him in an hour. Kostya, removed? No, he says, has not yet removed; and in general, they say, I'm in the city, then I will call you. And he went to give an interview.

Yevgeny Yenin as the head of the group removed the suspicions from ERDR as erroneously amended. And after that, Kulik went to a press conference where he read a report in my name that Enin intervened in the investigation. And not only Enin.

**Kulik was in your good standing. You yourself talked about this.**

I rate Kulik as an effective prosecutor. Probably, this spring political fever swept everyone. Especially it is exacerbated if you visit Israel and Austria.



## And how was he so effective?

In the “Kurchenko case” he did a lot to let the Kramatorsk court decide on special confiscation. This was not one, but a series of thirty court decisions. And it led to the world's largest special confiscation in the last hundred years. Why secret? Because the decision lists the names of people and companies that we do not want to disclose. We want to go further, after the seven billions that were brought out of the country, presumably in the USA.

Cases on [Deputy Head of Naftogaz Sergey] Katsuba and [Chairman of the Board of Naftogaz Evgeny] Bakulin, Mikheil Saakashvili and Sergey Kurchenko? Also his. And well conducted. Why did he have an eclipse on him and he decided to do this in episodes of [media holding] UMH and [investment company] ICU with a violation of the procedure? I don't know. We will do everything that the prosecutor would be a prosecutor, not a showman.

<https://thebabel.net/texts/28898-genprokuror-yuriy-lucenko-ne-idet-v-otstavku-vot-chto-on-rasskazal-nam-o-konfliktah-s-poslom-ssha-i-glavoy-nabu-dele-burisma-plenkah-rozenblata-i-istochnikah-korrupcii-bolshoe-intervyu>

---

**From:** (b)(6)

**Date:** April 17, 2019 at 9:57:31 PM GMT+3

**To:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kviv) <YovanovitchML2@state.gov> (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6) Kent, George P <KentGP@state.gov>, EUR-Ukraine Desk-DL  
<EUR-UkraineDesk-DL@state.gov>

**Cc:** (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Subject:** Latest Lutsenko news and interview

There is a rough translation below of an LB article noting Lutsenko changed his mind about retiring. The article's second paragraph includes a link to a long interview published tonight that Lutsenko gave to The Babel. PAS will translate that in the morning, but from a quick glance, that interview includes extensive discussion by Lutsenko of topics including Amb Y, Sytnyk, the 2016 US election, his Hill interview, Burisma, etc.

LB article:

[Attorney General Yuriy Lutsenko](#) changed his mind about resigning after the presidential election. In an interview with [Babel](#), Lutsenko said that if Petro Poroshenko loses the presidential election, he will still work as prosecutor general and is not going to resign. "According to the law, the Prosecutor General does not resign his powers after the election of a new president. But the president can initiate my resignation. And if the parliament supports him, he can submit a new candidate. I believe that the Prosecutor General's Office is now working more efficiently than ever. "... I'm ready for such a test. The last time [38 deputies voted for my resignation](#)," the prosecutor general said. In September 2018, [Lutsenko said that he intended to leave office](#) after the presidential elections and return to politics.

The prosecutor general explained the change in his decision by the amateurishness of the team of Vladimir Zelensky.

"I got acquainted with how the team of Vladimir Zelensky sees the fight against corruption. I consider [their vision] absolutely amateurish. Even where they say smart things, there is no system. It is wrong to delegate powers in such an important body as the GPU to people who do not understand how things are in the country ", - said Lutsenko.

Recall that in 2014, Yuriy Lutsenko was the second number in the list of the political party "Petro Poroshenko Bloc".

In May 2016, he resigned deputy powers in connection with the appointment to the post of Prosecutor General. Specially [for Lutsenko Verkhovna Rada has softened the requirements](#) for candidates for this position, abolishing the mandatory legal education and work experience in the field of law.

[https://lb.ua/news/2019/04/17/424830\\_lutsenko\\_peredumal\\_uhodit.html](https://lb.ua/news/2019/04/17/424830_lutsenko_peredumal_uhodit.html)

<b>Sender:</b>	"Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)"
<b>Recipient:</b>	(b)(6)

<b>From:</b>	(b)(6)
<b>To:</b>	(b)(6); (b)(7)(C)
<b>Subject:</b>	RE: Latest media reports (WaPo, VOA, RFE/RL, Reuters, RT) on Amb Y, plus NYMag on Ukraine/Biden
<b>Date:</b>	Wed, 8 May 2019 05:57:00 +0000

Yes en route

Official

UNCLASSIFIED

**From:** (b)(6); (b)(7)(C)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 08, 2019 8:52 AM  
**To:** (b)(6)  
**Subject:** RE: Latest media reports (WaPo, VOA, RFE/RL, Reuters, RT) on Amb Y, plus NYMag on Ukraine/Biden

(b)(5); (b)(7)(A)

(b)(6); (b)(7)(C)

*Regional Security Officer  
Department of State  
Diplomatic Security Service  
United States Embassy Kyiv, Ukraine*

(b)(6)

Official

UNCLASSIFIED

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, May 8, 2019 8:51 AM  
**To:** (b)(6); (b)(7)(C)  
**Subject:** Re: Latest media reports (WaPo, VOA, RFE/RL, Reuters, RT) on Amb Y, plus NYMag on Ukraine/Biden

(b)(5); (b)(7)(A)

**From:** (b)(6); (b)(7)(C)

**Date:** May 8, 2019 at 08:10:42 GMT+3

**To:** (b)(6)

**Cc:**



**Subject:** FW: Latest media reports (WaPo, VOA, RFE/RL, Reuters, RT) on Amb Y, plus NYMag on Ukraine/Biden

(b)(6)

(b)(5); (b)(7)(A)

Thanks,

(b)(6); (b)(7)(C)

*Regional Security Officer  
Department of State  
Diplomatic Security Service  
United States Embassy Kyiv, Ukraine*

(b)(6)

**Official - Transitory**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Wednesday, May 8, 2019 7:56 AM

**To:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6) (b)(6) Kyiv EXEC

<Kyiv EXEC@state.gov>; Kyiv POL Core <KyivPOLCore@state.gov>; (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Cc:** Kyiv IOs <KyivIOs@state.gov>; EUR-Ukraine Desk-DL <EUR-UkraineDesk-DL@state.gov>; EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>; Kent, George P (b)(6) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Subject:** Latest media reports (WaPo, VOA, RFE/RL, Reuters, RT) on Amb Y, plus NYMag on Ukraine/Biden

Below, for general awareness, are some of the latest media reports relating to Amb Y (Washington Post, VOA, RFE/RL, Reuters, RT) , as well as a piece at the bottom from NYMag.com regarding former VP Biden and Ukraine.

[Washington Post](#): U.S. ambassador to Ukraine is recalled after becoming a political target – by Josh Rogin

The Trump administration has recalled the U.S. ambassador to Ukraine abruptly and ahead of her scheduled departure, after she became a target of political attacks by conservative media outlets and Donald Trump Jr. Democrats see her early departure under pressure as the unfair targeting of a career Foreign Service officer by Team Trump.

According to an internal State Department management notice that I obtained, U.S. Ambassador Marie Yovanovitch will leave her post permanently on May 20, with no replacement in place and no nominations to fill that position. "We expect the Department to appoint a long-term Chargé d'Affaires to lead the mission until a new Chief of Mission is nominated and confirmed," said the notice, which was sent to all mission personnel at the U.S. Embassy in Kiev. Incoming Deputy Chief of Mission Kristina Kvien plans to arrive in Kiev on May 28, and Joseph Pennington will continue to serve as chargé d'affaires and acting deputy chief through the transition period, the notice said.

A State Department spokesman told me, "Yovanovitch is concluding her three-year diplomatic assignment in Kiev in 2019 as planned." One senior administration official told me that she had been previously scheduled to depart at the beginning of July and that her new May departure was a change in that plan. Another administration official said that Yovanovitch was given a choice whether to stay until July or leave early and she chose to leave early, due to the ongoing political attacks. Yovanovitch did not respond to a direct request for comment.

"Her confirmed departure date in May aligns with the presidential transition in Ukraine," the State Department spokesperson said. The senior administration official told me that's true but irrelevant because the State Department doesn't rotate ambassadors to align with political transitions in host countries.

The House Democratic leadership thinks that Yovanovitch's early departure under pressure is a clear sign that the White House is responding to calls from Trump allies, Trump family members and [conservative media sites](#) that have accused Yovanovitch, without firm evidence, of being part of a conspiracy that involves anti-corruption probes in Ukraine and efforts by the Trump team to investigate ties between Ukrainian officials and the Hillary Clinton campaign.

"Ambassador Yovanovitch is a dedicated public servant and a diplomat of the highest caliber who has represented the United States under both Republican and Democratic administrations. The White House's outrageous decision to recall her is a political hit job and the latest in this Administration's campaign against career State Department personnel," said a [statement](#) released Tuesday morning by House Majority Leader Steny H. Hoyer (D-Md.) and House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Eliot L. Engel (D-N.Y.). "It's clear that this decision was politically motivated, as allies of President Trump had joined foreign actors in lobbying for the Ambassador's dismissal."

On March 24, Donald Trump Jr. [tweeted](#) that Yovanovitch was a "joker," and he linked [to an article](#) in the Daily Wire headlined "Calls Grow To Remove Obama's U.S. Ambassador To Ukraine." That article is a roundup of conservative media figures leveling thinly sourced allegations against Yovanovitch on Fox News. Former federal prosecutor Joe diGenova said on Fox that she had "bad mouthed the President of the United States to Ukrainian officials." Fox News' Laura Ingraham reported that former congressman Pete Sessions (R-Tex.) wrote to



Secretary of State Mike Pompeo to say that Yovanovitch “reportedly demonstrated clear anti-Trump bias.”

Four days before Don Jr.’s tweet, the Hill’s John Solomon [published an interview](#) with Ukrainian Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko, who alleged that Yovanovitch had given him a “do not prosecute list,” ostensibly to protect Obama-Clinton allies, back in 2016. The State Department told Solomon that that allegation was “an outright fabrication.”

Lutsenko also told Solomon that he would [open up an investigation](#) into allegations that the Ukrainian government helped the Clinton campaign in 2016, perhaps by providing information on corrupt payments from the administration of then-President Viktor Yanukovich to former Trump campaign chairman Paul Manafort.

Last week, the New York Times [reported](#) that Lutsenko has met with President Trump’s lawyer Rudy Giuliani multiple times in New York this year. Lutsenko [also told](#) Solomon that he was reopening an investigation into Burisma Holdings, an energy company owned by a Ukrainian oligarch that for a time had Hunter Biden, son of Joe Biden, on its board.

Solomon [wrote a column](#) on April 1 drawing connections between Biden’s work to fight corruption in Ukraine as vice president and his son’s interest in Burisma. The allegation is that Biden pressured Kiev to fire Lutsenko’s predecessor in an effort to stop the Burisma probe. Initially, Lutsenko had cleared Burisma of any wrongdoing, but he told Solomon that [he had reopened](#) the investigation.

The Times [also reported](#) that the case had been reopened. “Some see [Lutsenko’s] decision as an effort to curry favor with the Trump administration,” the Times reported. On Tuesday, Bloomberg [quoted](#) Lutsenko’s own spokesperson saying that the case had not been reopened.

Biden has said he never discussed Burisma or his son’s business with Ukrainian officials.

Bloomberg [also reported](#) that the case against Burisma had been shelved at least a year before Biden called for the firing of the general prosecutor at the time, which undermines the theory that he was trying to influence that investigation. The Biden campaign declined to comment. Trump campaign spokeswoman Erin Perrine doubled down on the accusation that Biden tried to intervene in Ukraine on behalf of his son and Burisma, sending me a statement Tuesday accusing Biden of “blackmailing a foreign government to drop an investigation.”

As for Ambassador Yovanovitch, several officials told me that she was indeed involved in and strongly supportive of Ukraine's anti-corruption efforts. But there's no public evidence that she was directly involved in anything related to Burisma, Manafort or providing information to the Clinton campaign that would help it against the Trump campaign.

The clear and coordinated effort to smear a sitting U.S. ambassador has now resulted in her early departure under attack after 33 years of service to administrations in both parties. But that's just the beginning of the larger effort to create a cacophony of allegations by the Trump team and its allies to highlight Ukraine to attack Biden, help Manafort and re-litigate the 2016 election.

### **VOA: US recalls Ukraine Ambassador; Democrats Cry 'Hit Job'**

WASHINGTON — The U.S. has recalled career diplomat Marie (Masha) Yovanovitch from her post as ambassador to Ukraine, timing the State Department says was aligned with the coming presidential transition in Kyiv.

But two key Democratic lawmakers claim the move was "a political hit job" with roots in the 2016 U.S. presidential election.

The State Department said the 60-year-old Yovanovitch, appointed by former President Barack Obama, is completing her three-year tenure in Ukraine "as planned," although her term actually extended to Aug. 20.

The State Department said her return coincides with the planned June inauguration of comedian Volodymyr Zelenskyy as the Ukrainian leader after his resounding defeat of President Petro Poroshenko in last month's election.

### **Democrats cry foul**

Congressman Steny Hoyer, the majority leader in the House of Representatives, and Congressman Eliot Engel, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, disputed the State Department explanation for Yovanovitch's early recall, saying she was a "dedicated public servant and a diplomat of the highest caliber who has represented the United States under both Republican and Democratic administrations."

The lawmakers contended that "the White House's outrageous decision to recall her is a political hit job and the latest in this administration's campaign against career State Department personnel. It's clear that this decision was politically motivated, as allies of President Trump had joined foreign actors in lobbying for the ambassador's dismissal."

Hoyer and Engel said that by recalling Yovanovitch "just mere months before her tenure in Ukraine was set to end, the administration is harming American interests and undermining American diplomacy."

### **Trump accusations**

Yovanovitch's time in Kyiv coincided with U.S. special counsel Robert Mueller's investigation of Russian meddling in the 2016 election. One of the key figures in that probe was President Donald Trump's one-time campaign chairman Paul Manafort, who was paid millions of dollars as a lobbyist for pro-Russian



interests in Ukraine linked to deposed President Viktor Yanukovich, who was ousted in a popular uprising in 2014.

Manafort has now been convicted of several financial crimes tied to his lobbying and has been sentenced to 7 1/2 years in prison.

Ukrainian Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko has alleged that information about payments to Manafort was revealed in an effort to help Democrat Hillary Clinton in her campaign against Trump, a contention that Trump adopted in recent months in an effort to disparage claims that it was Russia that was helping him.

"As Russia Collusion fades," Trump said on Twitter in March, "Ukrainian plot to help Clinton emerges."

The same month, Trump's oldest son, Donald Trump Jr., tweeted that the U.S. needed more ambassadors like conservative Richard Grenell, the Trump-appointed American envoy to Germany, and "less of these jokers as ambassadors" like Yovanovitch. "Calls Grow to Remove Obama's U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine."

Hoyer and Engel called on the State Department to reverse Yovanovitch's dismissal.

"In this period of transition, Ukraine needs gifted professionals like Ambassador Yovanovitch more than ever," they said.

#### **RFE/RL: Congressional Democrats Suggest Early Departure of U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine is Politically Motivated**

Two top U.S. Democratic lawmakers have suggested that the early departure of the U.S. ambassador to Ukraine may have been a politically motivated move on the part of President Donald Trump's administration.

In a statement released on May 7, Steny Hoyer, the second-ranking Democrat in the House of Representatives, and Eliot Engel, the chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, **questioned why Marie Yovanovitch was leaving** by the end of May, more than two months before her scheduled departure.

A career diplomat who has served during both Republican and Democratic administrations, Yovanovitch has recently been the subject of unusual public attacks by Ukraine's prosecutor-general.

Some of those attacks have been amplified by conservative U.S. media outlets.

A State Department spokesperson on May 7 confirmed earlier reporting by RFE/RL that Yovanovitch was leaving early, but declined to comment further.

"Ambassador Yovanovitch is concluding her three-year diplomatic assignment in Kyiv in 2019 as planned," the official said.

Her departure comes ahead of the inauguration of Volodymyr Zelenskiy as Ukraine's new president. He defeated incumbent President Petro Poroshenko in the April 21 runoff vote.

**Reuters (printed in NY Times): U.S. Democrats question Trump administration over Ukraine ambassador**

WASHINGTON (Reuters) - Two senior U.S. Democrats questioned President Donald Trump's administration on Tuesday over the departure of the U.S. ambassador to Ukraine months before the end of her expected three years in Kiev.

In a statement, Representatives Steny Hoyer, the No. 2 Democrat in the House of Representatives, and Eliot Engel, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, called the departure of Ambassador Masha Yovanovitch politically motivated.

Yovanovitch, a career diplomat who has served during both Republican and Democratic administrations, has been the subject of attacks in right-leaning media allied with the Republican Trump as well as a senior Ukrainian official.

A State Department spokesperson declined to comment beyond confirming her departure, saying, "Ambassador Yovanovitch is concluding her three-year diplomatic assignment in Kiev in 2019 as planned."

Yovanovitch's departure leaves the United States without an ambassador in Ukraine, a country on the front line of the West's standoff with Russia following Moscow's annexation of Crimea and support for a pro-Russia insurgency in Ukraine, as Ukraine's new president, Volodymyr Zelenskiy, takes office after winning April's election.

**RT: US ambassador to Kiev sacked amid 'meddling' accusations from Ukraine's top prosecutor**

Washington's ambassador to Ukraine has been dismissed from service two months ahead of schedule. The development comes less than a month after the top Ukrainian prosecutor claimed she gave him a 'do-not-prosecute list.'

Ambassador Marie Yovanovitch will leave her position on May 20, some two months ahead of the end of her tenure, the Ukrainian media and the US government-funded Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) reported earlier this week, citing sources within the American embassy in Kiev.

Although no announcement about the ambassador's dismissal was made public yet, the news has already drawn attention of some prominent Democrats in the Congress, who rushed to declare the development to be part of President Donald Trump's political games.

*"The White House's outrageous decision to recall her is a political hit job and the latest in this Administration's campaign against career State Department personnel,"* said Eliot Engel (D-New York), chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs and House Majority Leader Steny Hoyer (D-



Maryland) in a statement on Tuesday, adding that it is *"clear that this decision was politically motivated."*

Both Democrats also claimed that the ambassador's premature dismissal would amount to *"harming American interests and undermining American diplomacy"* at a particularly important period of transition of power in Ukraine.

Yovanovitch, who took the post of the ambassador back in 2016 under the Obama administration, does not have a particularly flawless service record, as just over a month ago she found herself at the center of a scandal after Ukraine's prosecutor general Yuri Lutsenko told The Hill that the ambassador actually gave him *"a list of people whom we should not prosecute"* during their first meeting.

At that time, the US State Department branded his claim *"an outright fabrication."* However, several weeks before the prosecutor's claim, Yovanovitch, bluntly called on Ukraine to sack its special anticorruption prosecutor in one of her speeches, in which she described the results of Kiev's anti-corruption reforms in scathing terms.

Lutsenko backtracked on the claim of an actual *"do-not-prosecute list"* but told the Ukrainian UNIAN news agency that Yovanovitch was extremely vocal in her defense of several Ukrainian anti-corruption activists, who themselves were under investigation.

*"I listed some so-called anti-corruption activists under investigation. She said it was unacceptable, as it would undermine the credibility of anti-corruption activists,"* Lutsenko told UNIAN. *"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.'"*

It is unclear if this scandal contributed to the White House's decision to sack the ambassador. The State Department said on Monday that Yovanovitch was *"concluding her 3-year diplomatic assignment in Kyiv in 2019 as planned."*

### [NYMag.com](#): Everything we know about the Joe Biden-Ukraine Controversy

It's not often that President Trump is found propping up the work of the *New York Times*. He did so last week though, when the paper published a lengthy report on Joe Biden, Ukraine, and the efforts by Trump allies to manufacture a scandal that ensnares the former vice-president and 2020 presidential candidate.

Like another controversy involving shady dealings in Ukraine, the details of this story can be hard to follow. But it seems pretty clear that it's going to come up again and again, as long as Biden is a front-runner in the 2020 presidential campaign. Here's what we know so far.

### **The allegation**

When he was vice-president, Biden put pressure on Kiev to dump the country's top prosecutor, Viktor Shokin. In March of 2016, Ukraine's Parliament voted to fire Shokin, who was widely thought of as corrupt.

At the same time, Biden's son Hunter, a lawyer and lobbyist who was kicked out of the Navy in 2014 after he tested positive for cocaine, was on the board of Burisma Holdings. The Ukrainian energy firm was owned by an oligarch who was in Shokin's crosshairs, meaning the prosecutor's firing was good news for Hunter Biden.

The news got even better when Yuriy Lutsenko came on as Ukraine's new prosecutor general. In 2017, he cleared Burisma, and the firm's owner, Mykola Zlochevsky, returned to Ukraine after fleeing the country to avoid the investigation.

Allies of President Trump, led by lawyer Rudy Giuliani, have been promoting the story in an attempt to cast Biden as corrupt. Last week, Giuliani called for Biden to be "investigated quickly and expeditiously."

But there's a problem with the suggestion that Biden was trying to help his son. The investigation into Burisma was dead long before Biden started his campaign to oust Shokin, Vitaliy Kasko, a former Ukrainian official who worked under Shokin, told Bloomberg.

"There was no pressure from anyone from the U.S. to close cases against Zlochevsky," Kasko said in an interview last week. "It was shelved by Ukrainian prosecutors in 2014 and through 2015."

Kasko's assessment adds a wrinkle to one of the first political intrigues of the 2020 election season. It undercuts the idea that Biden, now a top Democratic presidential candidate, was seeking to sideline a prosecutor who was actively threatening a company tied to his son. Instead, it appears more consistent with Biden's previous statements that he was pressing for the removal of a prosecutor who was failing to tackle rampant corruption.

### **Why this is surfacing now**

Credit goes to Giuliani and Trump-supporting right-wing blogs that have covered the story with a Benghazi-like zeal.

The Times reports that Giuliani has gone as far as meeting with Lutsenko to make the case for pursuing Biden's connections to Burisma. In March, Lutsenko reopened the case against the oil company, two years after clearing Burisma.

Mr. Giuliani has discussed the Burisma investigation, and its intersection with the Bidens, with the ousted Ukrainian prosecutor general and the current prosecutor. He met with the current prosecutor multiple times in New York this year. The current prosecutor general later told associates that, during one of the meetings, Mr. Giuliani called Mr. Trump excitedly to brief him on his findings, according to people familiar with the conversations.

The *Times* suggests that Lutsenko's decision to reopen the case could have been an attempt "to curry favor from the Trump administration for his boss and ally, the incumbent president, Petro O. Poroshenko." Poroshenko lost his bid for reelection last month.

### **The Bidens' response**

Joe Biden claims that he didn't even know that Hunter was on the Burisma board, which he reportedly joined in April 2014, until he read about it in news reports.

Hunter, who left the firm's board in April, said in a statement to the *Times* that he never talked to his dad about the job. "At no time have I discussed with my father the company's business, or my board service, including my initial decision to join the board," he said.

A spokesperson for Biden's campaign emphasized that the effort to remove Ukraine's former prosecutor general was multilateral and had nothing to do with the "business interests of his son, a private citizen."

All of this is backed up by people who were with Biden at the time he was pushing to remove Shokin. "I was in almost every single meeting that Vice President Biden had with President Poroshenko, I was on every trip, and I was on most of the phone calls, and there was never a discussion about his son, or Burisma," former State Department staffer Amos J. Hochstein told the *Times*. "None of these issues ever came up."

**Official - Transitory**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

<b>Sender:</b>	(b)(6)
<b>Recipient:</b>	(b)(6); (b)(7)(C)



<b>From:</b>	(b)(6)	
<b>To:</b>		
<b>CC:</b>		
<b>Subject:</b>	RE: MP press conference on U.S.-Ukraine relations (reference to Embassy staff member, etc.)	
<b>Date:</b>	Wed, 9 Oct 2019 12:07:10 +0000	

Thank you. I'm sorry that the local staff mentioned in the media have to deal with this. Please let us know if we can do anything to help.

Please keep us in the loop as this develops, especially if anyone translates the emails published or more come up.

UNCLASSIFIED

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 9, 2019 5:41 AM  
**To:** (b)(6)  
**Cc:** (b)(6)  
**Subject:** FW: MP press conference on U.S.-Ukraine relations (reference to Embassy staff member, etc.)

FYSA.

UNCLASSIFIED

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, October 9, 2019 12:40 PM  
**To:** (b)(6); Kyiv Senior Staff <[KyivSeniorStaff@state.gov](mailto:KyivSeniorStaff@state.gov)>; Kyiv POL Core <[KyivPOLCore@state.gov](mailto:KyivPOLCore@state.gov)>; Kyiv ECON FSOs <[KYIVECONFSOs@state.gov](mailto:KYIVECONFSOs@state.gov)>; (b)(6)  
**Cc:** Kyiv IOs <[KyivIOs@state.gov](mailto:KyivIOs@state.gov)>; EUR-Ukraine Desk-DL <[EUR-UkraineDesk-DL@state.gov](mailto:EUR-UkraineDesk-DL@state.gov)>; Kent, George P <[KentGP@state.gov](mailto:KentGP@state.gov)>; (b)(6)  
**Subject:** RE: MP press conference on U.S.-Ukraine relations (reference to Embassy staff member, etc.)

All – I spoke with the LE staff who were named in the allegations (b)(5). Here's the background on the story:

(b)(5)

(b)(5) There were about five cases in all. The technical assessment was not a secret, we actually organized an event for its launch in early summer 2018.

(b)(5)

(b)(5)

Thanks,

(b)(6)

UNCLASSIFIED

**From:** (b)(6)**Sent:** Wednesday, October 9, 2019 11:54 AM**To:** Kyiv Senior Staff <KyivSeniorStaff@state.gov>; Kyiv POL Core <KyivPOLCore@state.gov>; Kyiv ECON FSOs <KYIVECONFOS@state.gov>; (b)(6)**Cc:** Kyiv IOs <KyivIOs@state.gov>; EUR-Ukraine Desk-DL <EUR-UkraineDesk-DL@state.gov>; Kent, George P <KentGP@state.gov>; (b)(6)**Subject:** MP press conference on U.S.-Ukraine relations (reference to Embassy staff member, etc.)

Please find below a very rough translation of an article about a press conference today by an MP about U.S., Ukraine, elections interference, investigations, etc. Original text at <https://interfax.com.ua/news/general/617802.html>. Flagging for awareness that this article seems to specifically discuss a member of the U.S. Embassy staff by name. We'll be on the lookout for additional coverage as the day proceeds.

People's Deputy of Ukraine Andriy Derkach, initiator of a criminal case on interference in the US elections, released documents from which it follows that the first deputy director of the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine (NABU) Gizo Uglava for several years provided the US Embassy in Kyiv with information that negatively affected the course events in Ukraine and the USA.

At a press conference at the Interfax-Ukraine agency on Wednesday, he made public documents received from investigative journalists, including correspondence between NABU officers and representatives of diplomatic missions of foreign states in the framework of criminal proceedings opened under article 111 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine "High Treason". In particular, the documents that the people's deputy possesses indicate that Uglava, through assistant Polina Chizh, passed on to the US Embassy information that, according to him, is an important part of the "puzzle" of interference in US elections and international corruption.

According to Derkach, he has already transferred these documents to the State Bureau of Investigation (SBI) and the Prosecutor General of Ukraine. The parliamentarian also initiated the creation of a temporary investigative commission of the Verkhovna Rada, and filed a petition for the court to resume the investigation of interference in the US elections by divulging pre-trial investigation.

"According to the correspondence, repeatedly, starting from July 14, 2017, from the electronic mailbox of the assistant to the first deputy of NABU Gizo Uglavy Polina Chizh, the lists of criminal proceedings that NABU detectives are engaged in were sent to the legal specialist of the anti-corruption program of the US Department of Justice of the US Embassy in Ukraine Anna Iemelianova," Derkach said.



Derkach issued a letter in which Polina Chizh, an NABU employee, received an order from Anna Iemelianova, an employee of the US Embassy, to provide information on the case of Nikolai Zlochevsky, the former Minister of Ecology and owner of the Burisma Group.

The MP also announced the amount of funds transferred to the representatives of the Burisma Group, among which Hunter Biden also appears. According to documents, Burisma paid at least \$ 16.5 million in favor of Hunter Biden, Alexander Kwasniewski, Alan Apter and Devon Archer.

At the same time, Derkach claims that international corruption of this magnitude could not take place without the participation of the fifth president of Ukraine Petro Poroshenko. "International corruption of this magnitude, as well as interference in the election of the US president, could not have occurred without the participation of Petro Poroshenko," he said.

"We see the conflict in which the new government of Ukraine fell due to the activities of the previous president Poroshenko. I want to emphasize that I'm practically sure, and not only I, but many journalists, that Petro Poroshenko personally bears responsibility for the situation in which Ukraine has ended up - for dragging Ukraine into interfering in the US presidential election, for a huge number of corruption scandals and international corruption that could not have occurred without his control or participation," the deputy said.

"Due to the actions of the former President of Ukraine Petro Poroshenko, the new President of Ukraine Volodymyr Zelensky was drawn into a scandal with interference in the US presidential election and the fact that Ukraine is accused of international corruption," Derkach believes.

Derkach also unveiled documents that he claims relate to illegally collected personal information from NABU on former prosecutor general Viktor Shokin and his family.

As noted in the press release, "since 2016, Polina Chizh has sent documents with the subject: "Text for a conversation with FBI officers on the "Black Bookkeeping Party of Regions" by e-mail to Guizo Uglov. From the documents, according to Derkach, the collection of data on the former prosecutor general Viktor Shokin and his wife follows.

According to a press release, Derkach initiated the removal of the assistant to the first deputy director of NABU Guizo Uglavy Polina Chizh from duties during the investigation.

Derkach also noted that he filed a lawsuit to resume the case of meddling in US elections by divulging pre-trial investigation data related to "synchronization of illegal actions by NABU, international corruption activities with the US presidential campaign in 2016." The lawsuit will be examined on October 21.

"According to the results of my appeal, a criminal proceeding was registered in 2017. On January 28, a senior investigator of the Main Investigation Department of the Prosecutor General's Office issued a decision to close this criminal proceeding. At the moment, this decision is appealed in civil procedure, the case is scheduled for October 21 in the Pechersk court "- said Derkach

UNCLASSIFIED

<b>Sender:</b>	(b)(6)	
<b>Recipient:</b>		

**From:** (b)(6)  
**To:** Kent, George P (b)(6)  
**Subject:** Re: New Hill column about Ukraine - Biden - Burisma story. (Backstory on Shokin and Zlochevsky)  
**Date:** Tue, 2 Apr 2019 11:17:17 +0000

(b)(5)

(b)(6)

Director

Office of Eastern European Affairs

U.S. Department of State

---

**From:** Kent, George P (b)(6)

**Date:** April 2, 2019 at 6:56:54 AM EDT

**To:** Reeker, Philip T (b)(6), Murphy, Michael J (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Cc:** (b)(6)

**Subject:** Fwd: New Hill column about Ukraine - Biden - Burisma story. (Backstory on Shokin and Zlochevsky)

(b)(5)

(b)(5)

Get [Outlook for iOS](#)

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Tuesday, April 2, 2019 2:23 AM

**To:** (b)(6) Kent, George P;

(b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv); (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press

**Subject:** New Hill column about Ukraine

Below is a new column from The Hill about Ukraine. References to the U.S. Embassy are highlighted. Also note this piece includes quotes from an interview with Ukrainian Special Anti-Corruption Prosecutor Kholodnitsky.

Also, the Russian Mission to the OSCE (verified Twitter account) tweeted last night:  
More

[#Lukashevich](#): Very special anti-corruption formula suggested to [#Ukraine](#) by sponsors of "maidan". US Embassy in Kiev imposed lists of "untouchable" persons, forbidding any investigation in their regard

## **The Hill: Joe Biden's 2020 Ukrainian nightmare: A closed probe is revived**

By John Solomon, Opinion Contributor

Two years after leaving office, Joe Biden couldn't resist the temptation last year to brag to an audience of foreign policy specialists about the time as vice president that he strong-armed Ukraine into firing its top prosecutor.

In his own words, with video cameras rolling, Biden described how he threatened Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko in March 2016 that the Obama administration would pull \$1 billion in U.S. loan guarantees, sending the former Soviet republic toward insolvency, if it didn't immediately fire Prosecutor General Viktor Shokin.

"I said, 'You're not getting the billion.' I'm going to be leaving here in, I think it was about six hours. I looked at them and said: 'I'm leaving in six hours. If the prosecutor is not fired, you're not getting the money,'" Biden recalled telling Poroshenko.

"Well, son of a bitch, he got fired. And they put in place someone who was solid at the time," Biden told the Council on Foreign Relations event, insisting that President Obama was in on the threat.

Interviews with a half-dozen senior Ukrainian officials confirm Biden's account, though they claim the pressure was applied over several months in late 2015 and early 2016, not just six hours of one dramatic day. Whatever the case, Poroshenko and Ukraine's parliament obliged by ending Shokin's tenure as prosecutor. Shokin was facing steep criticism in Ukraine, and among some U.S. officials, for not bringing enough corruption prosecutions when he was fired.



But Ukrainian officials tell me there was one crucial piece of information that Biden must have known but didn't mention to his audience: The prosecutor he got fired was leading a wide-ranging corruption probe into the natural gas firm Burisma Holdings that employed Biden's younger son, Hunter, as a board member.

U.S. banking records show Hunter Biden's American-based firm, Rosemont Seneca Partners LLC, received regular transfers into one of its accounts — usually more than \$166,000 a month — from Burisma from spring 2014 through fall 2015, during a period when Vice President Biden was the main U.S. official dealing with Ukraine and its tense relations with Russia.

The general prosecutor's official file for the Burisma probe — shared with me by senior Ukrainian officials — shows prosecutors identified Hunter Biden, business partner Devon Archer and their firm, Rosemont Seneca, as potential recipients of money.

Shokin told me in written answers to questions that, before he was fired as general prosecutor, he had made "specific plans" for the investigation that "included interrogations and other crime-investigation procedures into all members of the executive board, including Hunter Biden."

He added: "I would like to emphasize the fact that presumption of innocence is a principle in Ukraine," and that he couldn't describe the evidence further.

William Russo, a spokesman for Joe Biden, and Hunter Biden did not respond to email messages Monday seeking comment. The phone number at Rosemont Seneca Partners LLC in Washington was no longer in service on Monday.

The timing of Hunter Biden's and Archer's appointment to Burisma's board has been highlighted in the past, by The New York Times in December 2015 and in a 2016 book by conservative author Peter Schweizer.

Although Biden made no mention of his son in his 2018 speech, U.S. and Ukrainian authorities both told me Biden and his office clearly had to know about the general prosecutor's probe of Burisma and his son's role. They noted that:

Hunter Biden's appointment to the board was widely reported in American media;

The U.S. embassy in Kiev that coordinated Biden's work in the country repeatedly and publicly discussed the general prosecutor's case against Burisma;

Great Britain took very public action against Burisma while Joe Biden was working with that government on Ukraine issues;

Biden's office was quoted, on the record, acknowledging Hunter Biden's role in Burisma in a New York Times article about the general prosecutor's Burisma case that appeared four months before Biden forced the firing of Shokin. The vice president's office suggested in that article that Hunter Biden was a lawyer free to pursue his own private business deals.

President Obama named Biden to be the administration's point man on Ukraine in February 2014, after a popular revolution ousted Russia-friendly president Viktor Yanukovych and as Moscow sent military forces into Ukraine's Crimea territory.

According to Schweizer's book, Vice President Biden met with Archer in April 2014 right as Archer was named to the board at Burisma. A month later, Hunter Biden was named to the board, to oversee Burisma's legal team.

But the Ukrainian investigation and Joe Biden's effort to fire the prosecutor overseeing it has escaped without much public debate.

Most of the general prosecutor's investigative work on Burisma focused on three separate cases and most stopped abruptly once Shokin was fired. The most prominent of the Burisma cases was transferred to a different Ukrainian agency, closely aligned with the U.S. embassy in Kiev, known as the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine (NABU), according to the case file and current General Prosecutor Yuriy Lutsenko.

NABU closed that case, and a second case involving alleged improper money transfers in London was dropped when Ukrainian officials failed to file the necessary documents by the required deadline. The general prosecutor's office successfully secured a multimillion-dollar judgment in a tax evasion case, Lutsenko said. He did not say who was the actual defendant in that case.

As a result, the Biden family appeared to have escaped the potential for an embarrassing inquiry overseas in the final days of the Obama administration and during an election in which Democrat Hillary Clinton was running for president in 2016.

But then, as Biden's 2020 campaign ramped up over the past year, Lutsenko — the Ukrainian prosecutor that Biden once hailed as a "solid" replacement for Shokin — began looking into what happened with the Burisma case that had been shut down.

Lutsenko told me that, while reviewing the Burisma investigative files, he discovered "members of the Board obtained funds as well as another U.S.-based legal entity, Rosemont Seneca Partners LLC, for consulting services."

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 new U.S. Attorney General William Barr, particularly the vice president's intervention.

"Unfortunately, Mr. Biden had correlated and connected this aid with some of the HR (personnel) issues and changes in the prosecutor's office," Lutsenko said.

Nazar Kholodnytskyi, the lead anti-corruption prosecutor in Lutsenko's office, confirmed to me in an interview that part of the Burisma investigation was reopened in 2018, after Joe Biden made his remarks. "We were able to start this case again," Kholodnytskyi said.

But he said the separate Ukrainian police agency that investigates corruption has dragged its feet in gathering evidence. “We don’t see any result from this case one year after the reopening because of some external influence,” he said, declining to be more specific.

Ukraine is in the middle of a hard-fought presidential election, is a frequent target of intelligence operations by neighboring Russia, and suffers from rampant political corruption nationwide. Thus, many Americans might take the restart of the Burisma case with a grain of salt, and rightfully so.

But what makes Lutsenko’s account compelling is that federal authorities in America, in an entirely different case, uncovered financial records showing just how much Hunter Biden’s and Archer’s company received from Burisma while Joe Biden acted as Obama’s point man on Ukraine.

Between April 2014 and October 2015, more than \$3 million was paid out of Burisma accounts to an account linked to Biden’s and Archer’s Rosemont Seneca firm, according to the financial records placed in a federal court file in Manhattan in an unrelated case against Archer.

The bank records show that, on most months when Burisma money flowed, two wire transfers of \$83,333.33 each were sent to the Rosemont Seneca-connected account on the same day. The same Rosemont Seneca-linked account typically then would pay Hunter Biden one or more payments ranging from \$5,000 to \$25,000 each. Prosecutors reviewed internal company documents and wanted to interview Hunter Biden and Archer about why they had received such payments, according to interviews.

Lutsenko said Ukrainian company board members legally can pay themselves for work they do if it benefits the company’s bottom line, but prosecutors never got to determine the merits of the payments to Rosemont because of the way the investigation was shut down.



As for Joe Biden's intervention in getting Lutsenko's predecessor fired in the midst of the Burisma investigation, Lutsenko suggested that was a matter to discuss with Attorney General Barr: "Of course, I would be happy to have a conversation with him about this issue."

As the now-completed Russia collusion investigation showed us, every American deserves the right to be presumed innocent until evidence is made public or a conviction is secured, especially when some matters of a case involve foreigners. The same presumption should be afforded to Joe Biden, Hunter Biden, Devon Archer and Burisma in the Ukraine case.

Nonetheless, some hard questions should be answered by Biden as he prepares, potentially, to run for president in 2020: Was it appropriate for your son and his firm to cash in on Ukraine while you served as point man for Ukraine policy? What work was performed for the money Hunter Biden's firm received? Did you know about the Burisma probe? And when it was publicly announced that your son worked for Burisma, should you have recused yourself from leveraging a U.S. policy to pressure the prosecutor who very publicly pursued Burisma?

John Solomon is an award-winning investigative journalist whose work over the years has exposed U.S. and FBI intelligence failures before the Sept. 11 attacks, federal scientists' misuse of foster children and veterans in drug experiments, and numerous cases of political corruption. He serves as an investigative columnist and executive vice president for video at The Hill.

**Official - SBU**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

**Sender:** (b)(6)  
**Recipient:** Kent, George P (b)(6)

<b>From:</b>	"Sidereas, Evyenia (Berlin)" (b)(6)	
<b>To:</b>	(b)(6)	
<b>Subject:</b>	Re: Phil: DW piece on German defense spending & Bloomberg interview with Ukraine PG	
<b>Date:</b>	Fri, 17 May 2019 16:34:53 +0000	

Thanks!

Evyenia Sidereas  
Political Minister-Counselor / U.S. Embassy Berlin

(b)(6)

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

**From:** (b)(6)

**Sent:** Friday, May 17, 2019 18:05

**To:** (b)(6) Berlin POL Chiefs

**Cc:** (b)(6)

**Subject:** RE: Phil: DW piece on German defense spending & Bloomberg interview with Ukraine PG

(b)(6)

We've seen the reports (b)(5)

We checked earlier today with USNATO and they advised that all Allies were to have submitted updated defense spending data on May 15<sup>th</sup> (as per NATO's twice-per-year reporting cycle), so these numbers may have been reflected in their update. The updated figures will be compiled and released in a SecGen report to defense ministers next month.

The German reporting earlier today (attached) states that their spending would be at €47.32b in 2019. In our March reporting when the draft 2020 budget was released (19 BERLIN 245, high side) Germany had publicly stated that its MOD budget in 2019 would be €43.23 and it would increase its MOD budget to €45.1b in 2020, which was (in press reporting, though not Finance Ministry public docs) calculated as 1.37% of GDP. (b)(5)

(b)(5)

Today's press reporting did not include anything about the 2021-2023 medium-term fiscal plan, which was the worrying out years where their overall percentage was set to dip under the plan released in March. Next steps are the cabinet's formal adoption of the 2020 budget in late June, then a few months of parliamentary debate/action before adoption in November.

Thanks (b)(6)

Official - SBU  
UNCLASSIFIED



---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Friday, May 17, 2019 5:45 PM  
**To:** Berlin POL Chiefs <BerlinPOLChiefsDL@state.gov>  
**Cc:** (b)(6)  
**Subject:** FW: Phil: DW piece on German defense spending & Bloomberg interview with Ukraine PG

Colleagues,

Any corroboration of the defense spending story being reported by dpa, DW?

Thanks,

(b)(6)

**Official**  
**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Friday, May 17, 2019 11:41 AM  
**To:** (b)(6); Reeker, Philip T (b)(6); EUR-WE-Germany-DL <EUR-WE-Germany-DL@state.gov>  
**Cc:** (b)(6); (b)(6); Kent, George P (b)(6); EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>  
**Subject:** RE: Phil: DW piece on German defense spending & Bloomberg interview with Ukraine PG

+ the Germany desk for ground trothing. Thanks, (b)(6)

**Official**  
**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Friday, May 17, 2019 11:00 AM  
**To:** Reeker, Philip T (b)(6)  
**Cc:** (b)(6); (b)(6); Kent, George P (b)(6); EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>  
**Subject:** Phil: DW piece on German defense spending & Bloomberg interview with Ukraine PG

Per morning meeting.

Germany informs NATO of huge defense budget increase: report

<https://www.dw.com/en/germany-informs-nato-of-huge-defense-budget-increase-report/a-48770380>

Germany is ready to raise its share of NATO's budget by €5 billion (\$5.6 billion) to €47.3 billion this year, German news agency dpa reported Friday.

The increase would amount to 1.35% of gross domestic product (GDP) — still a long way off the 2% target NATO members have set themselves. However, the increase would be the biggest for Germany since the end of the Cold War in 1991.

If confirmed, the move could be seen as a concession to US President Donald Trump, who has been pushing European allies to raise defense spending, and their share of spending on NATO in particular.

At a summit in Wales, UK, in 2014, NATO members agreed to gradually raise defense budgets to 2% of GDP within a decade. Trump has repeatedly singled out Germany, criticizing what the US perceives as insufficient defense spending, while Berlin has pointed out that all members have until 2024 to attempt to reach the target.

At last year's NATO summit, Trump even threatened to leave the alliance if members did not reach the 2% target soon.

## **Ukraine Prosecutor Says No Evidence of Wrongdoing by Bidens**

<https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-05-16/ukraine-prosecutor-says-no-evidence-of-wrongdoing-by-bidens> By Daryna Krasnolutska, Kateryna Choursina, and Stephanie Baker

May 16, 2019, 3:14 PM EDT

Ukraine's prosecutor general said in an interview that he had no evidence of wrongdoing by U.S. Democratic presidential candidate Joe Biden or his son, despite a swirl of allegations by President Donald Trump's lawyer.

The controversy stems from diplomatic actions by Biden while his son, Hunter Biden, sat on the board of Burisma Group, one of the country's biggest private gas companies. As vice president, Biden pursued an anti-corruption policy in Ukraine in 2016 that included a call for the resignation of the country's top prosecutor who had previously investigated Burisma.

Yuriy Lutsenko, the current prosecutor general, said that neither Hunter Biden nor Burisma were now the focus of an investigation. He added, however, that he was planning to offer details to U.S. Attorney General William Barr about Burisma board payments so American authorities could check whether Hunter Biden paid U.S. taxes on the income.

“I do not want Ukraine to again be the subject of U.S. presidential elections,” Lutsenko said in an interview Tuesday in his office in Kiev. “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.

## Diverging Reports

The prosecutor laid out a more detailed explanation about what was under investigation by his office after a flurry of diverging reports. While the prosecutor’s office hasn’t reopened a case against Burisma, it is pursuing information about the company’s owner in connection with a long-running criminal investigation of another mogul who fled the country five years ago. That matter concerns a transaction unrelated to Hunter Biden, he volunteered.

In recent weeks, Rudy Giuliani, the president’s personal lawyer, has said that Joe Biden had a conflict of interest when he pressed Ukraine’s officials to crack down on corruption. Giuliani said that Biden could have been trying to help his son’s business dealings and that Ukraine needs to investigate.

Those comments have brought fresh scrutiny of Ukraine’s prosecutors and whether they are now investigating matters related to Burisma or taking other steps to curry favor with the U.S. administration.

Back in March 2016, Biden threatened to withhold \$1 billion in loan guarantees if Ukraine failed to address corruption and remove its Prosecutor General, Viktor Shokin, who soon after left office amid widespread calls for his dismissal. Though Shokin had begun a probe into Burisma, it was dormant when he departed, according to a former prosecutor.

“At the end of the day, Shokin submitted his own resignation,” Lutsenko said.

Giuliani scrapped a planned trip to Ukraine this month to discuss the Biden allegations and other matters with Lutsenko and Ukrainian politicians after a report in The New York Times spurred criticism that he was seeking to harm a Democratic opponent. Critics said he appeared to be enlisting a foreign government to investigate Trump’s possible challenger in the 2020 U.S. presidential election. Giuliani told Fox News that he believed the people around President-elect Volodymyr Zelenskiy were “enemies” of Trump.



Addressing the controversy this week, Biden called it a “personal attack” by Giuliani. “I can’t remember any lawyer representing the president, conferring with the president, deciding to go overseas where a government that relies on U.S. largess to try to get them to do something that everyone knows never happened,” Biden said in an interview in New Hampshire posted Monday on Twitter.

The Bidens declined to comment for this article. Giuliani didn’t respond to a request for comment.

From his office in Kiev, Lutsenko said Giuliani had extended an invitation to meet in New York late last year. When the two finally met in January, they spoke over two days about the Ukrainian political situation and the fight against corruption, he said. Giuliani asked him about investigations into the owner of Burisma, Mykola Zlochevsky, as well as whether the U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine, Marie Yovanovitch, was “not loyal to President Trump.” The men met again in February in Poland, where Giuliani gave a speech at an anti-Tehran rally on the sidelines of a U.S. summit on Iran.

The ambassador to Ukraine, Yovanovitch, has been subject to political attacks as anti-Trump, including a tweet by Donald Trump Jr. who called her a “joker.” She is leaving Kiev within days, ahead of her planned departure this summer. Lutsenko said he told Giuliani that his relationship with the ambassador wasn’t friendly enough for her to confide her opinions on Trump.

Lutsenko said his prosecutors are now looking at Zlochevsky and dozens of other Ukrainians as part of one of the country’s biggest criminal investigations, which was begun in 2014. That inquiry focuses on the activities of Serhiy Kurchenko, who owned a group of gas companies and was a close associate of former President Viktor Yanukovich. Ukraine’s prosecutor general has accused Kurchenko of money laundering, tax evasion and theft of state assets.

After the Maidan revolution toppled Yanukovich in February 2014, Kurchenko fled Ukraine, reportedly to Russia. The U.S. and the European Union imposed sanctions on Kurchenko, and his assets were frozen. A lawyer for Kurchenko didn’t immediately comment.

As part of the five-year-old inquiry, the prosecutor general’s office has been looking at whether Kurchenko’s purchase of an oil storage terminal in southern

Ukraine from Zlochevsky in November 2013 helped Kurchenko launder money. Lutsenko said the transaction under scrutiny came months before Hunter Biden joined the Burisma board.

“Biden was definitely not involved,” Lutsenko said. “We do not have any grounds to think that there was any wrongdoing starting from 2014.”

There is no additional investigation of Zlochevsky and Burisma, the prosecutor general said. A separate case focusing on Zlochevsky’s sale of the oil storage company should be opened in the next month, he said, calling it a “small episode” in the bigger investigation.

“As soon as a case will be separated against Zlochevsky, investigators will follow the procedure,” Lutsenko said. “As far as I know he is outside Ukraine, so he will be first put on a wanted list, then he will be put on an international wanted list. But for the time being, there is nothing in that regard.”

### **‘Notice of Suspicion’**

Prosecutors sent Zlochevsky a “notice of suspicion” and requested he appear for questioning as part of the Kurchenko case, but he never showed up, Lutsenko said. Zlochevsky didn’t respond to requests for comment sent via Burisma, and his lawyer declined to comment.

The current probe “in no way” concerns Burisma, the prosecutor general emphasized.

Before he became prosecutor general in 2016, Lutsenko said, a probe into whether Burisma misappropriated gas licenses was transferred to Ukraine’s National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine (NABU) and then closed. “I don’t understand why NABU closed the cases,” he said.

This year, at the request of Ukrainian MPs, NABU reopened the gas license case. The matter concerns licenses granted to Burisma when Zlochevsky was Minister of Ecology and Natural Resources and predates Hunter Biden’s time on the board.

Zlochevsky's sale of the oil storage business to Kurchenko was part of a probe by the U.K.'s Serious Fraud Office started in 2014, only to be dropped after Ukrainian prosecutors failed to provide information to support the case and closed their own investigation into the matter. Another probe into unpaid taxes by Burisma was settled in 2016.

"All cases against Burisma were closed," Lutsenko said. "I do not see any wrongdoings of any foreigners who worked for Burisma in Ukraine."

Lutsenko's future as prosecutor general -- a job he says he'd like to keep -- is uncertain. Zelenskiy, Ukraine's new president, is due to be sworn in on May 20 and has vowed to name a new prosecutor general.

<b>Sender:</b>	"Sidereas, Evyenia (Berlin)" (b)(6)
<b>Recipient:</b>	(b)(6)



<b>From:</b>	(b)(6)	
<b>To:</b>		
<b>CC:</b>	Kent, George P (b)(6)	
<b>Subject:</b>	RE: Western Media: Lutsenko interview to Bloomberg; The Hill column on Leshchenko	
<b>Date:</b>	Fri, 17 May 2019 12:05:56 +0000	

Thanks – are you available for a quick call? I think I’m on all the traffic and thus up to date, but let’s compare notes.

**Official - Transitory**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Friday, May 17, 2019 8:05 AM  
**To:** (b)(6)  
**Cc:** Kent, George P (b)(6) (b)(6)  
**Subject:** FW: Western Media: Lutsenko interview to Bloomberg; The Hill column on Leshchenko

(b)(6) flagging this, but I don’t think the substance bears mentioning at the morning meeting. Mostly just continuing churn. You might mention that Prosecutor General Lutsenko gave an interview to Bloomberg.

Background on The Hill piece: (b)(5)

(b)(5)

(b)(6)

Director, EUR/EE (Ukraine, Moldova, and Belarus)  
U.S. Department of State

(b)(6)

**Official - Transitory**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Friday, May 17, 2019 1:08 AM  
**To:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (b)(6) (b)(6)  
(b)(6)

(b)(6)

Cc: EUR-Ukraine Desk-DL &lt;EUR-UkraineDesk-DL@state.gov&gt;; Kent, George P

(b)(6); (b)(6)

(b)(6)

**Subject:** Western Media: Lutsenko interview to Bloomberg; The Hill column on Leshchenko

Flagging a couple Western media updates relating to Ukraine:

- Prosecutor General Lutsenko gave an interview to Bloomberg overnight in which he discussed investigations into former VP Biden, his son, Burisma, etc. There is a brief mention of Amb. Y about 2/3 of the way through. This Bloomberg report has been picked up by other outlets, including [The Hill](#).
- Meanwhile, The Hill columnist John Solomon published a new piece overnight focusing on MP Serhiy Leshchenko (general themes: bribery allegations, potential collusion in 2016 elections, alleged efforts by U.S. Embassy to avoid having him investigated, etc.)

### **Bloomberg: Ukraine Prosecutor Says No Evidence of Wrongdoing by Bidens**

Ukraine's prosecutor general said in an interview that he had no evidence of wrongdoing by U.S. Democratic presidential candidate Joe Biden or his son, despite a swirl of allegations by President Donald Trump's lawyer.

(b)(5)

The controversy stems from diplomatic actions by Biden while his son, Hunter Biden, sat on the board of [Burisma Group](#), one of the country's biggest private gas companies. As vice president, Biden pursued an anti-corruption policy in Ukraine in 2016 that included a call for the resignation of the country's top prosecutor who had previously investigated Burisma.

Yuriy Lutsenko, the current prosecutor general, said that neither Hunter Biden nor Burisma were now the focus of an investigation. He added, however, that he was planning to offer details to U.S. Attorney General William Barr about Burisma board payments so American authorities could check whether Hunter Biden paid U.S. taxes on the income.

"I do not want Ukraine to again be the subject of U.S. presidential elections," Lutsenko said in an interview Tuesday in his office in Kiev. "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.

### **Diverging Reports**

The prosecutor laid out a more detailed explanation about what was under investigation by his office after a flurry of diverging reports. While the prosecutor's office hasn't reopened a case against Burisma, it is pursuing information about the company's owner in connection with a long-running criminal investigation of another mogul who fled the country five years ago. That matter concerns a transaction unrelated to Hunter Biden, he volunteered.

In recent weeks, Rudy Giuliani, the president's personal lawyer, has said that Joe Biden had a conflict of interest when he pressed Ukraine's officials to crack down on corruption. Giuliani said that Biden could have been trying to help his son's business dealings and that Ukraine needs to investigate.



Those comments have brought fresh scrutiny of Ukraine's prosecutors and whether they are now investigating matters related to Burisma or taking other steps to curry favor with the U.S. administration.

Back in March 2016, Biden threatened to withhold \$1 billion in loan guarantees if Ukraine failed to address corruption and remove its Prosecutor General, Viktor Shokin, who soon after left office amid widespread calls for his dismissal. Though Shokin had begun a probe into Burisma, it was dormant when he departed, according to a former prosecutor.

"At the end of the day, Shokin submitted his own resignation," Lutsenko said.

Giuliani scrapped a planned trip to Ukraine this month to discuss the Biden allegations and other matters with Lutsenko and Ukrainian politicians after a report in The New York Times spurred criticism that he was seeking to harm a Democratic opponent. Critics said he appeared to be enlisting a foreign government to investigate Trump's possible challenger in the 2020 U.S. presidential election. Giuliani told Fox News that he believed the people around President-elect Volodymyr Zelenskiy were "enemies" of Trump.

Addressing the controversy this week, Biden called it a "personal attack" by Giuliani. "I can't remember any lawyer representing the president, conferring with the president, deciding to go overseas where a government that relies on U.S. largess to try to get them to do something that everyone knows never happened," Biden said in an interview in New Hampshire posted Monday on Twitter.

The Bidens declined to comment for this article. Giuliani didn't respond to a request for comment.

From his office in Kiev, Lutsenko said Giuliani had extended an invitation to meet in New York late last year. When the two finally met in January, they spoke over two days about the Ukrainian political situation and the fight against corruption, he said. Giuliani asked him about investigations into the owner of Burisma, Mykola Zlochevsky, as well as whether the U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine, Marie Yovanovitch, was "not loyal to President Trump." The men met again in February in Poland, where Giuliani gave a speech at an anti-Tehran rally on the sidelines of a U.S. summit on Iran.

The ambassador to Ukraine, Yovanovitch, has been subject to political attacks as anti-Trump, including a tweet by Donald Trump Jr. who called her a "joker." She is leaving Kiev within days, ahead of her planned departure this summer. Lutsenko said he told Giuliani that his relationship with the ambassador wasn't friendly enough for her to confide her opinions on Trump.

Lutsenko said his prosecutors are now looking at Zlochevsky and dozens of other Ukrainians as part of one of the country's biggest criminal investigations, which was begun in 2014. That inquiry focuses on the activities of Serhiy Kurchenko, who owned a group of gas companies and was a close associate of former President Viktor Yanukovich. Ukraine's prosecutor general has accused Kurchenko of money laundering, tax evasion and theft of state assets.

After the Maidan revolution toppled Yanukovich in February 2014, Kurchenko fled Ukraine, reportedly to Russia. The U.S. and the European Union imposed sanctions on Kurchenko, and his assets were frozen. A lawyer for Kurchenko didn't immediately comment.

As part of the five-year-old inquiry, the prosecutor general's office has been looking at whether Kurchenko's purchase of an oil storage terminal in southern Ukraine from Zlochevsky in November 2013 helped Kurchenko launder money. Lutsenko said the transaction under scrutiny came months before Hunter Biden joined the Burisma board.

"Biden was definitely not involved," Lutsenko said. "We do not have any grounds to think that there was any wrongdoing starting from 2014."



There is no additional investigation of Zlochevsky and Burisma, the prosecutor general said. A separate case focusing on Zlochevsky's sale of the oil storage company should be opened in the next month, he said, calling it a "small episode" in the bigger investigation.

"As soon as a case will be separated against Zlochevsky, investigators will follow the procedure," Lutsenko said. "As far as I know he is outside Ukraine, so he will be first put on a wanted list, then he will be put on an international wanted list. But for the time being, there is nothing in that regard."

#### 'Notice of Suspicion'

Prosecutors sent Zlochevsky a "notice of suspicion" and requested he appear for questioning as part of the Kurchenko case, but he never showed up, Lutsenko said. Zlochevsky didn't respond to requests for comment sent via Burisma, and his lawyer declined to comment.

The current probe "in no way" concerns Burisma, the prosecutor general emphasized.

Before he became prosecutor general in 2016, Lutsenko said, a probe into whether Burisma misappropriated gas licenses was transferred to Ukraine's National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine (NABU) and then closed. "I don't understand why NABU closed the cases," he said.

This year, at the request of Ukrainian MPs, NABU reopened the gas license case. The matter concerns licenses granted to Burisma when Zlochevsky was Minister of Ecology and Natural Resources and predates Hunter Biden's time on the board.

Zlochevsky's sale of the oil storage business to Kurchenko was part of a probe by the U.K.'s Serious Fraud Office started in 2014, only to be dropped after Ukrainian prosecutors failed to provide information to support the case and closed their own investigation into the matter. Another probe into unpaid taxes by Burisma was settled in 2016.

"All cases against Burisma were closed," Lutsenko said. "I do not see any wrongdoings of any foreigners who worked for Burisma in Ukraine."

Lutsenko's future as prosecutor general -- a job he says he'd like to keep -- is uncertain. Zelenskiy, Ukraine's new president, is due to be sworn in on May 20 and has vowed to name a new prosecutor general.

[https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-05-16/ukraine-prosecutor-says-no-evidence-of-wrongdoing-by-bidens?utm\\_source=google&utm\\_medium=bd&cmpid=google](https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-05-16/ukraine-prosecutor-says-no-evidence-of-wrongdoing-by-bidens?utm_source=google&utm_medium=bd&cmpid=google)

#### **The Hill: Ukrainian who meddled against Trump in 2016 is now under Russia-corruption cloud**

*Column by John Solomon*

What happens when the face of a country's anti-corruption movement suddenly is investigated for the sort of bribery he once condemned?

Ukraine, a U.S. ally and neighboring foe of Russia, is soon to find out. And it's a case with implications in the United States, where the fallout from the unproven Trump-Russia collusion scandal has engulfed several Ukrainians.

The country's chief corruption prosecutor on Thursday opened an investigation into "suspicions" that Serhiy Leshchenko, a crusading anti-corruption member of Ukraine's parliament and former investigative journalist, accepted bribes in 2016 from a Russian source that enabled him to buy a luxury condo far above his means.

Leshchenko previously has denied any wrongdoing. The 2016 purchase of his condo was investigated once before and he was cleared of criminality. Now, however, the allegation of foreign bribe money adds an element.

On Thursday, Leshchenko responded to the new investigation on Twitter, suggesting it was evidence that his anti-corruption crusade was “hurting” prosecutors, who he said were trying to keep their jobs as a new Ukrainian president takes office. “It won’t work, you coward,” he added.

A Ukrainian court last December ruled that Leshchenko and the head of the country’s National Anti-Corruption Bureau (NABU) — an investigative agency modeled on America’s FBI — both illegally meddled in the 2016 U.S. presidential election by leaking financial documents that smeared then-Trump campaign manager Paul Manafort.

The documents, known as “the black ledger,” identified payments Manafort secretly received from a Russian-backed political party in Ukraine years earlier and led to Manafort’s abrupt resignation from the Trump campaign. He eventually pleaded guilty to lobbying and tax violations and is in prison.

The court ruling against Leshchenko was an extraordinary admission of foreign government influence on America’s last presidential election. But it wasn’t Leshchenko’s only intrusion into American politics, apparently.

Sworn testimony released a few weeks ago by Congress revealed Leshchenko also was “a source” of Russian dirt on Trump that was fed to Hillary Clinton’s opposition research firm, Fusion GPS, the firm that created the so-called Steele dossier that led to a two-year Russia probe that recently cleared Donald Trump of colluding with Russian President Vladimir Putin.

So, a Ukrainian parliamentarian fed dirt to Clinton’s team and leaked to the media information that harmed the Republican candidate’s campaign? That seems like more collusion than was uncovered by special counsel Robert Mueller’s investigation.

But the most tantalizing information about Leshchenko surfaced in my interview Thursday with Ukraine’s chief anti-corruption prosecutor, Nazar Kholodnytskyy, who revealed that the alleged bribes to the parliamentarian and the condo purchase occurred around the time that Manafort stepped down under pressure based on Leshchenko’s leak.

“Absolutely that is one of the things they are going to be investigating,” Kholodnytskyy told me when asked whether any of the Russian money could have been paid as an inducement or a reward for Leshchenko’s meddling in the U.S. election.

The special prosecutor said “credible” information obtained from news media reports, as well as classified information the government possesses, suggest Leshchenko was receiving money from a Russian businessman and was trying to buy the condo in August and September 2016.

“One of the major pieces of evidence in the case, looking at his tax returns and financial records, he [Leshchenko] does not appear to have the resources to buy an apartment of that value,” Kholodnytskyy said.

The prosecutor cautioned that Leshchenko is presumed innocent until the evidence is gathered in a pretrial investigation. But a public statement announcing the probe suggests the seriousness of the allegations.

“According to information published in the mass media, a member of the parliament systematically received millions in bribes from an entrepreneur to lobby for the latter’s business interests, specifically to influence



officials of government agencies and law enforcement agencies and create the necessary public opinion in the media space,” the special anti-corruption prosecutor’s office led by Kholodnytskyy declared.

Ukrainian officials told me Thursday that the U.S. embassy during Barack Obama’s presidency applied pressure in recent years to steer investigations away from Leshchenko. A source with direct knowledge said Leshchenko was one of the people the U.S. ambassador in Kiev asked Ukrainian prosecutors not to pursue in 2016.

Everything in Ukraine should be taken with a grain of salt, given Ukraine’s history of corruption and weaponizing of law enforcement against political rivals.

And one of the ironies of Thursday’s announcement is that Leshchenko’s case now will be investigated by detectives from the same agency — NABU — that a court found in December had collaborated with him to influence the U.S. election improperly.

Whatever happens next in Ukraine, there’s growing evidence that Leshchenko and his activities during the 2016 election in America may deserve scrutiny on this side of the ocean, too.

And that alarm will sound all the more loudly if Ukrainian authorities find any evidence substantiating that Leshchenko received bribes or influence money from Russia in 2016.

In a related matter, Ukraine’s chief prosecutor gave an interview with Bloomberg News reiterating comments he first made in a Hill.TV interview broadcast April 1. In that interview, Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko told me he was reopening parts of an investigation involving a Ukrainian natural gas company, Burisma Holdings, where then-Vice President Joe Biden’s son, Hunter, worked as a board member. Lutsenko said he did not believe some \$3 million in payments that Burisma made to Hunter Biden’s U.S. company violated Ukraine law but might be of interest to U.S. authorities.

Lutsenko told Bloomberg on Thursday that he’d like to offer evidence to U.S. Attorney General William Barr, so that American authorities can check whether Hunter Biden paid U.S. taxes.

<https://thehill.com/opinion/white-house/444167-ukrainian-who-meddled-against-trump-in-2016-is-now-under-russia>

**Official**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

<b>Sender:</b>	(b)(6)	
<b>Recipient:</b>	Kent, George P (b)(6)	
	(b)(6)	



<b>From:</b>	(b)(6)
<b>To:</b>	Kent, George P (b)(6)
<b>CC:</b>	Yovanovitch, Marie L (b)(6) (b)(6)
<b>Subject:</b>	RE: Atlantic Council cooperating with Yanukovych associate Zlochevsky
<b>Date:</b>	Mon, 23 Jan 2017 01:27:29 -0500

(b)(5) Thanks George!

**Official**  
**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** Kent, George P  
**Sent:** Monday, January 23, 2017 8:26 AM  
**To:** (b)(6)  
**Cc:** Yovanovitch, Marie L; (b)(6)  
**Subject:** Re: Atlantic Council cooperating with Yanukovych associate Zlochevsky

(b)(5)

(b)(5)

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Date:** January 23, 2017 at 8:13:30 AM GMT+2  
**To:** Kent, George P (b)(6)  
**Cc:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (b)(6) (b)(6)  
(b)(6)  
**Subject:** FW: Atlantic Council cooperating with Yanukovych associate  
**Importance:** High

George, Further to your earlier email on Burisma and Atlantic Council, AnTAC has picked the issue up. They are engaging AMB Herbst directly (see email exchange below) and asking us to engage him as well.

(b)(5)

(b)(5)

Thanks!

(b)(6)

**From:** Daria Kaleniuk [mailto:(b)(6)]  
**Sent:** Sunday, January 22, 2017 7:07 PM  
**To:** (b)(6)  
**Subject:** Fwd: Atlantic Council cooperating with Yanukovych associate

Dear colleagues,

I would like to let you know on our attempts to convince Ambassador John Herbst to refrain from cooperation with Zlochevskyi.

Probable he doesn't realise how he helps now to clean up Burisma business and personally Zlochevskyi.

I could imagine only in the most scary dreams possibility of Atlantic Council to sign a cooperative agreement with Burisma... Just in case Ambassador Herbst will contact you, please be aware of information below.

FYI ONLY

----- Forwarded message -----

**From:** Daria Kaleniuk (b)(6)  
**Date:** Sun, Jan 22, 2017 at 6:55 PM  
**Subject:** Re: Atlantic Council cooperating with Yanukovych associate  
**To:** John Herbst <(b)(6)>

Dear Ambassador,

I do hope that before taking this decision you had a chance to receive information from OPDAT and INL based at US Embassy in Ukraine.

They are well aware of how this case was developing since summer 2014, when it was initiated by Serious Fraud Office. They also well aware of how this case was intentionally dumped by Yarema, Shokin and now Lutsenko, whom you personally heavily criticized.

I also hope that you're aware that SFO continues investigation against Zlochevskyi and Burisma:

<http://www.dw.com/uk/%D1%83-%D0%B2%D0%B5%D0%BB%D0%B8%D0%BA%D0%BE%D0%B1%D1%80%D0%B8%D1%82%D0%B0%D0%BD%D1%96%D1%97-%D1%82%D1%80%D0%B8%D0%B2%D0%B0%D1%94-%D1%81%D0%BB%D1%96%D0%B4%D1%81%D1%82%D0%B2%D0%BE-%D1%83-%D1%81%D0%BF%D1%80%D0%B0%D0%B2%D1%96-%D1%81%D1%83%D0%BC%D0%BD%D1%96%D0%B2%D0%BD%D0%B8%D1%85-%D0%B3%D1%80%D0%BE%D1%88%D0%B5%D0%B9-%D0%B7%D0%BB%D0%BE%D1%87%D0%B5%D0%B2%D1%81%D1%8C%D0%BA%D0%BE%D0%B3%D0%BE/a-37195171?maca=ukr-rss-ukrnet-ukr-all-3816-xml>

Finally, I hope that you've considered all possible risks associated with being partner with Zlochevskyi - if not please ask MP Sergiy Leshchenko, a former investigative journalist who

was writing a lot about Yanukovych gang dirty assets, including Zlochevskyi's. Leshchenko publications frequently appear in Atlantic Council.

Here is coverage in Kyivpost reflecting our astonishment with clearing up Zlochevskyi by Lutsenko:

<https://www.kyivpost.com/ukraine-politics/activists-cry-foul-courts-prosecutors-clear-zlochevsky.html>

The article doesn't reflect though our deep feel of betrayal after Burisma released joint cooperative agreement with the Atlantic Council. Burisma is obviously using this to clear up its reputation. Zlochevskyi invests a lot into legitimizing his business and Atlantic Council with John Herbst are part of the deal to clear dirty money. Here is Burisma paying ad for informing everyone about cooperating with you:

[https://www.kyivpost.com/business-wire/zlochevskyis-burisma-atlantic-council-sign-cooperative-agreement.html?utm\\_source=traqli&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_campaign=traqli\\_daily](https://www.kyivpost.com/business-wire/zlochevskyis-burisma-atlantic-council-sign-cooperative-agreement.html?utm_source=traqli&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=traqli_daily)

Should Zlochevskyi have invested any funds to Atlantic Council, it will not help you to reach goals stated in the email - firstly, because Zlochevskyi's Burisma is also linked to businesses in Crimea. I can send you details if you're interested.

Ambassador, Herbst, you have to be aware that we are fighting with very few people to bring Zlochevskyi to justice and there is huge money and political influence against us. Zlochevskyi is obviously one of close associates of Yanukovych. He built up his fortune granting licences to extract Ukrainian gas to his companies while in power. Simply by taking away these licenses from Burisma and granting them through competitive procedure to international companies Ukraine could receive huge investments. But this could be done only resulting from non-biased investigation, which unfortunately didn't happen due to corrupt prosecution and courts.

I'd also like you to watch this trailer:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2hcSjBKhtY>

Jointly with VICE news, Global Witness and British journalist Oliver Bullough we've prepared a documentary explaining how Zlochevskyi laundered funds from Ukraine and why these funds are so needed for the country. Zlochevskyi hired best UK lawyers which blocked screening of the full documentary the day before its full launch - simply threatening UK NGO with law suit. Because of UK strict libel law our partners in UK were afraid to screen it. However, we are still looking for a reliable partner to do so.

Of course, partnering of Burisma with Atlantic Council will significantly complicate our attempts to get justice.

Atlantic Council cooperating with Zlochevskyi is a very painful backblow for us, and I believe, for many other good people in Ukraine who strive for reforms.

Regards

Daria

On Sat, Jan 21, 2017 at 12:29 AM, John Herbst <(b)(6)> wrote:  
Dear Daria,

Thank you for this email. We will take what you have written into account. We received extensive information of all kinds about what happened in London before taking our decision.

You can be sure that the Atlantic Council insists on its intellectual independence when it receives support for its programs. Our Ukraine work remains focused on 1) helping Ukraine defeat Kremlin aggression; 2) promoting reform in Ukraine; 3) persuading Western governments to provide aid to Ukraine to achieve goals one and two; 4) countering Kremlin disinformation; 5) keeping international attention on Crimea.

If you like we could meet and discuss this on my next trip to Kyiv.  
Best,  
John

**John Herbst** | Director, Dinu Patriciu Eurasia Center  
Ambassador (Ret.)  
1030 15th Street, NW, 12th Floor | Washington, DC 20005

(b)(6)

[www.facebook.com/AtlanticCouncil](http://www.facebook.com/AtlanticCouncil) | [@JohnEdHerbst](https://twitter.com/JohnEdHerbst) | [www.AtlanticCouncil.org](http://www.AtlanticCouncil.org)

**From:** Daria Kaleniuk [mailto:(b)(6)]  
**Sent:** Friday, January 20, 2017 8:06 AM  
**To:** John Herbst <(b)(6)>  
**Subject:** Atlantic Council cooperating with Yanukovych associate

Dear Ambassador Herbst

It came to my attention, that Atlantic Council signed a cooperative agreement with Burisma, a group of companies controlled by Zlochevskyi, a close associate of Yanukovych.  
<http://burisma.com/en/news/the-atlantic-council-of-the-united-states-and-burisma-group-sign-cooperative-agreement/>

I would like to put your attention to the joint press-release we issued yesterday with TI:  
[http://www.transparency.org/news/pressrelease/ukraines\\_general\\_prosecutors\\_office\\_must\\_stand\\_up\\_to\\_political\\_pressure](http://www.transparency.org/news/pressrelease/ukraines_general_prosecutors_office_must_stand_up_to_political_pressure)

We've been following very closely since 2014 how Prosecution General office killed the case on Zlochevskyi, which was triggered by Serious Fraud Office in Great Britain.

Below is a chronology of facts, which relies on documents to prove that cases against Zlochevskyi and Burisma were intentionally dumped by corrupt PGO.

<https://antac.org.ua/en/analytics/burisma-group-of-companies-are-still-under-criminal-investigation-in-ukraine-despite-case-against-mykola-zlochevskyi-was-dumped-by-the-general-prosecutor-s-office/>

In fact, Yarema, whom US government and Joe Biden, heavily criticized, resigned from the position of Prosecutor General after he failed to investigate Zlochevskyi case and it became clear and publicly known. Shokin, whom you personally criticized publicly, was partly in charge for this investigation as deputy of Yarema.

In addition, I'd like to point your attention to the fact, that National Anti-corruption Bureau continues investigations regarding Zlochevskyi and Burisma, as well as they investigate how prosecutors abused their power to kill the initial British case. All these facts are supported by documents following the link above.

I do hope that you just didn't have opportunity to dig into who is behind Burisma and cooperation between Atlantic Council and this Zlochevskyi corrupt business empire is just a temporary misunderstanding.

Thank you,  
Daria

--

Sincerely,  
Daria Kaleniuk  
Executive director  
Anti-corruption Action Centre

(b)(6)

З повагою,  
Дар'я Каленюк  
Виконавчий директор  
Центр Протидії Корупції

(b)(6)

--

Sincerely,  
Daria Kaleniuk  
Executive director  
Anti-corruption Action Centre

(b)(6)

З повагою,  
Дар'я Каленюк  
Виконавчий директор  
Центр Протидії Корупції

(b)(6)

--

Sincerely,  
Daria Kaleniuk  
Executive director  
Anti-corruption Action Centre  
(b)(6)

З повагою,  
Дар'я Каленюк  
Виконавчий директор  
Центр Протидії Корупції  
(b)(6)

**Official - SBU**  
**UNCLASSIFIED**

<b>Sender:</b>	(b)(6)
<b>Recipient:</b>	Kent, George P (b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (b)(6) (b)(6)



~~FL-2020-00005 A-00000486789 "UNCLASSIFIED" 4/26/2022~~

**From:** "Pyatt, Geoffrey R" (b)(6)

**To:** Nuland, Victoria J (b)(6)  
Finer, Jonathan J (b)(6)  
Kupchan, Charlie (b)(6)  
Kupchan, Charlie (b)(6)  
Zentos, Elisabeth (b)(6)  
Claramella, Eric A (b)(6)

Blinken, Antony J (b)(6)  
Shannon, Thomas A (b)(6)  
Dr. Colin Kahl (b)(6)  
Anna Makanju (b)(6)  
Urban, Carol J (b)(6)

Pfleger, Gregory W (b)(6)  
Sullivan, Thomas D (b)(6)  
Kirby, John (b)(6)

**CC:** Katsoulos, Athena (b)(6)  
Heffern, John A (b)(6)  
Brink, Bridget A (b)(6)

Shannon, Thomas A (b)(6)  
Kim, Yuri J (b)(6)

Wallander, Celeste (NSS-Russia, EOP) (b)(6)  
Kirby, John (b)(6)

Katsoulos, Athena (b)(6)  
Kenna, Lisa D (b)(6)

Heffern, John A (b)(6)  
Urban, Carol J (b)(6)

**Subject:** Re: P2 fires Shokhin; DOES NOT call for dismissal of Yatsenyuk, only refresh of govt, per P2's team

**Date:** Tue, 16 Feb 2016 21:19:39 +0200

Classified by: Eric F. Stein, DAS, A/GIS  
E.O. 13526, Reasons: 1.4(b), 1.4(d)  
Declassify on February 15, 2041

Drama continues. (b)(1)

(b)(1)

(b)(1)

Yatsenyuk could retain a governing majority (more or less) by bringing the Radical Party back into govt.

But the larger point is that the drama will continue.

(b)(1)

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

Original Message

From: Nuland, Victoria J

Sent: Tuesday, February 16, 2016 5:37 PM

To: Finer, Jonathan J; Kupchan, Charlie; Kupchan, Charlie; Zentos, Elisabeth (b)(6); Claramella, Eric A

(b)(6)

Cc: Blinken, Antony J; Shannon, Thomas A; Dr. Colin Kahl; Anna Makanju; Urban, Carol L; Pfleger, Gregory W; Sullivan, Thomas D; Kirby, John; Katsoulos, Athena; Heffern, John A; Brink, Bridget A; (b)(6) Shannon, Thomas A; Kim, Yuri J; (b)(6) Wallander, Celeste (NSS-Russia, EOP); Kirby, John; Katsoulos, Athena; Kenna, Lisa D; (b)(6); Heffern, John A; Pyatt, Geoffrey R  
Subject: P2 fires Shokhin; DOES NOT call for dismissal of Yatsenyuk, only refresh of govt, per P2's team

Emb Kyiv now reporting that the press story below is in INCORRECT. It is a mistranslation of the P2 statement, which calls only for "refresh of government."

P2's NSA called Pyatt to say that P2 has now fired the reviled Prosecutor General Shokhin, which is within P2's competence, and long sought by us.

Yatsenyuk is now presenting the Government's 2016 plan to the Rada. Afterwards, there may be a vote of no confidence on the government, but Embassy Kyiv reports that it will fail (only 157 votes; 225 required).

What happens after that with government reboot, Yatsenyuk, Natalie and rest of reform cabinet is not clear. Stay tuned.

-----Original Message-----

From: PA Press Clips

Sent: Tuesday, February 16, 2016 9:38 AM

To: PA Monitoring Group

Subject: Reuters: Ukrainian president suggests PM should resign: statement

Tue Feb 16, 2016 9:09am EST

Ukrainian president suggests PM should resign: statement

KIEV

Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko suggested in a statement on Tuesday that Prime Minister Arseny Yatseniuk should resign as his cabinet had lost the support of the ruling coalition, but said there should not be a snap election.

Parliament could vote as early as Tuesday on a report that reviews the government's performance in 2015 and its agenda for this year, although the timeframe is still unclear.

If the government loses, lawmakers will need 150 signatures in parliament to hold a no confidence vote, which could lead to national elections if the coalition cannot agree on a new cabinet.

Poroshenko called for General Prosecutor Viktor Shokin to resign and said: "The same parameters should be applied to the government also ... society has clearly decided that there have been more mistakes than achievements, and denied ministers its trust."

(Reporting by Natalia Zincts and Alessandra Prentice; Writing by Matthias Williams; Editing by Kevin Liffey)

This email is UNCLASSIFIED

FL-2020-00005 A-00000486789 "UNCLASSIFIED" 4/26/2022

**Sender:** "Pyatt, Geoffrey R" (b)(6)  
Nuland, Victoria J (b)(6)  
Finer, Jonathan J (b)(6)  
Kupchan, Charlie (b)(6)  
Kupchan, Charlie (b)(6)  
Zentos, Elisabeth (b)(6)  
Ciaramella, Eric A (b)(6)  
Blinken, Antony J (b)(6)  
Shannon, Thomas A (b)(6)  
Dr. Colin Kahl (b)(6)  
Anna Makanju (b)(6)  
Urban, Carol J (b)(6)  
Pfleger, Gregory W (b)(6)  
Sullivan, Thomas D (b)(6)  
**Recipient:** Kirby, John (b)(6)  
Katsoulos, Athena (b)(6)  
Heffern, John A (b)(6)  
Brink, Bridget A (b)(6)  
(b)(6)  
Shannon, Thomas A (b)(6)  
Kim, Yuri J (b)(6)  
(b)(6)  
Wallander, Celeste (NSS-Russia, EOP) (b)(6)  
Kirby, John (b)(6)  
Katsoulos, Athena (b)(6)  
Kenna, Lisa D (b)(6)  
(b)(6)  
Heffern, John A (b)(6)  
Urban, Carol J (b)(6)

~~FL-2020-00005 A-00000486793 "UNCLASSIFIED" 4/26/2022~~

**From:** "Pyatt, Geoffrey R" (b)(6)  
 Urban, Carol J (b)(6)  
 Nuland, Victoria J (b)(6)  
 Brink, Bridget A (b)(6)  
 Kasanof, Alexander (b)(6)  
 Heffern, John A (b)(6)

Classified by: Eric F. Stein, DAS A/GIS  
 E.O. 13526 Reasons: 1.4 (b), 1.4(d)  
 Declassify on February 15, 2041

(b)(6)  
 Zentos, Elisabeth (b)(6)  
 Kupchan, Charlie (b)(6)  
 Baer, Daniel B (b)(6)  
**To:** (b)(6);  
 Anna Makanju (b)(6)  
 Dr. Colin Kahl (b)(6)  
 Blinken, Antony J (b)(6);  
 Pfleger, Gregory W (b)(6)  
 Laitinen, William H (b)(6)  
 Purcell, Alan S (b)(6)  
 Smith, Christopher W (b)(6)

**Subject:** Re: P2 moves on AY+Shokhin

**Date:** Tue, 16 Feb 2016 17:50:13 +0200

And further to Carol below (b)(1)

(b)(1)

(b)(1) Still waiting to see what Bankova says

to clarify since int'l press has run with the ouster.  
 Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

**From:** Urban, Carol J

**Sent:** Tuesday, February 16, 2016 5:40 PM

**To:** Nuland, Victoria J; Pyatt, Geoffrey R; Brink, Bridget A; Kasanof, Alexander; Heffern, John A; (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Zentos, Elisabeth (b)(6) Kupchan, Charlie; Baer, Daniel B; (b)(6) Anna Makanju;  
 Dr. Colin Kahl; (b)(6) Blinken, Antony J; (b)(6) Pfleger, Gregory W; Laitinen, William H;  
 Purcell, Alan S; Smith, Christopher W

**Subject:** RE: P2 moves on AY+Shokhin

What does P2 believe he has demanded of Yatsenyuk if not his resignation?

Re-reading the Bankova statement, P2 clear that he's asked Shokin to resign, but he does not specifically say the same about the PM. Instead, he leaves it a bit ambiguous. He mentions the need for a "total reset" of the Cabinet, but says the PM should decide how to achieve that. Could certainly be interpreted as asking the PM to resign, but again, he doesn't explicitly say so:

"The time for partial reshaping of the Cabinet has passed. People talked about it for too long, and as a result, wasted an opportunity. It is now obvious that there is now a demand for a full reset of the Cabinet. The Prime Minister still has an opportunity to choose how best to meet that demand. The total reshuffle of the Cabinet should be based on the current coalition including Solidarnist, PF, SP, and BA."

(b)(5)

On Shokin, the statement reads: This morning I had a meeting and thorough conversation with the Attorney General. I turned to Viktor Nikolayevich proposing that he wrote a letter of resignation. Victor Shokin implemented the reforms, which the GPU doing opposition for decades, depriving the prosecution general supervision, the establishment of the National Anti-Corruption Bureau and the State Bureau of Investigation, and more. It is on one side. In addition, GPU, unfortunately, failed to gain the trust of society. And that is why the agenda is the question of the resignation of Attorney General.

**From:** Nuland, Victoria J

**Sent:** Tuesday, February 16, 2016 5:18 PM

**To:** Pyatt, Geoffrey R; Urban, Carol J; Brink, Bridget A; Kasanof, Alexander; Heffern, John A; (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Zentos, Elisabeth; (b)(6) Kupchan, Charlie; Baer, Daniel B; (b)(6) Anna  
 Makanju; Dr. Colin Kahl; (b)(6) Blinken, Antony; (b)(6) Pfleger, Gregory W; Laitinen,  
 William H; Purcell, Alan S; Smith, Christopher W  
**Subject:** RE: P2 moves on AY+Shokhin

Sorry, GP, but I can't follow the play, and suspect others here cant either.

(b)(1)

(b)(5)

**From:** Pyatt, Geoffrey R

**Sent:** Tuesday, February 16, 2016 9:47 AM

**To:** Nuland, Victoria J; Urban, Carol J; Brink, Bridget A; Kasanof, Alexander; Heffern, John A; (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Zentos, Elisabeth; (b)(6) Kupchan, Charlie; Baer, Daniel B; (b)(6) Anna  
 Makanju; Dr. Colin Kahl; (b)(6) Blinken, Antony J; (b)(6) Pfleger, Gregory W; Laitinen,

William H; Purcell, Alan S; Smith, Christopher W  
**Subject:** Re: P2 moves on AY+Shokhin

(b)(1)

(b)(1) Manwhile the Rada plows away. Chris digging more on Shokin  
 removal which is more clear at this stage.  
 Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

**From:** Pyatt, Geoffrey R  
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 16, 2016 4:22 PM  
**To:** Nuland, Victoria J; Urban, Carol J; Pyatt, Geoffrey R; Brink, Bridget A; Kasanof, Alexander; Heffern, John A; (b)(6); Zentos, Elisabeth (b)(6); Kupchan, Charlie; Baer, Daniel B (b)(6); (b)(6); Anna Makanju; Dr. Colin Kahl (b)(6); Blinken, Antony J (b)(6); Pfleger, Gregory W; Laitinen, William H; Purcell, Alan S  
**Subject:** Re: P2 moves on AY+Shokhin

(b)(1)

(b)(1) Next step is presentation of the govt's report of  
 accomplishments at 4 local (now). Objective is to restore popular faith in govt. P2 has done his  
 part, now up to Cabinet and Rada (b)(1) NJ worried  
 about what happens tonight. (b)(5)

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

**From:** Nuland, Victoria J  
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 16, 2016 3:54 PM  
**To:** Urban, Carol J; Pyatt, Geoffrey R; Brink, Bridget A; Kasanof, Alexander; Heffern, John A; (b)(6); (b)(6); Zentos, Elisabeth (b)(6); Kupchan, Charlie; Baer, Daniel B (b)(6); Anna Makanju; Dr. Colin Kahl; (b)(6); Blinken, Antony J (b)(6)  
**Subject:** Re: P2 moves on AY+Shokhin

Emb Kyiv, pls advise this chain (b)(5)

(b)(5)

I understand Rada starts session at their 4pm today, and AY will present something...

**From:** Urban, Carol J  
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 16, 2016 8:46 AM  
**To:** Nuland, Victoria J; Pyatt, Geoffrey R; Brink, Bridget A; Kasanof, Alexander; Heffern, John A (b)(6); (b)(6); Zentos, Elisabeth (b)(6); Kupchan, Charlie; Baer, Daniel B (b)(6); Anna Makanju; Dr. Colin Kahl; (b)(6); Blinken, Antony J  
**Subject:** RE: P2 moves on AY+Shokhin

We've just heard that, too.



**From:** Nuland, Victoria J  
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 16, 2016 3:45 PM  
**To:** Pyatt, Geoffrey R; Urban, Carol J; Brink, Bridget A; Kasanof, Alexander; Heffern, John A; (b)(6)  
 (b)(6); Zentos, Elisabeth; (b)(6); Kupchan, Charlie; Baer, Daniel B; (b)(6); Anna  
 Makanju; Dr. Colin Kahl; (b)(6); Blinken, Antony J  
**Subject:** P2 moves on AY+Shokhin

She says P2 just publicly requested resignation of Yatsenyuk and Shokhin.

**From:** Nuland, Victoria J  
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 16, 2016 8:40 AM  
**To:** Pyatt, Geoffrey R; Urban, Carol J; Brink, Bridget A; Kasanof, Alexander  
**Subject:** NJ asking

If I've seen "the announcement...". Not sure which she means...

**Sender:** "Pyatt, Geoffrey R" (b)(6)  
 Urban, Carol J (b)(6)  
 Nuland, Victoria J (b)(6)  
 Brink, Bridget A (b)(6)  
 Kasanof, Alexander (b)(6)  
 Heffern, John A (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 Zentos, Elisabeth (b)(6)  
 Kupchan, Charlie (b)(6)  
 Baer, Daniel B (b)(6)  
**Recipient:** (b)(6)  
 Anna Makanju (b)(6)  
 Dr. Colin Kahl (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 Blinken, Antony J (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 Pfleger, Gregory W (b)(6)  
 Laitinen, William H (b)(6)  
 Purcell, Alan S (b)(6)  
 Smith, Christopher W (b)(6)

~~FL-2020-00005 A-00000486797 "UNCLASSIFIED" 4/26/2022~~

**From:** "Pyatt, Geoffrey R" (b)(6)  
 Makanju, Anna (b)(6)  
 Pyatt, Geoffrey R (b)(6)  
 Nuland, Victoria J (b)(6);  
 Urban, Carol J (b)(6);  
 Brink, Bridget A (b)(6);  
 Kasanof, Alexander (b)(6)  
 Heffern, John A (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 Zentos, Elisabeth (b)(6)  
**To:** Charles A. Kupchan (b)(6)  
 Baer, Daniel B (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 Kahl, Colin (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 Blinken, Antony J (b)(6);  
 (b)(6)  
 Pfleger, Gregory W (b)(6)  
 Laitinen, William H (b)(6)  
 Purcell, Alan S (b)(6)  
 Smith, Christopher W (b)(6)

Classified by: Eric F. Stein, DAS  
 A/GIS  
 E.O. 13526, Reasons: 1.4 (b)(  
 1.4(d)  
 Declassify on February 15, 2041

**Subject:** Re: P2 moves on AY+Shokhin  
**Date:** Tue, 16 Feb 2016 17:05:28 +0200

So the play now. First vote on report of govt. Then they have 157 votes for no confidence. But NF expects to survive that. And all the headlines of P2 asks for PM resignation are off (per Bankova). (b)(5)

(b)(5)

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

Original Message

**From:** Makanju, Anna  
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 16, 2016 4:52 PM  
**To:** Pyatt, Geoffrey R; Nuland, Victoria J; Urban, Carol J; Brink, Bridget A; Kasanof, Alexander; Heffern, John A; (b)(6); Zentos, Elisabeth (b)(6); Charles A. Kupchan; Baer, Daniel B; (b)(6); Kahl, Colin (b)(6); Blinken, Antony J (b)(6); (b)(6) Pfleger, Gregory W; Laitinen, William H; Purcell, Alan S; Smith, Christopher W  
**Subject:** RE: P2 moves on AY+Shokhin

+ Eric

-----Original Message-----

**From:** Pyatt, Geoffrey R [[\(b\)\(6\)](http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:(b)(6))]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, February 16, 2016 9:47 AM  
**To:** Nuland, Victoria J; Urban, Carol J; Brink, Bridget A; Kasanof, Alexander; Heffern, John A; (b)(6); Zentos, Elisabeth; Kupchan, Charles; Baer, Daniel B (b)(6); Makanju, Anna; Kahl, Colin (b)(6); Blinken, Antony J (b)(6); Pfleger, Gregory W; Laitinen, William H; Purcell, Alan S; Smith, Christopher W

**Subject: Re: P2 moves on AY+Shokhin**

(b)(1)

(b)(1) Manwhile the Rada plows away. Chris digging more on Shokin removal which is more clear at this stage.

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Pyatt, Geoffrey R

Sent: Tuesday, February 16, 2016 4:22 PM

To: Nuland, Victoria J; Urban, Carol J; Pyatt, Geoffrey R; Brink, Bridget A; Kasanof, Alexander; Heffern, John A.; (b)(6); Zentos, Elisabeth (b)(6); Kupchan, Charlie; Baer, Daniel B; (b)(6); Anna Makanju; Dr. Colin Kahl; (b)(6); Blinken, Antony J; (b)(6); Pfleger, Gregory W; Laitinen, William H; Purcell, Alan S  
Subject: Re: P2 moves on AY+Shokhin

(b)(1)

(b)(1) Next step is presentation of the govt's report of accomplishments at 4 local (now). Objective is to restore popular faith in govt. P2 has done his part, now up to Cabinet and Rada. (b)(5) NJ worried about what happens tonight. (b)(5)

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Nuland, Victoria J

Sent: Tuesday, February 16, 2016 3:54 PM

To: Urban, Carol J; Pyatt, Geoffrey R; Brink, Bridget A; Kasanof, Alexander; Heffern, John A.; (b)(6); Zentos, Elisabeth (b)(6); Kupchan, Charlie; Baer, Daniel B; (b)(6); Anna Makanju; Dr. Colin Kahl; (b)(6); Blinken, Antony J; (b)(6)  
Subject: Re: P2 moves on AY+Shokhin

Emb Kviv, pls advise this chain on (b)(5)

I understand Rada starts session at their 4pm today, and AY will present something...

From: Urban, Carol J

Sent: Tuesday, February 16, 2016 8:46 AM

To: Nuland, Victoria J; Pyatt, Geoffrey R; Brink, Bridget A; Kasanof, Alexander; Heffern, John A.; (b)(6); Zentos, Elisabeth (b)(6); Kupchan, Charlie; Baer, Daniel B; (b)(6); Anna Makanju; Dr. Colin Kahl; (b)(6); Blinken, Antony J  
Subject: RE: P2 moves on AY+Shokhin

We've just heard that, too.

From: Nuland, Victoria J

Sent: Tuesday, February 16, 2016 3:45 PM

To: Pyatt, Geoffrey R; Urban, Carol J; Brink, Bridget A; Kasanof, Alexander; Heffern, John A;

(b)(6); Zentos, Elisabeth (b)(6); Kupchan, Charlie; Baer, Daniel B (b)(6)

(b)(6) Anna Makanju; Dr. Colin Kahl; (b)(6) Blinken, Antony J

Subject: P2 moves on AY+Shokhin

She says P2 just publicly requested resignation of Yatsenyuk and Shokhin.

From: Nuland, Victoria J

Sent: Tuesday, February 16, 2016 8:40 AM

To: Pyatt, Geoffrey R; Urban, Carol J; Brink, Bridget A; Kasanof, Alexander

Subject: NJ asking

If I've seen "the announcement...". Not sure which she means...

<b>Sender:</b>	"Pyatt, Geoffrey R" (b)(6)
	Makanju, Anna (b)(6)
	Pyatt, Geoffrey R (b)(6)
	Nuland, Victoria J
	Urban, Carol J (b)(6)
	Brink, Bridget A (b)(6)
	Kasanof, Alexander (b)(6)
	Heffern, John A (b)(6)
	(b)(6)
	Zentos, Elisabeth (b)(6)
<b>Recipient:</b>	Charles A. Kupchan (b)(6)
	Baer, Daniel B (b)(6)
	(b)(6)
	Kahl, Colin (b)(6)
	(b)(6)
	Blinken, Antony J (b)(6)
	(b)(6)
	Pflegger, Gregory W (b)(6)
	Laitinen, William H
	Purcell, Alan S (b)(6)
	Smith, Christopher W (b)(6)

~~FL-2020-00005 A-00000486788 "UNCLASSIFIED" 4/26/2022~~

**From:** "Pyatt, Geoffrey R"

(b)(6)

Nuland, Victoria J

(b)(6)

Blinken, Antony J

(b)(6)

Anna Makanju <A

Kavalec, Kathleen A

(b)(6)

Brink, Bridget A

(b)(6)

Celeste A. Wallander

(b)(6)

Kasanof, Alexander

(b)(6)

Logsdon, Kent D

(b)(6)

**To:** Zeya, Uzra S

(b)(6)

Baer, Daniel B

Ordway, John

Dr. Colin Kahl

Finer, Jonathan J

(b)(6)

Kenna, Lisa D

(b)(6)

Heffern, John A

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

Urban, Carol J

(b)(6)

**Subject:** RE: VP+P2 and follow-on

**Date:** Mon, 25 Jan 2016 14:21:17 +0200

Classified by: Eric F. Stein, DAS, A/GIS  
E.O. 13526, Reasons: 1.4(b), 1.4(d)  
Declassify on : 24 January, 2041.

(b)(1)

Said he will speak this evening with Heusgen. Promised we will get (hopefully later today) a revised GoU roadmap doc. Followed by P2-Merkel call later in the week. Klimkin really wants a P2-Merkel face to face discussion given the limits of working on the phone.

Some of Germans and French here in a fuss about the Yatsenyuk proposal for a referendum on the Constitutional changes (see attached for a straight up report from AY's TV address last night, we'll get you more on what looks like a PM play to buy himself some domestic political support).

We also covered Shokin at some length.

I'll see PM (and Yulia) later this afternoon.

SBU

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Nuland, Victoria J

**Sent:** Thursday, January 21, 2016 4:24 AM

**To:** (b)(6) Blinken, Antony J; Anna Makanju; Kavalec, Kathleen A; Brink, Bridget A; Celeste A. Wallander; Kasanof, Alexander; Pyatt, Geoffrey R; Logsdon, Kent D; Zeya, Uzra S; Baer, Daniel B; Ordway, John; Dr. Colin Kahl; Finer, Jonathan J; Kenna, Lisa D; Heffern, John A; (b)(6)

(b)(6) (b)(6)  
**Subject:** VP+P2 and follow-on

(b)(1)

(b)(1)

Anna and I stayed on for another 2 hours to try to flesh out the Minsk sequence, and where gaps are, the following emerged:

- GOU has ask the Constitutional court to interpret the provision on amendments passing in one Rada sitting to mean that the same elected officials must review the law, not the same calendar session. E.g., if no elections and the Rada members haven't changed, it's the same session for purposes of constitutional change - so they buy themselves as much as 3 years to pass decentralization.

(b)(1)



(b)(1)

**Sender:** "Pyatt, Geoffrey R" (b)(6)

Nuland, Victoria J (b)(6)

(b)(6)

Blinken, Antony J (b)(6)

Anna Makanju (b)(6)

Kavalec, Kathleen A (b)(6)

Brink, Bridget A (b)(6)

Celeste A. Wallander (b)(6)

Kasanof, Alexander (b)(6)

Logsdon, Kent D (b)(6)

**Recipient:** Zeya, Uzra S (b)(6)

Baer, Daniel B (b)(6)

Ordway, John

Dr. Colin Kahl

Finer, Jonathan J (b)(6)

Kenna, Lisa D (b)(6)

Heffern, John A (b)(6)

(b)(6)

Urban, Carol J (b)(6)