



**United States Department of State**

*Washington, D.C. 20520*

October 6, 2020

Case No. FL-2020-00028

Sean Dunagan  
Judicial Watch  
400 Scott Avenue  
Fort Collins, Colorado 80521

Dear Mr. Dunagan:

As we noted in our letter dated September 8, 2020, we are processing your request for material under the Freedom of Information Act (“FOIA”), 5 U.S.C. § 552. The Department has identified six additional responsive records subject to the FOIA. Upon review, we have determined that five records may be released in part and one may be released in full.

An enclosure explains the FOIA exemptions and other grounds for withholding material. Where we have made redactions, the applicable FOIA exemptions are marked on the document. All non-exempt material that is reasonably segregable from the exempt material has been released and is enclosed.

We will keep you informed as your case progresses. If you have any questions, your attorney may contact Assistant United States Attorney Marsha Yee at [marsha.yee@usdoj.gov](mailto:marsha.yee@usdoj.gov) or (202) 252-2539. Please refer to the case number, FL-2020-00028, and the civil action number, 20-cv-00229, in all correspondence about this request.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Susan C. Weetman".

Susan C. Weetman  
Deputy Director  
Office of Information Programs and Services

Enclosures: As stated.

FOIA Exemptions

- (b)(1) Information specifically authorized by an executive order to be kept secret in the interest of national defense or foreign policy. Executive Order 13526 includes the following classification categories:
- 1.4(a) Military plans, systems, or operations
  - 1.4(b) Foreign government information
  - 1.4(c) Intelligence activities, sources or methods, or cryptology
  - 1.4(d) Foreign relations or foreign activities of the US, including confidential sources
  - 1.4(e) Scientific, technological, or economic matters relating to national security, including defense against transnational terrorism
  - 1.4(f) U.S. Government programs for safeguarding nuclear materials or facilities
  - 1.4(g) Vulnerabilities or capabilities of systems, installations, infrastructures, projects, plans, or protection services relating to US national security, including defense against transnational terrorism
  - 1.4(h) Weapons of mass destruction
- (b)(2) Related solely to the internal personnel rules and practices of an agency
- (b)(3) Specifically exempted from disclosure by statute (other than 5 USC 552), for example:
- |                |   |
|----------------|---|
| ARMSEXP        | Arms Export Control Act, 50a USC 2411(c)                    |
| CIA PERS/ORG   | Central Intelligence Agency Act of 1949, 50 USC 403(g)      |
| EXPORT CONTROL | Export Administration Act of 1979, 50 USC App. Sec. 2411(c) |
| FS ACT         | Foreign Service Act of 1980, 22 USC 4004                    |
| INA            | Immigration and Nationality Act, 8 USC 1202(f), Sec. 222(f) |
| IRAN           | Iran Claims Settlement Act, Public Law 99-99, Sec. 505      |
- (b)(4) Trade secrets and confidential commercial or financial information
- (b)(5) Interagency or intra-agency communications forming part of the deliberative process, attorney-client privilege, or attorney work product
- (b)(6) Personal privacy information
- (b)(7) Law enforcement information whose disclosure would:
- (A) interfere with enforcement proceedings
  - (B) deprive a person of a fair trial
  - (C) constitute an unwarranted invasion of personal privacy
  - (D) disclose confidential sources
  - (E) disclose investigation techniques
  - (F) endanger life or physical safety of an individual
- (b)(8) Prepared by or for a government agency regulating or supervising financial institutions
- (b)(9) Geological and geophysical information and data, including maps, concerning wells

Other Grounds for Withholding

NR Material not responsive to a FOIA request excised with the agreement of the requester

**BRIEFING CHECKLIST (BCL)**  
**The Ambassador’s Meeting with Sally Painter**

Date: Friday, February 22

Language: English

Time: 11:00

Notetaker: N/A ((b)(6) – readout)

Location: Your office

Interpreter: N/A

**CONTEXT**

Sally Painter requested this meeting to ask for your perspective on her effort through the International Center for the Black Sea-Baltic Sea Studies and Consensus Practices (ICBSS) to create a “Black Sea Project” for Ukraine, Moldova, and Georgia (Note: Painter shared no details with you, and we found no public mentions of it). The project would advance those countries’ NATO/EU aspirations without official membership, similar to previous “charters” that grouped other countries’ lobbying efforts.

She also plans to discuss BlueStar efforts such as a conference on green energy investment in developing countries such as Ukraine, and a disinformation event to be held in Kharkiv. Additionally, she has raised concerns regarding U.S. visa regulations. Separately, Painter also plans to meet with FCS Senior Officer Martin Claessens regarding the Burisma Group energy company and the SelectUSA program.

**KEY OBJECTIVES**

**1. NATO and “Black Sea Project” Proposal:**

- (b)(5)
- 
- 
-

**2. Babyn Yar and Pavel Fuchs:**

- (b)(5)
- 
- 

**3. Consular Issues -- Refused Entry:**

- (b)(5)
- 
- 
- 
- 

**PARTICIPANTS**

United States  
Ambassador Yovanovitch

BlueStar Strategies, LLC  
Sally Painter

Attachments:      Biographical information

**Sally PAINTER**



Secondary Education - Villa Maria Academy  
University of Maryland, College Park – B.A. International Relations and Economics

Clinton Administration advisor for the Department of Commerce from 1993-1995,  
focused on facilitating U.S. companies' procurement of overseas contracts.

1993 – 1995	Deputy Director, Office of Business Liaison
1995 – 1999	International Director, Tenneco
2010 – Present	Co-Founder & Chief Operating Officer, BlueStar Strategies, LLC

Ms. Painter sits on the board of directors of the Atlantic Council.

Married with a son.

**CLEARANCES**

Approved: ADCM: Joseph Pennington

Drafted:	POL:	(b)(6)
Cleared:	POL:	(b)(6)
	POL:	(b)(6)
	POL:	
	POL:	
	CONS:	(b)(6)

<b>From:</b>	(b)(6)
<b>To:</b>	Hochstein, Amos J (b)(6) (b)(6)
<b>Subject:</b>	Burisma News Devon Archer
<b>Date:</b>	Wed, 18 May 2016 11:00:00 -0400

<http://ua-energy.org/post/60502>

Against this background, in the U.S., investor and member of the Board of Directors of the company Burisma, which operates mining assets in Ukraine, D.Archer was arrested on suspicion of securities fraud.

Devon Archer and his six partners are accused by the Securities and Exchange Commission of defrauding investors - in selling more than 43 million fake bonds issued in 2014 and 2015 to branches of the Oglala Sioux Nation.

Another one

<http://nypost.com/2016/05/12/porns-new-king-busted-for-ripping-off-tribe-in-60m-scam/>

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

<b>Sender:</b>	(b)(6)
<b>Recipient:</b>	Hochstein, Amos J (b)(6) (b)(6)

Opening Statement of Marie L. Yovanovitch to the  
House of Representatives Permanent Select Committee on  
Intelligence, Committee on Foreign Affairs, and Committee on  
Oversight and Reform

October 11, 2019

Thank you for the opportunity to start with this statement today.

For the last 33 years, it has been my great honor to serve the American people as a Foreign Service Officer, over six Administrations—four Republican, and two Democratic. I have served in seven different countries, five of them hardship posts, and was appointed to serve as an ambassador three times—twice by a Republican President, and once by a Democrat. Throughout my career, I have stayed true to the oath that Foreign Service Officers take and observe every day: “that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic;” and “that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same.” Like all foreign service officers with whom I have been privileged to serve, I have understood that oath as a commitment to serve on a strictly nonpartisan basis, to advance the foreign policy determined by the incumbent President, and to work at all times to strengthen our national security and promote our national interests.

## **My Background**

I come by these beliefs honestly and through personal experience. My parents fled Communist and Nazi regimes. Having seen, first hand, the war, poverty and displacement common to totalitarian regimes, they valued the freedom and democracy the U.S. represents. And they raised me to cherish these values as well. Their sacrifices allowed me to attend Princeton University, where I focused my studies on the Soviet Union. Given my upbringing, it has been the honor of a lifetime to help to foster those principles as a career Foreign Service Officer.

From August 2016 until May 2019, I served as the U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine. Our policy, fully embraced by Democrats and Republicans alike, was to help Ukraine become a stable and independent democratic state, with a market economy integrated into Europe.

## **Recent Ukrainian History**

Ukraine is a sovereign country, whose borders are inviolate and whose people have the right to determine their own destiny. These are the bedrock principles of our policy. Because of Ukraine's geostrategic position bordering Russia on its east, the warm waters of the oil-rich Black Sea to its south, and four NATO allies to its west, it is critical to the security of the United States that Ukraine remain free and democratic and that it continue to resist Russian expansionism.

Russia's purported annexation of Crimea, its invasion of Eastern Ukraine, and its de facto control over the Sea of Azov, make clear Russia's malign intentions towards Ukraine. If we

allow Russia's actions to stand, we will set a precedent that the United States will regret for decades to come.

Supporting Ukraine's integration into Europe and combatting Russia's efforts to destabilize Ukraine have anchored US policy since the Ukrainian people protested on the Maidan in 2014 and demanded to be a part of Europe and live according to the rule of law. That was US policy when I was appointed Ambassador in August 2016, and it was reaffirmed as the policy of the current administration in early 2017.

### **The Fight Against Corruption**

The Revolution of Dignity, and the Ukrainian people's demand to end corruption, forced the new Ukrainian government to take measures to fight the rampant corruption that long permeated that country's political and economic systems. We have long understood that strong anti-corruption efforts must form an essential part of our policy in Ukraine; now there was a window of opportunity to do just that.

Why is this important? Put simply: anti-corruption efforts serve Ukraine's interests. They serve ours as well. Corrupt leaders are inherently less trustworthy, while an honest and accountable Ukrainian leadership makes a U.S.-Ukraine partnership more reliable and more valuable to the U.S. A level playing field in this strategically located country—one with a European landmass exceeded only by Russia and with one of the largest populations in Europe—creates an environment in which U.S. business can more easily trade, invest and profit. Corruption is a security issue as well, because corrupt officials are vulnerable to Moscow. In short, it is in our national security interest to help

Ukraine transform into a country where the rule of law governs and corruption is held in check.

### Two Wars

But change takes time, and the aspiration to instill rule-of-law values has still not been fulfilled. Since 2014, Ukraine has been at war, not just with Russia, but within itself, as political and economic forces compete to determine what kind of country Ukraine will become: the same old, oligarch-dominated Ukraine where corruption is not just prevalent, but *is* the system? Or the country that Ukrainians demanded in the Revolution of Dignity—a country where rule of law is the system, corruption is tamed, and people are treated equally and according to the law?

During the 2019 presidential elections, the Ukrainian people answered that question once again. Angered by insufficient progress in the fight against corruption, Ukrainian voters overwhelmingly elected a man who said that ending corruption would be his number one priority. The transition, however, created fear among the political elite, setting the stage for some of the issues I expect we will be discussing today.

Understanding Ukraine's recent history, including the significant tension between those who seek to transform the country and those who wish to continue profiting from the old ways, is of critical importance to understanding the events you asked me here today to describe. Many of those events—and the false narratives that emerged from them—resulted from an unfortunate alliance between Ukrainians who continue to operate within a corrupt system, and Americans who either did not

understand that corrupt system, or who may have chosen, for their own purposes, to ignore it.

It seems obvious, but bears stating, that when dealing with officials from any country—or those claiming connections to officialdom—one must understand their background, their personal interests, and what they hope to get out of a particular interaction before deciding how to evaluate their description of events or acting on their information.

To be clear, Ukraine is filled with many citizens and officials who want the very things we have always said we want for the United States: a government that acts in the interests of its people; “a government of the people, by the people and for the people.” The overwhelming support for President Zelenskiy in April’s election proved that. And it was one of our most important tasks at the embassy in Kyiv to understand and act upon the difference between those who sought to serve their people and those who sought to serve only themselves.

### **Addressing Specific Concerns**

With that background in mind, I would like to briefly address some of the specific issues raised in the press that I anticipate you may ask me about today.

### **Events Before and After I served in Ukraine**

I arrived in Ukraine on August 22, 2016 and left Ukraine permanently on May 20, 2019. Several of the events with which you may be concerned occurred before I was even in country. Here are just a few:

- the release of the so-called “Black Ledger” and Mr. Manafort’s subsequent resignation from the Trump campaign;
- the Embassy’s April 2016 letter to the Prosecutor General’s Office about the investigation into the Anti-Corruption Action Center or AntAC; and
- the departure from office of former Prosecutor General Viktor Shokin.

Several other events occurred after I was recalled from Ukraine. These include:

- President Trump’s July 25 call with President Zelenskiy;
- All of the discussions surrounding that phone call; and
- Any discussions surrounding the reported delay of security assistance to Ukraine in Summer 2019.

### **During my Tenure in Ukraine**

- As for events *during* my tenure in Ukraine, I want to categorically state that I have never myself or through others, directly or indirectly, *ever* directed, suggested, or in any other way asked for any government or government official in Ukraine (or elsewhere) to refrain from investigating or prosecuting actual corruption. As Mr. Lutsenko, the former Ukrainian Prosecutor General has recently acknowledged, the notion that I created or disseminated a “do not prosecute” list is completely false—a story that Mr. Lutsenko, himself, has since retracted.

- Equally fictitious is the notion that I am disloyal to President Trump. I have heard the allegation in the media that I supposedly told the Embassy team to ignore the President's orders "since he was going to be impeached." That allegation is false. I have never said such a thing, to my Embassy colleagues or to anyone else.
- Next, the Obama administration did not ask me to help the Clinton campaign or harm the Trump campaign, nor would I have taken any such steps if they had.
- I have never met Hunter Biden, nor have I had any direct or indirect conversations with him. And although I have met former Vice President Biden several times over the course of our many years in government, neither he nor the previous Administration ever, directly or indirectly, raised the issue of either Burisma or Hunter Biden with me.
- With respect to Mayor Giuliani, I have had only minimal contacts with him—a total of three that I recall. None related to the events at issue. I do not know Mr. Giuliani's motives for attacking me. But individuals who have been named in the press as contacts of Mr. Giuliani may well have believed that their personal financial ambitions were stymied by our anti-corruption policy in Ukraine.
- Finally, after being asked by the Department in early March to extend my tour until 2020, I was then abruptly told in late April to come back to Washington from Ukraine "on the next plane." You will understandably want to ask why my posting ended so suddenly. I wanted to learn that too, and I tried to find out. I met with the Deputy Secretary of State,

who informed me of the curtailment of my term. He said that the President had lost confidence in me and no longer wished me to serve as his ambassador. He added that there had been a concerted campaign against me, and that the Department had been under pressure from the President to remove me since the Summer of 2018. He also said that I had done nothing wrong and that this was not like other situations where he had recalled ambassadors for cause. I departed Ukraine for good this past May.

- Although I understand that I served at the pleasure of the President, I was nevertheless incredulous that the U.S. government chose to remove an Ambassador based, as best as I can tell, on unfounded and false claims by people with clearly questionable motives. To make matters worse, all of this occurred during an especially challenging time in bilateral relations with a newly elected Ukrainian president. This was precisely the time when continuity in the Embassy in Ukraine was most needed.

\*\*\*\*\*

Before I close, I must share the deep disappointment and dismay I have felt as these events have unfolded. I have served this nation honorably for more than 30 years. I have proudly promoted and served American interests as the representative of the American people and six different presidents over the last three decades. Throughout that time, I—like my colleagues at the State Department—have always believed that we enjoyed a sacred trust with our government.

We make a difference every day on issues that matter to the American people—whether it is war and peace, trade and investment, or simply helping with a lost passport. We repeatedly uproot our lives, and we frequently put ourselves in harm's way to serve this nation. And we do that willingly, because we believe in America and its special role in the world. We also believe that, in return, our government will have our backs and protect us if we come under attack from foreign interests.

That basic understanding no longer holds true. Today, we see the State Department attacked and hollowed out from within. State Department leadership, with Congress, needs to take action now to defend this great institution, and its thousands of loyal and effective employees. We need to rebuild diplomacy as the *first* resort to advance America's interests and the front line of America's defense. I fear that not doing so will harm our nation's interest, perhaps irreparably.

That harm will come not just through the inevitable and continuing resignation and loss of many of this nation's most loyal and talented public servants. It also will come when those diplomats who soldier on and do their best to represent our nation face partners abroad who question whether the ambassador truly speaks for the President and can be counted upon as a reliable partner. The harm will come when private interests circumvent professional diplomats for their own gain, not the public good. The harm will come when bad actors in countries beyond Ukraine see how easy it is to use fiction and innuendo to manipulate our system. In such circumstances, the only interests that will be served are those of our strategic adversaries, like Russia, that spread chaos and attack the institutions and norms that the U.S.

helped create and which we have benefited from for the last 75 years.

I am proud of my work in Ukraine. The U.S. Embassy, under my leadership, represented and advanced the policies of the United States government as articulated, first by the Obama Administration and then by the Trump Administration. Our efforts were intended, and evidently succeeded, in thwarting corrupt interests in Ukraine, who fought back by selling baseless conspiracy theories to anyone who would listen. Sadly, someone was listening, and our nation is the worse off for that.

Thank you for your attention. I welcome your questions.

<b>From:</b>	(b)(6)
<b>To:</b>	svcSMARTCrossLow_SMG <svcSMARTCrossLowAA@smg.state.gov>
<b>Subject:</b>	FW: Ukraine social media updates: Zelenskyy's press marathon
<b>Date:</b>	Thu, 10 Oct 2019 13:44:21 +0000

UNCLASSIFIED

**From:** (b)(6) (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Thursday, October 10, 2019 4:14 PM  
**To:** Kyiv Senior Staff <KyivSeniorStaff@state.gov>; Kyiv POL Core <KyivPOLCore@state.gov>; Kyiv ECON FSOs <KYIVECONFSOs@state.gov>; (b)(6)  
 (b)(6); (b)(6)  
 <(b)(6)>  
**Cc:** Kyiv IOs <KyivIOs@state.gov>; EUR-Ukraine Desk-DL <EUR-UkraineDesk-DL@state.gov>; Kent, George P <(b)(6)>; (b)(6); Yovanovitch, Marie L <(b)(6)>  
**Subject:** RE: Ukraine social media updates: Zelenskyy's press marathon

More from the Ze press marathon:

Chris Miller, RFE/RL:

! Here's some news from Kyiv — "We're ready to investigate Ukraine's alleged meddling in the US elections," President Zelenskiy tells reporters, referring to alleged 2016 election interference.

Here's what Zelenskiy said when I asked about his plan in navigating Ukrainegate:

"I don't want to interfere in any way in the US elections and I will not be doing it... Elect your own president and do not interfere in the future elections of an independent Ukraine."

Zelenskiy continued: "With due respect for the United States and America's policy, we are not serving the latter's purpose, as we are an independent country. However, we do not want to lose our relations, we wish to strengthen them instead."

Maksym Eristavi:

Great that Ukraine's president @ZelenskyyUa has finally realized that ghosting journalists is quite poor idea.

However, making this dialogue respectful and productive will be a long learning curve for him and his team, which is inexperienced in political comms

Lousy communication with journalists aside, Ukraine's President @ZelenskyyUa comes out with a crystal clear message as 'the President of Peace' — vowing to do what the record mandate from Ukrainians demands him to do: end the war and prioritize humanitarianism over militarism

---

Finally, a president of Ukraine who won't vilify, denigrate Ukrainian citizens trapped on the Russian occupied territories and won't tolerate treating them as second-class folks.

As someone who has a number of close family members trapped on the Russian occupied territories, I'm glad to hear the promise that the Ukrainian state will stop treating them like garbage. Now walk the talk, please.

Hromadske:

Zelenskyy on talks with Trump: "I think I did not violate #Ukraine law. I would like for #US law to assess what Donald Trump said, not me. I do not have to evaluate the actions of another president whose actions are governed by laws of another country. I felt no pressure."

Zelenskyy on extradition of #MH17 suspect Tsemakh to #Russia: "Netherlands understands why this decision was made. They knew this, I warned them& gave them all opportunities we as authorities could give them for investigative action before that. Everyone realizes that I was right

BBC:

Five vivid quotations from Zelenskyy from the marathon.

"Sasha wanted to be the Prime Minister of Ukraine. But I chose another nominee," – said about the resignation of Oleksandr Danylyuk from the post of NSDC secretary.

"Bohdan is a professional person," the head of his administration said.

"You know, I, like Van Damme, am in that particular split. If I would have three legs - I would be have split on three legs, "- that he was in a difficult situation because of the Minsk agreements. In particular, the president complained that in these agreements there were arrangements for the disengagement of sites that" we cannot afford. "

"With all due respect to the United States, we are not U.S. policymakers. We are an independent country," the journalist asked what he would do if Trump continued to ask him to do something.

"I will protect the girl" - about her press secretary Iulia Mendel, who recently pushed a journalist for Radio Liberty.

UNCLASSIFIED

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Thursday, October 10, 2019 1:54 PM  
**To:** Kyiv Senior Staff <KyivSeniorStaff@state.gov>; Kyiv POL Core <KyivPOLCore@state.gov>; Kyiv ECON FSOs <KYIVECONFSOs@state.gov>; (b)(6)  
 <(b)(6)>  
 <(b)(6)>  
**Cc:** Kyiv IOs <KyivIOs@state.gov>; EUR-Ukraine Desk-DL <EUR-UkraineDesk-DL@state.gov>; Kent, George P <(b)(6)>; Yovanovitch, Marie L <(b)(6)>  
**Subject:** Ukraine social media updates: Zelenskyy's press marathon

FYI -- Lots of social media content below on Ze's press marathon (which is still ongoing). Topics covered include:

- Ze-Trump conversation
- Ze's comments to the people of Donetsk and Luhansk

- Normandy Format / conflict issues / relations with Russia
- Poroshenko
- PrivatBank
- Media Ownership (and criticism of Novoye Vremya)
- Kyiv Mayor
- Oligarchs

#### Hromadske:

Journalists are meeting with #Ukraine President Volodymyr Zelenskyy today in Kyiv. Kyiv Food Market will host the event in a press-marathon format. We will cover the event straight from the venue. Groups of 7-10 journalists will have 30 minutes with the president each.

Zelenskyy started communicating with the 1st group. He says that he did not want a formal meeting with prepared questions, hence the choice of format. He added that he wanted to come to the event after a morning jog, but was told that journalists could take it as disrespect.

The head of state asserts that a telephone conversation with Donald Trump in July was unrelated to allocation of financial and military aid to #Ukraine. He said the main topic was their upcoming meeting with #US president.

The first question came from journalist @AlexMazuka of #Donbas News. He asked what Zelenskyy would say to residents of #Donetsk and #Luhansk who are afraid of #Ukraine's return.

"Every time I address Ukrainians, I address all including occupied Donbas civilians."

"All people who live there and feel Ukrainian - they need to know that we will bring them back together with the territories. This is our plan A," the president said.

Plan B is an option when the return of territories would be delayed, but people will still be priority."

In response to the question about the #Normandy format meeting, Volodymyr Zelenskyy said the delay and the date depended on #Russia.

"#Russia refused to hold a meeting on September 16. It was difficult to arrange for the summit to take place because it had not taken place since 2016. There was a general feeling that no one needed it from authorities."

He added that Normandy format is necessary to end the war.

Zelenskyy on #Poroshenko: "His mistake is that he thinks he may be leader of another Maidan. He forgets that he is no longer president. I'm afraid he doesn't believe it and it's a physical problem. He is against disengagement... he is pushing people with both his media&actions."

#Ukraine's Zelenskyy on troop disengagement: "I am ready to communicate with people. 498/500 Zolote village residents were not opposed to the withdrawal and end of the war... No disengagement=no #Normandy format meeting. That's why I say: now it depends on our side too."

President Volodymyr Zelenskyy at the press-marathon on the risk of return of nationalized #PrivatBank to former owner, oligarch Ihor #Kolomoisky: "In the matter of PrivatBank I will defend the interests of #Ukraine".

## Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Zelenskyy on amnesty for #Donbas: "You know that the law has been passed on this issue. I do not know why this law was approved & not submitted to the former president for signature ... It should be discussed who it should include, whether civilians too in the #Normandy format."

Zelenskyy on #Crimea: "For me the #Normandy format "is also an opportunity to return to the issue of Crimea... at least to return to the discussion. There is currently no track to discuss this issue. We are grateful to Western partners for issue of Crimea is present in sanctions."

Zelenskyy on direct talks with Putin: "If #Normandy format is delayed, then we will find other formats to get our people back. There is an option that worked - my direct negotiations with the President of the #Russia. I am ready for direct negotiations on the return of people."

Zelenskyy on upcoming #US presidential election: "I do not want to interfere in any way with election of an independent country called the USA, and so I won't do it ... Choose your president yourself, and you will not influence or continue to influence the elections in #Ukraine."

Zelenskyy on imprisoned Crimean Tatars: "No one will ever forget single person who is imprisoned in annexed #Crimea, #Russia or occupied territories. There are 2 lists that are discussed. Crimeans are on list of people we need to talk to Russia about. List 2 has DPR/LPR people."

Ukraine President Zelenskyy on the peacekeepers in the #Donbas: "The issues of the peacekeeping mission will be considered in the #Normandy format. I am in favor of presence of peacekeepers on the border between #Ukraine and #Russia."

Ukraine President Volodymyr Zelenskyy on the peacekeepers in the #Donbas: "The issues of the peacekeeping mission will be considered in the #Normandy format. I am in favor of presence of peacekeepers on the border between #Ukraine and #Russia."

Zelenskyy on relations w/ #Russia: "I think everyone understands that #Ukraine will never surrender its territory & its independence. I think if at first someone had such thoughts, now everyone surely understands it. I think this is important thing RUS & militants are aware of."

#Ukraine President Volodymyr Zelenskyy at the press-marathon on disengagement of forces : "There is no shelling in Petrivske village in #Donbas, troops can be disengaged there, but we agreed that the disengagement should take place at the same time in Zolote and Petrivske."

President Zelenskyy on #Kyiv Mayor Vitaliy Klychko: "Why haven't I dismissed him? Just not yet. I'm thinking... I think that these functions (city state administration and mayorship - ed.) should be separated. I will definitely talk to Mr. Klychko before deciding to dismiss him."

Zelenskyy on Press Sec @IuliiaMendel's behavior towards journalists: "I have seen Mr Andrushko many times. He is a journalist ... I think he is unethical. You are the same guy as me, we are from same sphere. But now I'm protecting her. It is the girl I will protect in this case."

Zelenskyy on dismissal of NSDC secretary Oleksandr Danyliuk: "I have 100% transparent understanding of why he left... Mr. Danyliuk knows well that I have treated him with respect... I disagree that he went bc of #PrivatBank. Complex relations with Bohdan also influenced this."

Natalia Gumeniuk, Hromadkse:

@ZelenskyyUa started his 10h press-marathon with plan A: make Ukrainians at the occupied territory feel they're welcomed, supported, and the best way to do so show example of humanitarian actions like building the bridge,etc follow @Hromadske How it looks

Olver Carroll, Independent:

## Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Zelensky, at the start of his marathon Q+A session said Trump call did not influence relations, said only aim was to secure meeting. "We knew before that the relations were tired. They wanted to know where their cash had gone to." Insists no blackmail involved

Kateryna Gorchinska:

Zelensky on the Privat case: "I will defend the interest of the state of Ukraine." Says he has never called any judges, but he will do his utmost to stand by the interests of Ukraine. No details.

Max Seddon, FT:

The longer Zelensky goes without making it clear what his position on Kolomoisky is, the more people are going to be worried that the oligarchs are running the show

Anders Aslund, author:

One clarification: It is not "the" oligarchs but one oligarch, Kolomoisky, who is celebrating his luck by fighting other more decent Ukrainian businessmen on four fronts: airlines, banking, electricity & iron ore. All wait: Will Z stand up or not?

Natalia Gumeniuk, Hromadske:

@ZelenskyyUa to @WSJ I do not want to comment much on the call with Trump that he doesn't want to speak so it gets too much interpretations. But the main: "Please choose your presidents yourself")

Chris Miller, RFE/RL:

Good morning from Kyiv Food Market, where Ukrainian President @ZelenskyyUa has just begun his "press marathon," a day-long grilling with journalists alongside stalls selling hummus, sushi and spring rolls. (That's the president in the top right corner.) – at Kyiv Food Market

President Zelenskiy pauses between sessions with journalists to take in the scene... possibly contemplating what to choose for lunch.

So far, responding to questions from reporters, Zelenskiy has reiterated that he felt "no pressure" from Trump during their July 25 call and said there has been "no blackmail" from the US president.

He also admitted that he and his office last week failed to adequately explain aspects of the so-called Steinmeier Formula Kyiv signed with Moscow in an attempt to move forward peace talks on the five-year war in the Donbas.

Zelenskiy said his predecessor, @poroshenko, has capitalized on the Steinmeier Formula drama and the proposed disengagement of forces in eastern Ukraine to score political points.

Iuliia Mendel, President's Spox:

«To finish the war is my main mission," @ZelenskyyUa at press-marathon

On Privatbank issue @ZelenskyyUa said "Let's look at the result (litigation on the return of shares to ex-owners of the bank). If the result is such that I need to protect the country, I will protect our state"

Anders Aslund:

This is a very bad answer. The state (NBU) is being sued by Ukraine's biggest thief (Kolomoisky) after he & his partner have seen stolen \$5.5 billion of honest depositors' money. The president should defend the state.

Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.

Kolomoisky regularly make judges pass the most absurd verdicts in his favor. Is Z saying that if K successfully bribes this court he will support K?! It sounds like it & that would be terrible.

Z's reliance on an unreformed Ukrainian Court suggests that he is jeopardizing the vital need for further court reform in Ukraine.

What Z should have said is that this is the biggest theft in modern Ukraine's history & that law enforcement had better prosecute Kolomoisky & his partner Bogoliubov.

Until Z takes a clear stand in favor of the Ukrainian State & its citizens on Privatbank, neither the IMF nor big foreign investors will dare to inject substantial financing in Ukraine. Does Z understand this? Is he too weak or is he just biding his time?

RFE/RL:

Bringing Crimea back into Ukraine's fold is impossible without the help of international partners, Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskiy said during an interview with RFE/RL's @krymrealii while visiting an arms show in Kyiv.

Nataliya Vasilyeva, AP:

Zelenskiy at his Q&A right now on Trump, Burisma and military aid: there was no blackmail. I had no idea the military aid was held up. When I did find out, I raised it with Pence at a meeting in Warsaw.

Zelenskiy says the Normandy talks were tentatively to be held on Oct. 16 but the date didn't work for the Kremlin.

Zelenskiy says a lot of people in Ukraine don't want him to meet Putin eye-to-eye but he says the one-on-one with Putin has to happen at some point.

Asked about public reaction to last week's signing on the so-called Steinmeier formula, Zelenskiy admits that his office failed to explain that it means and says ex-President Poroshenko wants to win political points by opposing the pullback of the troops.

Zelenskiy's Q&A marathon is nearing the three-hour mark. This is now mostly about the Ukrainian president going on about the tough choices he faces in settling the Donbass conflict.

Not good: Zelenskiy grills a reporter from the respectable Novoye Vremya about the magazine's ownership, insists that Ukrainian media should be owned only by Ukrainian citizens. NV is a great source of in-depth, unbiased reporting.

Shades of Putin here: the Kremlin years ago attacked foreign-owned or co-owned media. That affected amazing staff at the Russian Forbes etc.

Maksym Eristavi, journalist:

Hey President @ZelenskyyUa,

Don't you try picking on Ukrainian indie journalism such as @tweetsNV — it has never worked out for your predecessors.

Want more transparent media ownership? Start with oligarch-owned giants @1plus1tv & @InterTvUa — both had contracts with you

Anders Aslund, author:

## Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.

The worst moment in @ZelenskyyUa's press marathon today came early, when he responded to Ivan Verstiuk from Novoe Vremya with questions about its Czech owner Tomas Fiala, complaining about him not being Ukrainian. Not nice.

Vitaliy Sych, NV editor in chief:

Today, during my press conference, to my surprise, President Zelenskyy was not the first to criticize NV. Zelenskyy said that Czech citizen Tomas Fiala owns the NV, and admitted that foreigners should be prohibited from owning media in Ukraine.

That is, Akhmetov, Levochkin and Kolomoisky are allowed, but Newsweek, Forbes and Fiale are not allowed.

If this happens, Ukraine will be in one line with Russia, where a paranoid search for agents of influence from the West led to a ban on the participation of foreigners in the media.

I understand that it is unpleasant to read and listen to criticism about yourself. But this is an integral part of the work of the president in any democratic country.

Largely due to freedom of speech and merciless criticism of the previous president Petro Poroshenko and his entourage - including us - Zelenskyy actually became president with a result of 73%.

He also won due to the fact that for six months with his series he did not go off the screens of the 1 + 1 TV channel, which is owned by businessman Igor Kolomoisky. The president asked what kind of passport / passport does Kolomoisky have? He may be surprised when he finds out the answer. It may turn out that he won the election thanks to the considerable contribution of the media owned by a foreign citizen.

It seems to me that President Zelenskyy early began to get nervous and attack the media. After all, he works as president only a couple of months. There are still four difficult years ahead.

Despite this not the first attack, we remain completely open to members of the Zelenskyy team both in the executive branch and in parliament. We will not be offended and will note the successes and achievements of the President and his team.

And we, of course, will continue to criticize and do investigations whether someone likes it or not. The right to freedom of speech is still given to us by the Constitution.

Anders Aslund:

President @ZelenskyyUa is strikingly uncomfortable & tense answering questions from journalists. Initially, he tried to respond with counter-questions. His answers are quite competent - correct & wisely not too detailed. He should talk more to journalists.

This press marathon is a bad idea. Who invented it? Vladimir Putin! Why? To clean out press queries once a year, getting it all out & forgotten, & then avoid media. I really hope that @ZelenskyyUa is not intent on following Putin's bad example. Talk to journalists regularly!

Kateryna Gorchinska:

Zelensky on US: We are working on a state visit of US president to Ukraine during my term, "it's very important for us from the image point of view." Reiterated that he is not going to meddle in US elections, & asked the US to stay away from elections in "sovereign Ukraine"

Says there were report of his meeting with a man called Kislinsky during his trip to NY. "I don't know who he is," says Zelensky

At the same time, he ignored the question on further investigations into the Bidens

Also Zelensky reiterated Ukraine's readiness to have a joint investigative group into the Bidens, which he says was suggested by the Americans. However, he added there has been no movement on this initiative from the US side

Zelensky says Angela Merkel is acting as a go-between Ukraine, France & Russia to set a date for the Normandy format talks, & refers to her as indispensable for the process. He says Russia turned down a date in September because they were "busy." "We're ready for any date"

"I'm fed up with games when you're writing resignation letters, and I don't sign them... I warned them [team] that you won't blackmail me, if you write resignation letters, i will sign them" Zelensky on Danylyuk.

Says the resignation was not over Privat conflict. Admits there were long running team conflicts

Zelensky says he has not discussed Privatbank with Kolomoiky, but "he knows my position. I will defend the interests of Ukraine." Also, says asked IMF mission whether they expected him to "influence" the courts, and the mission said "no"

"An agreement can take place is we hear from one of the sources that we have a weakness in one of the cases. We need to talk so that the state does not bear any losses. we need to sit down with him and say 'there is no money, you're living in this country, let's agree on smth'

"We have to sit down with them [oligarchs] and agree on something." but says it's hard to talk to Kolomoisky because there is a major negative reaction from the society, like in the case with the infamous photo.

So, Zelensky says if the president can't meet with the oligarchs, all responsibility for potential losses in courts would be carried by institutions who are being sued, like the NBU

Zelensky: "Do you have two billion? Yes. Spend a billion on roads. This is how you talk to them [oligarchs.]" He has reiterated a few times that you have to make deals with oligarchs

"I'm not very happy" that the Trump conversation came out because it damages diplomatic relations and "reduces the space for tactical maneuvers to zero" - Zelensky. Says he "doesn't care" if Burisma case is investigated. "But if there was corruption in it - please investigate."

<b>Sender:</b>	(b)(6)
<b>Recipient:</b>	svcSMARTCrossLow_SMG <svcSMARTCrossLowAA@smg.state.gov>

<b>From:</b>	Bruce Jackson (b)(6)
<b>To:</b>	'Taylor, William B (Kyiv)' (b)(6)
<b>Subject:</b>	Personal and Confidential
<b>Date:</b>	Mon, 4 Nov 2019 16:17:35 -0500

**Dear Bill:**

**This is an extract from a letter I wrote to a friend in Ukraine about how the impeachment crisis has changed the world for Ukraine and European diplomacy. I thought that you might be interested in one man's guess about how the Russia/Ukraine stalemate has been changed by the current political turmoil. I only have recent developments in energy markets and rumors of about what is going on in diplomatic circles in Berlin, Moscow and Paris to draw on so everything below is nothing more than guesswork.**

**It seems clear, however, that there has been a tectonic shift. For instance, since the Russian invasion, all of Washington has believed that only the cancellation of NS2 and economic sanctions on Russia could force substantial gas transit across Ukraine. It now seems clear that it was the final approval of NS2 by Denmark that motivated Germany and Russia to agree on an extended gas transit deal. If this initial reversal of expectations holds up, it may be part of other major changes in Europe's East. You may be in Kyiv at a very important time having nothing to do impeachment.**

Last week, (b)(6) and I returned to Washington. I felt like I was returning to a different town than I left almost six months ago. Almost all the foreign policies experts I knew at the NSC and State Department are no longer in Government. They have resigned, been fired or become targets in the Congressional Impeachment hearings. In the critical Russian and Ukrainian departments the departure rate is almost 100%. In terms of impact, the last few months can be compared to a Stalinist purge in the 1930's except that the victims in Washington are not physically dead; they are merely politically dead and have retreated to their think tanks. Kurt has become a target in the impeachment hearings and is unlikely to ever work on Ukraine again. For the next twelve months, he needs to be careful legally speaking in further testimony before Congress and potentially the Impeachment trial before the full Senate. Among our mutual friends, Bill Taylor is probably the only official who has come through the scandal without a scratch.

For now, he is the only remaining trustworthy US diplomat on the subject of Ukraine.

I spent the last week writing a paper about how the impeachment crisis has gravely wounded US diplomacy, damaged the Zelensky government, further divided a dysfunctional Europe, and given Vladimir Putin a series of unearned victories in Syria and elsewhere. Unfortunately, things are changing so quickly in Washington, London, Berlin, Brussels and Paris that my paper was out of date before I finished writing it. Instead I am writing a quick summary about the immediate situation. I will save the longer discussion of complicated and confusing geopolitical changes for a conversation later this winter.

**The Impact of Impeachment:** It is difficult to overstate the crippling effect of the impeachment crisis on the US Government which is just beginning. The impeachment process itself will run from Open Hearings in the Congress beginning in mid-November. It is certain that the Congress will vote to impeach before Christmas. The trial in front of the entire Senate will run 3 weeks until almost February. It is a 50/50 bet on whether President Trump will be removed from office and banned from elective office for life. Whether the President is removed or only neutered, the White House will be incapable of conducting an effective foreign policy until after the next Presidential election in November 2020.

The inability to conduct an effective foreign policy could continue much longer depending how deeply America is divided by the continuing war between the Republican and Democratic parties. The deterioration of the USG will certainly continue throughout 2020. I expect that Secretary of State Pompeo will resign before the end of 2019 to run for Senate. Multiple US Senators will leave Washington in February to join the Presidential campaigns or try to hold onto their own Senate seats. Effectively, the US Government will be closed for business for all of 2020. The absence of US diplomacy will be most evident on issues concerning Ukraine and/or Russia which have become radioactive subjects for this generation American officials and politicians.

**The Damage to Ukraine:** It is increasingly clear that Ukraine has been seriously damaged by Giuliani, the Three Amigos, and the Trump telephone call. Whatever “honeymoon” President Zelensky and his Government may have expected is over, and the willingness of Washington to provide Ukraine with financial, military, and political support is now uncertain. It is possible to know that Ukraine’s position internationally has been damaged without being able to specify what exactly has changed. So what follows are little more than guesses:

- (1) Ukraine has sought an alliance with the United States since 2004 and a client relationship since 2014. Both relationships are impossible for the foreseeable future. Ukraine's obsession with American politics is over for now.
- (2) Germany and France have already begun to replace the US as the most influential powers on subjects of interest to Ukraine. Unfortunately Zelensky has mismanaged his relations with both Berlin and Paris. It will take time and considerable effort for Zelensky to regain the trust of Merkel and Macron.
- (3) Trump's insistence that Ukraine is completely corrupt has had an impact even though he is mistaken. In current environment of continuous Press and Congressional investigations, Washington cannot overlook the return of Kolomoisky to Ukraine. In my opinion, Zelensky will be under increasing pressure to expel Kolomoisky and anyone in the Presidential Administration connected with him. The alternative would be a Justice Department investigation of PrivatBank similar to the Firtash charges.
- (4) Zelensky's demands that rich Ukrainians donate to his favorite charity seem to many observers to be identical to Yanukovych's model of ordering the "nobles" to donate to him personally. Both are systems of a monarchy, not a democracy. And both the EU and the IMF are sensitive to the potential for abuse.

When we last spoke I thought that businessmen needed Zelensky more than he needed them. Now, in the wake of scandal, I think that President Zelensky needs patriotic business men particularly from the Donbass more than they need an embattled President. In either case, investments in the East are the right call. They just need to become part of a transparent economic program of post-war reconstruction and not a just another gift to the latest King.

- (5) Zelensky has tolerated the independent actions of Naftagaz and the old ways of doing business for too long. The Giuliani scandal has reminded everyone of the days of Firtash, Rusukrenergo, Luvochkin, Timoshenko, and wholesale graft. I expect that the European push for Ukrainian gas transit will transform Naftagaz into two smaller commercial companies jointly held by Europe and Ukraine. (Almost twenty years ago Ambassador Carlos Pascual was ordered to clean up and restructure Ukraine's gas sector. This is now inevitable, but it will be forced by the EU and Germany not by the State Department.)

(6) Zelensky has done quite good work on the exchange of prisoners and the preliminary pull-back of military forces on both sides. But it is not clear how to turn these first steps forward into complete demilitarization, now that the Volker-Surkov channel is dead. My guess is that a more directive Normandy Group will take over. This will be a big adjustment for Zelensky who tends to see himself as a Great Power among smaller European states. He may be unpleasantly surprised.

(7) There is still a great deal of sympathy in the United States for Ukraine and even in the EU but this will take years to recover and redirect. The Ukrainian Government will have to cease all lobbying, marketing and influence operations in Washington. No more board seats on Naftagaz or Burisma for Texas donors and children of possible Presidents. No more Pinchuk gifts to the Clinton Foundation. And no more foreign funds to the Atlantic Council.

In the new period, Ukraine will have to sell itself on a people to people basis. The Zelensky Government needs to sell itself equally to both Washington and Europe. The next twenty years of Ukrainian history will be far more focused on Europe and possibly Russia than the United States. How Ukraine fully recovers from this diplomatic disaster is a much longer discussion for which we will need to find a quiet afternoon.

**A Dramatic Shift in German Policy.** When I started my first paper, it was all about the malaise in the German Chancellery, the failure of the Normandy Group, and the imminent collapse of Germany's coalition government ending Angela Merkel's career in politics. Everything changed last week for two reasons. The first is that both Russia and Germany finally understood the collapse of the Trump Presidency has left a great vacuum in Euro-Atlantic politics which is dangerous for all European powers. And the second is that the Danish decision to approve NS2 caught both the Chancellery and the Kremlin completely by surprise. Angela Merkel realized immediately that the approval of NS2 without a matching agreement on Ukrainian Gas Transit and no agreement on the demilitarization of Eastern Ukraine would be a disaster for European stability and a guarantee of an endless frozen conflict in some or all of Ukraine. In other words, "Big for Big" has to mean both pipelines and military withdrawal by both sides. A single component, even NS2, is not sufficient.

In a matter of 2-3 days, there were several phone calls between Merkel and Putin in which an agreement before January on extended Ukrainian gas transit became the highest diplomatic priority for both Russia and Germany. It seems that Putin has agreed to accept whatever volume of gas and duration of contract Merkel will

insist on for Ukraine transit. It is rumored that the Chancellor and Russian President agreed on a higher BCM volume than what was on the table in discussions between Gazprom and Naftagaz, but no one knows for sure.

Just as the latest tri-lateral meeting on gas transit chaired by Commissioner Sefcovic was failing in Brussels last week, the Germans began to assert their often-unused political power. The next tri-lateral meeting will be in Berlin in mid-November and will be chaired by the German Government. Moreover, Angela Merkel's Special Envoy for Ukrainian Gas Transit seems have replaced the departing Sefcovic and has already been dispatched to Moscow, Kyiv and Washington. Since Ukrainian gas transit was originally Merkel's demand, this is not a great change, but now the Chancellor seems to intend to make sure she will get what she wants on gas transit from both Moscow and Kyiv.

Moreover, Putin has agreed to a Normandy Group Summit in Paris before the end of November which could produce a breakthrough on the demilitarization of Eastern Ukraine and possible implementation of Minsk. In short, Germany, France and Russia have moved rapidly to fill the diplomatic vacuum left by the departure of the United States from Eastern Europe. Clearly, the State Department can no longer threaten the pipeline policy of Europe. In these circumstances, it seems highly unlikely that European states will take orders from Washington on further sanctions on Russia. And since the Volker-Surkov channel no longer exists and since the USG has no one with Russian expertise in the State Department, White House, NSC or US Embassy Moscow, a coalition of Chancellor Merkel and President Macron may end up handling peace negotiations with Russia within the Normandy Group during the critical winter ahead.

It is an abrupt change, but Germany is only taking on the responsibility for Ukraine and Europe's East that Merkel has been avoiding. Not only does this surge of European diplomatic activity offer to save the gas transit discussions from stalemate, it also prevents Putin from postponing all discussion with Ukraine on demilitarization for another year while everyone waits for the American elections and Eastern Ukraine drifts closer to a frozen conflict.

Despite the hope that these developments mean that the most powerful leaders in Europe are now starting to take the energy security and demilitarization of Eastern Ukraine seriously, there will be many people in Ukraine who will not like the replacement of credulous and often incompetent American diplomats with cynical and unromantic French and German negotiators. Zelensky, in particular, will not like the change, because his political success relies on keeping his constituents

happy or at least amused. Under both Poroshenko and Zelensky politics entailed only vetoing developments in gas negotiations, the Minsk negotiations, or indeed anything that Ukrainian voters might not like. With the United States gone, Ukraine no longer has a veto, and future negotiations on gas transit and military withdrawal will not be about being liked.

This will be a high stakes poker game where winning will be about leaving the table with the best deal available. Zelensky will not like having to explain to the management of Naftagaz or to the Azov Regiment that what they hoped for was just not possible in the real world. For instance, many Ukrainians have been told the fairy tale that Uncle Donald was going to cancel Nord Stream 2 because of his sympathy for Ukraine. It now turns out that for years President Trump has hated Ukraine far more than Russia. I mention Zelensky only because his political rise has not prepared him for difficult and painful choices. There will be many members of Ukraine's political elite and friends of Giuliani who may have expected some payoff or position from the gas transit deal or post-war settlement. Kolomoisky, Boyko, Medvechuk, Timoshenko, Firtash, and the entire Presidential Administration may not see a Franco-German "gas for peace" initiative as entirely in their interests. In other words, the first results of accelerated diplomacy may alienate and anger powerful constituents of the Zelensky Government causing political trouble for the young President

**More Continuity than Change:** In describing the stunning decline of President Trump from eccentricity to impeachment, it is true that US foreign policy is in a very bleak period, but American values and national interests do not change much over time. Americans are not going to stop being innately anti-Russian or forget their natural sympathy for the victims of military aggression. Even the total amount of Russian gas flowing to Europe is not going to change much year-on-year. Ukrainian transit should go up a little and "reverse flow" should go down a little more. What we are hoping for in post-war world are better conditions in terms of less violence and continued revenues in which Ukraine can strengthen its democracy, retain its sovereignty and rebuild its economy. That's about the best Zelensky can expect from the post-war world. 2020 already looks like a hellish year, and political and economic problems in Western Europe will not make things any easier for Ukraine (including Brexit, the internal weaknesses of Germany, the dysfunction of the European Commission and Parliament, and growing uncertainties about Russia.)

**Next Steps:** It goes without saying that there is no way to know if Putin is sincere about this joint initiative with Merkel or if he intends to follow through on withdrawing Russian forces from Eastern Ukraine. It is also unclear whether Merkel and Macron will be able to command the Normandy Group as they might like. Also anything can happen during the impeachment in Washington, and in the politics of Kyiv this winter. For these reasons, I suggest we watch what happens during November in gas transit discussions and the Normandy Group Summit, if it actually takes place. December would be the earliest time we could have a serious discussion about how to respond to a changed and more positive environment. If the implications of the German-French-Russian initiative remain ambiguous, we will have to wait until the end of the impeachment process. This suggests a meeting around the time of the Munich Security Conference in the first week of February.

With warmest regards,

Bruce

<b>Sender:</b>	Bruce Jackson	(b)(6)
<b>Recipient:</b>	'Taylor, William B (Kyiv)'	(b)(6)

<b>From:</b>	(b)(6)
<b>To:</b>	Kent, George P (b)(6) Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv) (b)(6) Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) <(b)(6)> Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6) Holmes, David A (Kyiv) (b)(6) Reinert, David Mike (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6) Schutte, John P (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6) Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6)
<b>CC:</b>	EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>
<b>Subject:</b>	Re: Reactions to Hill Article (Giuliani Tweet etc)
<b>Date:</b>	Sat, 23 Mar 2019 15:35:37 +0000

Thanks (b)(6) I have passed this to the EUR FO. Best, (b)(6)

Get Outlook for iOS

---

**From:** (b)(6) (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Saturday, March 23, 2019 10:46 AM  
**To:** (b)(6) Kent, George P; Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv);  
 Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv); Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv); (b)(6) (Kyiv);  
 (b)(6) (Kyiv); Holmes, David A (Kyiv); Reinert, David "Mike" (Kyiv); (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Kyiv EXEC; (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press  
**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article (Giuliani Tweet etc)

Host of the Dan Bongino Podcast and Fox News Contributor Dan Bongino (with nearly a million Twitter followers) tweeted about 20-30 minutes ago (in a string of separate tweets):

They knew. The entire time. #MediaBias

Marie Yovanovitch

George Kent

Yuriy Lutsenko

Serhiy Leshchenko

Fusion GPS

Joe Biden

Hunter Biden

Burisma

Devon Archer

The most important piece you can read today: "Top Ukrainian justice official says US ambassador gave him a do-not-prosecute list" (link to earlier Hill article) I'll explain more on my show Monday.

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Date:** March 23, 2019 at 2:03:49 PM GMT+2  
**To:** (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Kent, George P (b)(6) Castillo, Raymond A  
 (Kyiv) (b)(6), Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Holmes, David A (Kyiv) (b)(6) Reinert,  
 David "Mike" (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6), Schutte, John P (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6), Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>, (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>  
**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article (Giuliani Tweet etc)

Thanks (b)(6)

We've received no new queries here as of this morning.

We're continuing to watch for the upcoming John Solomon piece.

We will share any information as soon as we have it.

Thanks,

(b)(6)

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Date:** March 23, 2019 at 7:49:12 AM EDT  
**To:** (b)(6), Kent, George P <(b)(6)>  
 Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv) (b)(6) Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Holmes, David A (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6), Reinert, David "Mike" (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Schutte, John P (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6) Kyiv EXEC  
 <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>, (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>  
**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article (Giuliani Tweet etc)

Published by Ukrainska Pravda this afternoon (rough translation):

In the United States, criminal cases were opened against Poroshenko's circle - the media

A number of criminal cases have been opened in the United States concerning abuses committed by people from Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko's team.

This is reported by the publication "Dzerkalo Tyzhnya" with reference to its sources.

"According to our sources, criminal cases have been opened in the United States, during which various abuses committed by people from the Poroshenko team are investigated, primarily the issue of withdrawal and laundering of money. The same sources indicate that some individuals in these cases have already signed a cooperation agreement with the investigation and give testimony ", - the article says.

According to the author, "Bankova regards the sacrifice of Sytnyk (head of NABU Artem Sytnyk - ed.) to Trump as a deal, which will result in the American president forbidding the American system from catching Poroshenko and company.

The journalist notes that the US does not have a favorite in the Ukrainian election, but seriously fears the emergence of a "third Maidan" as a result of the unconvincing legitimacy of the winner.

"As Putin can again take advantage of the destabilization of the situation in Ukraine, then Americans will be forced to react - much tougher and more decisive than today," the text says.

The publication also writes with reference to sources that Washington is not going to immediately withdraw from Kyiv the ambassador of the United States Marie Yovanovitch because of a scandal with the charges of Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko.

"Moreover, the State Department persuades her to stay in Ukraine at least until the summer, although family circumstances demand the return of Marie Yovanovitch to her homeland", - the article says.

"Therefore, Marie Yovanovitch still remains, there is no need to guess what her mood is, but the turbulent feelings cover not only her." As many sources of DT.UA testify, the government is not just angry, it rages, the American system does not forgive such tricks. "Yuri is f\*\*ed", - one of our well-known interlocutors summarized most briefly and meaningfully ", - the author notes.

Recall:

Attorney General Yuriy Lutsenko in an interview with The Hill stated that the US ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovitch gave him a list of people who she asked "not to prosecute".

The State Department of the United States responded that Lutsenko's statements were false.

<https://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2019/03/23/7210022/>

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Date:** March 23, 2019 at 12:45:54 PM GMT+2  
**To:** (b)(6) Kent, George P (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6),  
 (b)(6) Holmes, David A (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6) Reinert, David "Mike" (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)

(b)(6)	Schutte, John P (Kyiv)
(b)(6)	Kyiv EXEC
<Kyiv_EXEC@state.gov>	(b)(6)
(b)(6)	

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

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article (Giuliani Tweet etc)

Following up on my previous email, here's more detail (summary, not full transcript, except where noted with quotation marks) on the discussion on Fox last night about Amb Y, Ukraine, former VP Biden, etc. :

Around minute 43, Ingraham opens this story by noting indictments around Paul Manafort and Ukraine were the most impactful findings of the Mueller investigation. What's missing from this story? What names from the Obama administration might be wrapped up in this?

Ingraham notes that Congressman Pete Sessions sent Sec. Pompeo an urgent letter informing him to remove Amb. Marie Yovanovitch in May 2018, an Obama holdover, who remains in her post today. She reportedly demonstrated clear anti-Trump bias. She's not the only part of Obama's orbit to have extensive exposure in Ukraine. There was then a bit of commentary about attorney Craig from the Obama admin and potential charges. Biden and other officials were actively involved in Ukraine through Trump's inauguration. Biden visited Ukraine 10 days before Trump's inauguration.

Guests Joe DiGenova and journalist Pete Schweitzer (who has a book Secret Empires coming out next week) were introduced.

DiGenova said, quote: "In fact, Laura, you mentioned that Ambassador Marie Yovanovitch, contrary to what a lot of people thought, was still in her job. I learned this evening that the President has ordered her dismissal from her post as the United States Ambassador to Ukraine as a result of her activities there, which were complained of by Congressman Sessions. She is known and reported by people there to have badmouthed the President of the United States Donald Trump, to have told Ukrainians not to listen to him or obey his policy because he was going to be impeached. And finally her activities have caught up with her."

Ingraham made a side comment that Amb Y should have been removed a year ago, "that's a separate story of what's going on in the State Department," but transitions to ask about Biden's visits to Ukraine.

Schweitzer said Biden was the point person for the Obama Administration to Ukraine. He went to meet with Ukr officials and his son was placed on a corrupt energy board for a company run by a previous energy minister tied to the previous pro-Russian Ukrainian government. As Joe Biden interacts with Ukraine, his son for 14 months is connected to

a bank account that gets \$3.1 million from the Ukrainians. Hunter Biden has no background in Ukraine or in energy policy, and his job was reportedly regulatory compliance. Troublesome.

DiGenova: This has all the markings of bribery and extortion. Very disturbing details about to come out in reporting by John Solomon [side note: this is the author of the Hill's recent pieces]. Then there will need to be a full fledged criminal investigation. The Ambassador there who has been removed was involved in generating false information about Manafort, other information that went into the so-called black binders.

That was the end of the guest commentary; the recording I saw did not include final comments from Ingraham to wrap up the show.

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Date:** March 23, 2019 at 7:54:25 AM GMT+2  
**To:** (b)(6) Kent, George P (b)(6)  
 Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv) (b)(6), Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Holmes, David A (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6) Reinert, David "Mike" (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Schutte, John P (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6) Kyiv EXEC  
 <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov> (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>  
**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article (Giuliani Tweet etc)

Update on social media discussions: there are about 30 tweets from the past 2-3 hours stating that President Trump has removed Amb Y from her position. None of these are from prominent Twitter users (the largest following I saw was about 5K followers). Social media users appear to be reacting to something said (presumably 2-3 hours ago) by Joe DiGenova and/or on Ingraham's show. Haven't found specific video/text of any discussion on this theme at this point on media sites, but just letting everyone know this narrative is out there on social media.

---

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

**Date:** March 22, 2019 at 11:09:08 PM GMT+2

**To:** (b)(6) (6) Kent, George P (b)(6)  
 Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv) (b)(6), Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv)  
 <(b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Holmes, David A (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6) Reinert, David "Mike" (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Schutte, John P (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6) Kyiv EXEC  
 <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>, (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>  
**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article (Giuliani Tweet etc)

@JackPosobiec of One America News Network (with about 440 thousand followers) tweeted about 15 minutes ago: "U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine, Maria [sic] Yovanovitch, an Obama holdover, has told U.S. Embassy employees and Ukrainian officials that they need not pay attention to Trump since he is going to be impeached."

(This appears to be the line stated by DiGenova on the air with Hannity a couple days ago; just flagging that it is being recirculated now by a Twitter user with a large number of followers, in case it leads to new press inquiries in DC, etc)

---

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

**Date:** March 22, 2019 at 7:16:20 PM GMT+2

**To:** (b)(6), Kent, George P (b)(6)  
 Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv) (b)(6) Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv)  
 <(b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Holmes, David A (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6) Reinert, David "Mike" (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Schutte, John P (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6) Kyiv EXEC  
 <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>, (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)

(b)(6)

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

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article (Giuliani Tweet etc)

Summary of the Dan Bongino video mentioned in my previous email:

- The video is an hour long; the first 20 minutes are on Ukraine (and then he transitions out of the Ukraine story to focus on Senator McCain).
- No references to U.S. Embassy, State Department, or U.S. diplomatic personnel.
- Very brief overview of the commentary in the video: There was no Russian collusion, but there is taped evidence of Ukrainian collusion. The host summarized the Hill article about how Ukraine is investigating Ukrainian interference in the U.S. election. The host discussed how Obama and Clinton consultants were active in Ukraine; Manafort was working for Yanukovich, Clinton people were working for Tymoshenko, and Obama people were working for Yushchenko. American consultants were getting rich in Ukraine. The Obama people had been involved in Ukraine's election, so the Ukrainians were probably paying back a favor by feeding the USG info on Manafort to help Clinton. Biden's son Hunter had connections in Ukraine too, on the board of a natural gas company. Manafort knew what Obama and Clinton's people were up to in Ukraine, so he needed to be silenced. A Fusion GPS employee said one of their sources of info to help Clinton was a lawmaker named Sergey Lushenko (assume he meant to say Leshchenko, unless there's another lawmaker I'm unaware of with a similar name).

**Official - SBU**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

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

**Sent:** Friday, March 22, 2019 6:36 PM

**To:** (b)(6) Kent, George P <(b)(6)> Castillo,  
Raymond A (Kyiv) (b)(6) Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv)

(b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6)

(b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Holmes, David A (Kyiv) (b)(6) Reinert, David  
 "Mike" (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Schutte, John P (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6); Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)

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

Subject: RE: Reactions to Hill Article (Giuliani Tweet etc)

See tweet below from Rudy Giuliani, directing people to content released by Dan Bongino (host of The Dan Bongino Show Podcast and a Fox News Contributor, per his Twitter profile). The Dan Bongino video is an hour long. I'll try to skim through and get key points now....

**Rudy Giuliani** Verified account @RudyGiuliani 50m50 minutes ago

More

Pay attention to

@dbongino for an analysis of some real collusion between Hillary, Kerry and Biden people colluding with Ukrainian operatives to make money and affect 2016 election.

**Dan Bongino** Verified account @dbongino 24m24 minutes ago

More

Joe Biden is going to have A LOT of explaining to do regarding Ukraine. A LOT.

**Dan Bongino** Verified account @dbongino 15m15 minutes ago

More

The Ukrainian collusion with the anti-Trump crowd is the REAL scandal. Don't miss my show where I break it all down. Joe Biden has some explaining to do. Watch free here <https://t.co/Co2utkkAdJ>

Official - SBU

UNCLASSIFIED

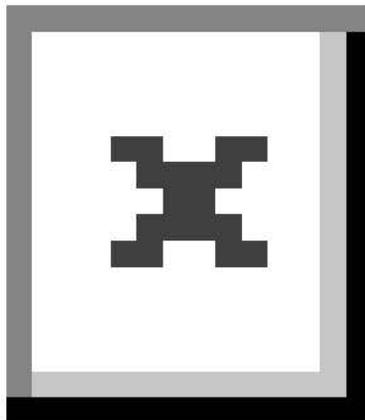
---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Friday, March 22, 2019 5:55 PM  
**To:** (b)(6) Kent, George P (b)(6) astillo,  
Raymond A (Kyiv) (b)(6) Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv)  
(b)(6) >; Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
Stephanie E (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
(b)(6) Holmes, David A (Kyiv) (b)(6) Reinert, David  
"Mike" (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
(b)(6);  
(b)(6) Schutte, John P (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
(b)(6) Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov> (b)(6)  
(b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>  
**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

More social media reactions from Ukraine:

The following parody on a Soviet slogan, featuring Lutsenko's image, is circulating on social media (posted by the Anti-Corruption Action Center):



“Put your green dollar back into your tranche – we will stop the State Department’s revenge!”

**Journalist Marina- Danuluk-Yarmolaeva:**

For ICTV Factly: About how our system wants to dress Marie Yovanovitch in warm boots and to flatter with the vocabulary of the grandmothers, and she resists.  
Haha

"If the 60-year-old Marie Yovanovitch was Ukrainian and not a career diplomat, and the seller of pastry at the a train station market, Lyashko would compete with Groysman for her.

She would have been lured both by the boots, and by the subsidies, and by the hundredth hryvnya on the top of it. But Marie Yovanovitch is the U.S. ambassador and any obscure clashes of our stars [sarcastically: means Lutsenko] with an influential figure are only exposing them in a bad light " *link to column:* <https://fakty.com.ua/ua/opinion/babusyni-gamashi-dlya-mari-jovanovych-yak->

[nasha-systema-opyrayetsya-zdorovomu-gluzdu/?fbclid=IwAR3pJxeISrju\\_FZ1WRky6uybR1S9DiVeesi3h2LHdjgsIYZJT\\_Ai3KZuFpgc \]](https://nasha-systema-opyrayetsya-zdorovomu-gluzdu/?fbclid=IwAR3pJxeISrju_FZ1WRky6uybR1S9DiVeesi3h2LHdjgsIYZJT_Ai3KZuFpgc)

**Mykola Katerenchuk, politician:**

Lutsenko's attack on Ambassador Marie Yovanovitch 10 days before the election is an attempt by the current authorities to neutralize the U.S. ambassador, and cast doubt on her reputation within Ukraine. Why? "Because Poroshenko is not going to win the election honestly, but declare himself president, using large-scale falsifications." The United States, of course, does not recognize such elections. And to talk about this, in the first place, will be the U.S. ambassador, giving a signal to the State Department and the rest of the world.

But it turned out exactly the opposite. After the top-breaking news about Ukraine in the world was corruption in Ukroboronprom and Svyarchuk, now the top news in the world will be the allegations and fight of the Prosecutor General of Ukraine against the United States. We are going our own way, [Poroshenko's campaign slogan] that's for sure!

**Daria Kaleniuk of Opora:**

Do you think the Prosecutor General has spring exacerbation of schizophrenia?

But, it seems, we are not lucky, and the Prosecutor General is still mentally sound, and his schizophrenic statement to the American media The Hill tries to achieve two things:

1. To discredit in Ukraine the ambassador of the United States Marie Yovanovitch for public demand to dismiss the head of the SAPO and strong criticism of the reform of the Supreme Court

Remind you that the U.S. Embassy in 2014-2016 in every way supported the reform of the GPU and even funded a cool American adviser to Lutsenko. But at some point in the embassy, it became clear that the reforms of Yuri Vitaliyovich are only beautiful speeches, so they completely stopped cooperation. I think this happened at a time when the GPU seriously presented to the Americans a new face - the symbol of Yuriy Lutsenko's reformation - Kostyantyn Kulik. And they said that he would now be in the international department of the GPU under the close supervision of Eugene Enin to be in charge of international cooperation)) I remind that Kulik at that time was already accused by NABU of illegal enrichment.

2. Help Firtash to avoid extradition in the United States.

At the moment Firtash's attorneys try to prove that the criminal case of the FBI against Firtash was politically ordered in every possible way. This is exactly what will allow Firtash not to go to jail in the United States for 100 years, but to be in slight fear in Vienna.

Therefore, a public statement by the Prosecutor General of Ukraine that the U.S. ambassador instructed him not to investigate will be automatically used by Firtash lawyers in the courts of Vienna and Chicago. As an example, it's a dictation by the State Department official who is to be investigated by the Ukrainian prosecutor's office and who is not.

Daria Kaleniuk (another post):

Bravo, Yuriy Lutsenko, what a fantastic shot in the leg!

But not to yourself, to the country.

I translate the title from American political media The Hill: "Yuriy Lutsenko has opened proceedings against a possible intervention in the Ukrainian presidential elections USA 2016".

That is, while special prosecutor Mueller is investigating possible intervention of RUSSIANS in the U.S. presidential election 2016, Lutsenko Attorney General is investigating interference in the election by UKRAINIANS.

IDIOT.

Russia does not have to invent scenarios of how to sink Ukraine. Yuri Vitaliyovich does everything himself.

The Prosecutor General and the team on Bankova are inspired by Trump's retweets of the translated messages of Rozenblat and channel 112.

In a burst of inspiration and a burning wish to demolish on this wave Sytnyk and commit revenge against U.S. Ambassador Marie Yovanovitch, Yuri V. pulls rapidly Ukraine to the bottom.

Dariya Kaleniuk (posted before P2's reaction):

If Poroshenko did not really sanction Lutsenko's attack on the U.S. ambassador, why is Lutsenko still the Prosecutor General?

And why is there not a single comment from the President of Ukraine on the day after Lutsenko's mischievous attack on the U.S. State Department, on whose support the future of Ukraine depends?

The president is well aware that such a statement is a nuclear blow on the international arena against Ukraine.

Lutsenko's statement to an American journalist, which is not supported by any facts and easily refuted by documents, has all the signs of state betrayal.

**Official - SBU**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

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

**Sent:** Friday, March 22, 2019 5:46 PM

**To:** (b)(6) Kent, George P (b)(6); Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv) (b)(6) Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6)

**Subject:** (b)(6); Holmes, David A (Kyiv) (b)(6) Reinert, David "Mike" (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6) (b)(6); Schutte, John P (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6) Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6) (b)(6)

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

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

The Hill appears to have just updated their article from Wednesday with a line about NABU's statement issued today. (That part is highlighted below.)

<https://thehill.com/hilltv/rising/434892-senior-ukrainian-justice-official-says-hes-opened-probe-into-us-election>

Ukrainian Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko told Hill.TV's John Solomon in an interview aired on Wednesday that he has opened a

probe into alleged attempts by Ukrainians to interfere in the 2016 U.S. presidential election.

"Today we will launch a criminal investigation about this and we will give legal assessment of this information," Lutsenko said last week.

Lutsenko is probing a claim from a member of the Ukrainian parliament that the director of the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine (NABU), Artem Sytnyk, attempted to influence the 2016 vote to the benefit of Democratic presidential nominee Hillary Clinton.

A State Department spokesman told Hill.TV that officials are aware of news reports regarding Sytnyk.

"We have always emphasized the need for deep, comprehensive, and timely reforms that respond to the demands the Ukrainian people made during the Revolution of Dignity: an end to systemic corruption, faster economic growth, and a European future for all Ukrainians," a State spokesperson told Hill.TV.

"We have consistently said that Ukraine's long-term success and resilience depends on its commitment to reform, in particular the fight to address corruption. To succeed, Ukraine needs committed government officials and strong anti-corruption institutions. The United States is committed to engaging with our partners in Ukraine, including on efforts to roll back the persistent corruption that continues to threaten Ukraine's national security, prosperity, and democratic development."

NABU issued a statement on Friday, calling Lutsenko's comments "not true and is an absurd effort to discredit an independent anti-corruption agency."

Hill.TV has also reached out to the U.S. Embassy in Ukraine and Clinton's spokesperson for comment.

"According to the member of parliament of Ukraine, he got the court decision that the NABU official conducted an illegal intrusion into the American election campaign," Lutsenko said.

"It means that we think Mr. Sytnyk, the NABU director, officially talked about criminal investigation with Mr. [Paul] Manafort, and at the same

time, Mr. Sytnyk stressed that in such a way, he wanted to assist the campaign of Ms. Clinton," he continued.

Solomon asked Lutsenko about reports that a member of Ukraine's parliament obtained a tape of the current head of the NABU saying that he was attempting to help Clinton win the 2016 presidential election, as well as connections that helped release the black-ledger files that exposed Trump campaign chairman Paul Manafort's wrongdoing in Ukraine.

"This member of parliament even attached the audio tape where several men, one of which had a voice similar to the voice of Mr. Sytnyk, discussed the matter."

— Hill.TV Staff

**Official**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

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

**Sent:** Friday, March 22, 2019 3:08 PM

**To:** (b)(6); Kent, George P (b)(6) Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv) (b)(6); Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6) Holmes, David A (Kyiv) (b)(6) Reinert, David "Mike" (Kyiv) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6) Schutte, John P (Kyiv) (b)(6)

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

(b)(6)

---

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

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

A few pieces of social media commentary – reactions to Poroshenko’s remarks, comments by an MP, and an article with commentary from Michael Carpenter.

**MP Zalishchuk:**

It was a fantastic evening yesterday. We gathered to say goodbye to a diplomatic colleague who completed her work in Ukraine. But not [goodbye] to the American ambassador Marie Yovanovitch, about whom there are abundant rumors being spread in the Rada. To the contrary, U.S. Ambassador, as far as I understand, will not only stay, but will stay here longer.

And this is not just a reply to the Prosecutor General's slipup, this is the message to the current and future government that the U.S. won't keep silent and turn a blind eye to corruption.

I wish all of you a good pre-election week.

<https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10218743599451111&set=a.10202770840542121&type=3>

**Censor.net: If Lutsenko cannot present evidence of his claims about Yovanovitch, he should immediately resign – Carpenter**

If Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko cannot produce evidence on the list of "untouchables" that he declared receiving from US Ambassador Marie Yovanovitch, he should immediately resign.

Such a conviction was expressed by the director of the Center for Diplomacy and Global Interaction named after Biden, former U.S. Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Michael Carpenter, reports Censor.

“The Prosecutor General of Ukraine spreads some insidious conspiracy theories about the Clinton campaign - allegedly investigating Manafort was a pro-Clinton strategy (actually restoring justice) - and accuses our ambassador of his inability to resist corruption. If he cannot prove his claims, he must immediately resign, "wrote Carpenter.

**Anti-corruption Action Center:**

Poroshenko about Ambassador Yovanovitch: I'd like to mention the important role of the U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine – Marie Yovanovitch – in advancing U.S.-Ukraine relations. I stress – she as the representative of the United States and the President of the United States Donald Trump, a great friend of Ukraine and great friend of mine, has my full support. – Lutsenko out?

RFE/RL Journalist Chris Miller :

Poroshenko doing damage control: "I'd like to note the important role of US Ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovitch in promoting Ukrainian-American relations. As a representative of the United States and a good friend of Ukraine President Donald Trump, she has my full support."

**Official**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Friday, March 22, 2019 3:00 PM  
**To:** (b)(6) Kent, George P (b)(6) Castillo,  
 Raymond A (Kyiv) (b)(6); Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Holmes, David A (Kyiv) (b)(6) Reinert, David  
 "Mike" (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Schutte, John P (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)

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

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

**Ukrainian MFA speaks out in support of AMB Y (rough translation of an exclusive interview with Ukrinform below).**

**Ukrinform: The Ministry of Foreign Affairs cooperates fruitfully with Ambassador Yovanovitch and is grateful to her team for partnership**

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine fruitfully cooperates with the US Ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovitch and thanks the American diplomat and her team for their contribution to building strategic partnership between our states.

This was stated to Ukrinform by MFA Spokesperson MFA Kateryna Zelenko.

"Pavlo Klimkin maintains excellent relations with the US ambassador, and we also highly appreciate the personal role of Ambassador Marie Yovanovitch and her team in building a strategic partnership between our states," Zelenko said.

She informed that the issues of the statements made by the Prosecutor General, Yuriy Lutsenko, concerning the US ambassador to Ukraine were raised during yesterday's meeting of [Foreign Minister] Pavlo Klimkin with a delegation of American senators and congressmen, and today during an interview with the Western media.

"The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ukraine clearly stated that the US is our strategic ally and friend. He emphasized that we are grateful for the steady support of the United States in countering Russian aggression, strengthening sanctions on the Russian Federation, facilitating reforms in Ukraine and achieving European and Euro-Atlantic standards," emphasized the spokesperson of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

As reported, Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko in an interview with The Hill stated that the US ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovitch gave him a list of people to "not be prosecuted". Lutsenko also said he was investigating interference from Ukraine in the US elections in favor of Clinton.

The State Department of the United States said that the statements of the Attorney General of Ukraine are not true and aim to tarnish the reputation of Ambassador Yovanovitch.

President Petro Poroshenko in his speech at the celebrations on the occasion of the 27th anniversary of the establishment of the Security Service of Ukraine noted the important role of the United States Ambassador to Ukraine, Marie Yovanovitch, in promoting Ukraine-US relations, and stated that she had his full support.

<https://www.ukrinform.ua/rubric-politics/2665250-mzs-plidno-spivpracue-z-poslom-jovanovic-i-vdacne-ii-komandi-za-partnerstvo-zelenko.html>

**Official**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Friday, March 22, 2019 2:12 PM  
**To:** (b)(6); Kent, George P (b)(6)  
 Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv) <CastilloRA@state.gov>; Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Holmes, David A (Kyiv) (b)(6) Reinert, David  
 "Mike" (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Schutte, John P (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)

---

**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>  
**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

+ others in EE

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Friday, March 22, 2019 8:11 AM  
**To:** Kent, George P (b)(6); Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv) <(b)(6)>  
 Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6);

Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6)

(b)(6) Holmes,

David A (Kyiv) (b)(6) Reinert, David "Mike" (Kyiv) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6)

Schutte, John P (Kyiv) (b)(6)

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

(b)(6)

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

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

From Poroshenko's Remarks (translated):

I want to highlight that Ukraine highly appreciates relations with its strategic partner - the U.S. - based on clear bipartisan support. Our relations with Washington have never been so efficient and productive as they are today. As the Head of State I personally contributed great efforts to this and really appreciate this valuable asset of our international policy. In this context, I'd like to mention the important role of the U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine – Marie Yovanovitch – in advancing U.S.-Ukraine relations. I stress – she as the representative of the United States and the President of the United States Donald Trump, a great friend of Ukraine and great friend of mine, has my full support.

Tweet from President Poroshenko's spokesperson (translated):

President: I want to note the important role of the US Ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovitch in promoting Ukrainian-American relations. As the representative of the United States and good friend of Ukraine, President Donald Trump, she has my full support.

**Official - SBU**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Friday, March 22, 2019 2:01 PM  
**To:** Kent, George P (b)(6); Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv) (b)(6);  
Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6);  
Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6);  
(b)(6); Holmes,  
David A (Kyiv) (b)(6); Reinert, David "Mike" (Kyiv) (b)(6);  
(b)(6);  
Schutte, John P (Kyiv) (b)(6);  
Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6);  
(b)(6);  
**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>  
**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

FYI for Washington – we should have exact wording for you shortly...

President Poroshenko has just publicly voiced his support of Ambassador Yovanovitch. Speaking at the event dedicated to SBU’s 27<sup>th</sup> anniversary, he said that Ambassador Yovanovitch plays extremely important role in development of Ukraine – U.S. relationship, that she represents the United States of America and President Trump, who is a great friend of Ukraine, and that she can count on his full support.

**Official - SBU**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Friday, March 22, 2019 1:10 PM  
**To:** Kent, George P (b)(6); Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv) (b)(6);  
Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6);  
Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6);  
(b)(6); Holmes,  
David A (Kyiv) (b)(6); Reinert, David "Mike" (Kyiv) (b)(6);  
(b)(6);  
Schutte, John P (Kyiv) (b)(6);  
Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6)

(b)(6)

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

Subject: RE: Reactions to Hill Article

Yesterday I circulated some content from Hannity's program. It appears Hannity also discussed this issue with a couple of guests (former assistant deputy attorney general Victoria Toensing, former attorney Joe DiGenova, and John Solomon of The Hill) on Fox News on 3/20. Below is a summary of that discussion I found on swampdrain.com. (The link to the article below and in the article is the video clip from Fox.)

<https://swampdrain.com/2019/03/21/digenova-unveils-us-ambassadors-dirty-tricks-as-ukrainian-anti-trump-efforts-get-exposed/>

## DiGenova Unveils US Ambassador's Dirty Tricks As Ukrainian Anti-Trump Efforts Get Exposed

On Wednesday, John Solomon of *The Hill*, former attorney Joe DiGenova, and former assistant deputy attorney general, Victoria Toensing, joined host Sean Hannity on *Fox News*.

This comes after Ukrainian Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko said he opened an investigation into alleged attempts by Ukrainians to interfere in the United States' 2016 presidential election on behalf of Hillary Clinton.

In an interview that aired Wednesday with The Hill's TV, John Solomon Lutsenko said, "today we will launch a criminal investigation about this and we will give legal assessment of this information."

The probe is based on a claim from a member of the Ukrainian parliament that the director of the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine (NABU), Artem Sytnyk, was working to benefit Clinton in the 2016 presidential election, per Sara Carter.

Lutsenko told Solomon the parliament member “got the court decision that the NABU official conducted an illegal intrusion into the American election campaign.”

“It means that we think Mr. Sytnyk, the NABU director, officially talked about criminal investigation with Mr. [Paul] Manafort, and at the same time, Mr. Sytnyk stressed that in such a way, he wanted to assist the campaign of Ms. Clinton,” Lutsenko said.

Solomon told Hannity that Lutsenko said during their interview, “There’s enough evidence to open up a criminal investigation into the illicit effort by a Ukrainian to try and influence the United States election in favor of Hillary Clinton.” He added, “That’s a profound statement coming from the top law enforcement of Ukraine.”

Solomon explained that it’s important, because there’s a court in Ukraine that’s already concluded that Ukrainian officials leaked Paul Manafort’s financial records to try to sway the U.S. election.

He further revealed that a parliamentary member has said to having a tape of law enforcement officials admitting that “they did it to help Hillary Clinton.”

When asked how Mueller can look in the mirror and call his investigation “fair” after all the evidence is stacked up against the FBI, DOJ, Hillary Clinton, and Democrats with *no* Trump-Russia collusion, Joe DiGenova said, “I don’t know how it can be called a fair investigation for that very reason. It is quite obvious there were crimes committed with people associated within the Clinton campaign with the Democratic National Committee, with Fusion GPS and other people.”

DiGenova continued, “Here’s the thing that’s really changing: now we know that not only was there Russian collusion through Fusion GPS and through [Christopher Steele], but now we know the Ukrainian officials were deeply involved in trying to help Hillary Clinton through this.”

He added, “And we also now know that the current United States Ambassador, Marie Yovanovitch, has bad mouthed the President of the United States to Ukrainian officials and has told them to not listen or worry about Trump policy because he’s going to be impeached.”

“This woman needs to be called home for consultation!” DiGenova declared.

When asked if Attorney General Bill Barr will do his job, DiGenova and Toensing resoundingly agreed he would. “Yes, without any doubt.”

**Official - SBU**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Friday, March 22, 2019 12:54 PM  
**To:** Kent, George P (b)(6); Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv) (b)(6);  
Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6);  
Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6);  
(b)(6); Holmes,  
David A (Kyiv) (b)(6); Reinert, David "Mike" (Kyiv) (b)(6);  
(b)(6);  
Schutte, John P (Kyiv) (b)(6);  
Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6);  
(b)(6);  
**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>  
**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

Here are a few Ukrainian social media reactions from today, plus a longer statement from the Anti Corruption Action Center website:

**Tetyana Danylenko, ZIK reporter:**

This whole story of how Ukraine initially supported Democrats, indecently “drowned” [the reputation] of Trump, and for each step got “agreement” of Marie Yovanovitch, and then squeezed out blackmail for their friends to support the same Trump - that was

about the country-idiot [Ukraine]. The world is already afraid to have a deal with Ukraine, because everyone is throwing each other under the bus here. Our reputation is frightening not only to civilized countries, but also to the third world countries, who compared to Ukraine feel decent and adequate. Moreover, "ours" [*hinting at authorities*] are sincerely asking "what is extraordinary here?" - everyone cares about their own national interests. And this is true. But not everyone steals forks and grunt while eating salad at a diplomatic reception.

**Volodymyr Boiko, journalist:**

The U.S. Department of State is outraged by the story of General Prosecutor Yuriy Lutsenko in an interview with the American television channel Hill.TV about how soon after her appointment as U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine, Marie Yovanovitch handed over to him a list of persons whom the Ukrainian authorities under no circumstances should never prosecute. Since in this list, which, as we now know from the statement of the State Department, never existed, were the names of MP Sergey Leshchenko and the head of the Department of Special Investigations Sergey Gorbatyuk, and here is my post published two years ago.

I remind the plot: in 2016, the Trump campaign was headed by well-known Paul Manafort and the then FBI representative in Ukraine Karen Greenaway, in order to compromise Trump, handed to Artem Sytnyk for publication on the NABU website excerpts from the "Black bookkeeping of Party of Regions" where there was information about illegal payments to Manafort. And in order to somehow explain why Sytnyk had "Black bookkeeping of Party of Regions" the then deputy U.S. ambassador (now Deputy Assistant Secretary of State) George Kent instructed MP Sergei Leshchenko and the first deputy head of the SBU Viktor Trepak to do the dirty work (Trepak at that time was already put into use and was preparing to leave the SBU, since it was documented in specific relations with the U.S. embassy). So, Leshchenko, publishing parts from the "black bookkeeping" in "Ukrainska Pravda", did not even wonder what exactly he was distributing, and after reading his own publication he realized that among the recipients of the "black cache" from the Party of Regions, was also the editorial staff of Ukrainska Pravda.

I hope Sergey Gorbatyuk, whose name is not on the list of Yovanovich (as we now know, such a list never existed), will immediately trigger the interrogation of Sergei Leshchenko, who also never used the protection of the American Embassy, and detain citizen Pytula [owner of Ukrainska Pravda] together with her PR Agency under the name "Ukrainska Pravda"

**Oleskandr Sushko, foundation Vidrodzennya, political expert:**

Lutsenko did an incredible disservice to the president at the most unfortunate moment. In addition, some say this was done with the knowledge of the president himself or his associates or consultants.

The clumsy attempt to interfere in the American infighting as if on Trump's side is now a bigger mistake than that, in 2016, an attempt (more made up than real) to help Clinton's victory. Because now the elections are here and not there. And the U.S. is a key strategic partner.

Worst of all, if we were a victim of the game of American players and their messengers-consultants who could offer to "help Trump" to get the perpetrators of the Manafort case in exchange for carte blanche to get even with Sytnik and "circle of friends" of the current U.S. ambassador. Then in the USA the number of those who consider Ukraine as a basket case will get larger. And then the surprise for us will be that the next ambassador will have the same circle of friends ...

The one who advises Lutsenko on international relations, receives the Darwin Prize. Unfortunately, this may also affect the "natural selection" of higher officials. Did you want the best? *[aimed at Lutsenko, asking if he really wished the best for Ukraine when giving this interview]*

And Ambassador Yovanovitch will be really replaced. But this will be done not immediately, and not in connection with the Manafort case and Lutsenko's denunciations - and in the order of routine rotation - and the new ambassador will arrive, as expected, at the end of summer or in the fall of this year.

#### **Vitaly Shabunin, Anticorruption Action Center:**

The only document that the prosecutor provided to journalists in support of his words about the list of "untouchables" - was signed long before the appointment of Marie Yovanovitch and it was regarding the fabricated case, which at one time Lutsenko himself acknowledged as such <http://bit.ly/2JxBR43>.

Yuriy Lutsenko – you are, excuse me, a fairy-fool. You really wanted to sell the "conspiracy theory" in the U.S., based on this letter and "Rosenblat Records" (Rosenblat, Carl!)?

Let me remind you that the only source of " NABU's Director words" for helping Clinton are the records published by Rosenblat.

#### **Anti-corruption Action Center Website: Chronology Problems: Lutsenko told a lie, accusing the U.S. Ambassador**

The American publication TheHill has published a letter from the U.S. Embassy to the General Prosecutor's Office of Ukraine, which told journalists Yuriy Lutsenko has proof that the U.S. ambassador Marie Yovanovitch during her first meeting with him indicated which people should not be prosecuted.

This is the only document that the prosecutor has provided to journalists in support of his words about the so-called list of "untouchables". However, it was signed long before

- the appointment of Marie Yovanovitch and concerned a fabricated case, which at one time himself Lutsenko recognized.

Prosecutor General Lutsenko told a lie in his interview with TheHill. Let's recreate the chronology and explain why.

On March 16, 2016, the so-called Department of Kononenko-Granovsky began criminal proceedings for alleged theft by the Anti-corruption Action Center of funds that the organization did not even receive.

Investigators were looking for \$ 4.4 million dollars of American taxpayers which, according to their version, had to go for the reform of the GPU.

Already on March 22, the investigators of the General Prosecutor's Office actually misled the court regarding the allocation of these funds to the Criminal Code and received permission to access the accounts of the organization, and later its counterparts. As a result, the Anti-corruption action Center was compelled to file a statement on the crime of investigators and prosecutors in this case. At that time, the GPU was not worried about the lack of any claims by the U.S. government regarding the disappearance of US taxpayer funds in Ukraine.

Since the Anti-corruption action Center has never been involved in the reform of the prosecutor's office, this criminal proceeding was a common denominator for investigators to obtain access to bank accounts, transactions, financial and accounting documents of the organization.

On April 4, 2016, the Deputy Head of Mission of the U.S. Embassy, George Kent, sent a letter to Deputy Prosecutor General Yuri Stolyarchuk on behalf of then Ambassador Geoffrey Pyatt explaining the fake case of stealing money for the GPU reform. This letter was handed over to American journalists by Lutsenko in March 2019. [pic of the letter]

Even after these official confirmations from the U.S. government that no funds had disappeared, the General Prosecutor's Office continued investigating actions against the Anti-Corruption Action Center, and two days before the closure of the proceedings, it received 11 more decisions on temporary access to the documents of the organization, its counterparts and donors.

Deputy of the Prosecutor General Viktor Shokin, Yuri Stolyarchuk, even stated that he intended to interrogate the then Ambassador Geoffrey Pyatt in this case.

On May 12, 2016, Yuriy Lutsenko was appointed general prosecutor. Speaking at the Verkhovna Rada on the same day, Lutsenko said that the cases against the Anti-Corruption Action Center are "such grave nonsense that they simply disgrace the Prosecutor General's Office of Ukraine."

On May 30, 2016, the case was closed in the GPU because of the absence of a crime.

On August 29, 2016, Marie Yovanovitch presented credentials and embarked on the duties of the U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine.

That is, the first meeting of Ambassador Yovanovitch with Prosecutor General Lutsenko could not take place earlier than August 29, 2016, when a "grave nonsense" criminal proceeding, which "disgraced the General Prosecutor's Office of Ukraine", had already been closed.

**Official**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

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

**Sent:** Friday, March 22, 2019 12:20 PM

**To:** (b)(6) Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv)

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

(b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6); Holmes, David A (Kyiv) (b)(6) Reinert, David

"Mike" (Kyiv) (b)(6)

(b)(6)

(b)(6) Schutte, John P (Kyiv) (b)(6)

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

(b)(6)

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

**Subject:** Re: Reactions to Hill Article

Thanks very much (b)(6) and team for these early heads up, particularly amplification in US media overnight. Very useful.

---

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

**Sent:** Friday, March 22, 2019 6:10 AM

**To:** Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv); Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv); (b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L

(b)(6) Holmes, David A (Kyiv); Reinert,  
 David "Mike" (Kyiv); (b)(6) Kent, George P; (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Schutte, John P (Kyiv); (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)

**Cc:** EUR-Press

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

A few updates:

- For those in Washington who haven't already seen it – below is a transcript of National Anti-Corruption Bureau (NABU) Head Sytnyk's video in which he comments on audio leaks / election interference.
- Below I've pasted articles published by both Rush Limbaugh's website and Brietbart yesterday about Lutsenko (both focus on a Clinton-Ukraine connection, rather than the U.S. Embassy)
- This morning, we tweeted about concerns relating to Naftogaz (unrelated to the Lutsenko story, obviously, but prominent media outlet Ukrainska Pravda retweeted us with a message that's hard to translate word-for-word into English but basically indicates "we don't know about Lutsenko's list, but here the U.S. Embassy is openly expressing its positions" [in contrast to how Lutsenko alleges the Embassy operates]

**NABU Video Transcript:**

NABU posted a video of Sytnyk commenting on the audio leaks - [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r5\\_MRvL04D4](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r5_MRvL04D4). Here's a google translation of the transcript:

"We are currently seeing absurd speculations and incorrect interpretations of what seems to be my intervention in the 2016 US presidential election.

I officially declare.

The United States Government in general and the US Embassy in Ukraine, in particular, have always supported Ukraine and NABU as an institution.

On the part of our international partners who, even in the most difficult times, were standing side by side with the Bureau, much was done to combat corruption in Ukraine. I am particularly grateful to the US ambassadors who have lived with NABU all the way to our formation: Geoffrey Pyatt and Marie Yovanovitch.

I made a mistake.

During a personal, private, friendly conversation that took place in 2019, I jokingly recalled the popularity of the media about allegedly interfering in the 2016 US presidential campaign.

I am ready to confirm my words and give testimonials to United States authorized persons on this matter. After all, I deeply appreciate the trust and support of our international partners.

And I have nothing to hide.

Over the past four years, the National Bureau has repeatedly argued that it is an apolitical law enforcement body that brings criminal responsibility to senior officials. It was with the advent of NABU that Ukraine, for the first time in its independence, witnessed the arrests and arrests of top officials previously considered "intact". But even under such circumstances it is difficult to imagine a situation where a newly established law enforcement agency in the country after the revolution could somehow influence the elections in the United States of America.

The competence of NABU is to expose and prosecute Ukrainian top officials. Therefore, no evidence of Paul Manafort's illegal activity was detected by NABU detectives, and they were not transmitted as it was beyond the competence of the National Bureau.

I emphasize that neither I, the Director nor the National Bureau, as a state law enforcement agency, had any influence or influence on the election of the President of the United States.”

### **Rush Limbaugh’s Website: Ukrainians Investigate Hillary Clinton Collusion**

RUSH: [“TheHill.com: Ukrainian Prosecutor Investigating Alleged Plot To Aid Hillary Clinton.”](#) This story you will not see in the Drive-By Media. There are two versions of this, one by Sara Carter and the other is by John Solomon. “Ukrainian Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko said he opened an investigation into alleged attempts by Ukrainians to interfere in the United States’ 2016 presidential election on behalf of Hillary Clinton.”

Would this not be the piece de — there wasn’t any Russian collusion with Trump. What if there actually was Ukrainian collusion with Hillary? And it makes sense because the Ukrainians hate Putin! The Ukrainians despise Putin, and they don’t have a whole lot of love for Putin’s Russia. And so the Ukrainians colluding with Hillary, they would do this because the assumption they would make is that Putin wants no part of Hillary. I don’t know about any of that.

But wouldn’t this just be amazing. “In an interview that aired Wednesday with The Hill’s TV, John Solomon Lutsenko said, ‘today we will launch a criminal investigation about this and we will give legal assessment of this information.’”

Here’s Solomon’s story. He reports that “Ukraine’s top prosecutor has opened an investigation into whether his country’s law enforcement apparatus intentionally leaked”

Paul Manafort’s financial records in order to help Hillary win in 2016. That, by the way, is the dirt that led to Manafort leaving the Trump campaign.

Let me go over this again. We’re kind of in a lighthearted, jocular mood here today in spurts, but this deserves some serious explanation. And by the, the headline that’s attached here to John Solomon’s story: [“As Russia Collusion Fades, Ukrainian Plot to Help Clinton Emerges.”](#) So we’re back to is Russian collusion really fading? There wasn’t — don’t misunderstand. There wasn’t any. But is that really what the Mueller report is gonna say?

So many leaks, so much lowering of expectations about this. And I just know how much people try to manipulate us on the left, the Democrat Party. But then again we got Trump out there suggesting that he thinks this report ought to be made public, which would tend to indicate that he’s not worried about it, and so he maybe not be worried about it because he’s been given a heads-up. He says he doesn’t know what’s in it.

But, anyway, let's look at this. "Ukraine's top prosecutor divulged in an interview aired Wednesday on Hill.TV that he has opened an investigation into whether his country's law enforcement apparatus intentionally leaked financial records during the 2016 U.S. presidential campaign about then-Trump campaign chairman Paul Manafort in an effort to sway the election in favor of Hillary Clinton.

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

This dirt is what did in fact lead to Manafort leaving the Trump campaign. And it's what led to Manafort being investigated by Mueller. By the way, not a single lawmaker was contacted by the FBI or the CIA about the Ukraine government being involved in our election this way. It really isn't anything new, it's just being reported here for the first time.

Solomon got his mitts on it. But the FBI, CIA, nobody there was contacted about the possible Ukrainian collusion with the Clinton campaign. And that's an amazing contrast, is it not, compared to how the FBI and CIA warned a number of lawmakers about Trump's possible collusion with Russia, which never happened?

But they weren't out there warning politicians, hey, be very wary the Ukrainians are trying to interfere in the election. Nobody was warned of that when was it happening! You know, we actually first heard about what Ukraine did to help Hillary back in January 2017. We pointed out then that there was a huge article, it was a hundred paragraphs that carefully detailed the work done by the Ukrainian operatives to undermine Trump in order to help Hillary, including giving the Democrat National Committee dirt on Manafort. Nobody has even denied that all of this happened, yet there's been no outrage at a foreign government interfering in our election. There wasn't even any Drive-By Media coverage of this story.

Here it is. January 11, 2017, archives of The Politico. "[Ukrainian Efforts to Sabotage Trump Backfire.](#)" I don't expect you remember us talking about this, but I remember the story because it was the exact antithesis of what the American people have been told for two years.

"Donald Trump wasn't the only presidential candidate whose campaign was boosted by officials of a former Soviet bloc country. Ukrainian government officials tried to help Hillary Clinton and undermine Trump by publicly questioning his fitness for office. They also disseminated documents implicating a top Trump aide," Paul Manafort. "And they helped Clinton's allies research damaging information on Trump and his advisers, a Politico investigation found."

But the story ran in The Politico and nowhere else. January 2017. This is about 10 days before Trump is inaugurated and this story surfaces. And that's the story that Solomon and Sara Carter are zeroing back to today. And we'll see where this goes.

<https://www.rushlimbaugh.com/daily/2019/03/21/ukrainians-investigate-hillary-clinton-collusion-2/>

**Report: Ukraine Probing U.S. Election Interference by Local Officials on Behalf of Hillary Clinton**

**Ukraine has opened a probe into alleged attempts by domestic government officials to interfere in the 2016 presidential elections in the United States to boost Democrat candidate Hillary Clinton's chance of winning, the Eastern European nation's top prosecutor told the *Hill* in an interview aired on Wednesday.**

"Today we will launch a criminal investigation about this and we will give legal assessment of this information," Ukrainian Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko told the *Hill's* John Solomon.

The top prosecutor is reportedly investigating a claim from a local member of parliament (MP) that the director of the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine (NABU), Artem Sytnyk, attempted to interfere in the 2016 presidential election in the United States to skew the results in favor of Hillary Clinton

"According to the member of parliament of Ukraine, he got the court decision that the NABU official conducted an illegal intrusion into the American election campaign," the top prosecutor proclaimed.

"This member of parliament even attached the audio tape where several men, one of which had a voice similar to the voice of Mr. Sytnyk, discussed the matter," he later added.

In an editorial published by the *Hill* Wednesday, Solomon noted that as the Trump-Russia collusion investigations fade, the Ukrainian prosecutor's probe will focus on "whether his country's law enforcement apparatus intentionally leaked financial records during the 2016 U.S. presidential campaign about then-Trump campaign chairman Paul Manafort in an effort to sway the election in favor of Hillary Clinton."

A spokesperson for the U.S. Department of State (DOS) confirmed that President Donald Trump's administration is aware of the news reports about Sytnyk attempting to prop up Clinton during the 2016 elections.

The DOS spokesperson told the *Hill*:

We have always emphasized the need for deep, comprehensive, and timely reforms that respond to the demands the Ukrainian people made during the Revolution of Dignity: an end to systemic corruption, faster economic growth, and a European future for all Ukrainians.

We have consistently said that Ukraine's long-term success and resilience depends on its commitment to reform, in particular the fight to address corruption. To succeed, Ukraine needs committed government officials and strong anti-corruption institutions.

The United States is committed to engaging with our partners in Ukraine, including on efforts to roll back the persistent corruption that continues to threaten Ukraine's national security, prosperity, and democratic development.

The top Ukrainian prosecutor's bombshell revelation comes amid various investigations into alleged collusion between the Trump presidential campaign and Russia that so far have failed to find any evidence of the alleged offense. A bipartisan investigation by the Senate and a more partisan one by the then-Republican-led House have found no evidence of collusion.

The American public is still waiting for the most high profile probe into the Trump campaign's relationship with Russia — the investigation led by special counsel Robert Mueller, which the president has dismissed as a witch hunt.

"Mueller is expected to present a report to the Justice Department any day now outlining the findings of his nearly two-year investigation into Russian election meddling, possible collusion with Trump campaign officials and possible obstruction of justice by Trump," the Associated Press (AP) reported Thursday.

On Wednesday, President Trump told reporters he is looking forward to perusing the report's findings, declaring that he also believes the conclusions should be made public.

"Let it come out, let people see it," the American commander-in-chief declared. "Let's see whether or not it's legit."

Several days before then President-elect Trump was inaugurated, *Politico* broke the story about the alleged Ukrainian ploy to benefit Hillary Clinton, revealing in January 2017:

Ukrainian government officials tried to help Hillary Clinton and undermine Trump by publicly questioning his fitness for office. They also disseminated documents implicating a top Trump aide in corruption and suggested they were investigating the matter, only to back away after the election. And they helped Clinton's allies research damaging information on Trump and his advisers, a Politico investigation found.

*Politico* found that Lutsenko is not the only Ukrainian official willing to investigate the relationship between Clinton and Ukrainian officials.

Andrei Derkach, an independent Ukrainian lawmaker who was formerly aligned with a pro-Russian party, has also urged the country's prosecutor general to "launch a pretrial investigation into 'illegal interference in the election of President of the United States organized by a criminal organization,'" *Politico* reported. "This organization, he said, consisted of senior members of the country's National Anti-Corruption Bureau, government officials, and other public figures."

Since 2014, Russia-backed militants and the Ukrainian military have been fighting a war that has killed up to 13,000 people and injured at least 27,000 others, according to the United Nations

In October 2017, the *Hill's* Solomon and Alison Spann shed light on allegations that Clinton facilitated the sale of 20 percent of U.S. domestic uranium production to Russia under the administration of former U.S. President Barack Obama.

<https://www.breitbart.com/national-security/2019/03/21/report-ukraine-probing-u-s-election-interference-by-local-officials-on-behalf-of-hillary-clinton/>

**Official - SBU**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 21, 2019 9:02 PM  
**To:** Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv) (b)(6); Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6); Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Holmes, David A (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6) Reinert, David "Mike" (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Kent, George P (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Schutte, John P (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6); Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>  
**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

Associated Press report: Ukraine, US bicker over corruption fight ahead of election

KIEV, Ukraine (AP) — Ukraine and the United States are having a diplomatic spat after Washington criticized the Ukrainian government’s anti-corruption efforts ahead of the nation’s March 31 presidential election.

Ukraine’s Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko claimed in an interview with The Hill TV aired Wednesday that U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovitch gave him a list of people who should not be prosecuted. He said he rejected the demand.

The U.S. State Department on Thursday dismissed Lutsenko’s claim as false.

The dispute came days after Yovanovitch scathingly criticized Ukraine's record on fighting corruption. She called for the firing of Ukraine's special anti-corruption prosecutor, who has been accused of helping suspects avoid corruption charges.

<https://apnews.com/9bbfcc6ba8e47e0a0398b6656e30116>

---

**From:** Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
**Date:** March 21, 2019 at 8:07:36 PM GMT+2  
**To:** Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Holmes, David A (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 Reinert, David "Mike" (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 Kent, George P <(b)(6)>  
 (b)(6) Schutte,  
 John P (Kyiv) (b)(6) Kyiv EXEC  
 <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>, (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>  
**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

Apologies folks (and thanks (b)(6) the expected Chris Miller, RFE/RL article; note that EUR-Press just sent him the updated statement. He may update the story, too.

U.S. Rejects Top Ukrainian Prosecutor's 'Don't Prosecute' Accusation

By RFE/RL

March 21, 2019 16:59 GMT

The U.S. State Department has dismissed a reported claim by Ukrainian Prosecutor-General Yuriy Lutsenko that U.S. Ambassador Marie Yovanovitch gave him "a list of people whom we should not prosecute."

The back-and-forth comes less than two weeks ahead of a Ukrainian presidential election in which challengers have sought to paint incumbent Petro Poroshenko as failing to combat corruption and abuses of power since taking office in mid-2014.

"The statement of Ukraine's prosecutor-general does not correspond to reality and is meant to weaken the reputation of Ambassador Yovanovitch," the State Department said.

Lutsenko's assertion came in an interview broadcast by The Hill's TV arm on March 20.

Lutsenko also reportedly told The Hill's John Solomon that Ukrainian authorities would "launch a criminal investigation" into whether Ukrainians sought to interfere in the U.S. election in 2016.

The question of Kyiv's actions in the run-up to Donald Trump's election as president took on added significance with former Trump campaign manager Paul Manafort's U.S. prosecution in part for advisory work he did in Ukraine.

On March 20, Trump cited Solomon in a tweet repeating the allegation that Ukrainians had tried to "help" his Democratic opponent, Hillary Clinton, in 2016.

[Donald J. Trump](#)

[@realDonaldTrump](#)

"John Solomon: As Russia Collusion fades, Ukrainian plot to help Clinton emerges."

[@seanhannity](#) [@FoxNews](#)

62K 4:40 AM - Mar 21, 2019

Poroshenko's administration was caught off-guard by Trump's election two years ago and pivoted abruptly to downplay perceived criticisms from Ukrainian officials of Trump during the campaign.

Kyiv has tried hard to maintain Western diplomatic and financial support as a simmering conflict continues in eastern Ukraine against Russia-backed separatists.

Lutsenko, a former interior minister who served jail time for charges that he and European officials described as politically motivated before a presidential pardon freed him in 2013, has served as an adviser to Poroshenko and is widely seen as the president's staunch political ally.

He was named prosecutor-general in 2016 despite having no law degree -- forcing parliament to amend legislation before approving his nomination.

He has since faced repeated calls from critics for his dismissal, and even announced his resignation as recently as November 2018.

In the halls of Ukraine's parliament after the reports of Lutsenko's comments about the U.S. ambassador, deputy speaker Oksana Syroyid said Poroshenko should either receive written, documented confirmation backing up the prosecutor-general's claim or fire Lutsenko.

"President Poroshenko this morning can only have [one of] two documents: either one substantiating the claim of Prosecutor-General Lutsenko or his submission to parliament that Lutsenko be dismissed as Ukraine's prosecutor-general," she said.

Lutsenko told Hill.TV that "from the first meeting with the U.S. ambassador in Kyiv, [Yovanovitch] gave me a list of people whom we should not prosecute," adding that such a thing was "inadmissible."

The State Department reportedly called the assertion "an outright fabrication."

Polls consistently show Poroshenko trailing comic and TV president Volodymyr Zelenskyy and neck-and-neck with former Prime Minister Yulia Tymoshenko ahead of the March 31 vote, which will go to a two-candidate runoff in April if no one surpasses 50 percent.

Yovanovitch in a recent speech was blunt in her criticism of Kyiv's anticorruption efforts, one of the key criteria for billions of dollars in lending from international institutions since the eastern Ukrainian conflict broke out in early 2014.

Yovanovitch also said that the chief of Ukraine's Special Anticorruption Prosecutor's Office, Nazar Kholodnytskyy, should be replaced to ensure the integrity of the anticorruption institutions.

Kholodnytskyy has been embroiled in a corruption scandal over allegations that he helped officials suspected of corruption evade prosecution.

**Official - SBU**

UNCLASSIFIED

**Official - SBU**

UNCLASSIFIED

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 21, 2019 11:27 AM  
**To:** (b)(6); Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 <(b)(6)>; Holmes,  
 David A (Kyiv) (b)(6); Reinert, David "Mike" (Kyiv) (b)(6)

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

Kent, George P <(b)(6)>

(b)(6)

Schutte, John P (Kyiv) (b)(6)

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

(b)(6)

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

**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

Latest post from MP Mustafa Nayyem (rough translation):

Besides the political aspect of the question, this absurdity, there is also a legal component. The ambassador of the foreign state enters the office of the Attorney General and submits to him a list of untouchables, with the requirement not to expose them to prosecution.

If this is true, and Yuri Lutsenko does not deceive us, the above-mentioned actions of the US ambassador to Ukraine fall within the scope of Article 343 of the Criminal Code in relation to "interference in the activities of a law enforcement officer".

In other words, the ambassador committed or attempted to commit an offense against the principal procedural person of the country. And according to the laws of Ukraine, Yuriy Lutsenko was obliged to go to the law enforcement agencies with a statement on the crime, to hand over to the investigators all the evidence available to him and how the Prosecutor General would obtain an appropriate investigation, and then legally obtain the expulsion of the ambassador from the country.

In addition, Part 6 of Art. 16 of the Law of Ukraine "On Prosecutor's Office" gives the right to any prosecutor, in the event of a threat to his independence, to appeal to the Board of Prosecutors and to demand that measures be taken without delay to eliminate the threat.

And in fact, it is unknown, whether Yuri Lutsenko did exactly that. Sent him a request to provide relevant information. And at the same time, to transmit a copy of the list of Marie Yovanovitch. I think we have the right to know who the US embassy is "protecting" (*krisha* term used here) and what should the Prosecutor General do in order to withstand this pressure.

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

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 21, 2019 5:11 PM  
**To:** (b)(6) Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6); (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) (b)(6) (b)(6); Holmes,  
 David A (Kyiv) (b)(6) Reinert, David "Mike" (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 Kent, George P (b)(6) (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 Schutte, John P (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>  
**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

In this update:

- National Corps comments

**Journalist Oleksiy Kuzmenko on Twitter:** Leader of far-right the National Corps (“nationalist hate group” per @StateDept report) party in Ukraine Biletsky brings up Lutsenko’s allegations - that the US Ambassador meddled in his work - to make own point against “colonialism”

**Biletsky of National Corps – posted on Telegram (rough translation):** The US Ambassador allegedly gave Lutsenko ‘a do-not-prosecute’ list of people in Ukraine, because they represent the interests of the same USA. Anti-corruption prosecutor Holodnitsky provides testimony about head of NABU Sytnyk to the Americans. The testimony about how Sytnyk worked for the U.S. elections in the interests of the American Democrats. Who, in their turn, put Sytnyk as the head of NABU.

In all of this, I cannot understand one thing: where is Ukraine here and the Ukrainian interests?

Poroshenko’s logo "We paddle our own canoe" means, in fact, direct external (foreign) administration. I think that the Ukrainians have made tremendous sacrifices during the

Revolution and at War not for sake of replacing a Russian overlord with an American one. We have fought and continue fighting for a free, great country. The country that is a leader, but not a semi-colony of the East or the West.

An overlord may be needed for a dog, but not for a human being, and moreover for the people. A Little Russian is not the one who sees his/her overlord to be from Russia, but also the one who seeks his/her overlord to be from outside of Ukraine.

**Official - SBU**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 21, 2019 4:48 PM  
**To:** (b)(6) Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) (b)(6) (b)(6) Holmes,  
 David A (Kyiv) (b)(6) Reinert, David "Mike" (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 Kent, George P (b)(6) (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 Schutte, John P (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>; (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>  
**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

A few updates:

- More Ukrainian outlets are reporting based on the expanded NSC-cleared talking points (rather than on the more abbreviated points used in The Hill's article)
- Social media post from MP Svitlana Zalizhchuk criticizing Lutsenko and Poroshenko
- One article notes that Lutsenko's statement coincided with the arrival of CODEL Crapo.

**General Note on Ukrainian Media Coverage:**

We are seeing more Ukrainian outlets picking up Washington's broader talking points on this issue (the ones cleared by the NSC, rather than the earlier version provided to the Hill). Ukrainian outlets publishing articles this afternoon with the newer talking points include:

[UkrPravda](#), [Interfax](#), [VOA Ukraine](#), [Glavcom](#), [112](#), [UMoloda](#), [Vesti-Ukr](#)

#### **MP Svitlana Zalishchuk:**

One could expect such a statement from the Russian Prosecutor General. The creation of an external enemy has always been an effective means of mobilizing the electorate. But here we are dealing with dangerous geopolitical schizophrenia, when along with Russian aggressors, the American Ambassador becomes an enemy as she appears to be prohibiting the investigation of corruption. What threat does he pose? A complete discrediting of the Ukrainian authorities as a reliable partner for international friends.

Why does Lutsenko need it? In fact, one must understand that this is not Lutsenko's personal creativity, but a coordinated campaign with Poroshenko. His main goal is a knockout of NABU's head [Sytnyk]. It did not work out through a manual auditor, there was not enough compromise, and on the background of questions to NABU on the investigation of Gladkovskiy - it's a very convenient moment now. This is the first.

And the second. With Lutsenko's hands the President tries to neutralize American criticism of the corruption in the Ukrainian government and also reinforces the image of "enemies of Ukrainian government" among opposition politicians and civic activists.

Poroshenko thinks that all this old school [political game] brilliantly clears the road for him to the 2nd term. But the problem is that the president does not notice how he goes through the stage of internal Putinization [adoption of Putin's features, copying Putin]. And it has every chance to become a prism, through which the international community will look at Ukraine.

#### **Lutsenko – CODEL Crapo Timing:**

Below is an article that notes the timing of Lutsenko's statement coincides with the arrival of CODEL Crapo (the full article is below, and I've highlighted the portion where the CODEL reference begins).

**DSNews: List of untouchables. How Lutsenko's war with Yovanovitch would affect Ukraine**

Vladislav GIRMAN

Reviewer

Thursday March 21, 2019 2:00 p.m.

<http://www.dsnews.ua/politics/kapitoliy-nam-pripomnit-chem-grozit-ukraine-ataka-lutsenko-21032019220000>

*In the US, presidents come and go, but the establishment will remember how Kiev scammed it twice in three years*

11 days before the presidential elections in Ukraine, after the United States imposed sanctions on Russia for its aggression in the Kerch Strait and increased military assistance in 2020 US defense budget up to \$250 million, Kiev decided to shoot itself in the leg. Prosecutor General Yury Lutsenko said that the US Ambassador Marie Yovanovitch during their first meeting, gave him a list of persons whom the GPU should not prosecute.

"Unfortunately, during the first meeting with the US ambassador in Kyiv (Yovanovitch), she gave me a list of people whom we should not bring to justice. My answer to this is - unacceptable. No one in this country, neither our president, nor our parliament, nor our ambassador, will not prevent me from investigating whether a crime is taking place," Lutsenko said last week in an interview with the influential American publication The Hill, which was published on Wednesday, March 20.

The head of the GPU did not disclose the names from the list. His speaker Larisa Sargan only clarified in an interview with BBC Ukraine that the list contained the names of some of the deputies. Which ones? The list of Ukrainian politicians and officials who enjoy the support of the US Embassy is not a big secret for anyone in Ukraine.

In addition, the Prosecutor General complained that his department did not receive \$ 4 million of US technical assistance, again hinting at some confrontation with the diplomatic mission, more precisely, even directly with the head of this embassy, as well as at the embassy's opacity. Quote: "At that time (Yovanovitch) believed that our interviews with Ukrainian citizens, Ukrainian government officials, who were frequent visitors to the American embassy, cast a shadow on the anti-corruption policy."

"Actually," says Lutsenko in an interview, "we received a letter from the Ambassador that the money we are talking about was under the complete control of the US embassy and that the US embassy did not require our legal assessment of these facts. The situation was rather strange, as the funds we are talking about were intended for the Attorney General's Office, and we told [them] that we had never seen it, and the US Embassy replied that there was no problem. "

U.S. reaction

The State Department did not hesitate with the answer. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs called the accusations "frank falsification." At the same time, the representative of the State Department stressed that he is not cooperating on anything with the GPU at the moment because of the lack of political will to carry out real reforms. Yes, earlier "they tried to support the fundamental reform of the justice sector, including in the GPU," but it did not work out. Therefore, they say in the State Department, "we took responsibility before the American taxpayers and redirected assistance to more productive projects."

A similar statement was published by the US Embassy, stressing that Lutsenko is trying to damage the reputation of Yovanovitch and such accusations against representatives of the United States "are a manifestation of corruption." At the same time, they assured that "such attacks deepen our determination to help Ukraine achieve victory in the fight against corruption." That is, this is only the first battle, the battle is just beginning, which means that Lutsenko will not be so easily forgiven for this interview.

### Why

Indeed, given the degree of risk, why did Lutsenko need this scandal? The answer lies on the surface: the conflict had already matured long ago, the confrontation with Yovanovitch did not begin yesterday or a month ago. Initially, it was clear that she would be a serious "adversary," considering her experience as a diplomat. Yovanovitch successfully worked under both George W. Bush (DCM in Ukraine, Ambassador to Kyrgyzstan) and Barack Obama (Ambassador to Armenia and from August 2016 - in Ukraine). "DS [this media]", by the way, predicted in 2016 that her main objectives would be to control the process of resolving the situation in ORDLO (with the appointment of Kurt Walker, he took this over) and "encourage the construction of a functional political system and a full-fledged market economy" in Ukraine. "In other words, the Ukrainian political bbomond should be prepared to be forced to reform," the article said. So it happened like this, which caused an increase in discontent in certain circles of power. After all, the US ambassador patronizes the same young European integrators, and even the director of the NABU Artem Sytnik. Consequently, the statements about a certain list and the \$ 4 million that the Embassy has hoarded are an attempt to discredit the current Ambassador in order to get her to leave six months ahead of time. Remember, in August Marie Yovanovitch will be the ambassador already for three years - the minimum stay as a head of the American diplomatic mission.

But why now, before the elections, when so much is at stake? First, let's note that, according to "DS" sources, the Prosecutor General played the game alone. And this is a problem, because it means that for Lutsenko there is no safe corridor, within which he can act at his discretion. The lack of a clear framework, beyond which one should not go, indicates that, by analogy with the administration of Donald Trump and his approach to recruitment, that there is a possible personalized and partial priority of loyalty over professionalism and comprehensive, long-term analysis and planning. As a result, there are such personal "initiatives" that promise serious problems. And they appear, we emphasize again, at a very, very wrong time.

Suppose that Lutsenko was planning to discredit Yovanovitch after the elections, but the investigation of the thefts in the Ukrainian defense industry, which was even more revealing the conflict between law enforcement agencies, in particular, the so-called Bigusgate, forced him to

accelerate. Or, is it actually some geopolitical reflection. There was an opportunity – and [Lutsenko used it].

Speaking of opportunity. In Ukraine, for the reader who does not delve too much into American politics, only in the last couple of years, The Hill is becoming as recognizable not as The Washington Post or The New York Times, but as, for example, NBC News or Politico. The Hill, as the publication notes, is the leading US political site, which the White House and most congressmen read more actively than any other similar resource. That is why, the message of Lutsenko is addressed primarily to the American audience. And therefore it is curious how, in fact, this interview appeared, who approached whom first: The Hill approached Lutsenko or vice versa. Or were there intermediaries? For example, Republicans offered The Hill to interview Lutsenko, and the Prosecutor General was called and asked for a service of this kind. It should be noted that, along with the statement of Lutsenko and the State Department's commentary, the publication's material does not explicitly mention an ex-member of the House of Representatives, the Republican from Texas Pete Sessions. Namely, that last year he wrote a letter to the State Department, in which he expressed concern with Yovanovitch. According to Sessions, he has evidence that Yovanovitch disdains the Trump administration.

One more thing. This may be just a coincidence, but on the day of the publication of an interview with Lutsenko, six lawmakers from the Senate and the House of Representatives arrived in Kiev. They are all Republicans (and half of them from Idaho) who are members or are in the leadership of influential committees. The delegation is headed by Senator, Head of the Committee on Banking, Member of the Budget Committee Mike Crapo. The rest of the legislators represent the following committees of both houses of Congress: energy and natural resources, foreign affairs, the environment and public works; on appropriations (an influential committee, decides on expenditures, including on assistance to Ukraine); banking, budget, legal; small business and entrepreneurship; on the armed forces; on agriculture, food and forestry; on trade, science and transport.

Republicans arrived officially to discuss cooperation, as we can see from the list of committees, in many areas, and instead found out that the Ambassador of their country, appointed by a Democratic president, got into a scandal. Which somewhat reinforces the hypothesis is the second reason for Lutsenko to make accusations against Yovanovitch: to play the Trump administration, to convince the US president of his friendship, because it is quite likely that he will become the next president.

#### Effects

The problem is that this way, Ukraine repeats the mistake of 2016, when Kiev, in particular, actively cooperated with American investigation on the case of Paul Manafort, since they bid on Hillary Clinton. And she lost ... They had to wash [out the consequences] for a long time.

And again, stepping on the same rake, because the same Lutsenko is playing a tactical, not a strategic game. Yes, for now Trump is the President. Yes, he can save a chair in 2020. However, in 2024, a Democrat might well be accommodated in the Oval Office, who will remember these sharp turns in Kiev. In the States, presidents are changing, but the establishment remains. And it sees that first Kiev conned the Republicans, looking into Clinton's mouth, and then the Democrats, changing sides. Accordingly, their credibility is undermined in the eyes of both.

Capitol dwellers who are in charge of US policy are not sure that they will not be cheated again when the political situation changes.

Ukraine is again becoming a factor in US domestic policy, and this is very bad. Due to the vindictiveness of the American establishment. We [will eventually get the harsh payback]. Worse, even if Lutsenko is telling the truth about the list of immunity... In addition, there are signs that at least hint at the reality of if not some list of untochables, but at least of voicing urgent requests not to touch those or other persons. But this topic is too sensitive, as seen by the quick reaction of the State Department, the Embassy and the way the news is spread by Trump's supporters. And such an agiotage is another negative consequence for Lutsenko and, as a result, for Ukraine, because no one can prove anything. At least for now. Yes, the Prosecutor General claims the passing of the list, but does not show it. If it is confidential, then why talk? Or else, which is also likely, its publication is scheduled for later, when the scandal reaches its peak. Obviously, the price that Ukraine will have to pay in the future - in a year or four - will grow even more.

Official - SBU

UNCLASSIFIED

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 21, 2019 3:57 PM  
**To:** (b)(6) Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Holmes, David A (Kyiv) (b)(6) Reinert, David  
 (b)(6) Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Kent, George P (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Schutte, John P (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>  
**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>  
**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

+(b)(6) and (b)(6) on the Desk.

**From:** (b)(6) (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 21, 2019 9:56 AM  
**To:** Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv) (b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Holmes, David A (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6) Reinert, David "Mike" (Kyiv) (b)(6) Tremont,  
 Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6); Kent, George P (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Schutte, John P (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>  
**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>  
**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

Two updates below:

- A not very credible Ukrainian outlet speculates who would be on the "so-called Yovanovitch list"
- A post from popular blogger Sergey Fursa, criticizing Ukrainian leadership.

<http://www.dsnews.ua/politics/spisok-yovanovich-kto-v-nego-vhodit--21032019090600>

YOVANOVITCH LIST. Who is on it?

After Yuriy Lutsenko declared that there is a so-called Yovanovitch list which allegedly prohibits opening criminal cases against some people, a statement was issued by the US Embassy that there is no such list.

We do not want to say whether such a list exists or not, but it is worth noting that our selective justice provides a wide field for fantasies. Moreover, it allows us to say that, besides the possible list by Yovanovitch, there are also lists by other respected actors. We decided to compose our own "Yovanovitch list".

1. Serhii Levochkin. Note that Firtash's partner is never mentioned either by Americans or by Europeans in conjunction with Firtash himself. However, how can you not remember that he did not answer for the crimes of the Yanukovich regime, and after resigning during Euromaidan, he went to the USA for several months. Why? Many believe that he received an indulgence in 2004, when, according to legend, he persuaded Kuchma not to follow the tough scenario.
2. Anatoly Gritsenko. Here, perhaps, it is not necessary to write a lot - everyone understands everything anyway.

3. Artem Sytnyk. One of the key players on our board who, besides the appearance of anti-corruption work, is collecting information. NABU is a key tool for gathering information in Ukraine.
4. Gizo Uglava. The right hand of Sytnyk and the main communicator of NABU with embassies and politicians. He is one of the main flywheels work NABU
5. Oleksander Danylyuk. Coming from the administration of Yanukovych, a man rather close to Serhii Levochkin, found himself in the position of one of the main reformers in Poroshenko Administration, and then in the chair of the head of the Ministry of Finance. His main achievement is his knowledge of the English language and the image of a certain reformer, although in reality he did nothing. He is needed because he is ready to perform any tasks. Therefore, now he, who all around said that he professes radical libertarianism, began to appear regularly in the company of Vladimir Zelenskiy.
6. Andrii Kobolev - the head of the board of the NJSC "Naftogaz", who, despite the loud scandal around the huge salary and even higher premiums, retained the chair of the head of the main enterprise of the fuel and energy complex of Ukraine.
7. David Sakvarelidze. Former Deputy Attorney General. Perhaps, it was Sakvarelidze who hinted at Lutsenko in his interview, speaking of a "rather strange situation" with the release of \$4 million by the Americans by the GPU.

Of course, our list is only an approximate assumption, and it is quite possible to continue with other assumptions. Spokeswoman for Lutsenko Larysa Sarhan, for example, separately clarified that the names of MPs were on the "Yovanovitch list". Most likely, this is also a hint at a group of Euro-optimists-anti-corruption-activists led by Serhii Leschenko, whose active cooperation with the US Embassy is more than obvious. Also number of anti-corruption social activists could be added to the list, the most popular among them being Vitalii Shabunin.

--

Social media post by prominent blogger Sergey Fursa:

<https://www.facebook.com/sergey.fursa/posts/2672460412780356>

Lutsenko's statement about the Americans, who, as it turned out, dictate him whom to imprison (that is why, therefore, Semochko, Gladkovskiy and the leadership of Kherson region are still not in jail).

Demonstrative appointment to the Supreme Court of all the discredited corrupt officials along with a ban of a decent judge.

The decision of the Constitutional Court, which rolls back the anti-corruption reform and spits in the face of creditors, announcing amnesty to corrupt officials.

What is it? And right before the elections. In the most seemingly not appropriate moment. Many think it is nonsense, greed, madness. Yes, a lot of things can be attributed to all these.

In fact, it all looks like teenage [psychological] complexes. When a dummy teenager gets a chance to put his tongue out at his teachers when going to another school. When they do not have power over him now, but nobody knows what happens in the future. And he starts breaking windows. Beat the younger ones. Get drunk before school. And revenge for the fact that he had to follow the rules for so long. That he was forced to learn. That he was not allowed to smoke at school. Hindered to skip classes. In general, he was tortured so much.

And now they have grasped the moment. Previously they could not do it, because Ukraine is completely dependent on the support of creditors. And it is difficult to retain power when the country is in default [market crash/national bankruptcy]. So they were forced to obey. To carry out reforms. Sabotage, but move forward. And now the elections. And on the one hand, if they lose, then - everything else can go to hell. What difference does it make to them, then, will there be the national bankruptcy or not. And if they win, "you can start from scratch." And to bargain about the steps in the fight against corruption. Trade loans for smaller concessions. Throwing away the old skin, like selling it for a loan at the expense of the next attorney general, who has lost confidence. And lost his coast.

On the other hand, they are sure that the West still has no choice. Like the same teenager who knows that his parents won't leave him anyway. And now, when alternative candidates look even worse, they allow themselves to enjoy themselves. Where will the West go, they will still support them. You can spit in tea, and blame the ambassadors. Everything is possible. Moreover, they firmly believe that the West will support Ukraine anyway. After all, the disease of their brain is also called geopolitics.

Is it logical? More than yes. Especially if you are a teenager, you have hormones and [psychological] complexes. And you want to prove to everyone around that you are an alpha-male. If you think that you have been unjustly humiliated, and now you are taking revenge. And then you proudly tell the girls how you settled the score with all these old-farts. These western boring bureaucrats. These bourgeoisie. And here I remember the youth, the Komsomol, and all the lessons of the history of the CPSU [Communist Party of the Soviet Union], which they learned. And fiery speeches that all these Lutsenkos proclaimed in their youth about the struggle for the happiness of the proletariat and the opposition to the imperialists.

The problem is that we are talking about the leadership of the country, and not about teenagers who want to prove something to everyone around. If we are talking about the leadership of a country that has made a choice in favor of European values, then this is not only inappropriate but also pitiful. After all, just look at such a teenager. With pity. And hope that once he will grow up and become wiser.

UNCLASSIFIED

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 21, 2019 2:26 PM  
**To:** Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv) (b)(6); Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6) (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) (b)(6); Holmes, David A (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6) Reinert, David "Mike" (Kyiv) (b)(6); Tremont,  
 Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Kent, George P (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Schutte, John P (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6); Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv\_EXEC@state.gov>  
**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>  
**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

**Expanding the distro list for these updates slightly, and providing a few news and social media updates below.**

**Interfax: POROSHENKO SHOULD EITHER RECEIVE CONFIRMATION OF LUTSENKO'S STATEMENT ABOUT YOVANOVITCH'S LIST OR SACK LUTSENKO – SYROYID**

KYIV. March 21 (Interfax-Ukraine) – Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko must either receive written documented confirmation backing up the claim of Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko about receiving a list from U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovitch of persons who should not be investigated, or dismiss Lutsenko, Deputy Speaker of the Verkhovna Rada, Ukraine's parliament, Oksana Syroyid has said.

"President [Petro] Poroshenko this morning can only have two documents: either information substantiating the claim of Prosecutor General Lutsenko, or his submission to parliament that Lutsenko be dismissed as Ukraine's prosecutor general," she said on Facebook on Thursday.

Lutsenko earlier in an interview with the Washington, D.C.-based The Hill publication said U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovitch gave him a list of persons whom should not be investigated. Lutsenko said he ignored the request.

"Unfortunately, from the first meeting with the U.S. ambassador in Kyiv, [Yovanovitch] gave me a list of people whom we should not prosecute," Lutsenko, who took his post in 2016, told Hill.TV last week," The Hill quoted Lutsenko as saying. The prosecutor added, "My response of that is it is inadmissible."

**More Social Media:****Political analyst Mykola Bielieskov:**

Probably it was decided that the mission was early withdrawal from Ukraine of the current U.S. ambassador. Because Donald Trump is trying to form the impression that Marie Yovanovitch is somehow involved in intervening in the 2016 election in favor of Hillary Clinton. Such messages have already been launched in Ukraine.

As for me, this is more a vendetta attempt for a speech from March 5 - for criticism on the eve of the election, which was a hit to the head of state. What about the real fact of possible interference in the election of the ambassador herself in favor of Hillary Clinton.

In addition, there is probably a conclusion that if Yovanovitch remained short on the cadence, then skeletons can be taken out from the closet. It does not matter whether they are real or not.

But the biggest negativity will be this public clarification of relationships. Criticism of Yovanovitch is a critique of the entire American system, not just one person.

**Mykola Bielieskov:**

Stories about the strategic partnership between Ukraine and the United States are divided into mutual accusations, public attempts to clarify the relationship and attempts to shift responsibility of those who actually stood behind the information of the Party of Regions in the context of Paul Manafort's work here.

But the biggest concern is that the tone and individual theses are more reminiscent of the openly hostile relations between the U.S. and Russia, and not the partnership relations between Ukraine and the United States.

Against this background, it feels sad and disgusting.

**Anti-corruption Action Center:**

Fierce wrestler with American imperialism, Kholodnitsky now has a follower. Prosecutor General Lutsenko said that the U.S. ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovitch gave him a list of people who were not to be prosecuted. We suspect that everyone was on this list: from Ivanushchenko to Zlochevsky, from Kernes to Boyko and so on.

But seriously, one must be a "genius" to declare war on the entire diplomatic system of Ukraine's key ally in the war with Russia. There was already one "hero" who tried to fight with Western diplomats. And where is he now? Somewhere in Rostov ... And

remember the story of the liberation of the "son of a bitch" Shokin? And here's another shot in the leg. Fairy tale.

**Blogger Alex Noinets:**

I kind of understand everything, but when one of the key government figures in the press declares that the ambassador of a key government partner, thanks to whom we are, in fact, preserving our statehood, declares that this ambassador actually committed an official crime - this means that the situation is critical.

Before that, Yovanovitch had repeatedly jumped into questions that were not within her competence. But what is especially scary is that she clung to them in public. Not just recommended to the leadership of the country, but publicly recommended. This is, of course, unacceptable.

Instead, the prosecutor general accused her of the above and beyond. And what is especially scary - accused publicly. And not in our country, but in her country.

This is an incredibly bad signal. Not just bad. Awful signal. Love each other is optional. Listen to each other is optional. But to go out with such questions in public - to close off the possibility for a peaceful settlement of the issue to both ourselves and our opponent.

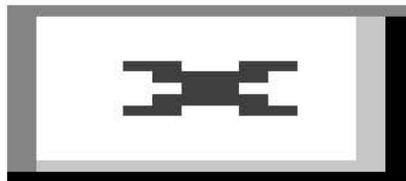
Everything. Very. Bad. Now either the prosecutor general or the ambassador must leave.

And I do not believe for a single second that Yury Vitalyevich went to war against the U.S. State Department himself, without prior agreement with Peter Alekseevich.

I cannot draw any conclusions, because I do not have any information. But to go to war with the State Department 10 days before the elections is either a prohibitively ingenious step, the meaning of which eludes me, because I am not a genius, or self-destructive.

**Blogger Anton Hodza:**

Yovanovitch handed Lutsenko a new list [picture with piece of paper saying: You are screwed]



**MP Serhiy Leshchenko:**

I heard that Prosecutor General Lutsenko decided to hit a new bottom and open a criminal investigation about alleged interference in the U.S. presidential election. The reason for this was the decision of the District Court of Kyiv (Bankova Hand Court) on the suit of MP Rosenblatt. This court, in the interval between Nasirov's restoration and Suprun's dismissal, rendered another ingenious decision, which recognized that I and the head of NABU Sytnik were interfering in the American elections. You may have seen this court decision - Viktor Medvedchuk, a secret ally of the presidential administration, actively promoted it.

I want to inform our Prosecutor General that the court's decision on Rosenblatt's claim did not come into force, and on Monday this week the appeal proceedings were opened. Of course, such a trifle as the absence of a legal court decision is unlikely to stop our Prosecutor General. No wonder they chose a person without such burdensome baggage as a legal education.

**Mustafa Nayyem, MP:**

There are two amazing circumstances that unite the administrations of Viktor Yanukovich and Petro Poroshenko. The biggest enemies of reform and the fight against corruption are still journalists, civil society and the U.S. Embassy. And the biggest friend is Rinat Akhmetov.

And it is obvious that if there was a certain list of persons untouchable for the GPU, it would not be voiced by the U.S. ambassador to Ukraine, but by President Petro Poroshenko, his entourage and friends, partners of the Prosecutor General himself. Because for all these years, they have systematically avoided justice, openly ignoring not only the law, but also the elementary rules of decency.

Meanwhile, Yuriy Lutsenko is unlikely to be able to influence the career of U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovitch. As far as I understand, Madam Ambassador will not only not leave her post before the end of her term in the country, but will also remain in her post for some time after the end of this term.

And about the investigation of the General Prosecutor's Office of the actions of the head of the NABU on interference in the elections in the United States. Yuriy Lutsenko somewhat overestimates his capabilities. The GPU lost the investigation functions in the fall of 2017. The only body that can initiate such an investigation into the disclosure of secrets of the investigation, for example, is the State Bureau of Investigation. However, in theory, Artem Sytnik can still be accused of treason, in this case, the investigation can be carried out even in the SBU.

We are left to wait for the head of the NABU to hand over the suspicion of interfering in the election of the U.S. president, while the Americans themselves suspect the Russian Federation of such interference. I think this decrepitude can be considered final.

**Official - SBU**

UNCLASSIFIED

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 21, 2019 11:57 AM  
**To:** Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv) (b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6) (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) (b)(6); Holmes, David A (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6) Reinert, David "Mike" (Kyiv) (b)(6) Tremont,  
 Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Kent, George P <(b)(6)>  
**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>  
**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

The story is being widely discussed by prominent commentators in Ukrainian social media. Below are a set of posts (generally rough translations). Up top are a couple tweets by Western media, too, for EUR/Press' awareness. The commentary among Ukrainians on social media is mixed, but many commentators are skeptical of Lutsenko.

**BBC Journalist Jonah Fisher:**

So Ukraine's prosecutor general claims the U.S. Ambassador gave him a list of people not to prosecute. A few pertinent facts follow...

The Prosecutor General Lutsenko is very political - and very much President Poroshenko's man. There is an election in 10 days time and the polls show Poroshenko struggling to even make the second round

Two weeks ago the US ambassador to Ukraine was unusually scathing of President Poroshenko's record for tackling corruption.

**FT/NYT Journalist Mark Rachkevych:**

#USA amb. Yovanovitch implies #Ukraine PGO / Lutsenko is #corrupt in that taxpayer \$ is given where needed most and where it could make most impact in response to \$ allocated to PGO that wasn't received

**RFE/RL journalist Chris Miller on President Trump's tweet:**

Comments from Ukraine's Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko, based on alleged leaked audio of NABU chief from scandal-plagued MP, have made their way to the White House via Hannity.

**Social Media Commentary from Ukrainians:****Kristina Berdynskykh, Novoye Vremya journalist:**

Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko said in an interview with the U.S. media that the U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine at their first meeting, handed him a list of who cannot be prosecuted. The U.S. Embassy says it's not true.

This is an unexpected move from Lutsenko. Indeed, he is now in a position (without any law [legal] education) solely because malicious Americans publicly and non-publicly repeatedly reminded the Ukrainian authorities that the discredited Prosecutor General Shokin in the GPU is bad for the reputation of the country.

Did Lutsenko really forgot how the president was holding on to Shokin with all his strength opposing the American pressure and did not want to dismiss him. But he did not stand, he gave his concessions, and replaced Shokin with Yuri Lutsenko. Here is the link, how Biden remembers it. [ Link where Joe Biden said that he gave 6 hours to dismiss Shokin]

Since the prosecutor general has appeared in the media with the "List of Yovanovitch" and served as a newsmaker for Russia Today, let him announce these names from the list already. His relationship with the Americans can no longer be rescued, let him hand over and publish documents with the list in Facebook.

Finally, freeing from American pressure, nothing stops Lutsenko to fight corruption in Ukraine. This, of course, was the only factor that was preventing him to do everything. And if so everyone would already be behind bars. Finally, we know why corrupt officials are at still free :)

Now should also return Shokin to the GPU, the man was hurt for nothing.

**Volodymyr Boiko, journalist:**

Ambassador of the United States Marie Yovanovitch leaves Ukraine ahead of schedule - 5 months before the end of her assignment. In her home country, together with former FBI representative in Ukraine Karen Greenaway, former deputy U.S ambassador to Ukraine (now Deputy Assistant Secretary) John *[error by author]* Kent and NABU director Artem Sytnyk. Mrs. Yovanovitch appears in the investigation into interference with the U.S. presidential election in 2016. This is about the so-called "black bookkeeping of the Party of Regions" with information on payments received in Ukraine by ex-leader of Trump campaign Paul Manafort.

As I have repeatedly said, in April-May 2016, in order to compromise Trump, Mrs. Greenaway handed excerpts from this "black bookkeeping" to Sytnyk for legalization by publishing on the NABU website. And Kent handed copies to make public to MP Sergey

Leshchenko and was already practically released to the former head of the SBU's agency Viktor Trepak. At the same time in the "black bookkeeping" appeared another American - Gregory Craig. But since Craig was a lawyer serving the Barack Obama administration, Greenaway and Sytnyk warned the head of the SAPO Kholodnitsky that Craig's name should never be found, and that fraud should not be investigated.

In early 2019, the White House received from the leadership of Ukraine testimony of the head of the SAPO Kholodnitsky, who gave the testimony at the Prosecutor General's Office regarding the circumstances of Greenaway and Sytnyk's intervention during the 2016 presidential campaign in the United States. In order to avoid responsibility, Marie Yovanovitch and Deputy Assistant Secretary of State John Kent in March 2019 tried to infiltrate the scandal surrounding the corruption of Ukroboronprom's funds in order to force Poroshenko to dismiss the head of the SAPO Kholodnitsky and disavow Kholodnitsky's testimony by blackmailing the President of Ukraine that Sytnyk would open criminal proceedings on the son of Gladkovsky (godson of Poroshenko). But there was an overhand of the performer and former member of the Council of Public Control of NABU, a professional "public activist" Denis Bihus disclosed not only the information that threw the shadow on Gladkovsky, but also the evidence of participation in the corruption of funds Ukroboronprom by Sytnyk himself.

As a result, Mrs. Yovanovitch is already packing her suitcases - she might well have made company with her friend Karen Greenaway, who was expelled from the FBI in December 2018. The main shot was an interview, which the general, sorry God, prosecutor Yuriy Lutsenko gave the American television channel Hill.TV. In particular, Yuriy Vitaliyovych confirmed that criminal proceedings are currently being investigated, registered on the fact of interference from the territory of Ukraine in the campaign of the U.S. presidential elections in 2016:

In addition, the general, sorry God, prosecutor said that as soon as he took the position, Yovanovitch handed him a list of people who were intact and who under no circumstances could be prosecuted. I would add that this list is headed by MP Sergey Leshchenko:

Lutsenko also said that \$ 4 million of American government assistance, which was allocated for the reform of the prosecutor's office (\$ 2.5 million intended directly to the General Prosecutor's Office of Ukraine), had not reached its intended destination and was stolen.

I will note that the story about theft of \$ 2.5 million is well known to me, and I'll tell it the next time.

**Serhiy Sydorenko, editor in chief Evropeiska Pravda:**

In reflections and even without ideas: Why does Lutsenko needs this naive lie/made up information of the "list of untouchables from the U.S. Ambassador"?

The possibility that this is true given the reaction - I, of course, exclude a little more than completely. This is nonsense.

An option that the journalists would have turned this around would have made sense, but it's been several hours already, and Lutsenko is silent and does not refute his statement with potentially nuclear consequences for himself ...

It is important that the statement targeted the American audience, in The Hill.

Could Lutsenko said this without Bankova's OK? It is unlikely, but I would not exclude it. But let it be so, yes, the questions do not change. What is this role for Lutsenko in a cheap American blockbuster? Why? For whom? And against whom? And is it not obvious that this role has a very artificial appearance?

Or maybe this is not an American role, and our local revenge to Yovanovitch for her latest statement? Then it is generally distilled idiocy from the handbook of shooting yourself in the leg ...

So, a bunch of questions, and zero answers. I'm running in guesses.

it seems, the worst thing has been confirmed.

Well, then I'm a little bit about Panda's diplomacy [note: meaning unclear to translators]... [next post]

#### Serhiy Sydorenko (second post):

So, it seems that our government really decided to wage war with Ambassador Yovanovitch at any price for the country ... Now it's clear that this is not an amateur Lutsenko's lie - but a sanctioned one.

By the way Yovanovitch this year is still leaving Ukraine, her term is done. But somebody on Bankova decided that at the end it is worth going to war with her, not understanding the obvious - that they declared the war not with Ambassador, but the State Department, the American diplomatic system in general.

I have one analogy here. More precisely, two.

1) Summer 2011. Yanukovich's time. The spokesman for the Foreign Ministry Voloshin comes to the French ambassador Jacques Faure and distributes ... fake that the ambassador is withdrawing from Ukraine because of the "support of the opposition". The fight with Faure was long lasting, and dirty rumors circulated against him. Everyone understood where it was coming from, but it was all "sources." But when Kyiv came out with a public official statement, then Paris was frankly shocked ...

As a result, Ukraine has significantly lost its credibility in Paris. Faure (really cool and pro-Ukrainian diplomat!) had his term prolonged as ambassador. Incidentally, after him, came an ambassador who did not love Ukraine, but that's another story.

2) Spring 2012. Again, Yanukovich's time (for such an idiocy no one else did with Western partners - only past [Yanukovich] and the present [Poroshenko]). The Foreign Ministry begins a comprehensive, open and backstage struggle with the then EU

Ambassador to Ukraine Pinto Teixeira. Mistakes of history were taken into account, and acted mainly behind the scenes. Fighting enthusiastically, creatively ... on several fronts.

Teixeira, however, had already completed his assignment, but the Kyiv war against him proved to many in Brussels that he was a good ambassador.

But some, like the profile commissar, who worked very closely with Klyuev, managed to convince the opposite.

As a result, Teixeira, after leaving, was well settled (for no one listened to commissars), but the participants of that fight generally believed that they had succeeded.

The fact that the ambassador of Ukraine in Brussels then was Yeliseyev, I consider to be a coincidence and an accident.

PS: How would you explain to somebody that the U.S. is not an EU at all, and even when there is conflicts between the American parties, this is not an occasion for us to fight with their system ... Even if at any moment we help an American with this war, this does not eliminate the falsity of tactics ...

But, afraid, it's too late to explain :(

**Serhiy Sydorenko (third post):**

Who I do not really envy right now- this is our ambassador to the United States.

Chalyi was definitely not aware of the ingenious idea of war with the State Department and for some reason I believe, that he would not approve it.

But he is the one who will have to deal with the consequences on the front.

**Vitaliy Schadunin, Anti Corruption Action Center:**

I am astonished that in the " Yovanovitch list" appeared Ivanushchenko (Yenakiyevsky), Kernes and Kholodnitsky but was not for example, NV editorial offices and Radio Liberty.

If by the morning of Monday from Poroshenko there will be no document for the dismissal of Lutsenko, then he is the same brilliant diplomat, as Yanukovych.

The latter was the only president (it seems, except Poroshenko) who tried to fight in similar games <http://bit.ly/2TP97si>. [ link to previous Sydorenko's post]

Only a truly "brilliant diplomat" could declare war on the entire diplomatic system of Ukraine's key ally in the war with Russia. # listwhitefever

**Oleksiy Mustafin, centrist blogger and journalist with Dzerkalo Tyznya**

Let me remind you that Lutsenko is not the first. The first was Kononenko

Lutsenko, apparently, watched too many times the "Servant of the people" and also decided to send off ... American Ambassador.

**Anton Hodza, blogger, active member of the Who killed Katya Handziuk initiative**

The new motto for the Prosecutor General's Office is already: Dementia et audacia

**Fugitive MP Aleksandr Onyshenko:**

The Prosecutor General said that the U.S. Ambassador offered him a list of those who could not be prosecuted.

Given that I have already seen this somewhere, my forecast for the next month is approximately the same.

The cancellations of the U.S. visa, the ban on U.S. entry, a synchronous signal to Canada and the UK, the loss of international legitimacy, a sharp decrease in diplomatic contacts, the cancellation of upcoming meetings and the start of coordinated external activities aimed at resigning. *[not clear from his post who is exactly referring to]*

**Simon Ostrovsky, PBC Newshour, CODA :**

My sense is that @poroshenko is also trying to curry favor with Trump by pushing the narrative that Ukraine, not Russia, interfered in the 2016 U.S. election because Poroshenko is going to need his support if things go south in the upcoming poll in Ukraine

Ukrainian anti-corruption activist @fridarya says this is in part the @poroshenko administration attempting to discredit the U.S. Ambassador for her criticism of stalled reforms in the justice system

**Journalist Katya Gorchinskaya on Ostrovsky tweet:** Currying favor by shooting yourself in the foot - it's got to be a new tactic in diplomacy

**Karl Volokh, Pro-Poroshenko blogger:**

Did I tell you that Marivanna [Marie Yovanovitch] would leave us in an untimely way, without waiting for the end of the assignment? Well, and now, it was confirmed. Looks like her sponsored Sytnik needs to prepare.

I hope the Americans will not be limited to just dismissal - it was too much she screwed up here.

**Another Post from Karl Volokh, Pro-Poroshenko Blogger:**

Great foreign policy specialists panicked about the "tough reply" of the State Department to the Ukrainian Prosecutor General. Someone even foresees diplomatic complications. Do not cluck so vainly. In the State Department, George Kent - Marivanna's [Marie Yovanovitch] accomplice on most of her failures - is responsible for

the Ukrainian direction and one could hardly expect a different reaction from him. I don't know what the reaction of Secretary of State Pompeo will be, but there are enough people in the White House and the Senate today who are running out of patience about the Obama's Ambassador. In general, don't worry, fellow citizens, we will break through

**Denys Bihus, investigative journalist:**

Judging by the GPU's criminal cases that resulted in imprisonment, Yovanovitch handed over to Lutsenko the telephone list of the residents of Koncha Zaspa [elite residential area in Kyiv]

**Sergiy Rudenko, Espresso journalist:**

Three years ago, U.S. Ambassador Marie Yovanovitch gave Yuriy Lutsenko, as the new Prosecutor General, as he says, a list of "untouchables" of Ukrainian politicians. And all this time Yuri Vitaliyovich was heroically silent. And now he decided to speak. Because there is no more power to endure this whole American oppression! Dope!

Lutsenko must announce the list of Marie Yovanovitch. Ukraine needs to know who is "Washington's hand". The Prosecutor General says that there are surnames of MPs. Imagine if Yulia Tymoshenko is on the list? How then should we respond to the theory that Yulia is "the hand of Moscow"?)

Marie's List: Gladkovsky, Nasirov, Semochko, Rosenblatt

Now everything is clear?)

**Mykola Bielieskov, journalist at Glavkom:**

A cheery asymmetrical answer was invented by us on the criticism in response to Marie Yovanovitch on March 5, 2019 - that there is a list of people that was passed to the Prosecutor General during the first meeting with the new ambassador, who are better not to be investigated.

Well, at least this is what all looks like for an average man, who does not have access to sensitive data.

**Yevhen Buderatsky, Ukrainska Pravda:**

"I did not say anything like that about the Ambassador, and I do not understand where it came from." (c) Ihor Kononenko, commenting on the fact that Poroshenko asked Biden to dismiss U.S. Ambassador Geoffrey Pyatt because of criticism of Prosecutor General's Shokin, October 9, 2015

**Oleg Polomar, blogger:**

Regarding the U.S. ambassador to Ukraine.

Despite the fact that I know everything about the situation and even a little more, I do not see the point and benefit of giving a detailed and essentially commentary.

For two reasons.

1. According to a long-established plan of regular diplomatic rotation and not connected with the elections in the United States or with elections in Ukraine, the U.S. ambassador must complete her term in Ukraine in the coming months.

Therefore, I see no reason to create additional tension and make unnecessary sprays if this can be avoided.

2. Today in Ukraine the main thing is to preserve the independence and statehood on March 31, not to allow the Russian and Malorussian revenge. And, as I have written more than once, we must go through the remaining week and a half with dignity and win. Thereby - to preserve the Euro-Atlantic course of Ukraine and - this is the main thing today. Trumps come and go, and Ukraine and the United States are allies and partners for a long time.

Good luck everyone.

**Official - SBU**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 21, 2019 11:19 AM  
**To:** Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv) (b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6) (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) (b)(6) Holmes, David A (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6) Reinert, David "Mike" (Kyiv) (b)(6) Tremont,  
 Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Kent, George P (b)(6)  
**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>  
**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

Based on a review of media coverage in significant Ukrainian outlets:

The following outlets have reported on the State Department's expanded commentary provided by EUR-Press to 1+1 :

- [TSN Program on 1+1](#)
- [UNIAN](#) (also associated with TSN/1+1)
- [Interfax](#) (major wire service)
- [112](#) (includes some of the expanded commentary, but overall the report is relatively short and does not include all details)

The following outlets picked up The Hill report, including the State Department commentary that was provided to the Hill (but was not as expansive as the later-approved guidance):

- [Ukrainska Pravda / Yevropeiska Pravda](#)  
<https://www.pravda.com.ua/news/2019/03/20/7209773/> (Wed, 21:30)  
<https://www.eurointegration.com.ua/news/2019/03/21/7094209/> (Thu, 08:37)
- [Liga.net](#)  
<https://news.liga.net/politics/news/lutsenko-dal-intervyu-the-hill-obvinil-yovanovich-gosdep-otvetil> (Wed, 19:23)
- [BBC Ukrainian](#)  
<https://www.bbc.com/ukrainian/news-47642452> (Wed)
- [Censor.net](#)  
[https://censor.net.ua/news/3117732/lutsenko\\_posol\\_ssha\\_yiovanovich\\_peredala\\_mne\\_perech\\_en\\_lyudeyi\\_kotoryh\\_prosila\\_ne\\_privlekat\\_k\\_otvetstvennosti](https://censor.net.ua/news/3117732/lutsenko_posol_ssha_yiovanovich_peredala_mne_perech_en_lyudeyi_kotoryh_prosila_ne_privlekat_k_otvetstvennosti) (Wed, 19:05)
- [Gordon](#)  
<https://gordonua.com/news/politics/lucenko-zayavil-chto-yovanovich-peredala-emu-spisok-lic-kotoryh-nelzya-privlekat-k-otvetstvennosti-824758.html> (Wed, 20:03)
- [Strana.ua](#)

<https://strana.ua/news/191837-kto-i-zachem-atakuet-mari-jovanovich-posla-ssha-v-ukraine.html> (Wed., 21:45)

Interfax (in addition to publishing the expanded State commentary, they also reported on the initial State commentary reflected in the Hill article)  
<https://interfax.com.ua/news/political/574200.html> (Thu, 09:37)

We do not see any significant Ukrainian media outlets reporting on the Lutsenko story without a U.S. reaction (either from the original statement EUR/Press provided to the Hill or the later statement EUR/Press provided to 1+1).

**Official - SBU**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 21, 2019 11:02 AM  
**To:** Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv) (b)(6); Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) (b)(6) Holmes, David A (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6) Reinert, David "Mike" (Kyiv) (b)(6) Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Kent, George P (b)(6)  
**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>  
**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

Here's a rough transcript of what was said on Hannity's show last night. Video footage is available at <https://video.foxnews.com/v/6016314120001/#sp=show-clips>

**Very Top of the Program:**

Breaking Tonight according to The Hill's John Solomon, we now have major evidence of election collusion in 2016. Real evidence to back it up. This collusion surrounds Hillary Clinton and a top Ukrainian government official that wanted her elected. We're going to have all the details coming up with John Solomon.

*Other stories covered, then the report closed with ...*

[Transition] into this damning new story which we now get to tonight from John Solomon. We know tonight that a high-ranking government official in Ukraine actively tried to benefit the Clinton campaign in 2016. This is breaking tonight according to Solomon. Ukraine's top prosecutor has opened a criminal probe into whether senior law enforcement officials in that country tried to sway the U.S. election – influence our election - to help Hillary Clinton win. Now a tape recording released by a member of the Ukrainian parliament captured an official talking about leaking Manafort financial records in the middle of the 2016 election for the stated purpose to help Hillary Clinton. The Ukrainian court even ruled the leak was an improper effort to influence the American election. That's not all. According to this report by John Solomon, Ukraine's top prosecutor accused the U.S. Embassy of interfering in corruption prosecutions inside the country, including one probe into the alleged misuse of American aid. And a letter surfaced from a senior member of Congress to Secretary Pompeo accusing the current U.S. Ambassador in Kyiv of badmouthing the Trump administration. Now this is exactly what Mark Meadows was talking about Tuesday on this show. So where's the Mueller investigation into these matters? After all, it's already under investigation in the country of Ukraine, there's a tape recording that has all this information? Where's equal justice under our laws? There's single application of our laws. There's no Trump-Russia collusion as we now know – well, the FBI told us after 9 months, then of course the House Intel Committee told us, then the Senate Intel Committee told us, and as Congressman Nunes pointed out, many years ago – by the way, 2014 – he was among many people, by the way, to do this – Russian interference he told us in 2014 is a real threat. He warned us in 2014. And not to the Trump campaign, by the way, it's power-obsessed Clintons who may have been the most susceptible. That's where the real collusion ends up being. And this week we learn that former White House Council Craig may soon be facing charges linked to Mueller's probe. Oh, maybe a little [inaudible – bit?] of justice.

**Official - SBU**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 21, 2019 10:08 AM  
**To:** Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv) (b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6) (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) (b)(6) Holmes, David A (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6); Reinert, David "Mike" (Kyiv) (b)(6) Tremont,  
 Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) Kent, George P (b)(6)  
**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>  
**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

From looking through the English language press a bit more this morning:

- The Lutsenko story does not appear to have been picked up by other significant U.S. outlets beyond what has already been detailed in the chain below. It does appear, however, to have been not only on Hannity's social media feeds and website, but also on his show about 6-7 hours ago. (I'll look for the tape of that.)
- The story was discussed on Twitter in the U.S. (seemingly around the time of Hannity's show). Hannity's tweets alone received about 1.5K comments, and President Trump's received over 8K comments. (Not all comments are on topic, obviously.) There are some tweets (perhaps a couple dozen) discussing Ambassador Yovanovitch by name, some of which call for her to be fired or face treason charges.

Looking through Ukrainian media in more depth now...

**Official**

UNCLASSIFIED

---

**From:** Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv) <(b)(6)>  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 21, 2019 9:32 AM  
**To:** (b)(6); (b)(6); Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6); (b)(6); (b)(6)  
 (b)(6); (b)(6); Holmes, David A (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6); Reinert, David "Mike" (Kyiv); (b)(6)  
 (b)(6)  
 (b)(6); Kent, George P; (b)(6)  
**Cc:** EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>  
**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

+ EUR Press

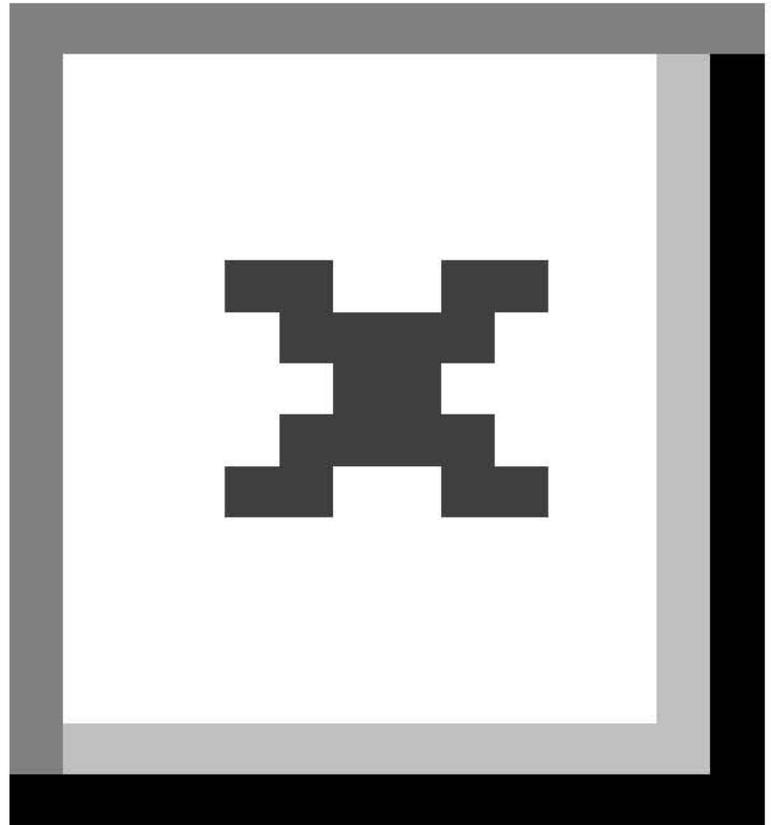
---

**From:** (b)(6); (b)(6)  
**Date:** March 21, 2019 at 8:36:16 AM GMT+2  
**To:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv); (b)(6); (b)(6)  
 (b)(6); (b)(6); (b)(6); Holmes, David

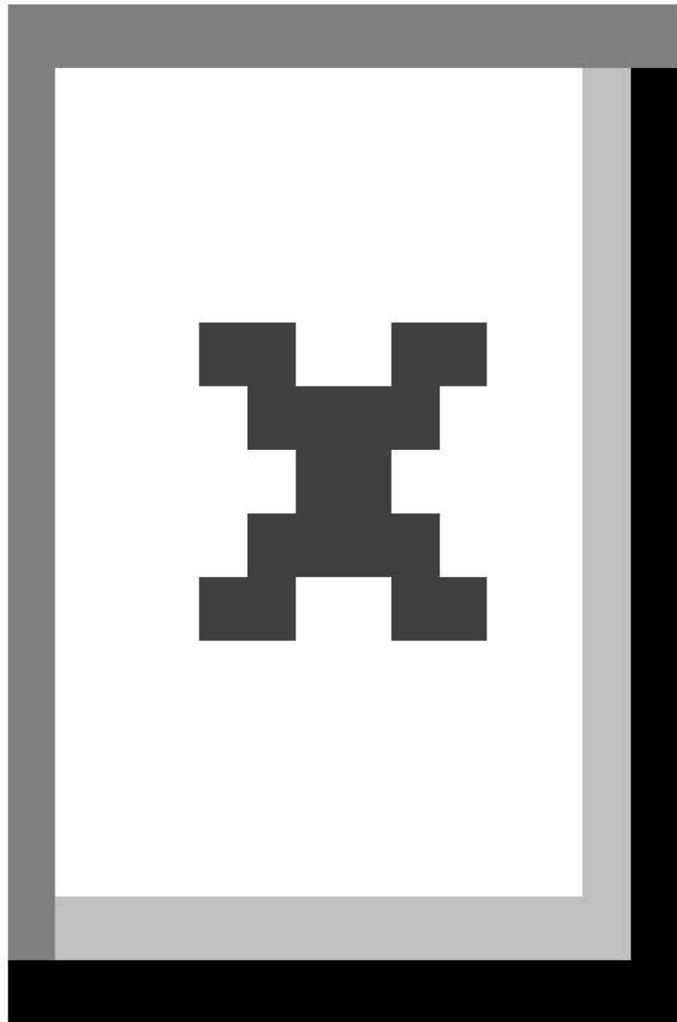
A (Kyiv) (b)(6) Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv) (b)(6) Reinert,  
David "Mike" (Kyiv) (b)(6) Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv)  
(b)(6)  
(b)(6) Kent, George P (b)(6)  
**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

+George, (b)(6) (DC colleagues -- please scroll down a bit if you haven't seen the latest developments, which occurred overnight in Kyiv – publication of a Hill column about the Lutsenko situation which refers to the Embassy and George, as well as a tweet by POTUS).

Per AMB's latest question – here is a screenshot of the letter seemingly signed by George to the Deputy PG included in The Hill's column, saying (broadly generalizing) we see no need for the PGO to investigate the U.S. assistance package to the PGO, and raising concerns about an investigation into ANTAC.

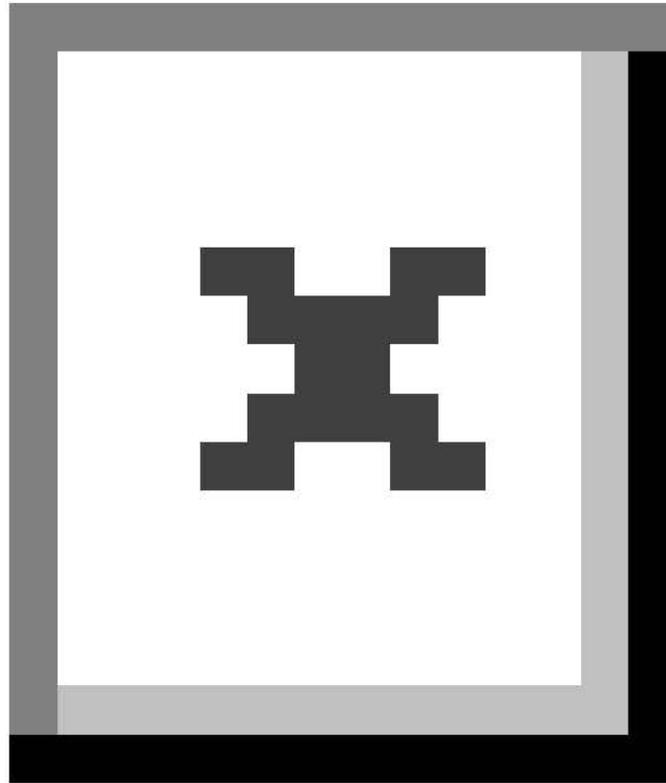






Obtained via FOIA by Judicial Watch, Inc.

And The Hill column also included an image of the full letter from Pete Sessions to Secretary Pompeo (pasting that below too).



Official - SBU

UNCLASSIFIED

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 21, 2019 8:29 AM  
**To:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) (b)(6) (b)(6) Holmes,  
 David A (Kyiv) (b)(6); Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 Reinert, David "Mike" (Kyiv) (b)(6) Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6)  
**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

There is a copy of the letter in the Hill piece. Couldn't copy and paste on my phone, but at my desk now – I'll send the screenshots momentarily (and loop in George, (b)(6))

Official

UNCLASSIFIED

---

**From:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 21, 2019 8:25 AM  
**To:** (b)(6) (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) (b)(6) (b)(6) Holmes,  
 David A (Kyiv) (b)(6) Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 Reinert, David "Mike" (Kyiv) (b)(6); Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6)  
**Subject:** Re: Reactions to Hill Article

(b)(6) – do you know what the letter that George allegedly signed is about?

(b)(6) – we need to make sure George, (b)(6) all this in real-time.

---

**From:** (b)(6) (b)(6) >  
**Sent:** Thursday, March 21, 2019 7:30 AM  
**To:** (b)(6) Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv); (b)(6) Holmes, David A (Kyiv); Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv); Reinert, David "Mike" (Kyiv); Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv)  
**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

Thanks, (b)(6) A couple initial updates from overnight:

The Hill reporter published an opinion column about the whole Lutsenko story (which concludes that it is important to investigate what's going on at US Embassy Kyiv). I'm pasting that text below.

Sean Hannity retweeted that about 4 hours ago. President Trump then tweeted the same headline, with Hannity and Fox tags, about 2 hours ago.

The top story on Hannity's website is now "Ukraine Bombshell" which quotes the Hill report about the Ukr government opening a probe into election interference. (No Embassy related content in that one.)

There's likely more coverage - I'll check more thoroughly when I'm in the office soon.

### **The Hill: As Russia collusion fades, Ukrainian plot to help Clinton emerges**

After nearly three years and millions of tax dollars, the Trump-Russia collusion probe is about to be resolved. Emerging in its place is newly unearthed evidence suggesting another foreign effort to influence the 2016 election — this time, in favor of the Democrats.

Ukraine's top prosecutor divulged in an interview aired Wednesday on [Hill.TV](#) that he has opened an investigation into whether his country's law enforcement apparatus intentionally leaked financial records during the 2016 U.S. presidential campaign about then-Trump campaign chairman [Paul Manafort](#) in an effort to sway the election in favor of [Hillary Clinton](#).

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

ADVERTISEMENT

Ukraine Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko's probe was prompted by a Ukrainian parliamentarian's release of a tape recording purporting to quote a top law enforcement official as saying his agency leaked the Manafort financial records to help Clinton's campaign. The parliamentarian also secured a [court ruling](#) that the leak amounted to "an illegal intrusion into the American election campaign," Lutsenko told me. Lutsenko said the tape recording is a serious enough allegation to warrant opening a probe, and one of his concerns is that the Ukrainian law enforcement agency involved had frequent contact with the Obama administration's U.S. embassy in Kiev at the time. "Today we will launch a criminal investigation about this and we will give legal assessment of this information," Lutsenko told me.

#### ADVERTISEMENT

Lutsenko, before becoming prosecutor general, was a major activist against Russia's influence in his country during the tenure of Moscow-allied former president Viktor Yanukovich. He became chief prosecutor in 2016 as part of anti-corruption reforms instituted by current President Petro Poroshenko, an ally of the U.S. and Western countries.

Unlike the breathless start to the Russia collusion allegations — in which politicians and news media alike declared a Watergate-sized crisis before the evidence was fully investigated — the Ukraine revelations deserve to be investigated before being accepted.

After all, Ukraine is dogged by rampant corruption. It is a frequent target of Russian President Vladimir Putin's dirty tricks. And it is a country that, just last year, faked a journalist's death for one day, reportedly to thwart an assassination plot.

But the chief prosecutor, a member of parliament and a court seemingly have enough weight to warrant serious scrutiny of their allegations and an analysis of the audio tape.

#### ADVERTISEMENT

Furthermore, the mystery of how the Manafort "black ledger" files got leaked to American media has never been solved. They surfaced two years after the FBI investigated Manafort over his Ukraine business activities but declined to move forward in 2014 for lack of evidence. We now have strong evidence that retired British spy Christopher Steele began his quest in what ultimately became the infamous Russia collusion dossier with a series of conversations with top Department of Justice (DOJ) official Bruce Ohr between December 2015 and February 2016, about securing evidence against Manafort.

We know the FBI set up shop in the U.S. embassy in Kiev to assist its Ukraine/Manafort inquiry — a common practice on foreign-based probes — while using Steele as an informant at the start of its Russia probe. And we know Clinton's campaign was using a law firm to pay an opposition research firm for Steele's work in an effort to stop Trump from winning the presidency, at the same time Steele was aiding the FBI.

Those intersections, coupled with the new allegations by Ukraine's top prosecutor, are reason enough to warrant a serious, thorough investigation.

If Ukraine law enforcement figures who worked frequently with the U.S. embassy did leak the Manafort documents in an effort to influence the American election for Clinton, the public deserves to know who knew what, and when.

## ADVERTISEMENT

Lutsenko's interview with [Hill.TV](#) raises another troubling dynamic: The U.S. embassy and the chief Ukrainian prosecutor, who America entrusts with fighting corruption inside an allied country, currently have a dysfunctional relationship.

In our interview, Lutsenko accused the Obama-era U.S. embassy in 2016 of interfering in his ability to prosecute corruption cases, saying the U.S. ambassador gave him a list of defendants that he would not be allowed to pursue and then refused to cooperate in an early investigation into the alleged misappropriation of U.S. aid in Ukraine.

Lutsenko provided me with a letter from the embassy, supporting part of his story by showing that a U.S. official did in fact ask him to stand down on the misappropriation-of-funds case. "We are gravely concerned about this investigation for which we see no basis," an embassy official named George Kent wrote to the prosecutor's office.

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

## ADVERTISEMENT

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

Last year, when he served as House Rules Committee chairman, Rep. [Pete Sessions](#) (R-Texas) wrote a private letter asking Secretary of State [Mike Pompeo](#) to recall the current U.S. ambassador, alleging that she made disparaging statements about [President Trump](#).

The ambassador "has spoken privately and repeatedly about her disdain for the current administration in a way that might call for the expulsion" of America's top diplomat in Ukraine, Sessions wrote.

Such dysfunction does not benefit either country, especially when Russia is lurking around the corner, hoping to regain its influence in the former Soviet republic.

Investigating what's going on in the U.S. embassy in Kiev, and whether elements in Ukraine tried to influence the 2016 U.S. election to help Clinton, are essential steps to rebooting a key relationship.

*John Solomon is an award-winning investigative journalist whose work over the years has exposed U.S. and FBI intelligence failures before the Sept. 11 attacks, federal scientists' misuse of foster children and veterans in drug experiments, and numerous cases of political corruption. He serves as an investigative columnist and executive vice president for video at The Hill.*

---

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

**Date:** March 21, 2019 at 6:37:21 AM GMT+2

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

(b)(6) (b)(6) (b)(6) >, Holmes,  
 David A (Kyiv) (b)(6), Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
 Reinert, David "Mike" (Kyiv) (b)(6) Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6)  
**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

It looks like the President tweeted about this an hour ago:

"John Solomon: as Russia collusion fades, Ukrainian plot to help Clinton emerges."  
 @seanhannity @FoxNews

It's been retweeted 7,322 times.

Apologies, I can't copy the link on my iPhone.

---

**From:** (b)(6) (b)(6)  
**Date:** March 20, 2019 at 7:56:03 PM GMT+2  
**To:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) (b)(6) (b)(6) Holmes, David  
 A (Kyiv) (b)(6) Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv) (b)(6) Reinert,  
 David "Mike" (Kyiv) (b)(6) Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6)  
**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

The Hill article about Lutsenko opening an investigation into a plot to aid Clinton has also been picked up by Fox News correspondent Sara Carter.

The Hill story about the list of people not to prosecute is also starting to get more actively picked up in Ukrainian media within the past half hour or so. It's been reported by Censor, Liga, Radio Svoboda, LB, etc. Liga contacted the press service of the PGO to confirm that Lutsenko did indeed give an interview to Hill TV. Larisa Sargan from the PGO office responded, "She [Amb Y] at the meeting voiced a list of people who should not be prosecuted." When Liga asked why Lutsenko only now reported this, Sargan answered: "Because now they asked him about it."

Sargan also said the list included "not two or three names, but more," and among them are representatives of the legislative branch.

Official - SBU

UNCLASSIFIED

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 20, 2019 7:17 PM  
**To:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) (b)(6) (b)(6) Holmes, David  
 A (Kyiv) (b)(6) Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv) (b)(6) Reinert,  
 David "Mike" (Kyiv) (b)(6) Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6)  
**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

Samopomich MP Olena Sotnyk posted on Facebook:

Well, I think it's not even worth commenting ... #epicfail [link to BBC Ukrainian article about The Hill's article about a list of people to not prosecute]

Official - SBU

UNCLASSIFIED

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 20, 2019 7:09 PM  
**To:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) (b)(6) (b)(6) Holmes, David  
 A (Kyiv) (b)(6) Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv) (b)(6) Reinert,  
 David "Mike" (Kyiv) (b)(6) Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6)  
**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

Post from Volodymyr Oliinyk, another fugitive MP, from Yanukovych's team – rough translation.  
(From 3 hours ago, so likely not a reaction specifically to the Hill article)

#### EVERYTHING IS JUST STARTING

After Manafort we assumed that the testimony of Sytnik and other actors would drag a whole group of Ukrainian politicians, and not only Ukrainian ones, into responsibility for the events during the US presidential election in 2016. The United States Ambassador to Ukraine Marie Yovanovitch has already been suspected. She is already preparing to leave Kyiv. I do not rule out that even Petro Poroshenko can easily become a figure of the interference with Democratic elections in favor of Hillary Clinton. This is stretched out into the light of God with the help of one of the deputy heads of the head of the SBU, who was engaged in this on the initiative of Petro Poroshenko. Americans are slowly finishing with the main curator, this is Manafort, they begin to figure out who was transferring money, who revealed the fictitious data of discrediting the head of Donald Trump's election headquarters. Trump will never forgive that. He began to take steps [against] many politicians and Ukrainians in particular. And these will not be the latest findings of the American Justice regarding the presence of the crime of interference with the US electoral process. It is just beginning. Revenge is always a dish best served cold.

**Official - SBU**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 20, 2019 7:04 PM  
**To:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6); (b)(6) (b)(6) Holmes, David  
 A (Kyiv) (b)(6) Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv) (b)(6) Reinert,  
 David "Mike" (Kyiv) (b)(6) Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6)  
**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

Bloomberg and RFE/RL are seeking comment on today's issues, FYI – Ray is directing them to Washington (due to Washington's preference to handle U.S. media inquiries).

Official - SBU

UNCLASSIFIED

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 20, 2019 6:50 PM  
**To:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6); (b)(6)  
(b)(6); (b)(6); (b)(6); Holmes, David  
A (Kyiv) (b)(6); Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv) (b)(6); Reinert,  
David "Mike" (Kyiv) (b)(6); Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv)  
(b)(6)  
**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

Here's a new article from The Hill about their Lutsenko interview (no U.S. connection in this one, but just for awareness). This was published about 10 minutes ago:

#### **Top Ukrainian official accuses Putin of 'blackmail' ahead of country's election**

Ukraine's Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko told Hill.TV that Russian President Vladimir Putin is forcing Ukrainian voters to choose between further conflict with Russia or electing a presidential candidate preferred by Putin.

Lutsenko, when asked by Hill.TV's John Solomon last week if there has been any evidence of Russian interference in the upcoming elections, said, "This question was raised by Mr. Putin. Whether we go together with [President Petro] Poroshenko and we continue to wage war, or we go with anybody besides Mr. Poroshenko, and he works with anybody besides him."

"The question has been complicated not only because of direct blackmail of Putin of the Ukrainian people but also of his influence on media resources in the country," Lutsenko added.

Hill.TV has reached out to the Russian Embassy in Washington for comment.

Voters in Ukraine head to the polls on March 31 for presidential elections, where Poroshenko is seeking reelection. The first round of elections began Dec. 31. There are 39 candidates on the ballot.

Ukraine's security services are gearing up for potential Russian cyberattacks during the election amid tensions between the countries.

Russia annexed Crimea from Ukraine in 2014, prompting significant international backlash and sanctions against Moscow. The international community has not formally

recognized Russia's seizure of the territory, and military tensions have been heightened ever since.

— Hill.TV Staff

<https://thehill.com/hilltv/rising/434910-putin-has-blackmailed-ukrainian-people-ahead-of-election-says-top-ukrainian>

**Official - SBU**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 20, 2019 6:44 PM  
**To:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) (b)(6) (b)(6) Holmes, David  
 A (Kyiv) (b)(6) Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv) (b)(6) Reinert,  
 David "Mike" (Kyiv) (b)(6) Tremont, Pamela M (KYIV)  
 (b)(6)  
**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

BBC-Ukrainian has picked up The Hill report with Lutsenko claiming AMB gave him a list of people not to prosecute. <https://www.bbc.com/ukrainian/news-47642452>

A Zik TV reporter Natasha Vlaschenko has also tweeted the following – likely not in response to the Hill pieces but the other rumors Stephanie circulated earlier today (rough translation):

“There are serious rumors that Marie Yovanovitch is packing her suitcases. Recalled. Too much wonderful happened in the past months. Trump got tired of tweeting :) “

**Official - SBU**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 20, 2019 6:27 PM

**To:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) (b)(6) (b)(6) Holmes, David  
 A (Kyiv) (b)(6) Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv) (b)(6) Reinert,  
 David "Mike" (Kyiv) (b)(6) Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6)  
**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

Sean Hannity of Fox News just retweeted one of the Hill articles. His tweet says:

Senior Ukrainian official says he's opened probe into US election interference *[with a link to the Hill piece]*

**Official - SBU**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 20, 2019 5:59 PM  
**To:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) (b)(6) (b)(6) Holmes, David  
 A (Kyiv) (b)(6) Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv) (b)(6) Reinert,  
 David "Mike" (Kyiv) (b)(6) Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6)  
**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

Chris Miller tweets about the Hill article:

Wild claim by Ukraine's Prosecutor General Yuriy Lutsenko, who President Poroshenko appointed & had his party in parliament push thru law allowing person with no legal experience to hold the PG position. Seems Lutsenko is bitter about US \$ pulled from PGO

The AMB Y early departure narrative is also being promoted on Facebook by fugitive MP Aleksandr Onyshenko.

Official - SBU

UNCLASSIFIED

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 20, 2019 5:56 PM  
**To:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6)  
(b)(6) (b)(6) (b)(6) Holmes, David  
A (Kyiv) (b)(6); Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv) (b)(6) Reinert,  
David "Mike" (Kyiv) (b)(6)  
(b)(6)  
**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

Not directly related to the Hill article ... but the Volodymyr Bokyo Facebook post that (b)(6) flagged earlier (about Karen Greenaway, etc.) is being picked up by some propaganda-style outlets, some of which are reporting as of 5ish hours ago that AMB Y may leave her post early and return to Washington.

<http://news24ua.com/poyavilas-informaciya-chto-posol-ssha-v-ukraine-mari-yovanovich-dosrochno-pokidaet-svoy-post>

<https://www.politnavigator.net/posol-ssha-v-kieve-vlyapalas-v-grandioznyj-skandal.html>

Back on the subject of The Hill – the article has been picked up by RIA Novosti in Russian.

<https://ria.ru/20190320/1551968770.html>

Official - SBU

UNCLASSIFIED

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 20, 2019 5:52 PM

**To:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) (b)(6) (b)(6); Holmes, David  
 A (Kyiv) (b)(6) Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv) (b)(6); Reinert,  
 David "Mike" (Kyiv) (b)(6) Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6)  
**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

Kyiv Post has reprinted the first Hill article (Top Ukrainian Justice Official Says U.S. AMB Gave Him a Do Not Prosecute List)

<https://www.kyivpost.com/ukraine-politics/the-hill-top-ukrainian-justice-official-says-us-ambassador-gave-him-a-do-not-prosecute-list.html>

**Official - SBU**

UNCLASSIFIED

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 20, 2019 5:44 PM  
**To:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6) (b)(6)  
 (b)(6) (b)(6) (b)(6); Holmes, David  
 A (Kyiv) (b)(6) Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv) (b)(6); Reinert,  
 David "Mike" (Kyiv) (b)(6) Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6)  
**Subject:** RE: Reactions to Hill Article

**Nick Short – Security Studies Group (only about 5K followers, but has a verified account, @PoliticalShort)**

Lutsenko is probing a claim from a member of the Ukrainian parliament, saying the director of the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine (NABU), Artem Sytnyk, attempted to interfere in the 2016 U.S. presidential election on behalf of Hillary Clinton.

**Yossi Gestetner – has about 20K followers and a verified Twitter account:**

Ukrainian Prosecutor Yuriy Lutsenko told [@jsolomonReports](#) that he has opened a probe into alleged attempts by Ukrainians to interfere in the US 2016 POTUS election. Story of the collusion between DNC and Ukraine was first reported in Jan 2017 by Politico, but then buried.

**Official - SBU**

**UNCLASSIFIED**

---

**From:** (b)(6)  
**Sent:** Wednesday, March 20, 2019 5:39 PM  
**To:** Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6); (b)(6)  
 (b)(6); (b)(6); (b)(6); Holmes, David  
 A (Kyiv) (b)(6); Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv) (b)(6); Reinert,  
 David "Mike" (Kyiv) (b)(6); Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv)  
 (b)(6)  
**Subject:** Reactions to Hill Article

Starting an email chain to share traditional and social media reactions to the Hill story. This is a small distro; if Front Office wants it expanded, just let me know. I'll reply to this group with further updates as they come in.

**Tweets from Oleksiy Kuzmenko, a DC-based journalist focusing on Ukraine, associated with Bellingcat:**

Big! Shots fired re the US Ambassador Yovanovitch by Ukraine's Pros. Gen. Lutsenko [@thehill](#) "From the first meeting, with the U.S. Ambassador in Kiev, [Yovanovitch] gave me a list of people whom we should not prosecute," Lutsenko tells [@jsolomonReports](#)

No need to guess if Lutsenko is happy with the US support for the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine

"At that time, [Yovanovitch] thought that our interviews of the Ukrainian citizens of the Ukrainian civil servants who were frequent visitors in the U.S. embassy put a shadow on that anti-corruption policy." Lutsenko told [@jsolomonReports](#)

Official - SBU

UNCLASSIFIED

<b>Sender:</b>	(b)(6)
<b>Recipient:</b>	Kent, George P (b)(6)
	Castillo, Raymond A (Kyiv) (b)(6)
	Tremont, Pamela M (Kyiv) (b)(6)
	Yovanovitch, Marie L (Kyiv) (b)(6)
	(b)(6) (b)(6)
	Holmes, David A (Kyiv)
	Reinert, David Mike (Ky)
	(b)(6)
	Schutte, John P (Kyiv) (b)(6)
	(b)(6)
Kyiv EXEC <Kyiv_EXEC@state.gov>	
(b)(6)	
EUR-Press <EUR-Press-DL@state.gov>	