



Office of Inspector General  
United States Department of State

October 2, 2019

U.S. Senate:

Appropriations Subcommittee on State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs  
Committee on Foreign Relations  
Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs  
Select Committee on Intelligence

U.S. House of Representatives:

Appropriations Subcommittee on State, Foreign Operations, and Related Programs  
Committee on Foreign Affairs  
Committee on Oversight and Reform  
Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence

Dear Chairmen, Chairwoman, and Ranking Members:

Consistent with my obligations under the Inspector General Act of 1978, as amended, to keep Congress fully and currently informed, I am enclosing copies of documents related to the U.S. Department of State and Ukraine.

These documents were provided to the Office of Inspector General (OIG) in May 2019 by the Acting Legal Advisor. OIG transmitted these documents to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in June 2019 for its review.

OIG was informed this week that the FBI does not object to our disclosure of the documents. Accordingly, I am providing a briefing to your staff.

We request that these documents not be distributed outside of Congress at this time.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Steve A. Linick".

Steve A. Linick  
Inspector General  
U.S. Department of State

Enclosures:

As stated.



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

May 3, 2019

MEMORANDUM

TO: The Honorable Steve A. Linick, Inspector General

FROM: Richard C. Visek, Acting Legal Adviser *RJ*

RE: Ukraine-related documents

The Department is in receipt of the attached envelope (Tab 1) containing documents relating to Ukraine. In addition, the Office of the Legal Adviser (L) was provided emails (Tab 2) addressing some of the content in the attached envelope. At the request of the Deputy Secretary, I am forwarding these materials to the Office of the Inspector General for its review and for such action as you deem appropriate.

Attachments as indicated

THE WHITE HOUSE

*Secretary Tompkins*

ATTN: *Ruth*

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## Shokin/Lutsenko Notes

January 23, 2019  
445 Park Avenue  
New York, NY 10022

Shokin:

On January 23, 2019 a telephone interview with Mr. Viktor Shokin the former General Prosecutor of Ukraine was conducted. Present in the New York location were: Rudolph Giuliani, Mr. Igor Fruman, Mr. Lev Parnas and Mr. George Boyle. The conversation was conducted through the use of two (2) interpreters one (1) in Ukraine and one (1) Lev Parnas in New York. The sum and substance of the conversation are as follows:

Mr. Shokin stated that he was appointed to the position of General Prosecutor of Ukraine from 2015 until April of 2016 when he was removed at the request of Mr. Joseph Biden the Vice President of the United States. Mr. Shokin was a Deputy Prosecutor prior to becoming the General Prosecutor. He became involved in a case against Mr. Mykola Zlochevsky the former Minister of Ecology and Natural Resources of Ukraine. The case was opened as a result of Mr. Zlochevsky giving himself/company permits to drill for gas and oil in Ukraine. Mr. Zlochevsky is also the owner of Burisma Holdings, which a corporation registered in Cyprus. Mr. Shokin stated that there are documents that list five (5) criminal cases in which Mr. Zlochevsky is listed, with the main case being for issuing illegal gas exploration permits. The following complaints are in the criminal case.

1. Mr. Zlochevsky was laundering money
2. Obtained assets by corrupt acts bribery
3. Mr. Zlochevsky removed approximately twenty three million U.S. dollars out of Ukraine without permission
4. While seated as the Minister he approved two addition entities to receive permits for gas exploration
5. Mr. Zlochevsky was the owner of two secret companies that were part of Burisma Holdings and gave those companies permits which made it possible for him to profit while he was the sitting Minister.

The above cases were closed after Mr. Zlochevsky was dismissed from the Ministry.

Mr. Shokin further stated that there were several Burisma board appointments were made in 2014 as follows:

1. Hunter Biden son of Vice President Joseph Biden
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Mr. Shokin stated that these appointments were made by Mr. Zlochevsky in order to protect himself.

Mr. Zlochevsky left Ukraine while the above mentioned cases were open.

Mr. Shokin stated that the 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. On or about September 2015

Mr. Pyatt gave a speech in Odessa where he stated that the cases were not investigated correctly and that Mr. Shokin may be corrupt.

Mr. Shokin stated that in 2014 Mr. Zlochevsky was in the UK and that the twenty three million dollars were frozen in the UK in the BNP Bank. Mr. Shokin stated that false documents were prepared and the money was released to Mr. Slochevsky before Mr. Shokin took office. That release of the money made Mr. Shokin look into the above cases again. Mr. Shokin stated that there were several articles written about bribes being taken during the investigation of the cases. The bribes were an effort to have the cases closed. On April of 2016 Mr. Shokin was dismissed as the General Prosecutor of Ukraine. In November of 2016 the cases were closed by the current Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko.

Mr. Shokin further stated that on February of 2016 warrants were placed on the accounts of multiple people in Ukraine. There were requests for information on Hunter Biden to which nothing was received. 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. 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.

Mr. Shokin stated that on or around April of 2016 Mr. Petro Poroshenko called him and told him he had to be fired as the aid to the Ukraine was being withheld by Joe Biden. Mr. Biden told Mr. Poroshenko that he had evidence that Mr. Shokin was corrupt and needed to be fired. Mr. Shokin was dismissed in April of 2016 and the U.S. aid was delivered within one and one half months.

On a different point Mr. Shokin believes the current Ambassador Marie L. Yovanovitch denied his visa to travel to the U.S. Mr. Shokin stated that she is close to Mr. Biden. Mr. Shokin also stated that there were leaks by a person named Reshenko of the Ukrainian State Secret Service about the Manafort Black Book. Mr. Shokin stated that there is possible deceit in the Manafort Black Book.

End of interview:

January 25, 2019  
445 Park Avenue  
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Yuriy Lutsenko:

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Mr. Lutsenko stated that he is currently the Prosecutor General for Ukraine. He was the Minister of Interior from 2007 to 2010. He further stated that he was placed in jail for two and one half years as a political prisoner.

Mr. Lutsenko stated that his office has the following units under his purview:

1. Police Department
2. Fiscals
3. Secret Service
4. Investigative Department

*Note*  
Mr. Lutsenko stated that his office has recovered several billion dollars and has had two thousand six hundred thirty-seven verdicts for corruption. Mr. Lutsenko went on to explain that there is a unit called Specialized Anticorruption Prosecutors Office (SAP) which has under its purview National Anticorruption Bureau Ukraine (NABU) which investigates corruption cases that involved public figures from Mayors upward. He stated that the current U.S. Ambassador protects SAP and NABU. He feels they are good organizations but have terrible leadership. His office has absolutely no control over SAP or NABU and can't even ask what they are working on however they fall under his "control".  
He further state that he believes Mr. Viktor Shokin the former Prosecutor General is honest.

Mr. Lutsenko went on to say that he began looking at the same case Mr. Shokin was looking at (mentioned above) and he believes Hunter Biden receives millions of dollars in compensation from Burisma. He produced a document from Latvia that showed several million dollars that were distributed out of Burisma's account. The record showed two (2) companies and four (4) individuals receiving approximately sixteen million dollars in disbursements as follows:

Companies:

1. Wirelogic Technology \$ 14,665,982
2. Digitex \$ 1,900,000

Individuals:

1. Aleksander Kwasnewski \$ 1,150,000

2. Alan Apter                   \$ 302,885
3. Devon Archer Amount not revealed by Latvia
4. Hunter Biden Amount not revealed by Latvia

Mr. Lutsenko feels that the total disbursements can as high as \$100,000,000.

Mr. Lutsenko stated that there was also a payment of \$ 900,000.00 to Rosemont Seneca Partners LLC for consulting fees. Hunter Biden is a partner in Rosemont Seneca Partners LLC along with Devon Archer and the dates of this transaction are approximately anywhere from January to December of 2015. According to Mr. Lutsenko the \$ 900,000.00 invoice was for services rendered for lobbying by Joe Biden.

The formation of SAP and was on or about October 2014. The formation of SAP and NABU was publicly announced, stating Mr. Shokin was not getting any results, showed no arrests, no proceedings against government officials. The U.S. Ambassador Geoffrey Pyatt recommended a special body to investigate high level corruption. Ambassador Pyatt gave a speech on September 25, 2015 in Odessa against the Prosecutor Generals' Office . On or around October of 2014 a law was passed creating NABU which was set up by Mr. George Kent who was the Deputy Chief to the Mission in Ukraine. Mr. Kent is currently the Deputy Assistant Secretary Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs for the U.S. State Department.

Mr. Yuriy Lutsenko requested that we break for the day, and that he would meet again with everyone tomorrow.

End of interview:



Yuriy Lutsenko Continued:

3 days later

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Mr. Yuriy Lutsenko stated that in 2010 there was a system set up that was comprised of five hundred (500) companies. This system was set up in order to remove money from the Ukraine have it laundered and then collect the laundered money. These companies were all headed by one Chief Financial Officer. Mr. Lutsenko stated that about twenty (20) to forty (40) of these companies were shell companies. He further stated that there were twenty-three (23) companies located off shore, and that two of them had approximately seven billion dollars that were placed in the Templeton Fund. The "system" ran similar to a pyramid scheme and all of the beneficiaries were pro-Russian. Mr. Lutsenk stated that there was about one point five billion dollars in International Bonds inside the Ukraine which allowed for the recovery of that money.

Mr. Letsenko stated that there was a "Black Book" found near the home of a former Deputy of the Ukrainian Secret Service . This book contained a list of people who were receiving kickbacks. He stated examples such as: 3 million dollars for a vote on the state budget by a member of Parliament.

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Mr. Letsenko who oversees SAP and NABU cannot inquire about their cases/investigations. The Head of SAP is Nazar Kholodnitskiy and the head of NABU is Artem Sytnyk and do not like each other and are currently at odds with one another. At an anti-corruption training seminar in Panam Mr. Kholodnitskiy asked Mr. Sytnyk why would you say there is no signature (Manafort's) and MR. Sytnyk stated he wanted Hillary to win.

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End of interview:



~~Sutton~~

Timelines

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Ukraine Prosecutor General Shokin's office opens criminal investigation of Burisma Holdings and Mykola Zlochevsky for alleged corrupt award of gas exploration permits and eventual looting of company, according to Ukrainian prosecutor general file. Hunter Biden identified as an American person of interest in the file.

**December 16, 2014**

Former deputy national security adviser Tony Blinken confirmed by Senate as Deputy Secretary of State under John Kerry.

**Jan. 16, 2015**

General Prosecutors office in Ukraine declares Burisma Holdings founder Zlochevsky a fugitive "wanted in Ukraine."

**March 18, 2015**

VP Biden call with President Poroshenko. <https://ua.usembassy.gov/readout-vice-presidents-call-ukrainian-president-petro-poroshenko-6/>

**April 15, 2015**

VP Joe Biden speaks in Ukraine, praising the decision to appoint a new head of the NABU, the investigative arm of the Prosecutor General's office

**May 26, 2015**

Hunter Biden meets for breakfast with deputy secretary of state Tony Blinken regarding concerns in Ukraine about Burisma prosecution.

**June 12, 2015**

VP Biden calls President Poroshenko. <https://ua.usembassy.gov/readout-vice-presidents-call-ukrainian-president-petro-poroshenko-8/>

**July 15, 2015**

VP Biden and Commerce Secretary Pritzker attend first ever US-Ukraine Chamber of Business meeting. <https://www.uschamber.com/first-annual-us-ukraine-business-forum>

**July 24, 2015**

VP Biden calls President Poroshenko, raises concerns about anti-corruption efforts in Ukraine. <https://ua.usembassy.gov/readout-vice-presidents-call-ukrainian-president-petro-poroshenko-10/>

**Aug. 16, 2015**

Devon Archer throws a \$10,000 a plate fund-raiser in New York for the Seed Global Health charity founded by Secretary of State Kerry's daughter, Dr. Vanessa Kerry.

**Aug. 28, 2015**

VP Biden calls President Poroshenko <https://ua.usembassy.gov/readout-vice-presidents-call-ukrainian-president-petro-poroshenko-082815/>

**Sept. 29, 2015**

VP Biden meets with President Poroshenko in Ukraine. <https://ua.usembassy.gov/readout-vice-president-bidens-meeting-ukrainian-president-petro-poroshenko/>

**Nov. 5, 2015**

Biden calls President Poroshenko. <https://ua.usembassy.gov/readout-vice-president-bidens-call-ukrainian-president-petro-poroshenko-110515/>

**Dec. 7, 2015**

VP Biden meets with President Poroshenko and demands the termination of Ukraine's General Prosecutor Shokin. Biden states the president must make "hard decisions" to eliminate "the cancer of corruption" in his country. <https://ua.usembassy.gov/remarks-vice-president-joe-biden-ukrainian-president-petro-poroshenko-bilateral-meeting/>

**Dec. 9, 2015**

Hunter Biden and business partner Devon Archer meet at State Department regarding Burisma Holdings prosecution.

**Feb. 11, 18, 19, 2016**

VP Biden holds series of phone calls with President Poroshenko to check on status of pending items from their December 2015 meeting. Removal of general prosecutor raised again. <https://ua.usembassy.gov/readout-vice-president-bidens-calls-prime-minister-arseniy-yatsenyuk-president-petro-poroshenko-ukraine-021916/>

**March 15, 2016**

1. Assistant Secretary of State Victoria Nuland demands Ukraine "appoint and confirm a new, clean Prosecutor General, who is committed to rebuilding the integrity of the PGO, and investigate, indict and successfully prosecute corruption and asset recovery cases – including locking up dirty personnel in the PGO itself." She offers no proof that special prosecutor's office is corrupt. <https://ua.usembassy.gov/ukrainian-reforms-two-years-maidan-revolution-russian-invasion/>

**March 22, 2016**

VP Joe Biden engages in phone call from Washington DC with Ukrainian president Poroshenko about U.S. loan guarantees. It is believed in this call that Biden renews his demands that the president fire Prosecutor General Shokin, who is overseeing the Burisma prosecution, but this time Biden warns Ukraine risk losing the next \$1 billion in U.S. loan guarantees. <https://ua.usembassy.gov/readout-vice-president-bidens-call-president-petro-poroshenko-ukraine-032216/>

**March 29, 2016**

Ukraine parliament fires Prosecutor General Shokin at urging of President Poroshenko. <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/30/world/europe/political-stability-in-the-balance-as-ukraine-ousts-top-prosecutor.html>

**March 31, 2016**

VP Joe Biden arrives in Ukraine and announces \$1 billion in loan guarantees, ending threat to withhold aid and force Ukraine into debt default, and also delivers \$239 million more in promised aid. <https://ua.usembassy.gov/readout-vice-president-bidens-meeting-president-petro-poroshenko-ukraine-033116/>

**April 14, 2016**

VP Biden calls President Poroshenko and "stressed the urgency of putting in place a new Prosecutor General who would bolster the agency's anti-corruption efforts. <https://ua.usembassy.gov/readout-vice-president-bidens-call-president-petro-poroshenko-ukraine-041416/>

**May 12, 2016**

Yurii Lutsenko named the new Prosecutor General of Ukraine, taking over investigations that include Burisma Holdings.

**May 27, 2016**

VP Biden holds phone call with President Poroshenko. <https://ua.usembassy.gov/readout-vice-president-bidens-call-president-petro-poroshenko-ukraine-052716/>

**June 15, 2016**

The Ukrainian investigative bureau NABU announces it has uncovered a massive fraud scheme involving Burisma Holdings. <https://www.pravda.com.ua/eng/news/2016/06/15/7111882/>

June 15, 2016

New Ukrainian prime minister Volodymyr Groysman meets in Washington DC with VP Joe Biden, Assistant Secretary of State Victoria Nuland and a representative of George Soros team.

Aug. 12, 2016

Phone call between VP Biden and President Poroshenko

Sept. 20, 2016

VP Biden meets President Poroshenko on sidelines of UN meeting. Confirms \$1 billion in loan guarantees has been made. <https://ua.usembassy.gov/readout-vice-president-bidens-meeting-president-petro-poroshenko-ukraine/>

Sept. 20, 2016

General Prosecutor's office eliminates "wanted" status of Burisma Holdings founder Zlochevsky in criminal case, ending his status as a fugitive.

Nov. 2, 2016

Prosecutor General's office in Ukraine closes down Burisma Holdings investigation without any formal charges.

Nov. 8, 2016

Donald Trump wins election to become 45<sup>th</sup> president of United States, ending eight years of Democratic control of the White House.

Dec. 15, 2016

VP Biden holds phone call with Ukraine president and prime minister, praises work of NABU, which prosecutor general's office says refused to investigate Burisma aggressively. <https://ua.usembassy.gov/readout-vice-president-bidens-calls-president-ukraine-petro-poroshenko-prime-minister-ukraine-volodymyr-groysman/>

Jan. 17-18, 2017

Biden makes final appearance in Ukraine with President Poroshenko. <https://ua.usembassy.gov/remarks-vice-president-joe-biden-joint-press-availability-ukrainian-president-petro-poroshenko/>

Jan. 25, 2018

Former VP Biden boasts at Council of Foreign Relations events in Washington DC that he strong armed Ukrainian president to fire the General Prosecutor, using loan guarantees as leverage. Does not mention his son's company was under investigation.

## Key Events in Burisma Investigation

February 2014:

VP Joe Biden named by President Obama to be U.S. point man on Ukrainian crisis. Meets with President Viktor Yanukovich. Yanukovich ousted as president during Maiden uprising.

March 2014

New Ukrainian elections set for May and Petro Poroshenko emerges as top Western-friendly candidate for president.

April 2014:

Devon Archer, business partner of Hunter Biden, son of the VP, and John Heinz, stepson of Secretary Kerry, is named an independent director of Burisma Holdings. [https://www.resumonk.com/kVYKE5CEpSjptxE\\_aGwqYQ](https://www.resumonk.com/kVYKE5CEpSjptxE_aGwqYQ)

April 18, 2014:

Britain's Serious Fraud Office freezes \$23 million in assets kept in London by Burisma Holdings and its founder, Mykola Zlochevsky, on grounds it was fraudulently transferred from Ukraine.

April 24, 2014:

Joe Biden meets with candidate Poroshenko for the first time. <https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2014/04/petro-poroshenko-interview-ukrainian-presidential-candidate-discusses-putin-the-west-and-ukraine.html>

May 13, 2014

Hunter Biden appointed chief lawyer, and board member for Ukraine's largest natural gas company Burisma Holdings, which is run by Mykola Zlochevsky, a former Cabinet official for ousted president Yanukovich. <https://www.cnbc.com/2014/05/13/bidens-son-joins-ukraine-gas-companys-board-of-directors.html>

May 20, 2014

David Leiter, former chief of staff to John Kerry, hired as DC lobbyist for Burisma Holdings, Senate lobbying records show. The firm is paid \$90,000 in 2014 to lobby Congress and the State Department, *with Kerry as Secretary.* [https://www.opensecrets.org/lobby/client\\_reports.php?id=F212407&year=2014](https://www.opensecrets.org/lobby/client_reports.php?id=F212407&year=2014)

May 25, 2014

Poroshenko wins the Ukraine presidential election

Aug. 20, 2014

OUTLINE  
(3/28/19)

Source of  
this document?

2010-2014.

Mykola Zlochevsky was a high ranking official of the pro-Russian Ukrainian Government. Yanukovych was, and had been, a close associate of Zlochevsky and his company many valuable gas export contracts. The core company is called BURSMA HOLDINGS LTD.

Feb. 2014.

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Revolution of Dignity takes place and President Yanukovych and his government are ousted. Yanukovych and Zlochevsky flee ultimately to Russia. They also had been taking billions of dollars out of Ukraine and using banks all over the world for laundering including at least one prominent US financial institution. The amount involving US is said to be \$7 billion.

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Ukraine Parliament fires Prosecutor General Shokin.

Mar. 31, 2016.

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April 14, 2016.

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Mar. 12, 2016.

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Prosecutor General Lutsenko meets with US Ambassador Marie Yovanovitch. Yovanovitch tells Lutsenko that he must drop investigation of individuals and institutions. The list includes an organization run by George Soros. Lutsenko is aware that Yovanovitch is very close to Biden and Soros.

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Records show payments of approximately \$3.2 million to Hunter Biden through a Cypriot Bank and a separate payment of \$900,000 to his company Rosemont Seneca, The \$900,000 payment is described as being for "lobbying Joe Biden."

Additionally, witnesses can testify that Ambassador Yovanovitch and key members of her staff including GEORGE KENT, now working at State in DC and protecting her, played a role in the scheme to fix the BURISMA case by setting up separate and independent offices to allegedly investigate corruption. Instead these offices were used to dismiss the cases against BURISMA, H.Biden and the notorious criminal Zlochevsky.

This same group is alleged to be involved in helping to resurrect a case against Paul Manafort that had been closed in 2014. A "black book" was discovered which may or may not be legitimate. It was used as the newly discovered evidence to justify re-opening the investigation. It is suspected that members of the Embassy were involved in developing evidence concerning Manafort. There is also a suggestion that they may have worked on some parts of the Steele dossier.

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There is also a third prosecutor who has supplied a memorandum supporting these facts and there are substantial records inside the Department of State that corroborate the testimony.

Yovanovitch has recently met with President Poroshenko and asked him to fire the present Prosecutor General Lutsenko. They are also circulating a rumor that VP Pence has interceded on her behalf to say she will remain. This is not true, but is an example of the kind of false information the Embassy spreads to intimidate.

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2018 when Congressman Pete Sessions reported to him she was telling officials in Ukraine that he will be impeached. I have independently developed similar evidence of her telling officials the the President twill be gone soon.

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Leshchenko, MP

Nayem, MP

Shabunin, ngo





Solomon  
articles

Embassy of the United States of America  
Kyiv, Ukraine

April 4, 2016

Mr. Yuriy Stolyarchuk  
Deputy Prosecutor General  
Prosecutor General's Office of Ukraine  
Kyiv

Dear Mr. Stolyarchuk:

Thank you for your letter dated March 29, 2016, and the clarification of your remarks. I am answering on behalf of Ambassador Pyatt. I would like to make clear, as has Ambassador Pyatt in his public statements, that the United States has no concerns about the use of our assistance funds for our joint project with the Prosecutor General's Office. Furthermore, as we have also said publicly, none of these assistance funds were provided directly to any entity within the Prosecutor General's Office, including Deputy Prosecutor David Sakvarelidze and his staff. We have accounted for every single foreign assistance dollar provided within the framework of this project, as is our practice for every project we support in Ukraine. All of this assistance was administered according to U.S. laws and regulations and in strict compliance with our bilateral agreement dated March 13, 2015, and our joint action plan, signed on August 10, 2015.

This U.S. assistance package, which the Prosecutor General's Office has publicly stated it is "investigating," is implemented through the International Development and Law Organization, an inter-governmental organization, and through the U.S. Department of Justice's Office of Overseas Prosecutorial Development Assistance and Training. Management and oversight of this funding is done by the U.S. Embassy in Kyiv, through the International Narcotics and Law Enforcement section.

We also provided \$200,000 to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, a Paris-based intergovernmental organization to assist in reforming the Prosecutor General's Office. Again, none of these funds were provided directly to the Government of Ukraine.

To date, all of this assistance has supported expert advisers embedded within the Prosecutor General's Office who helped create the Reforms Department, developing re-attestation for prosecutors in line with the Government of Ukraine Procuracy Reform Law, training of prosecutors of the criminal procedure code, and capacity building for the Inspector General's Unit.

We are completely satisfied that the assistance in question has only been used for those purposes and, as stated above, do not see any grounds from our perspective as the donor who provided the assistance for an investigation into their use. Given the above, we reject allegations that Mr. Sakvarelidze, or anyone within the Prosecutor General's Office with whom we worked, could have misused these funds since they were never under their control. The investigation into the actions of the Anti-Corruption Action Center, based on the assistance they have received from us, is similarly misplaced.

As voiced by European Union Ambassador Jan Tombrinski, we are gravely concerned about this investigation for which we see no basis and which appears to us to be an attempt to intimidate those in the Prosecutor General's Office most committed to combating corruption, as well as non-governmental partners and outspoken anti-corruption activists.

The United States is committed to supporting reforms within the Prosecutor General's Office and to building its capacity to meet citizens' demands for stolen assets and counter corruption within the government.

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# As Russia collusion fades, Ukraine plot to help Clinton emerges

BY JOHN SOLOMON, OPINION CONTRIBUTOR — 03/20/19 07:30 PM EDT  
THE VIEWS EXPRESSED BY CONTRIBUTORS ARE THEIR OWN AND NOT THE VIEW OF THE HILL

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Avenatti

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Journalist Glenn  
Greenwald discusses  
efforts to make Mueller  
report public

RISING — 5M 39S AGO

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Mueller

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prison sentence: report

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Krystal Ball: Trump-  
Russia controversy  
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Mueller report is  
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RISING — 16M 21S AGO



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](#).

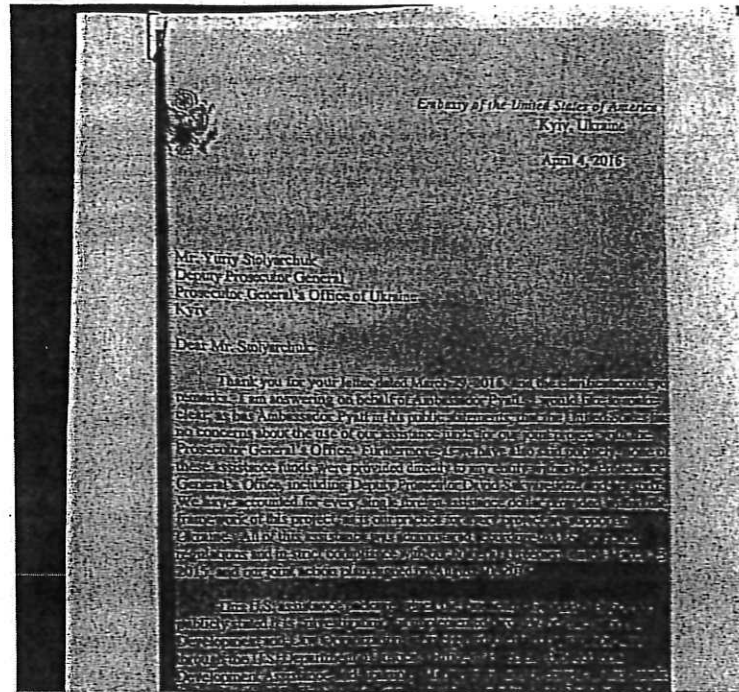
The leak of the so-called black ledger files to U.S. media prompted Manafort's resignation from the Trump campaign and gave rise to one of the key allegations in the Russia collusion probe that has dogged Trump for the last two and a half years.

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

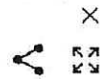
pursue and then refused to cooperate in an early investigation into the alleged misappropriation of U.S. aid in Ukraine.

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.



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1 of 2



The State Department on Wednesday issued a statement declaring that it no longer financially supports Lutsenko's office in its anti-corruption mission and considers his allegation about the do-not-prosecute list "an outright fabrication."

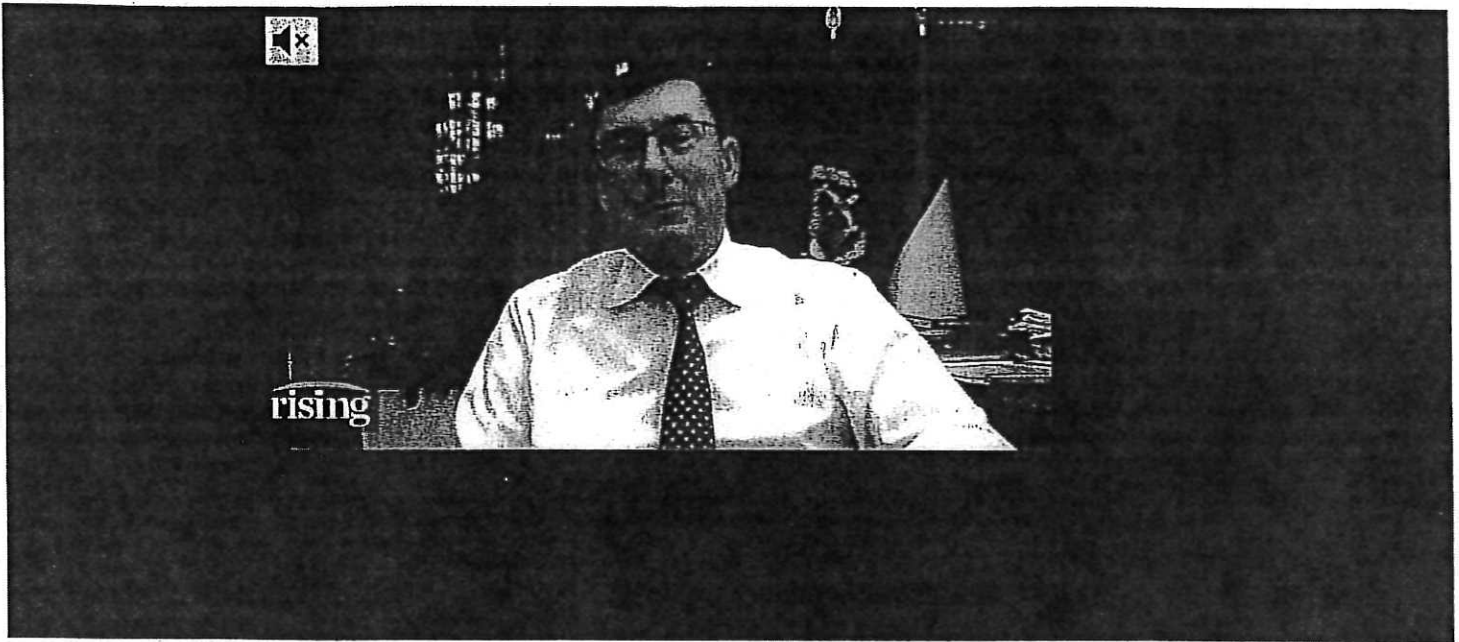
My reporting, however, indicates Lutsenko isn't the only person complaining about the U.S. Embassy in Kiev.

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.



# Top Ukrainian justice official says US ambassador gave him a do not prosecute list

TWITTER



3/20/2019

Ukrainian Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko told Hill.TV's John Solomon in an interview that aired Wednesday that U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovitch gave him a do not prosecute list during their first meeting.

"Unfortunately, from the first meeting with the U.S. ambassador in Kiev, [Yovanovitch] gave me a list of people whom we should not prosecute," Lutsenko, who took his post in 2016, told Hill.TV last week.

"My response of that is it is inadmissible. Nobody in this country, neither our president nor our parliament nor our ambassador, will stop me from prosecuting whether there is a crime," he continued.

The State Department called Lutsenko's claim of receiving a do not prosecute list, "an outright fabrication."

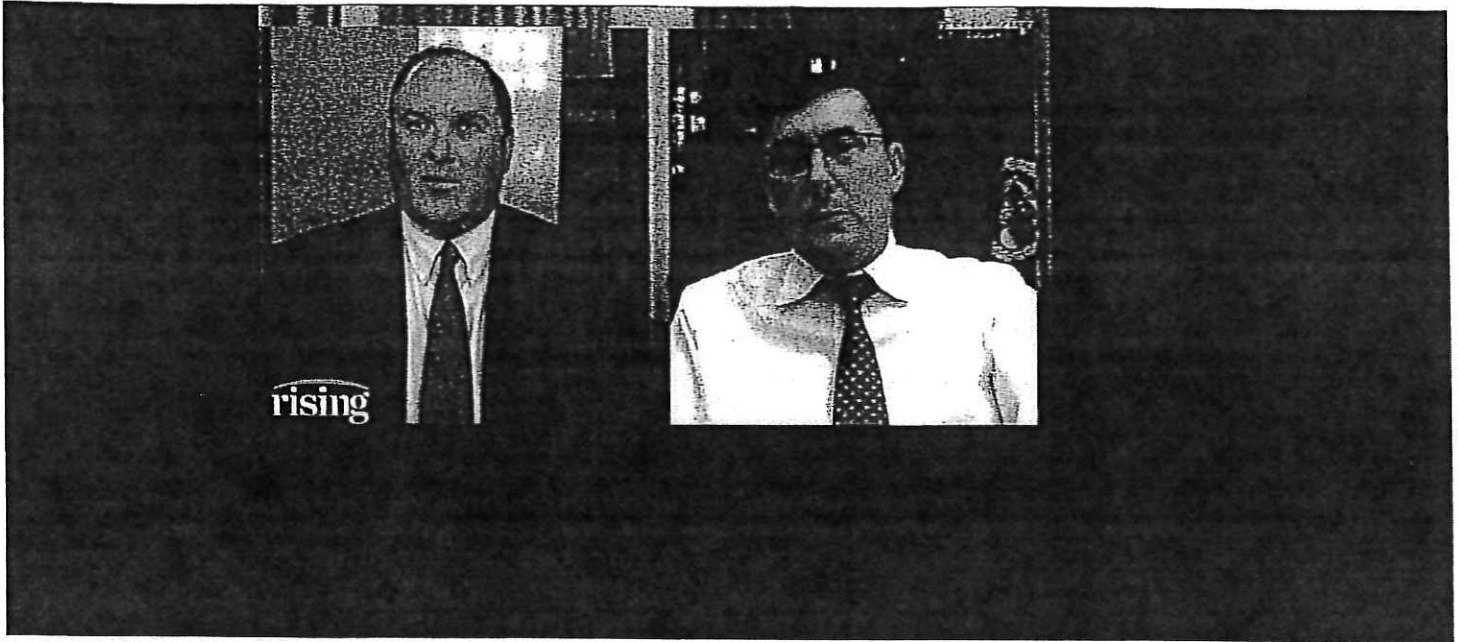
"We have seen reports of the allegations," a department spokesperson told Hill.TV. "The United States is not currently providing any assistance to the Prosecutor General's Office (PGO), but did previously attempt to support fundamental justice sector reform, including in the PGO, in the aftermath of the 2014 Revolution of Dignity. When the political will for genuine reform by successive Prosecutors General proved lacking, we exercised our fiduciary responsibility to the American taxpayer and redirected assistance to more productive projects."

Hill.TV has reached out to the U.S. Embassy in Ukraine for comment.



# Senior Ukrainian official says he's opened probe into US election interference

BY JOHN SOLOMON



3/20/2019

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





Sent from ProtonMail Mobile

----- Forwarded message -----

From: John Solomon [REDACTED]  
Date: On Tue, Mar 26, 2019 at 12:52 PM  
Subject: Fwd: Outline of Soros reporting, including embedded documents  
To: Lev Parnas [REDACTED] Victoria Toensing [REDACTED] Joe diGenova [REDACTED]  
Cc:

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

**By John Solomon**

While the 2016 presidential election 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 would soon learn the resistance they were facing 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-U.S. embassy Charge d' Affaires George Kent wrote the prosecutor's office in April 2016 that also argued U.S. officials had no concerns about how the U.S. aide 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 yet been named.

A few months later, Yurii Lutsenko, widely regarded as a hero in the West for spending two years in prison after fighting Russian aggression in his country, was named the new prosecutor general and invited to meet the new U.S. Ambassador 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 as well as 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 being co-funded both by the Obama administration and the liberal megadonor George Soros. And it was collaborating with the very 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 where 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 anticorruption reforms inside Ukraine, some of which took authorities and prestige from the Prosecutor General's office.

But at the same time, the officials acknowledged, it was an unusual intervention. "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 the claim was a fabrication and a sign that corruption was 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 where American officials exerted pressure on Ukrainian investigators in 2016.

I asked State to explain the letter and the inclusion of the Soros-connected names during the meeting, and 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."

The second significance is 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 megadonor.

After the Obama Justice Department launched its Kleptocracy Initiative a decade ago to prosecute corruption in other countries, the State Department, the Justice Department and the 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, including Hillary Clinton's 2016 campaign, 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 nearly \$290,000 from Soros' International Renaissance Foundation, according to the group's donor disclosure records.

The U.S.-Soros collaboration was visible in Kiev. Several senior Justice Department 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 post from AntAC's own executive director.

In one event during 2016, both Greenaway and Ambassador Yovanovitch participated alongside AntAC's executive director Daria Kaleniuk while 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," the bureau said.

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

Internal memos from Soros' umbrella charity organization, the Open Society Foundations, describe a concerted strategy of creating friendships inside key government agencies like 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 anticorruption 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' 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 state.

The memo included a chart of Ukrainians the Soros team wanted pursued. Multiple figures on the chart had 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 both 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 the Open Society Foundations show that after U.S. officials scored some early successes in kleptocracy actions in Ukraine, such as asset forfeitures, AntAC requested to receive some of the seized monies.

"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 anticorruption training facility," a 2015 foundation document stated.

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

Michael Vashon, 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.

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

Vashon 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 now-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. Rather, 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' 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.

**Brechbuhl, Thomas U**

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**From:** Reeker, Philip T  
**Sent:** Sunday, March 31, 2019 8:53 PM  
**To:** Brechbuhl, Thomas U  
**Subject:** Fw: Ukr story: 3 Saturday media updates

Further coverage/context

This captures the basic fake narrative [the assumption that Masha is some kind of "liberal outpost...leading a political struggle" really is without merit or validationm]:

"US Ambassador Marie Yovanovitch here represents the State Department, which in principle was the last stronghold of the Democrats, where the Trump-ists have not yet reached. The State Department is the fortress of the democratic party, the outpost of the liberals. And Yovanovitch actually reflects this political force. We can say the same about the French Embassy. Western embassies are controlled by the liberal wing, and in Ukraine such diplomats continue the line of struggle that they lead in their homeland."

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

**From:** Kent, George P [REDACTED]  
**Sent:** Saturday, March 30, 2019 9:08 AM  
**To:** Reeker, Phillip T; Murphy, Michael J  
**Cc:** Olson, Maria dG; Brace, Tyler R  
**Subject:** Ukr story: 3 Saturday media updates

Morning, Phil.

Below is the Saturday first take of US/Ukr media reaction, a day before election

—Long Foreign Policy piece that hits it more or less straight down the fairway - and addresses the Lutsenko fake news attack in two paras, highlighted.

—the primary pushers of the Lutsenko story in the US, (The Hill's) Solomon and Carter, will appear on Fox TV Sunday evening at 10 to talk about the 2016 thread.

—Ukr online interview with a far right nationalist leader/MP, Biletsky, who talks about the US culture wars, and claims the State Dept/Embassy is a bastion of US liberal attitudes. He leads the "National Corps," the pseudo-paramilitary group being used to prevent Poroshenko from having a monopoly of force in play before/during the election. While Biletsky coordinates with Minister of Interior Avakov, Avakov (and Biletsky) don't control their creation entirely.

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**From:** Hawkins, Kristin K (Kyiv) [REDACTED]  
**Sent:** Saturday, March 30, 2019 8:38 AM  
**Subject:** RE: Reactions to The Hill - Friday updates.

**Ukraine's Election Is a Mess—and That's Exactly What Putin Wants**

NO DISCERNIBLE CLASSIFICATION

A chaotic campaign, feuding oligarchs, and Russian disinformation efforts have combined to shake public faith in the electoral process....

...Since Ukrainians took to the streets to overthrow the Russian-backed leader Viktor Yanukovich in 2014, the country has become the front line of the West's new cold war with the Kremlin. Ukraine is considered Russia's biggest foreign policy priority, and Moscow-backed separatists have sliced off two separate parts of this former Soviet appendage: the Crimean Peninsula and a chunk of Eastern Ukraine. Three days before election day there were reports of mass armed searches and arrests targeting Crimean Tatars by Russian authorities. But Western countries, led by the United States, have poured hundreds of millions of dollars into Ukraine and sent advisors to mentor the armed forces to stop the Russian advance. Ukraine is flirting with NATO and European Union membership, which would irrevocably alter both institutions. All of this means that Ukraine's elections are an inflection point for a country that is literally split between East and West. But the presidential vote in Ukraine is shrouded with mystery....

The biggest risk to Ukraine's vote is perception. Russia may attempt to hack the preliminary, projected results that appear on election day in an attempt to make Ukrainians doubt the final verified vote that comes out days later, experts and election officials say. The idea is to torpedo trust in the winner in a cunning blitz of psychological warfare. The polling places outside major cities are particularly at risk of cyberattack, an election official, who spoke on the condition of anonymity, told Foreign Policy. "You don't even need to change the result—just by messing with the data, people will doubt the vote," said Kenneth Geers, a fellow at the Atlantic Council. "If having the Ukrainian vote lose legitimacy is your goal, that would be a powerful way to do it," he added.

At times, it feels like Russia will not have to do much to portray Ukraine's election as chaotic. Allegations of vote buying, wiretapping, and oligarchs funding candidates have already fueled doubts. More than 80 percent of Ukrainians believe that the elections will be rigged, one expert told a Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty subsidiary. Even the United States has not been immune to the mudslinging.

Less than two weeks before election day, the country's prosecutor general, Yuriy Lutsenko, alleged in an interview with the Hill that the U.S. ambassador, Marie Yovanovitch, gave him a do-not-prosecute list in their first meeting. Lutsenko added that he was investigating whether anyone in Ukraine's government leaked financial records about former Trump campaign chairman Paul Manafort in order to support Hillary Clinton's 2016 presidential run. (The State Department did not respond to questions, but the embassy has previously denied the story.)

Although the story has zipped through the U.S. right-wing media, with the help of a tweet from President Donald Trump, experts view it with skepticism. Lutsenko offered no evidence to support his claim. Rather, it looks like an attempt from Poroshenko, the president, to convince senior Trump administration officials that he is an ally in case the elections are disputed. The logic is bizarre but relies on senior Trump administration officials backing Poroshenko because of his interest in investigating the Manafort leaks. If anything, the gambit has backfired already—a U.S. official told FP the embassy was "very angry." A spokesperson for Lutsenko said he was not available for interviews until after election day.

Yet this chaotic sentiment should not be cause for alarm, explained Liubov Tsybulska, the head of the Hybrid Warfare Analytical Group, which analyzes Russian disinformation campaigns. "I like that it's real democracy," she wrote in a text message. "Russians call it mess, but that's how free society does election." In fact, Ukraine's

elections could not be any more different than Russia's, because current polls show the outcome is almost completely unpredictable.

Of the three major candidates, Zelensky has consistently received the biggest vote in pre-election opinion surveys, but he has no political experience. He is the star of a popular TV show called *Servant of the People*, which is about a schoolteacher who accidentally becomes president of Ukraine. His politics are a mystery. Instead of traveling across Ukraine to give policy speeches, he has chosen to tour the country with stars from his production company. What is most suspect about Zelensky is that he models his candidacy on his television personality. Actors know that to make their character real they must draw on personal experiences. Zelensky has reversed this phenomenon.

"To some degree, maybe people really do have the feeling that the guy on screen and the guy in real life are one and the same person," Zelensky told reporters, according to the *Washington Post*. "This might even be true, to some extent." But no one knows how Zelensky will react when he encounters problems that lie outside the boundaries of a TV sitcom, like if Russia launches a cyberattack against the country's banks. Perhaps a scriptwriter will advise him. The other two major candidates—Poroshenko and Tymoshenko—do not share such an apolitical past.

Even Poroshenko's supporters admit that he has not done enough as president to fight corruption. His campaign is plagued by an investigative report that found Poroshenko's allies were smuggling spare military parts from Russia and selling them at inflated prices to the Ukrainian military. For a country at war with Russia, the allegations have sparked ire. But Peter Dickinson, a fellow at the Atlantic Council, said that the claims may not be significant. "He has almost zero credibility as an anti-corruption crusader and therefore this issue is not an important part of his re-election bid," Dickinson wrote. "Poroshenko's electoral appeal is rooted in the notion of 'better the devil you know' and his presidential campaign rests on his ability to convince voters that he is the lesser of all available evils."

U.S. officials are skeptical of Tymoshenko, the country's former prime minister, and fear that she has a pro-Russian outlook. They point to a 2009 deal that Tymoshenko signed with then-Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin to supply Ukraine with Russian gas. Steven Pifer, who served as U.S. ambassador to Ukraine during the Clinton administration, said Tymoshenko could also simply be a pragmatic politician who saw a personal political advantage in working with Putin. "She is pro-Tymoshenko," Pifer said. "She is also smart enough as a politician to know that anyone who gets elected and moves in a dramatically pro-Russian way is going to lose the country's support very quickly. Her views are flexible." Pifer argued that what is most worrying about Tymoshenko is her populist campaign to cut gas prices and raise pensions that would bankrupt the country and lead to the loss of crucial IMF funding.

The success of both initiatives will depend on Moscow's willingness to negotiate. And Ukraine's powerful oligarchs could shackle the future president. The oligarchs support different candidates in this election. Perhaps the two most influential—Poroshenko himself and the billionaire Ihor Kolomoisky—have feuded during this campaign. If the oligarchs don't come to a consensus and compromise on a presidential candidate, then there will be political gridlock, according to Victor Andrusiv, the head of the Ukrainian Institute for the Future think tank. Currently, there is little indication the country's richest men will come together.

"This is the first election where the oligarchs do not have a common candidate," Andrusiv said. "If there is no consensus, nobody can get power."

But Ukraine's next president may be at the mercy of larger forces. Parliamentary elections that take place this fall could thwart the president's agenda. The next president will be tasked with immediately renegotiating a gas deal with Russia and trying to end the war in the east.

<https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/03/29/ukraines-election-is-a-mess-and-thats-exactly-what-putin-wants-russia-nato-european-union-poroshenko-zelensky-tymoshenko/>

—#2—

From: Roraff, Brian R [REDACTED]

Date: March 30, 2019 at 12:09:47 AM GMT+2

Subject: RE: Reactions to The Hill - Friday updates

Sara Carter just tweeted that she and John Solomon will appear on "Life, Liberty, and Levin" on Fox on Sunday, 10pm DC time. There's a clip in the below link where Solomon says that Hillary Clinton should be asked "were foreigners helping your campaign just like we heard in Ukraine?" No other references to Ukraine in the clip.

<https://insider.foxnews.com/2019/03/29/mark-levin-and-john-solomon-end-trump-mueller-probe-barack-obama-must-be-interviewed>

#3: Novoye Vremya published a long interview today with Biletsky of National Corps. Below is a brief excerpt relating to Amb Y (rough translation)

- **Question:** Many Western experts have a negative attitude to the Ukrainian right-wing movement. Here is a phrase from the monitoring of specialists who deal with right-wing radical movements: "Activists and patriots of Ukraine repeatedly attacked people with non-Slavic appearance on the street." Rejection of the actions of the Ukrainian right-wing is also expressed in the US Embassy.

- **Answer:** Let's talk about the US Embassy or similar organizations.

In the West, there is a grand internal struggle. Western society is split about 50 to 50 between the liberals, who are literally neo-Marxists and conservatives, and the right, whatever you like to call them. We see this split in all countries: Italy, Austria, USA. In the States, the Democratic conflict is not even with the Republicans, but with the Trump-ists, who are much more conservative.

US Ambassador Marie Yovanovitch here represents the State Department, which in principle was the last stronghold of the Democrats, where the Trump-ists have not yet reached. The State Department is the fortress of the democratic party, the outpost of the liberals. And Yovanovitch actually reflects this political force. We can say the same about the French Embassy.

Western embassies are controlled by the liberal wing, and in Ukraine such diplomats continue the line of struggle that they lead in their homeland.



NO DISCERNIBLE CLASSIFICATION

**Brechbuhl, Thomas U**

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**From:** Reeker, Philip T  
**Sent:** Sunday, March 31, 2019 8:30 PM  
**To:** Brechbuhl, Thomas U  
**Subject:** Fw: Ukr fake news smear: Thursday Updates

Ulrich,

We sent this up to David Hale in your absence last week. It's a good summary of the story lines being peddled in the this, with good balance of facts. Reading through helps with context.

Phil

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

**From:** Kent, George P [REDACTED]  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 28, 2019 8:12 AM  
**To:** Reeker, Philip T; Murphy, Michael J; Olson, Maria dG  
**Cc:** Ravi, Sunil K  
**Subject:** Ukr fake news smear: Thursday Updates

The daily update of the fake news driven smear out of Ukraine:

- Podcast from a US amplifier (Bongino) involved in last week's first wave tweeting goes after Masha multiple times, and mixes in the latest "soros funding" storyline launched this week.
- The key Ukrainian anti-corruption NGO (AnTAC) smeared as a Soros organization mounts a spirited defense via transparency and fact-checking.
- *Newsweek* reporting article out last night.
- The fake list of alleged "do not prosecute" names posted on the dubious site Medium was from an "author" that apparently does not exist – no known profile, and only one follower. This is a common tactic to create "facts in the ether" then picked up later.

**From:** Hawkins, Kristin K (Kyiv) [REDACTED]  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 28, 2019 7:37 AM  
**Subject:** RE: Thursday Updates on The Hill Article

As mentioned in an earlier email, there was a new Dan Bongino podcast relating to Ukraine published yesterday. AMB Y was frequently mentioned by name throughout it. Here is a brief summary:

Main takeaway:

Bongino mentions the Ambassador multiple times during his speech, stresses her name and makes it a point that his viewers should remember her full name. According to Bongino, "...the lead of this story is the Obama administration co-mingled diplomatic U.S. efforts -- funded by your taxpayer dollars -- with political attacks from liberal mega-donors [Soros]," claiming that this story will be "a neutron bomb level bombshell."

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[Ukraine references start around 17:20] ..."that real collusion scandal involves the media, the Democrats, Russian operatives, and Ukraine." Bongino relates to the latest story on The.Hill by John Solomon, reads the headline "US Embassy pressed Ukraine to drop probe of George Soros group during 2016 election", and an excerpt of a paragraph.

NO DISCERNIBLE CLASSIFICATION

When reading the part about U.S. Embassy's alleged involvement, Bongino stresses that he's "talking about **OUR ambassador - U.S. ambassador!**" He later continues, "So, the Ukrainian Attorney General is saying that the **United States Ambassador**, a woman by the name -- remember this name -- **Marie Yovanovitch** -- REMEMBER the name -- gave him a list of people that should not be prosecuted in the Ukraine." Bongino finishes by reading the next paragraph from The.Hill piece.

He then shifts to his book and makes a reference to Alexandra Chalupa, "a DNC operative, [...] alleged to work hand-in-hand with Ukrainian officials in the United States and the media to feed stories about Manafort", explaining Manafort's position in Ukraine and his role in the Trump presidential campaign. Bongino continues, "we now find out that the **U.S. Ambassador** -- remember the NAME -- this is gonna get good folks, I promise you, I've got some GOOD intel on this -- **Marie Yovanovitch** gives the Ukrainian, effectively, Attorney General a list of people [to] do not prosecute, because they're investigating this group AntAC for corruption and as it turns out, the group is being funded by our tax dollars via the Obama administration and also a liberal mega-donor George Soros". [21:12]

Bongino gets heated about the "fact" that democratic political consultants were being funded by U.S. tax dollars and stresses "These were not diplomatic efforts!"

He then references an old POLITICO piece from 2009 about the Obama administration political consultants coming to Ukraine (<https://www.politico.com/story/2009/11/obama-consultants-land-abroad-029410>). "These are not DIPLOMATS on behalf of the United States, folks! These are paid political consultants, working in the free market, who should be financed not even a [centiloid?] with your tax dollars!"

Also, Bongino drops a reference to John McCain being accused of Russian collusion back in the days of the Bush administration, the "same attack tried on Trump", which was nipped in the bud, according to Bongino, due to President Bush not allowing such attacks [by the Democrats].

Bongino going back to the Solomon piece, again mentioning U.S. taxpayer dollars being spent on funding political attacks and co-mingling with Soros ... "and suspiciously, the **United States Ambassador**, who is the highest diplomat in Ukraine for the United States, Joe [co host], then conveniently gives the Ukrainians a list of people "don't touch these people", according to the report, at least"... "and on that list are people associated with the group funded by George Soros and YOU!" -- stresses and repeats the point multiple times that U.S. taxpayer money is being used to go "after the political opponents of the Obama administration in Ukraine".

[28:42] "**The U.S. ambassador** is alleged to have told them not to touch these people, while they were using Manafort and the history of Manafort to fabricate a phony dossier through Steele to then go after and spy on Trump in the United States and his team!"

[31:40] "Two final points", Bongino continues, "the real collusion here is the Ukrainian collusion with the Obama administration and serious allegations that **Marie Yovanovitch**, Alexandra Chalupa, the DNC, and others are knee-deep in this whole thing in an effort to launder information to the Ukraine, into the United States, while U.S. tax dollars are [used] to fund the group associated with George Soros."

Bongino continues with the Soros narrative, liberals, antisemitism, liberal attacks on free speech and briefly mentions Ukrainian AG Lutsenko and The Hill article.

Bongino's "final story" related to Ukraine is in reference to Joe Biden and his son, John Kerry and his step son, as well as Kerry's former political consultant, and their activities in Ukraine. "Are any of those people [associated with Joe Biden's son] going to appear on a 'do not prosecute' list?", he asks in conclusion [end approx. at 37:45].

Official - SBU  
UNCLASSIFIED

From: Hawkins, Kristin K (Kyiv)  
Sent: Thursday, March 28, 2019 11:55 AM  
Subject: RE: Thursday Updates on The Hill Article

**AntAC responds to allegations in The Hill's column:**

Daria Kaleniuk posted in English on Facebook:

On Tuesday The Hill journalist John Solomon published a manipulative oped based on speculative and untrue quotes from Yuri Lutsenko.

Among other crazy statements Solomon called Lutsenko "widely regarded as a hero in the West for spending two years in prison after fighting Russian aggression in his country".

Lutsenko was actually well known on the West, but as a "hero" for his drunken and disorderly conduct in Frankfurt airport, where he was detained by the police in 2009 while serving as a Minister of Interior Affairs of Ukraine - <https://reut.rs/2FFxWhn>. And he was serving in prison not for fighting Russian aggression, but for embezzlement of state funds.

In the oped Solomon was attempting to drag AntAC into the internal political discussion within the US. He played with facts and part-truth to put a story on alleged mystical collusion between AntAC, NABU, Soros, US Embassy, Obama and FBI to intervene into the US presidential elections back in 2016.

I wish we could have such an influence and power at AntAC to be able to intervene into the presidential elections of the most powerful nation on the world. If we were that powerful Yuri Lutsenko would not have been appointed at the post of the Prosecutor General of Ukraine and Ukraine would have been in much better conditions than it is now.

Immediately the messages from Solomon were spread by FoxNews to feed the internal political debates in the US.

I wonder who were Solomon and Lutsenko consultants in the US who helped to build up and play with the story. This must be not a cheap operation. Or could Solomon himself serve as undeclared lobbyist? Will The Hill take a responsibility for disseminating lies? Would TheHill give us oped place to tell the true version of the story?

In the post-truth era we can fight manipulations only with facts.

Below is AntAC rebuttal of all fake messages from Solomon and Lutsenko: <https://antac.org.ua/.../hero-lutsenko-and-soros-group-antac.../>

Information from that ANTAC Link (information was published in English)

ANTAC: "Hero" Lutsenko and "Soros group": AntAC rebuts new accusations of The Hill journalist

The opinion article, which was published on March 26 on The Hill media platform, contained a number of allegations regarding AntAC. We would like to offer our fact check and explanations.

*Quote from the opinion article: "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 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 criminal case into alleged embezzlement of U.S. technical assistance of 4 million USD of the US taxpayers money which had to be spent on the PGO's reforms was opened on March 16, 2016 by the Prosecutor General's Office under the leadership of the previous Prosecutor General Viktor Shokin.

On April 4, 2016 the PGO received the letter from the U.S. Embassy.

Yuriy Lutsenko, who was appointed to the position of the Prosecutor General in May 2016, fully agreed that the allegations were groundless, he even said that they 'simply dishonor the Prosecutor General's Office of Ukraine'.

As soon as Lutsenko was appointed, the case was closed in May 2016 by the PGO.

*"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."*

Firstly, Yuri Lutsenko is widely regarded in the West as "hero" for his drunken and disorderly conduct in Frankfurt airport, where he was detained by the police in 2009 while serving as a Minister of Interior Affairs of Ukraine.

Secondly, Yuri Lutsenko was sentenced to four years in prison in early 2012, this was two years before Russian aggression that started in 2014. Allegations against Lutsenko were for embezzlement of funds of the Ministry of Interior under his leadership and abuse of office resulting in illicit allocation of state-owned apartment to his former driver, facilitating illicit social security payments to this person and illicit allocation of funds for the celebration of the Militia (police) day in 2008-2009. He was charged with causing damages of \$125,000 to the state. Lutsenko submitted a claim to the European Court of Human Rights and in 2012 the court ruled that Lutsenko's arrest and subsequent detention violated the European Convention on Human Rights.

*"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."*

During the first possible meeting of Madam Ambassador with Lutsenko, which could not have happened earlier than late August 2016, there were no ongoing criminal prosecutions against AntAC Head of Board Vitaliy Shabunin.

The criminal case against AntAC on alleged embezzlement of the U.S. taxpayers money was already closed for around 3 months.

The criminal investigation into Shabunin's punch of a bully-provocateur, which took place on June 8, 2017, was triggered in summer 2017. There is an ongoing trial in this case in the court.

*"It turns out the group that Ukrainian law enforcement was probing was co-funded by the Obama administration and liberal mega-donor George Soros."*

AntAC was founded in the end of 2011 by Vitaliy Shabunin and Daria Kaleniuk, who formerly were activists of youth NGO "Foundation of Regional Initiatives". In 2012 AntAC was functioning without any financial support as a volunteer project of its founders.

In 2013 the NGO received first funding as a subgrant from the All-Ukrainian Network of People Living with HIV/AIDs supported by the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria for the public monitoring of public procurement of medications in Ukraine.

*"In the end, no action was taken against AntAC and it remains thriving today."*

This is not true. The action was taken in May 2016 – the PGO closed the criminal case "due to the absence of criminal offence." However, no-one from PGO officers who abused the power triggering criminal investigation on AntAC was punished disregarding organization's requests.

Information PGO obtained through the course of the investigation (banking statements) was later repeatedly leaked to media with the goal to discredit the organization.

*"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."*

In December 2013 in the middle of the Revolution of Dignity in Ukraine AntAC launched a campaign on freezing foreign assets of Ukraine's former President Yanukovich and his associates. AntAC was running a webpage [yanukovich.info](http://yanukovich.info), which gathered all publicly available facts about corrupt assets of Yanukovich's allies and mapped the role of Western lawyers, banks and companies in covering and enabling grand corruption. The campaign was funded via crowdfunding from concerned citizens and was not financially supported by neither government of the U.S. nor Soros foundation.

Within the campaign AntAC reached out to the law enforcement agencies in the EU, Switzerland, the U.S. with request to investigate foreign assets of Yanukovych and his associates. DoJ Kleptocracy Asset Recovery initiative was part of a long list of foreign law enforcement agencies AntAC reached out in December 2013 – February 2014.

***“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.”***

Apart from the projects, funded by abovementioned donors U.S. government and Open Society foundations, since 2013 AntAC was funded by a wide range of other donors, including:

- § The Global Fund via All-Ukraine Charitable Organization “All-Ukrainian Network of People living with HIV/AIDS”
- § The Government of the Kingdom of the Netherlands via Matra program
- § The Embassy of the United Kingdom
- § The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic
- § European Union
- § Donations from individuals/legal entities

***“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.”***

Right after the victory of the Revolution of Dignity and runaway of former President Yanukovych from Ukraine, AntAC activists were invited to the meetings with law enforcement officers from various countries willing to help Ukraine in tracing proceeds of corruption of ousted president Yanukovych. AntAC also met with representatives from DOJ and shared with them all publicly available information the organization gathered on corrupt officials under Yanukovych regime.

Recovery of proceeds of corruption of Yanukovych and his associates was one of the key priorities of work of AntAC, which was organizing specialized asset recovery conference in Ukraine in 2014, 2015, 2016. Law enforcement officers from Ukraine and abroad were invited to these conferences, including Karen Greenaway. Apart from DOJ officials there were Ukrainian (including PGO), Italian, British, Swiss law enforcement officers speaking and participating at AntAC asset recovery conferences.

***“Greenaway recently retired, and Soros’s AntAC soon after announced she was joining its supervisory board.”***

In February 2019 Karen Greenaway agreed to join AntAC Supervisory Board after she will finish her other professional obligations.

AntAC Supervisory Board membership is a non-paid commitment from distinguished professionals who care about Ukraine and countering grand political corruption. Among AntAC Supervisory Board members there are Francis Fukuyama from Stanford University, Giovanni Kessler, former head of the EU Anti-Fraud Office, Oliver Bullough, British author and investigative journalists, Oleksa Shalayskyi, head of Nashi Groshi investigative project in Ukraine.

*"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."*

Dmitri Firtash was never a major target of the Anti-corruption Action Centre.

AntAC collects publicly available evidence of alleged corruption and money laundering of all oligarchs in Ukraine, as well as all top corrupt officials. AntAC has been doing this under the regime of ousted president Yanukovich and continues to do that under the new government led by President Poroshenko since spring 2014.

*"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.*

In 2013 AntAC submitted a petition to the DoJ with request to repatriate \$250mln proceeds of corruption of Pavlo Lazarenko, a former Prime Minister of Ukraine, convicted in the US for money laundering back in 2006. Since 2004, the U.S. government started in rem forfeiture procedure aiming at recovery of proceeds of crime. The procedure is still pending.

In the petition supported by more than 10 civil society organizations AntAC called the US government to refrain from repatriation of stolen assets back to the corrupt government of Ukraine at that time headed by Yanukovich, which could steal them again. AntAC called the US Government to consider the success story of repatriating proceeds of corruption to Kazakhstan, where independent BOTA foundation was set up for the repatriation of proceeds of corruption. In 2015, AntAC updated the petition given the abrupt changes in the country and emerged news in media claiming that Lazarenko's funds were about to be confiscated by the DoJ.

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

AntAC did not receive any requests for the comments by John Solomon following recent Lutsenko's interview. The only request from him to provide answers to the questions was received back in October 2018 (six months before publication of Lutsenko's interview). At that time, AntAC did not provide any response to Solomon after the background checks on him. AntAC became aware of John Solomon's controversial reputation in American media for spreading manipulative and biased messages. For instance, last year, the staffers of the Hill expressed their concerns over Solomon's biased reporting. AntAC was rightfully concerned that our answers would be misused and manipulated by Solomon.

Also, here's a post by Mykola Bieliskov, blogger, Institute of World Policy (rough translation to English) :

This stream of publications of The Hill is an interesting connection of internal disputes in Ukraine with internal disputes in the U.S.



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But whatever that was, these articles would not do anything good for Ukrainian-American relations. The hit will not be against the image of individual Ukrainians, but the image of the country as a whole. It's harder to tell why Washington should help Kyiv. It can be expected that in the United States there will be those who will begin to demand an investigation into the misuse of U.S. taxpayer money in Ukraine.

And tell me this is the price that some politicians are willing to pay for setting the scores within the country? !!

I personally feel very disappointed to watch it all.

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

**From:** Hawkins, Kristin K (Kyiv)  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 28, 2019 8:18 AM  
**Subject:** Thursday Updates on The Hill Article

Below is a Newsweek article published last night. Commentator Dan Bongino also issued a new podcast in which he discusses Ukraine; we will send a brief synopsis of this a bit later today, once we've had a chance to listen. Ukraine and George Soros continue to be widely discussed on social media, and the latest Hill column continues to be frequently shared on Twitter.

**Newsweek: How Donald Trump and Sean Hannity are promoting theory Ukraine interfered in 2016 election to help Hillary Clinton**

As Ukraine prepares for its presidential elections on March 31, collusion with a foreign country and President Donald Trump's former campaign manager Paul Manafort have made their way into the public discourse. And President Trump, his son Donald Trump Jr., and the president's favorite television presenter Sean Hannity are helping the conversation along, alleging that anti-corruption leaders in Ukraine tried to sway the U.S. election in favor of Hillary Clinton.

It all started on March 5, when U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovitch criticized the country's record on corruption, pointing to a recent high court decision to decriminalize illicit enrichment—when a public official has significant increases to their wealth or assets that cannot be explained by their income. Ambassador Yovanovitch specifically noted that the high court's decision weakens Ukraine's National Anti-Corruption Bureau, a law enforcement body established after a pro-Western movement ousted pro-Russian president Viktor Yanukovich in 2014.

From there, Ukraine's officials went on the offensive, appearing to target the bureau. Ukraine's Prosecutor General, Yuriy Lutsenko, announced on U.S.-based Hill Television earlier this month that he was opening a probe into alleged efforts by Ukrainians to influence the 2016 U.S. presidential election. Those efforts, he said, involved the head of the National Anti-Corruption Bureau, Artem Sytnyk. He also alleged that U.S. ambassador Yovanovitch had attempted to pressure him not to prosecute certain people, a claim the State Department denied in an email to *Radio Free Europe*.

Lutsenko alleged that Sytnyk published information about secret payments from Ukraine's former President Yanukovich's party to Trump's former campaign manager Paul Manafort in order to hurt the Trump campaign. The bureau says the information was published in the name of transparency, not to influence the U.S. election.

The prosecutor also told *The Hill* this month that he is expanding the inquiry into whether Sytnyk was trying to sway the 2016 elections in favor of Clinton. Conservative television presenter Sean Hannity then invited the reporter from *The Hill* onto his show to repeat the claims. Trump, who watches Hannity's show and reportedly speaks with the television presenter frequently, then promoted Lutsenko's narrative.

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"As Russia Collusion fades, Ukrainian plot to help Clinton emerges," Trump tweeted on March 20.

Sytnyk played a central role in discovering and publishing secret records, nicknamed the "black ledger," with information about \$12.7 million in undisclosed cash payments made by Yanukovich's party to Manafort from 2007 and 2012. The anti-corruption bureau alleges that Yanukovich stole from Ukrainian taxpayers in order to pay Manafort. The former Trump campaign manager had worked as a political consultant for Yanukovich for years.

On Wednesday, a Swedish broadcaster revealed that a shell company that Yanukovich allegedly used for accepting bribes also made payments to a company, Inlord Sales LLP, which transferred funds to Manafort.

But some members of Ukraine's government—who are eager to curry favor with the Trump administration to gain U.S. support in their own fight against Russian interference—have tried to frame Sytnyk's revelation about the payments to Manafort as an attempt to hurt Trump's campaign.

Previous reports suggested that Ukraine's government may have stopped cooperating with special counsel Robert Mueller's investigation into Manafort so that the Trump administration would sell the country lethal weapons with which to defend itself from pro-Russian separatists in eastern Ukraine. And a Ukrainian court ruled in December last year that the National Anti-Corruption Bureau's transparency efforts were an attempt to influence U.S. elections.

Olga Lautman, an investigator covering Russia and the former Soviet Union, told *Newsweek* that Lutsenko recently met with Trump's lawyer Rudy Giuliani in Washington, and that the efforts to create a narrative about people in Ukraine working to help Clinton and hurt Trump was coordinated with Republican leaders.

"Manafort is at the heart of this investigation and Lutsenko is investigating how Manafort's black ledger files were leaked and whether this was an attempt to sway the election in Hillary Clinton's favor," Lautman told *Newsweek*. "This is all a very poorly orchestrated attempt between Prosecutor General Lutsenko, Trump, and the Republican Party, who are now vowing to open their own investigations into the matter to deflect from Russia's attack on America to Ukraine's 'involvement' with Hillary Clinton."

Michael Carpenter, a former deputy assistant secretary of defense in charge of Russia and Ukraine, argues that an investigation into Manafort's work in Ukraine should not be politicized.

"It's outrageous that anyone would question the motive of Ukrainian authorities for investigating Paul Manafort—a corrupt political hack who worked for Ukraine's disgraced, kleptocratic former president," Carpenter told *Newsweek*. "Manafort's a convicted felon who committed financial fraud in the United States, and he may have committed similar crimes in Ukraine, so why wouldn't they investigate him? Even more appalling, however, is that the investigation was reportedly stymied by senior Ukrainian officials because they thought it would upset Trump."

"Whether they arrived at that conclusion on their own or whether Trump advisors like Rudy Giuliani helped guide them to that realization remains an open question," Carpenter added.

Conservative U.S. media have focused on U.S. ambassador to Ukraine Yovanovitch, pointing out that former President Barack Obama had appointed her.

"Calls to remove former President Barack Obama's U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine, Marie Yovanovitch, have intensified over the last week as a scandal in Ukraine surrounding the 2016 U.S. presidential election has started to gain more attention," reads a March 24 article in the Daily Wire, a conservative website founded by political commentator Ben Shapiro.

The article cited claims that former Congressman Pete Sessions had written a letter to Secretary of State Mike Pompeo asking for Yovanovitch to be removed. The U.S. president's son Donald Trump Jr. then tweeted the article.

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"We need more @RichardGrenell's and less of these jokers as ambassadors. Calls Grow To Remove Obama's U.S. Ambassador To Ukraine," Donald Trump Jr. Tweeted, referring to Trump's pick for ambassador to Germany Richard Grenell.

Grenell has been widely criticized for lacking experience and offending U.S. allies during his short tenure as U.S. ambassador to Germany.

Meanwhile, Ukraine's National Anti-Corruption Bureau issued a statement saying Lutsenko's claims about U.S. election interference are an effort to "discredit an independent anti-corruption agency."

"The NABU's jurisdiction is to expose and eradicate corruption offenses committed by Ukrainian top-officials," the statement reads. "Therefore, during the investigations, the NABU Detectives have never collected evidence as of illegal activities of Paul Manafort, as he was beyond the competence of the National Bureau.... We remind that the NABU published information mentioning the presence of Paul Manafort's name among others on the pages of the so-called 'black ledger' in response to numerous requests from Ukrainian and foreign media in order to avoid any speculations."

<https://www.newsweek.com/donald-trump-sean-hannity-theory-ukraine-colluded-hillary-clinton-1376867>

From: Hawkins, Kristin K (Kyiv) [REDACTED]  
Sent: Thursday, March 28, 2019 4:24 AM  
Subject: RE: Countering disinfo: A crude fake list, and a genuine business card from 2015

Hi George,

PAS Kyiv concurs with you – we do not see evidence to suggest Tony Sealy is a real individual. The Medium account in his name appears to have been created solely to publish this one piece of information. His account has only one follower, no profile information, and only this one post about the alleged "list."

Regards,  
Kristin

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

From: Kent, George P [REDACTED]  
Sent: Wednesday, March 27, 2019 10:04 PM  
Subject: Countering disinfo: A crude fake list, and a genuine business card from 2015

+ Gene and Tyler, minus those not in the disinformation trenches

One wonders why they didn't bother to do a bit more quality control in the fake list. Thankfully, those behind the crude forgery had not gone to the Gene Fishel school of how the USG spells Ukrainian names in transliteration. There are only two of the 13 names spelled how I would, or USG officials should, spell them. Or even close alternative spellings – the frequent use of "j" and the "c" for Hrytsenko suggests a Balkan (or Czech?) predilection for spelling Slavic names – certainly not Ukrainian, Russian, Belarusian, or Polish practice. And some of them are people I have never met (and one I had never heard of – Aleksandr (sic) Pasenyuk – judge of the high administrative court). This is a classic disinfo play – start with the three amigos that everyone knows have been close to us, add corrupt associates that Lutsenko can then point to as "I would have prosecuted them, but the US embassy told me not to," and some other random names.

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The business card attached is the one I used in 2015 during 3 A/DCM stints – not only the title, but the temporary email [REDACTED]. When I returned to Kyiv in March 2016 full time, I transferred my email account from DC, switching to my normal [REDACTED] email.

If anyone has ever heard of the supposed author, Tony Sealy, or found evidence that he is a real person, please forward to Tyler/me. We did a quick google search this morning, could find no such evidence, and wonder if he is a real person.

Medium is a known platform for anyone to put anything on the web, furthering a suspicion this may be creating “facts on the web” that can be used in future pieces.

Jorje

**Brechbuhl, Thomas U**

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**From:** Reeker, Philip T  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 27, 2019 2:25 PM  
**To:** Brechbuhl, Thomas U; Hale, David  
**Subject:** Fw: Ukr story: Wednesday Updates on The Hill Article, fake list of names

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

**From:** Kent, George P [REDACTED]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 27, 2019 10:55 AM  
**To:** Reeker, Philip T; Murphy, Michael J; Brace, Tyler R; Fishel, Eugene  
**Cc:** Ravi, Sunil K  
**Subject:** Ukr story: Wednesday Updates on The Hill Article, fake list of names

Two items of note posted on-line this morning:

- *The Hill* story last night, which broke nothing new but repackaged an element from last week to focus on an alleged Soros angle, is being retweeted by folk who have many followers (one below 640K).
- Of more note in the Ukrainian context, the second item below has a totally manufactured/fake list of alleged untouchables – ie, Lutsenko's alleged. One key sign of it being fake is that most of the names are misspelled in English – we would never spell most that way. (I know Embassy Moscow has in the past derided fake letters by circling in red all the misspellings and grammar mistakes and reposting it. If we wanted to push back hard(er), we could consider a similar approach.)

On substance, we also never dealt with some of the individuals -- key Poroshenko insiders, known corrupt actors, or random folk. In classic disinformation operation fashion, the list includes people we were known to associate with (element of truth) with those we wouldn't ever touch (the disinfo intent). This list appears to be an effort by Lutsenko to inoculate himself for why he did not pursue corrupt Poroshenko associates and political allies – to claim that the US told him not to. Complete poppycock.

Finally, the list includes my 2015 business card as Acting Deputy Chief of Mission (I spent a better part of the 2015-16 year deploying out in Kyiv in acting status because my predecessor Bruce Donahue was medevaced/dying of cancer back in the States, and we did not want to curtail Bruce's formal assignment due to the greater coverage available on medevac status).

**From:** Hawkins, Kristin K (Kyiv) [REDACTED]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 27, 2019 10:34 AM  
**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  
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**From:** Hawkins, Kristin K (Kyiv)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 27, 2019 2:25 PM  
**Subject:** RE: Wednesday Updates on The Hill Article, Social Media Commentary, Etc.

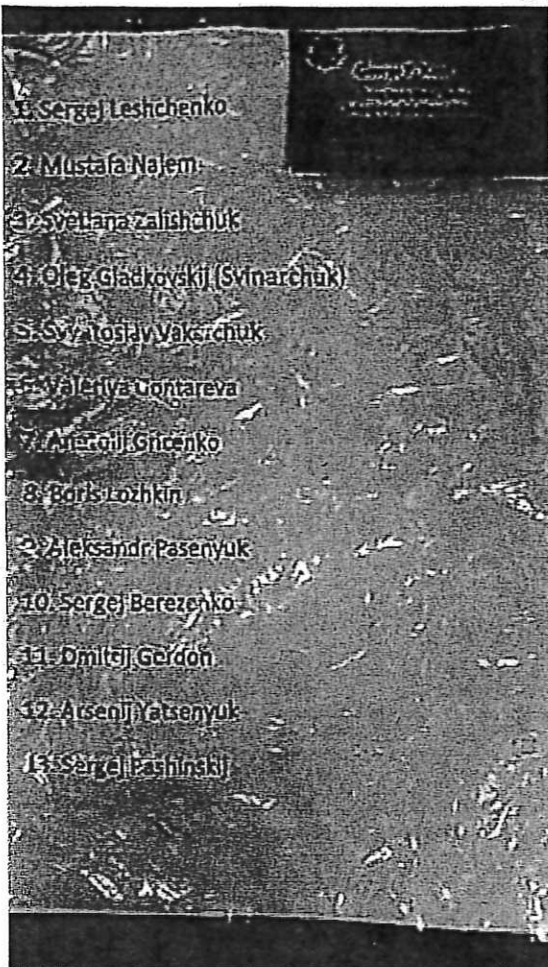
Below is a Medium article allegedly listing the names on the "Yovanovitch list")

**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>

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