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UNITED STATES SENATE

COMMITTEE ON HOMELAND SECURITY AND GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

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INTERVIEW OF: :

KAREN A. TRAMONTANO :

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Room SD-342 and via Webex  
Dirksen Senate Office Building  
Washington, D.C.  
Friday, August 28, 2020  
10:16 a.m.

INTERVIEW OF KAREN A. TRAMONTANO

1 APPEARANCES:

2 For the Witness:

3 PETER KADZIK, ESQ.

4 JACOB TULLY, ESQ.

5 Venable LLP

6 600 Massachusetts Avenue, NW

7 Washington, D.C. 20001

8

9 ALYSSA WOLFINGTON, ESQ

10 Venable LLP

11 1270 Avenue of the Americas

12 Rockefeller Center, 24th Floor

13 New York, NY 10020

14

15 For Senator Johnson:

16 JOSEPH C. FOLIO, III, Chief Counsel, HSGAC

17 SCOTT WITTMANN, Senior Professional Staff Member, HSGAC

18 BRIAN DOWNEY, Senior Investigator, HSGAC

19 LYDIA WESTLAKE, Senior Advisor, HSGAC

20 SARAH SMERLING, Professional Staff Member, HSGAC

21 WILLIAM SACRIPANTI, Professional Staff Member, HSGAC

22

23

24

25

1 APPEARANCES: (Continued)

2 For Senator Grassley:

3 JOSHUA FLYNN-BROWN, Deputy Chief Investigative Counsel,

4 Finance Committee

5 QUINTON BRADY, Investigative Counsel, Finance Committee

6

7 For Senator Peters:

8 ZACHARY SCHRAM, Minority Chief Counsel, HSGAC

9 ROY AWABDEH, Minority Senior Counsel, HSGAC

10 SOUMYALATHA DAYANANDA, Minority Senior Investigative

11 Counsel, HSGAC

12 VALERIE SHEN, Investigative Counsel, HSGAC

13

14 For Senator Wyden:

15 DAVID BERICK, Minority Chief Investigator, Finance

16 Committee

17 DAN GOSHORN, Minority Senior Counsel, Finance Committee

18 JOSH HEATH, Minority Investigator, Finance Committee

19 MICHAEL OSBORN-GROSSO, Minority Investigator, Finance

20 Committee

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22

23

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1 P R O C E E D I N G S

2 MR. FOLIO: Good morning, everyone. This is a  
3 transcribed interview of Ms. Karen Tramontano conducted by  
4 the Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental  
5 Affairs and the Senate Committee on Finance. This interview  
6 was requested by Chairman Ron Johnson and Chairman Charles  
7 Grassley as part of the committees' investigation of whether  
8 there were any actual or apparent conflicts of interest or  
9 any other wrongdoing with regard to the Obama administration  
10 Ukraine policy or Burisma Holdings as well as related  
11 matters.

12 On December 3rd, 2019, Chairman Grassley and Chairman  
13 Johnson sent a letter to Blue Star Strategies requesting  
14 information. Since then, Chairman Grassley and Chairman  
15 Johnson have requested Ms. Tramontano's appearance for a  
16 voluntary transcribed interview.

17 In response through counsel and also through the  
18 company, they have provided us with records that are  
19 responsive not only to our voluntary request for information  
20 but also responsive to the subpoena.

21 Ms. Tramontano, can you please state your full name for  
22 the record.

23 MS. TRAMONTANO: It's Karen Ann Tramontano.

24 MR. FOLIO: Good morning, Ms. Tramontano. My name  
25 again is Joseph Folio. I'm the chief counsel for the

1 Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee. I'm  
2 going to introduce the other members of Chairman Johnson's  
3 staff who are joining me in the hearing room today, and then  
4 I will ask the other staff to introduce themselves.

5       So from Chairman Johnson's staff joining me, Scott  
6 Wittman, Brian Downey, Sarah Smerling, and Will Sacripanti.

7       I'll ask Chairman Grassley's staff to introduce  
8 themselves.

9       MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Good morning, Ms. Tramontano. My  
10 name is Josh Flynn-Brown. I'm deputy chief investigative  
11 counsel for Chairman Grassley, and today I'm joined by my  
12 colleague, Quinton Brady.

13       MR. FOLIO: I'll ask Senator Peters' staff to introduce  
14 themselves.

15       MR. SCHRAM: Good morning, Ms. Tramontano. Thank you  
16 for your time today. The Minority's participation is not an  
17 endorsement of the investigation. As the Ranking Members  
18 have said publicly, they believe this investigation advances  
19 a rush-in-disinformation campaign and is intended to  
20 interfere in our 2020 presidential election.

21       We are now 67 days away from the election. Just a few  
22 weeks ago on August 7th, the director of the National  
23 Counterintelligence and Security Center, William Evanina,  
24 issued an unclassified assessment of foreign election  
25 threats stating, quote, Russia is using a range of measures

1 to primarily denigrate former Vice President Biden. For  
2 example, pro-Russia Ukrainian Parliamentarian Andrii Derkach  
3 is spreading claims about corruption, including through  
4 publicizing leaked phone calls to undermine former Vice  
5 President Biden's candidacy and the Democratic Party. The  
6 chairman's investigation has provided the United States  
7 Senate and our committees as a platform to amplify the  
8 Russian attack on our election described by Mr. Evanina.  
9 Chairman Johnson has repeatedly admitted that the  
10 investigation is targeted at influencing voters and hurting  
11 Vice President Biden's presidential candidacy.

12 In March 2020, hours after Joe Biden became the top  
13 Democratic contender, Chairman Johnson stated, quote, And if  
14 I were a Democrat primary voter, I'd want these questions  
15 satisfactorily answered before I cast my final vote.

16 Earlier this month in describing the investigation,  
17 Chairman Johnson said, quote, I would think it would  
18 certainly help Donald Trump win reelection and certainly be  
19 pretty good, I would say, evidence about not voting for Vice  
20 President Biden.

21 I would also note we are conducting this interview  
22 remotely because we are in the midst of a pandemic that has  
23 created an extraordinary public health crisis in the United  
24 States. Since this investigation started, more than 180,000  
25 Americans have died of COVID. The Homeland Security and

1 Governmental Affairs Committee has jurisdiction over  
2 pandemic preparedness and response, and yet this committee  
3 has now spent considerably more time on the record in this  
4 investigation than it has devoted to all of its COVID  
5 hearings combined.

6 As Chairman Johnson told a radio host on August 12th,  
7 quote, Whether I am in D.C. or not, I'm working on this  
8 almost nonstop, okay? So is my staff.

9 Ranking Member Peters believes that this investigation  
10 is a misuse of committee resources that does not advance the  
11 health, safety, or economic security of Americans,  
12 consistent with our committee's mission. We have a right  
13 and responsibility to be here, and we will do our best to  
14 ensure that you are treated fairly, that the record is  
15 accurate and complete, and that the national security of the  
16 United States is protected.

17 I am joined by my colleague, Soumya Dayananda, Valerie  
18 Shen, and Roy Awabdeh.

19 MR. FOLIO: And for the record, I am going to first  
20 refer to the several times, both in transcripts and in other  
21 public statements and letters, that we have responded to the  
22 allegations from Senator Peters' staff.

23 I can also note that the handful of hours that we've  
24 spent in interviews in no way comes close to the number of  
25 hours that the rest of our staff and some of this staff has

1 actually spent focused on the COVID issue. I can't speak  
2 for Chairman Peters, but it's certainly more than a few  
3 hours of interviews with witnesses, especially when compared  
4 to the 25-plus people we have on staff.

5       Regardless, we've also noted that this investigation is  
6 based entirely, almost entirely on U.S. records, U.S.  
7 companies like Blue Star, and former and current government  
8 officials to the connections that happened, and any of the  
9 allegations of disinformation or advancing such claim are  
10 baseless and demonstrate so in multiple public filings.

11       Ranking Member Wyden's staff?

12       MR. BERICK: Thank you. I am David Berick. I am the  
13 chief investigator for the Democratic staff of the Senate  
14 Finance Committee. I am joined by Dan Goshorn, Josh Heath,  
15 and Michael Osborn-Grosso.

16       For the record, we associate ourselves with Mr.  
17 Schram's remarks concerning this investigation. This  
18 investigation has been made a Finance Committee  
19 investigation by Chairman Grassley, and the Committee  
20 Minority has a right to participate. As such, our  
21 participation is not an endorsement of the investigation.

22       We believe that the bases cited by Chairman Johnson and  
23 Chairman Grassley are unfounded and had been refuted by  
24 witnesses who testified before the House during the  
25 impeachment proceeding, before the Senate Intelligence

1 Committee, and now before these committees as well.

2       We note that on August 18th, the Senate Select  
3 Committee on Intelligence issued the fifth volume of its  
4 investigation into Russian interference in the 2016  
5 election, which casts further doubt on the merits of this  
6 investigation and the credibility and the sources such as  
7 Andrii Telizchenko, an individual we will hear more about  
8 from today's witness.

9       Furthermore, Ranking Member Wyden has expressed  
10 particular concern in the record upon which this  
11 investigation is being conducted is complete. The Majority  
12 has--Minority has not received documents that's requested  
13 from the administration, especially documents related to Mr.  
14 Zlochevsky, the owner of Burisma, and Viktor Shokin from the  
15 Ukraine prosecutor general's office.

16       Furthermore, although the State Department is  
17 voluntarily cooperating with the majority, they have refused  
18 requests by Ranking Member Wyden to receive information.

19       We also note, as Mr. Schram noted, that the  
20 investigation, bringing the investigation, over 5.8 million  
21 of Americans contracted COVID-19. More than 177,000 have  
22 died. The Finance Committee has responsibility for Medicare  
23 and Medicaid programs, including oversight of nursing homes.  
24 The disease has disproportionately impacted those  
25 populations.

1           Finally, also, as Mr. Schram noted, the election is 67  
2 days away, with many Americans attempting to vote by mail  
3 and through absentee and early voting well before then. We  
4 agree with the assessment that Chairman Johnson has made it  
5 clear in his statements to the media that he intends to  
6 report the findings of this and related investigations in an  
7 effort to discredit Vice President Biden and to influence  
8 that election.

9           MR. FOLIO: Ms. Tramontano, I will now explain how the  
10 interview will proceed.

11           The Federal Rules of Civil Procedure do not apply to  
12 any of the committee's investigative activities, including  
13 transcribed interviews.

14           The way questioning will proceed is that we will  
15 alternate between the Majority and Minority staff for one  
16 hour each. The Majority staff will begin for an hour, and  
17 then the Minority staff will have an opportunity to ask its  
18 questions for an hour. Then we will rotate back and forth  
19 until there are no more questions.

20           During the interview, we will do our best to limit the  
21 number of people who are directing questions at you during  
22 any given hour. That said, from time to time, a follow-up  
23 question or clarifying question may be helpful, and if  
24 that's the case, you may hear from other staff around the  
25 virtual table. And because we are all virtual, I will ask

1 everyone just to please speak slowly and allow opportunities  
2 to be heard clearly, especially for Ms. Gray, the reporter.

3 Ms. Gray is going to create a verbatim record of what  
4 we discuss today. With that in mind, Ms. Tramontano, it's  
5 important that you respond to our questions verbally. The  
6 reporter cannot properly record nonverbal responses or  
7 gestures. Do you understand this?

8 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes, I do.

9 MR. FOLIO: We encourage witnesses that appear before  
10 the committee to freely consult with counsel. Do you have  
11 counsel present with you today?

12 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes, I do.

13 MR. FOLIO: And for the record, can counsel please  
14 state their name.

15 MR. KADZIK: Yes. It's Peter Kadzik, K-a-d-z-i-k.

16 MR. FOLIO: Thank you, Peter.

17 Ms. Tramontano, we want you to answer our questions in  
18 the most complete and truthful manner possible. So we're  
19 going to take our time. If you have any questions or do not  
20 understand what is being asked, just let us know. We'll be  
21 happy to clarify or repeat. Do you understand?

22 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes, I do.

23 MR. FOLIO: It's the committee's practice to honor  
24 valid common law privilege claims as an accommodation to a  
25 witness or party when those claims are made in good faith

1 and accompanied by sufficient explanation so that the  
2 committees can evaluate the claim. On deciding whether to  
3 honor a privilege, the committees weigh their need for the  
4 information against any legitimate basis for withholding it.

5 This interview is occurring without prejudice to any  
6 future discussions with the committees, and we reserve the  
7 right to request your participation in future interviews  
8 where we compel testimony.

9 Ms. Tramontano, if you need to take a break, please let  
10 us know. We will ordinarily take a break at the end of each  
11 hour, but if you need to take a break before then, just let  
12 us know. All right?

13 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes. Thank you.

14 MR. FOLIO: Ms. Tramontano, you are required to answer  
15 questions before Congress truthfully. Do you understand  
16 that?

17 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes, I do.

18 MR. FOLIO: And this also applies to questions posed by  
19 congressional staff in an interview. Specifically, 18 USC  
20 Section 1001 makes it a crime to make any materially false  
21 or fictitious or fraudulent statement or representation in  
22 the course of a congressional interview. So this statute  
23 applies to your statements in this interview. Do you  
24 understand that?

25 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes, I do.

1 MR. FOLIO: Ms. Tramontano, is there any reason you are  
2 unable to provide truthful answers to today's questions?

3 MS. TRAMONTANO: There is no reason.

4 MR. FOLIO: And finally, we'll ask that you not speak  
5 about what we discuss in this interview with anyone else  
6 outside of who's here in the virtual room today in order to  
7 preserve the integrity of our investigation. We also ask  
8 that you not remove any exhibits or committee documents from  
9 the interview as we previously discussed with your counsel.  
10 Do you understand and agree?

11 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes, I do, and I agree.

12 MR. FOLIO: Ms. Tramontano, any questions before we  
13 begin the Majority's--

14 MS. TRAMONTANO: No, I have no questions.

15 MR. FOLIO: Ms. Tramontano, what is your position at  
16 Blue Star Strategies?

17 MS. TRAMONTANO: I'm the CEO.

18 MR. FOLIO: And for how long have you been the CEO at  
19 Blue Star Strategies?

20 MS. TRAMONTANO: Since the firm's inception, which  
21 would have been, I think, November 2009.

22 MR. FOLIO: And what are your roles and  
23 responsibilities as CEO?

24 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, with--so I'm the co-founder so--  
25 with Sally Painter. So we, you know, run the firm, solicit

1 business, perform day-to-day services for our clients,  
2 manage staff--

3 MR. FOLIO: How would you describe--

4 MS. TRAMONTANO: --and the accounts.

5 MR. FOLIO: How would you describe the--

6 MS. TRAMONTANO: Could you say that again?

7 MR. FOLIO: --firm, Blue Star Strategies? What kind of  
8 firm is Blue Star Strategies?

9 MS. TRAMONTANO: We're a government and--government  
10 affairs and public affairs firm.

11 MR. FOLIO: How many employees do you have?

12 MS. TRAMONTANO: Currently--I have to count. Let's  
13 see. So not counting myself and Sally Painter because we're  
14 not employees of the firm--we own it. So it's five--six.  
15 We've lost a couple of people during COVID. So I think,  
16 yeah, six, I think.

17 MR. FOLIO: And since your firm opened in 2009, is  
18 around six employees about the usual size of the firm?

19 MS. TRAMONTANO: No. We've had--we've had more. I  
20 think we've had eight. Maybe the highest was probably eight  
21 employees.

22 MR. FOLIO: What is Sally Painter--

23 MS. TRAMONTANO: We're down to--

24 MR. FOLIO: Sorry. I'm not following my own advice and  
25 letting you complete.

1 MS. TRAMONTANO: No, no. I said we're down two  
2 employees right now, and one of our employees is going on to  
3 get an advanced degree. So we're a little low in our staff  
4 level right now.

5 MR. FOLIO: What is Sally Painter's position at Blue  
6 Star Strategies?

7 MS. TRAMONTANO: She's the COO.

8 MR. FOLIO: And how long has she been in that position?

9 MS. TRAMONTANO: We founded the firm together, so same  
10 amount of time.

11 MR. FOLIO: And what are Ms. Painter's roles and  
12 responsibilities at the firm?

13 MS. TRAMONTANO: She has more of the human resources  
14 roles than I do. She's more responsible for the day-to-day  
15 management of the staff overall, but otherwise, we, you  
16 know, have similar functions with regard to, you know,  
17 clients and business development. I probably have more of  
18 the financial responsibilities of the firm, overseeing our  
19 temporary CFO, but other ways, our functions are pretty,  
20 pretty similar, I would say.

21 MR. FOLIO: When did Burisma Holdings become a client  
22 of Blue Star Strategies?

23 MS. TRAMONTANO: In November of 2015.

24 MR. FOLIO: What did you know about Burisma before you  
25 considered taking them as a client in November of 2015?

1 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, we knew that they were one of  
2 the larger providers of energy for Ukraine. We knew the--  
3 you know, the sort of just generally what some of the  
4 concern--the concerns that they had about allegations that  
5 were being made about the company.

6 We had researched some of the, you know, the board  
7 members. I don't know what--you know, I can't recall now  
8 what else we did, but we did basic research about the  
9 company and had several conversations with their  
10 representative.

11 MR. FOLIO: What were the concerns that they had about  
12 allegations against the company?

13 MS. TRAMONTANO: They were concerned about the  
14 allegations that Ambassador Pyatt had made about the  
15 company, and they were concerned about the  
16 mischaracterization of the decision by a UK court that  
17 Ambassador Pyatt had made.

18 MR. FOLIO: And when did Ambassador Pyatt make those  
19 allegations?

20 MS. TRAMONTANO: I'm not 100 percent certain of the  
21 time frame. It was in 2015, maybe, you know, August or  
22 September. I'm not--although I'm not 100 percent sure.

23 MR. FOLIO: And what were the specific allegations that  
24 concerned the company?

25 MS. TRAMONTANO: Could--your last--your words were a

1 little muffled, Mr. Folio. Could you just say what you said  
2 again?

3 MR. FOLIO: Of course. What were the specific concerns  
4 that the company--or I'm sorry--the specific allegations  
5 that concerned the company?

6 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, they were concerned that  
7 Ambassador Pyatt had singled the company out as a corrupt  
8 company and that Ambassador Pyatt had either stated or  
9 alleged that the decision in the UK court was not valid.

10 MR. FOLIO: And what was the UK court decision about?

11 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, to the best of my recollection,  
12 I can tell you generally. There was an allegation that  
13 money had been--money that had been received through  
14 licenses, energy licenses, had been--had been laundered.  
15 That's generally what the allegations in the court case  
16 were.

17 MR. FOLIO: Were those allegations against the company?

18 MS. TRAMONTANO: I believe they were against the  
19 company's shareholder.

20 MR. FOLIO: And who is that?

21 MS. TRAMONTANO: His name is Mykola Zlochevsky.

22 MR. FOLIO: So they were not against the company. They  
23 were against Mr. Zlochevsky?

24 MS. TRAMONTANO: You know, I'm not 100 percent sure.  
25 It may have, you know, implied--or imputed the same, you

1 know, allegations of corruption with regard to the company  
2 as well.

3 MR. FOLIO: You also said that prior to taking Blue  
4 Star as a client in November 2015, you researched its board  
5 members. What research did you conduct about the board  
6 members?

7 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, the former president of Poland,  
8 Mr. Kwasniewski, is, you know, someone we knew because of  
9 our NATO work, and so we--you know, we just did some general  
10 research to see, you know, who the chairperson was and the  
11 fact that Kwasniewski was on the board and, you know,  
12 learned at that time that Mr. Biden and Mr. Archer were on  
13 the board.

14 MR. FOLIO: And when you say you learned at that time,  
15 when was that time?

16 MS. TRAMONTANO: My recollection is that it was the  
17 fall of 2015.

18 MR. FOLIO: So when you learned this, were you in the  
19 process of considering entering into a representation for  
20 Burisma?

21 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yeah, the company had been introduced  
22 to us, and we had done some research about the company.

23 MR. FOLIO: Who introduced the company to you?

24 MS. TRAMONTANO: Devon Archer.

25 MR. FOLIO: And who is Devon Archer?

1 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, Devon Archer at the time was a  
2 member of the board. I didn't know Devon before that.

3 MR. FOLIO: And how did Mr. Archer identify your firm  
4 as a possible firm to represent Burisma?

5 MS. TRAMONTANO: Devon Archer was introduced to us by  
6 Eric Schwerin.

7 MR. FOLIO: And who is Eric Schwerin?

8 MS. TRAMONTANO: Eric Schwerin is someone I knew from  
9 my days in the Clinton White House.

10 MR. FOLIO: And at the time that Mr. Schwerin  
11 introduced you to Mr. Archer, where did Mr. Schwerin work?

12 MS. TRAMONTANO: You know, I don't know at the time  
13 where Eric worked.

14 MR. FOLIO: Do you know generally around that time what  
15 Eric was doing?

16 MS. TRAMONTANO: No, I don't know specifically what he  
17 was doing.

18 MR. FOLIO: Is he an attorney?

19 MS. TRAMONTANO: Not to my knowledge.

20 MR. FOLIO: So what was the context in which Eric  
21 introduced you to Mr. Archer? Was it a professional  
22 relationship that you had with Eric that led to this?

23 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yeah, Eric had introduced Devon to us  
24 because Devon had questions about a bank that he was--I  
25 don't know, he was about to do business with, and Eric asked

1 if we knew the bank.

2 MR. FOLIO: And what bank was that?

3 MS. TRAMONTANO: The bank is called Norvik Bank.

4 MR. FOLIO: And Mr. Archer's interest in Norvik Bank,  
5 was that related to his position on the board of Burisma?

6 MS. TRAMONTANO: It was not.

7 MR. FOLIO: To what was it related?

8 MS. TRAMONTANO: It wasn't related to anything in  
9 particular. Eric just introduced us to Devon, and Devon had  
10 a question about whether we knew Norvik Bank.

11 MR. FOLIO: And when did Mr. Schwerin introduce you to  
12 Mr. Archer?

13 MS. TRAMONTANO: As I said, the best of my recollection  
14 was it was the fall of 2015. It could have been the late  
15 summer of 2015. That's the best of my recollection.

16 MR. FOLIO: So you said the first--the basis for the  
17 introduction was Mr. Archer's an about Norvik Bank, but when  
18 did--

19 MS. TRAMONTANO: That's correct.

20 MR. FOLIO: --Mr. Archer raise Burisma with you?

21 MS. TRAMONTANO: It was after the conversation about  
22 Norvik Bank, sometime after that.

23 MR. FOLIO: So it was a separate conversation?

24 MS. TRAMONTANO: It was a separate conversation, yes.

25 MR. FOLIO: Okay. And can you please describe for us

1 the conversation you had with Mr. Archer when he first  
2 raised Burisma to you?

3 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, I really--I don't recall the  
4 specifics of the conversation. I mean, it was several years  
5 ago. So I don't really recall the specifics.

6 MR. FOLIO: Why did he want to talk to you about  
7 Burisma?

8 MS. TRAMONTANO: You know, I think, you know, he--he  
9 thought we could be helpful to Burisma and, you know, talk  
10 to them about the concerns that they had.

11 MR. FOLIO: So when he spoke with you, did he raise the  
12 company's concerns, the basis for you possibly representing  
13 them?

14 MS. TRAMONTANO: I don't recall that specifically. I  
15 think it was a much more general conversation.

16 MR. FOLIO: What types of services did Mr. Archer think  
17 that you could possibly offer Burisma?

18 MR. KADZIK: If you know, if you can speculate as to  
19 what he was concerned with.

20 MR. FOLIO: I'm sorry. Do not speculate. Just in the  
21 course of your conversation, I'm assuming Mr. Archer came to  
22 you and had a reason why or thoughts why your firm would be  
23 interested in representing Burisma. And so the question is:  
24 What did Mr. Archer tell you that he thought your firm could  
25 provide to Burisma?

1 MS. TRAMONTANO: I don't recall the specifics of the  
2 conversation, like what he said and what we said. You know,  
3 we had conversations. In the course of those conversations,  
4 we talked to Devon about the work that we had done in a  
5 number of countries, and we probably--you know, I don't want  
6 to speculate, so I can't say what it was that he thought  
7 that we could do. Just I don't have a specific recollection  
8 of that conversation other than he came to know our work and  
9 wanted to introduce us to Burisma.

10 MR. FOLIO: I thought in one of your prior answers, but  
11 please correct me if I'm wrong, you said that you thought  
12 that you could talk to the company about their concerns.  
13 Were those the same concerns that we discussed before, the  
14 company's concerns about allegations that had been raised  
15 against it?

16 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes, I mean, we're--I'm struggling  
17 here as I do not have a specific recollection of the words  
18 that, you know, were--the specific words that, you know,  
19 Devon said in a conversation with regard to Burisma. I  
20 learned of the company's specific concerns with regard to  
21 statements Ambassador Pyatt had made through the company's  
22 representative, not through Devon.

23 MR. FOLIO: Okay.

24 MS. TRAMONTANO: So to the extent my statement was  
25 somewhat muddled, I--you know, I didn't learn of those

1 concerns from Devon, to the best of my recollection.

2 MR. FOLIO: And who is the company representative from  
3 whom you learned about those concerns?

4 MS. TRAMONTANO: Vadym Pozharskiy.

5 MR. FOLIO: When you met Mr. Archer, when did you learn  
6 that he served on the board of Burisma?

7 MS. TRAMONTANO: I don't believe it was in the first--  
8 you know, when Devon came--and I'm not even sure that this  
9 was a meeting. It may have been a phone call. I don't have  
10 a present recollection as to whether it was a meeting or a  
11 phone call. You know, his--the first conversation or  
12 conversations we had with Devon were about Norvik Bank. I  
13 don't believe in those conversations we talked about Burisma  
14 or he said he was on the board of Burisma. My recollection  
15 is that was a subsequent conversation.

16 MR. FOLIO: Was that the subsequent conversation then  
17 about Burisma?

18 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yeah, my recollection is that it was a  
19 subsequent conversation about Burisma.

20 MR. FOLIO: So Mr. Archer, was he speaking with you  
21 about Burisma in his capacity as a board member of Burisma?

22 MS. TRAMONTANO: I have no way of knowing in what  
23 capacity he was talking--he was talking to me. I mean, you  
24 know, it was a conversation.

25 MR. FOLIO: But during that conversation, he made known

1 to you or you were otherwise aware that he was a board  
2 member of Burisma?

3 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes.

4 MR. FOLIO: During that conversation did he mention  
5 Hunter Biden?

6 MS. TRAMONTANO: He did not.

7 MR. FOLIO: When he raised Burisma with you at that  
8 time, did you know whether Hunter Biden also served on the  
9 board of Burisma?

10 MS. TRAMONTANO: I don't believe I did.

11 MR. FOLIO: When did you first learn that Hunter Biden  
12 served on the board of Burisma?

13 MS. TRAMONTANO: You know, I honestly do not recall. I  
14 don't know if it was in, you know, another conversation or,  
15 you know, when we did our own research it came up. But I  
16 honestly don't recall.

17 MR. FOLIO: So I just want to put a pin in it for one  
18 second, and I'd just like to ask some questions about your  
19 knowledge of Burisma prior to this introduction to Mr.  
20 Archer. So before Mr. Archer raised with you the  
21 possibility of you representing Burisma, did you know about  
22 Burisma?

23 MS. TRAMONTANO: I did not.

24 MR. FOLIO: You said they were a major gas company in  
25 Ukraine, but you didn't know anything about them?

1 MS. TRAMONTANO: No, not to the best of my, you know,  
2 recollection. I didn't know anything about them.

3 MR. FOLIO: But--

4 MS. TRAMONTANO: We hadn't worked in Ukraine for a  
5 while.

6 MR. FOLIO: And approximately how long had you not  
7 worked in Ukraine by this point in the fall of 2015?

8 MS. TRAMONTANO: We did not work in Ukraine for the  
9 years that Yanukovich was in power. We had worked in  
10 Ukraine when Viktor Yushchenko was President, and we did  
11 not--we did not do work in Ukraine when Yanukovich was in  
12 power.

13 MR. FOLIO: So when Mr. Archer approached you about  
14 possibly representing Burisma, did you discuss it with your  
15 colleagues at Blue Star?

16 MS. TRAMONTANO: I discussed it with Sally, yeah. And,  
17 actually, I should say Sally and I discussed it, and it may  
18 have been a phone call that Sally and I had with Archer. I  
19 don't have a present recollection of that, whether it was,  
20 you know, a joint call with Archer, but I--so I just--I  
21 don't recall. But certainly Sally and I would have  
22 discussed it.

23 MR. FOLIO: When the idea of representing Burisma came  
24 up, when you raised it with Sally and anyone else at your  
25 firm, did Ms. Painter express any prior knowledge of

1 Burisma?

2 MS. TRAMONTANO: Not that I recall.

3 MR. FOLIO: Do you know if anyone else at Blue Star had  
4 any prior knowledge of Burisma at this point in time?

5 MS. TRAMONTANO: No, not that I recall.

6 MR. FOLIO: So when Mr. Archer first raised the idea of  
7 Blue Star possibly representing Burisma, how did you  
8 respond?

9 MS. TRAMONTANO: You know, I don't--I don't really  
10 recall. I don't--what I recall is that we had a  
11 conversation, subsequent conversation with Vadym and Archer  
12 and myself and Sally. And that's--you know, that's what I  
13 recall.

14 MR. FOLIO: Just so I understand, the initial  
15 conversation you had with Mr. Archer about Burisma, after  
16 that you recall a conversation that involved yourself, Ms.  
17 Painter, Vadym, and the company, and Mr. Archer. Is that  
18 correct?

19 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes, that's correct.

20 MR. FOLIO: So when you first spoke with Mr. Archer,  
21 was anyone else present at that conversation other than you  
22 and Mr. Archer--I'm sorry. When you first spoke with Mr.  
23 Archer about Burisma, was anyone else present at that  
24 conversation other than you and Mr. Archer?

25 MS. TRAMONTANO: As I just said, I believe Sally

1 Painter was present or was part of that conversation.

2 MR. FOLIO: She was part of that first conversation  
3 when Mr. Archer raised Burisma?

4 MS. TRAMONTANO: I believe she was, yes.

5 MR. FOLIO: Okay. And did Mr. Archer include Vadym  
6 from the company in that first conversation about Burisma?

7 MS. TRAMONTANO: No--well, let me--I'm getting confused  
8 right now, so let me just try to be clear. To the best of  
9 my recollection, there was conversation with Devon Archer  
10 about Norvik Bank. You know, there may have been a couple  
11 of conversations about Norvik Bank. I don't recall. But  
12 there was at least one conversation about Norvik Bank.

13 Subsequent to those conversations, Devon Archer had a  
14 conversation with me and Sally about Burisma. I don't  
15 remember the specifics of that conversation. You know,  
16 generally it was, you know, he thought, you know, we could  
17 help Burisma in some way. I don't remember any specifics  
18 being discussed at the time.

19 Subsequent to that conversation, there was a  
20 conversation with Sally, Devon Archer, Vadym Pozharskiy, and  
21 myself.

22 MR. FOLIO: Okay.

23 MS. TRAMONTANO: I mean, to the best of my  
24 recollection, that's--

25 MR. FOLIO: No, that was a helpful clarification. Were

1 there any other meetings that you had with Mr. Archer after  
2 that but before you signed the November 2015 agreement to  
3 represent Burisma?

4 MS. TRAMONTANO: We had several conversations with  
5 Vadym before we entered into an engagement. I do not recall  
6 whether Mr. Archer was in those calls or not. He may have  
7 been. I just simply do not recall at this time. But I do  
8 know we had more than--or at least my memory is we had more  
9 than one conversation with the representative of Burisma.

10 MR. FOLIO: So focusing on this time period between Mr.  
11 Archer first raising Burisma and November 2015 when Blue  
12 Star officially signs the agreement to represent Burisma,  
13 did you have conversations with any other board members, to  
14 include Hunter Biden, about the firm potentially  
15 representing Burisma?

16 MS. TRAMONTANO: I did not.

17 MR. FOLIO: Did you have any conversations with Eric  
18 Schwerin about the decision to represent Burisma?

19 MS. TRAMONTANO: Not that I recall.

20 MR. FOLIO: Did Blue Star perform any due diligence  
21 before deciding to represent Burisma?

22 MS. TRAMONTANO: You know, we did our standard, you  
23 know, background research, you know, of public sources of  
24 information.

25 MR. FOLIO: And, again, focusing on the time period

1 when you were deciding whether or not the company would  
2 represent Burisma, did you speak with any current U.S.  
3 officials about the company before deciding to represent it?

4 MS. TRAMONTANO: You know, I don't--I don't remember.  
5 I don't remember if we had. I mean, on some occasions we  
6 have done that with clients, but I do not remember. I do  
7 not recall talking to any current officials at the time.

8 MR. FOLIO: Did you speak with any former U.S.  
9 officials as you were contemplating representing Burisma?

10 MS. TRAMONTANO: No. I don't recall whether we had.  
11 We could have. I mean, we knew all the former U.S.  
12 ambassadors, so we certainly could have, but I do not recall  
13 specifically.

14 MR. FOLIO: During the due diligence process, did you  
15 all have any concerns about the company's involvement in  
16 corruption, when deciding to make a representation?

17 MS. TRAMONTANO: What I recall about our research at  
18 the time is there was a lot of information out there, some  
19 good, some--you know, some questions, some challenges  
20 raised. You know, there was just, you know, a lot of  
21 information. And, you know, we looked through, you know,  
22 all of the information at the time that it was available,  
23 again, from public sources.

24 MR. FOLIO: When you were deciding to represent--  
25 whether or not Blue Star would represent Burisma, did you

1 meet with Mr. Mykola Zlochevsky?

2 MS. TRAMONTANO: I did not.

3 MR. FOLIO: Did you meet with any other, or any Burisma  
4 official other than Mr. Archer or Vadym, when you deciding  
5 whether or not Blue Star would represent Burisma?

6 MS. TRAMONTANO: We met with no other individuals.

7 MR. FOLIO: Now just expanding the time frame, not  
8 focusing on this decision period, I'd just like to  
9 understand more generally. Did you ever speak with Vice  
10 President Biden about Burisma?

11 MS. TRAMONTANO: I never spoke with Vice President  
12 Biden about Burisma.

13 MR. FOLIO: Did you ever speak with anyone on Vice  
14 President Biden's staff about Burisma?

15 MS. TRAMONTANO: I did not speak with anyone at Vice  
16 President Biden's staff about Burisma.

17 MR. FOLIO: Did you ever visit Vice President Biden's  
18 residence at the Naval Observatory?

19 MS. TRAMONTANO: On one occasion I did. It was a  
20 holiday party.

21 MR. FOLIO: And when was that?

22 MS. TRAMONTANO: I don't recall.

23 MR. FOLIO: At the holiday party at the Vice  
24 President's residence, did you discuss Burisma with anyone?

25 MS. TRAMONTANO: I did not.

1 MR. FOLIO: Mr. Zlochevsky?

2 MS. TRAMONTANO: I did not.

3 MR. FOLIO: What were Devon Archer's responsibilities  
4 on Burisma's board?

5 MS. TRAMONTANO: I don't know.

6 MR. FOLIO: How much was Mr. Archer compensated for his  
7 service as a board member?

8 MS. TRAMONTANO: I do not know.

9 MR. FOLIO: What were Hunter Biden's responsibilities  
10 on Burisma's board?

11 MS. TRAMONTANO: I do not know.

12 MR. FOLIO: Do you know Hunter Biden?

13 MS. TRAMONTANO: I do.

14 MR. FOLIO: Have you met him?

15 MS. TRAMONTANO: I have met him on a couple of  
16 occasions, yes.

17 MR. FOLIO: When did you first meet him?

18 MS. TRAMONTANO: I don't remember when I first met him.  
19 I recall Hunter had hosted a book signing party for a former  
20 business partner of mine, and I attended the book party.  
21 That was probably a decade ago, and that may have been the  
22 first time.

23 MR. FOLIO: How would you describe your relationship  
24 with Hunter Biden prior to Blue Star's decision to represent  
25 Burisma?

1 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, I guess an acquaintance.

2 MR. FOLIO: Approximately how many times have you met  
3 or spoken with Hunter Biden before Blue Star decided to  
4 represent Burisma?

5 MS. TRAMONTANO: So there was this occasion of the book  
6 party. I believe I saw him at an NDI reception, a luncheon.

7 MR. FOLIO: And when was that?

8 MS. TRAMONTANO: You know, I don't recall. I believe  
9 it was before 2015, but I can't be certain. And I don't  
10 think it was--I don't recall any other occasion before 2015.

11 MR. FOLIO: Before Blue Star agreed to represent  
12 Burisma, did you ever discuss Hunter Biden's role on  
13 Burisma's board with anyone?

14 MS. TRAMONTANO: No, I did not.

15 MR. FOLIO: Was it a topic of discussion internally  
16 within Blue Star as you were deciding whether or not to  
17 represent Burisma?

18 MS. TRAMONTANO: No, not that I recall.

19 MR. FOLIO: How much was Hunter Biden compensated to  
20 serve on the board of Burisma?

21 MS. TRAMONTANO: I do not have any idea.

22 MR. FOLIO: At this point in time, Ms. Tramontano, I'm  
23 going to turn the questions over to Josh Flynn-Brown from  
24 Chairman Grassley's office.

25 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Hi, Ms. Tramontano. Can you hear me

1 okay?

2 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes, I can.

3 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Great. Thank you for your time  
4 today. So would you agree that the U.S. Government viewed  
5 Burisma as a corrupt company?

6 MS. TRAMONTANO: I do not know what the U.S. Government  
7 view of Burisma was.

8 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Would you agree that Burisma has a  
9 reputation for engaging in corrupt activity?

10 MS. TRAMONTANO: I would not agree with that statement.

11 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Are you aware of whether or not the  
12 U.S. Government viewed Zlochevsky as a corrupt person?

13 MS. TRAMONTANO: I do not know what the U.S.  
14 Government's view is.

15 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Do you agree that he has a reputation  
16 for engaging in corrupt activity?

17 MS. TRAMONTANO: I can't comment on what somebody's  
18 view of somebody else is.

19 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: The question is, would you agree,  
20 what is your opinion that he did have a reputation for  
21 engaging in corrupt activity?

22 MS. TRAMONTANO: I think he has a reputation, by some  
23 people, of being corrupt and other people of not being  
24 corrupt, so, you know, I really can't comment on that.

25 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Have you ever met Mr. Zlochevsky?

1 MS. TRAMONTANO: I have met him, yes.

2 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: When did you meet him?

3 MS. TRAMONTANO: Could you say that again? I didn't  
4 quite hear you.

5 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: And when did you meet him?

6 MS. TRAMONTANO: I think, let's see, I first met him in  
7 2016, maybe February. I'm not sure exactly the date, but--

8 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Was that the only time that you met  
9 him in person?

10 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, I met him on two other occasions  
11 at the conference in Monaco.

12 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: And when was that?

13 MS. TRAMONTANO: It would have been twenty--maybe '18  
14 and '19?

15 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: So when you met him on those three  
16 occasions, was that--were those meetings a part of your  
17 representation of Burisma?

18 MS. TRAMONTANO: No. I wouldn't say so. He doesn't  
19 speak English, and I speak neither Russian nor Ukrainian, so  
20 I would not describe that as part of the representation.

21 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: So what did you discuss then at these  
22 meetings, if anything?

23 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, the two meetings in Monaco  
24 always take place on my birthday, and he said "happy  
25 birthday." That was about it. And the other meeting that

1 we had, which was to introduce John Buretta to him.

2 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: So the meeting in February 2016 was  
3 to introduce John Buretta?

4 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yeah, to the best of my recollection  
5 that was the time frame. I mean, it may have been January.  
6 I'm not 100 percent sure, but it was around that time  
7 period.

8 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Do you recall who else was in that  
9 meeting?

10 MS. TRAMONTANO: Vadym was in that meeting, Pozharskiy,  
11 and I don't recall if anybody else was in that meeting.

12 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: At no point in those meetings did the  
13 name Hunter Biden come up. Is that correct?

14 MS. TRAMONTANO: No. Hunter Biden's name did not come  
15 up in any of those meetings.

16 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: I had a bad audio feed there. Can  
17 you restate your answer for me?

18 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes. I'm sorry. I said Hunter  
19 Biden's name did not come up in any of those meetings.

20 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Are you aware of whether or not  
21 Zlochevsky bribed government officials?

22 MS. TRAMONTANO: I have no knowledge of that.

23 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Are you aware of reporting that while  
24 Zlochevsky was ecology minister, he issued licenses to oil  
25 and gas companies--

1 MS. TRAMONTANO: I'm sorry. Your audio went out.

2 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: I'll restate the question in full.

3 Are you aware of reporting that while Zlochevsky was ecology  
4 minister, he issued licenses to oil and gas companies that  
5 belonged to him?

6 MS. TRAMONTANO: I am aware of that reporting.

7 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: And you were aware of that reporting  
8 prior to your representation of Burisma or after?

9 MS. TRAMONTANO: After.

10 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: So while you were representing them  
11 you became aware of that reporting.

12 MS. TRAMONTANO: To the best of my knowledge, yes.

13 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: So regarding Zlochevsky, were you  
14 aware of any of his other companies other than Burisma?

15 MS. TRAMONTANO: No. I was not aware of his other  
16 companies.

17 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Will, can we pull Tab 47? I believe  
18 this would be Exhibit 1.

19 [Tramontano Exhibit No. 1 was  
20 marked for identification.]

21 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Ms. Tramontano, we're going to put it  
22 up on the screen. This is the consulting agreement between  
23 Blue Star and Burisma. I am only going to ask you questions  
24 relating to the services, but if you would like to review  
25 the document in full please take your time and let me know

1 when you're ready.

2 [Pause.]

3 MS. TRAMONTANO: Okay.

4 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: So on page 1 of your consulting  
5 services agreement it provides the services as follows:  
6 "Provide government relations assistance to the client in  
7 the U.S. and Ukraine." Did you provide government relations  
8 assistance in the United States?

9 MS. TRAMONTANO: We did.

10 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: And what kind of government relations  
11 assistance did you provide?

12 MS. TRAMONTANO: Our initial remit was to find out why  
13 Ambassador Pyatt said--made the statements that he made in  
14 2015, and those included his allegations about Burisma and  
15 his statements about the Ukraine court decision. And we  
16 were asked if we could find out whether the State  
17 Department's position, stated in another way, whether  
18 Ambassador Pyatt's position reflected the Department of  
19 State's position.

20 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: What exactly was Ambassador Pyatt's  
21 position at the time?

22 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, as I understand it, Ambassador  
23 Pyatt called out Burisma as a corrupt company.

24 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Did Ambassador Pyatt give you details  
25 as to why he concluded that Burisma was a corrupt company?

1 MS. TRAMONTANO: He did not.

2 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Did you ever ask him?

3 MS. TRAMONTANO: I did.

4 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: What did he say?

5 MS. TRAMONTANO: He didn't want to talk about it.

6 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: So is it accurate then that you did  
7 have awareness with respect to Burisma's reputation for  
8 corruption?

9 MS. TRAMONTANO: I had awareness that there were  
10 reports about Burisma.

11 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: And those reports related to  
12 corruption. Is that correct?

13 MS. TRAMONTANO: Those reports covered a range of  
14 allegations and a range of stories. So--

15 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Which included corruption. Is that  
16 correct?

17 MS. TRAMONTANO: There were stories that alleged  
18 corruption, yes.

19 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: What was the intended outcome of your  
20 government relations assistance? In other words, what were  
21 you hoping to achieve for Burisma in the United States?

22 MS. TRAMONTANO: We were trying to understand the  
23 factual basis for Ambassador Pyatt's statements. We were  
24 trying to understand whether Ambassador Pyatt's position of  
25 the company reflected the State Department's position of the

1 company, about the company.

2 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Were you able to get an answer on  
3 that? In other words, were you able to determine whether or  
4 not the State Department's position with respect to Burisma  
5 was the same as Ambassador Pyatt's?

6 MS. TRAMONTANO: We were not.

7 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Other than Ambassador Pyatt, did you  
8 meet with any U.S. Government officials on behalf of  
9 Burisma?

10 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes, we did.

11 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: And who did you meet with?

12 MS. TRAMONTANO: We met with Amos Hochstein, I believe  
13 in December 2015, and we met with Cathy Novelli in March, I  
14 believe, of 2016. Do you want me to go through the meetings  
15 for the last five years, or is there a particular meeting  
16 that you want to ask me about?

17 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: I think we can get into that later  
18 regarding that. Are the extent of the names?

19 MS. TRAMONTANO: No. I mean, we provided the Committee  
20 with information about all of our meetings from 2015 to, you  
21 know, 2019.

22 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: During the course of those meetings,  
23 or the run-up to those meetings, did you provide to those  
24 government officials any written materials, documents, white  
25 papers, or other informational materials to any of those

1 officials?

2 MS. TRAMONTANO: Just for clarity, are you talking  
3 about the meetings from 2015 to 2019? Because in some--

4 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Let me clarify. Yes.

5 MS. TRAMONTANO: --cases, we have.

6 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Yes. Fair question. Let me clarify.  
7 So during the course of your representation of Burisma, when  
8 you met with U.S. Government officials, did you provide them  
9 any written materials, documents, white papers, or other  
10 informational materials regarding Burisma?

11 MS. TRAMONTANO: We may have, and if we did we  
12 submitted it to the Committee. But short of, you know,  
13 going through the documents we submitted to the Committee I  
14 wouldn't have a recollection of that. But if we had  
15 submitted something it would have been submitted to the  
16 Committee if we had it.

17 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Did you provide government relations  
18 assistance within Ukraine for Burisma?

19 MS. TRAMONTANO: I'm sorry. Could you just repeat  
20 that? It just got muddled at the end.

21 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Sure. I'll restate the question in  
22 full. Did you provide government relations assistance for  
23 Burisma within Ukraine?

24 MS. TRAMONTANO: We had meetings with government  
25 officials at the Office of the General Prosecutor in

1 Ukraine, yes.

2 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Are you able to provide a list of the  
3 names of the Ukrainian officials that you met with?

4 MS. TRAMONTANO: We provided the names that we had to  
5 the Committee already.

6 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: I want to move to the next element of  
7 your consulting services agreement. It's the Services  
8 section, and I'll state it here. I'll quote it here for  
9 you. "Communicate to officials about the client's business  
10 and its economic importance to Ukraine." Do you see that  
11 part?

12 MS. TRAMONTANO: It's not on the screen yet, but I'm  
13 sure it will be.

14 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: It should be up on the screen. It  
15 should be the second bullet.

16 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes, I see it now. It just came up on  
17 the screen.

18 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Great. So can you describe Burisma's  
19 economic importance to Ukraine?

20 MS. TRAMONTANO: Sure. As one of the largest privately  
21 held energy companies, Burisma's importance is directly  
22 related to Ukraine's energy self-sufficiency.

23 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: What kind of relationship did the  
24 Ukrainian government have with the natural gas sector?

25 MS. TRAMONTANO: You'd have to ask the Ukrainian

1 government about that.

2 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Well, was the Ukrainian government  
3 supported by corruption and the natural gas and energy  
4 sector within Ukraine?

5 MS. TRAMONTANO: I can't answer that question. I have  
6 no knowledge to answer that question.

7 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Were you aware of whether or not the  
8 Ukrainian government sought a role in the natural gas trade?

9 MS. TRAMONTANO: The Ukrainian--in Ukraine, there is a  
10 state-owned energy company, Naftogaz, and it provides energy  
11 to noncommercial, otherwise residential--it provides  
12 residential energy. That's what I understand.

13 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: What kind of relationship did Burisma  
14 have with the Ukrainian government?

15 MS. TRAMONTANO: With some ministries, it had a very  
16 good relationship.

17 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: And which ministries were those?

18 MS. TRAMONTANO: It had--with the finance ministry, it  
19 was a lot of back-and-forth about different taxing schemes  
20 and, you know, how best to manage, you know, the commercial  
21 energy sector, and I know Burisma--well, I know Vadym as a  
22 representative of Burisma had many productive conversations  
23 with the finance ministry, with that regard.

24 I don't know if its relationship with other ministries--  
25 -the energy ministry, I--at least my understanding was that

1 they--that the company had a productive relationship with  
2 the energy ministry.

3 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: So did Burisma's economic importance  
4 for success benefit the Ukrainian government?

5 MS. TRAMONTANO: I have no idea whether it benefitted  
6 the Ukrainian government. I know that energy self-  
7 sufficiency--so is a key issue for Ukraine. So being free  
8 of Russian dependence on energy is a key issue for Ukraine.

9 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: So did the Ukrainian government have  
10 a strong interest in the United States making a favorable  
11 position regarding Burisma?

12 MS. TRAMONTANO: I have--I have no knowledge of that.  
13 Cannot answer that question.

14 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: To your knowledge, did the Ukrainian  
15 government or any Ukrainian political party express concerns  
16 about Burisma's representation in the United States?

17 MS. TRAMONTANO: Not to my knowledge.

18 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Do you know whether Burisma served as  
19 a vehicle to enrich Ukrainian government officials?

20 MS. TRAMONTANO: Not to my knowledge.

21 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Would it surprise you if it did?

22 MS. TRAMONTANO: I am not going to--I have no comment  
23 on that question.

24 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: You just don't have the basis of  
25 knowledge for it, or you just don't want to answer it?

1 MS. TRAMONTANO: I don't have any basis for knowledge  
2 of--to answer that question.

3 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Do you know whether Burisma served as  
4 a vehicle to enrich Ukrainian political parties?

5 MS. TRAMONTANO: I have no knowledge to answer that  
6 question.

7 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Are you aware of whether or not  
8 Burisma or Zlochevsky took directions from the Ukrainian  
9 government?

10 MS. TRAMONTANO: I have no knowledge of that.

11 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Are you aware of whether or not  
12 Burisma or Zlochevsky--excuse me--took directions from any  
13 Ukrainian government officials?

14 MS. TRAMONTANO: I have no knowledge of that.

15 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Are you aware of whether or not  
16 Burisma or Zlochevsky took directions from any political  
17 parties?

18 MS. TRAMONTANO: I have no knowledge of that.

19 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Would it surprise you if Burisma or  
20 Zlochevsky took directions from any government official or  
21 any political party?

22 MS. TRAMONTANO: I have no knowledge to answer that.

23 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: As part of your work for Burisma, did  
24 you work to foster ties between Ukraine and the United  
25 States?

1 MS. TRAMONTANO: No. That wasn't--that wasn't our  
2 scope of work.

3 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Well, when meeting with U.S.  
4 government officials, did you intend to influence U.S.  
5 policy towards Burisma?

6 MS. TRAMONTANO: I did not.

7 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: You did not intend to influence U.S.  
8 policy towards Burisma?

9 MS. TRAMONTANO: I did not.

10 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Did you ever employ former Ukrainian  
11 government officials for your work with Burisma?

12 MS. TRAMONTANO: It depends on--if you're talking  
13 specifically about Andrii Telizchenko as a former official,  
14 well, he was not in our employ. He was a contractor.  
15 That's what your--if that's what the question is directed  
16 to.

17 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: I'm not specifically asking about any  
18 individual.

19 MS. TRAMONTANO: Okay. Then the answer is no.

20 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: I'd like to now go to the next  
21 element in the services section within your consulting  
22 services agreement, just a few more questions here, and  
23 we'll wrap up this round.

24 MS. TRAMONTANO: Sure.

25 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: The third element here is prepare

1 brief written reports as requested by the client.

2 MS. TRAMONTANO: Okay.

3 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Now, the previous prong, just to make  
4 clear, was communicate to officials about the client's  
5 business and its economic importance to Ukraine, and you did  
6 so, correct? You did that type of work?

7 MS. TRAMONTANO: There were meetings that communicated  
8 the economic importance to Ukraine of Burisma, yes.

9 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Okay. Now let's move to that third  
10 prong. So prepare brief written reports as requested by the  
11 client. Did you in fact do so?

12 MS. TRAMONTANO: Whatever written reports that we would  
13 have provided were subject to the committee, but our general  
14 practice with the client was oral reports.

15 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: So did you create a lobbying plan for  
16 your Burisma work?

17 MS. TRAMONTANO: We didn't lobby the U.S. government.

18 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: So, you know, going back to one of  
19 your questions, if Blue Star was not trying to influence  
20 U.S. policy and State Department officials, then what were  
21 the purpose--what was the purpose of those meetings?

22 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, I'll state what I have stated  
23 previously. The client wanted to know why Ambassador Pyatt  
24 made the statements that he made with regard to Burisma and  
25 with regard to the UK court decision, and the client wanted

1 to know whether Ambassador Pyatt's position reflected the  
2 U.S. State Department's position about the company.

3 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: I just want to be clear about your  
4 testimony here today, and your testimony is that Blue Star  
5 did not ever try to influence U.S. policy with respect to  
6 Ukraine?

7 MS. TRAMONTANO: In our representation of Burisma, we  
8 did not try to influence U.S. policy with respect to  
9 Ukraine.

10 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Did you engage in any public  
11 relations activity for Burisma?

12 MS. TRAMONTANO: We did not.

13 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: So you never wrote any op-ed or--

14 MS. TRAMONTANO: I'll take--I'm sorry. Just for  
15 clarification, public relations just because people have  
16 different views of public relations, it is just I want to  
17 make sure that we're talking about the same thing. And you  
18 were going on to ask specific questions about op-eds?

19 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Yes. I'm happy to provide you with  
20 clarity on that with respect to op-eds and contact with the  
21 media. Did you have--did you write any op-eds or have any  
22 contact with the media with respect to Burisma?

23 MS. TRAMONTANO: We did not.

24 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: Regarding your representation of the  
25 national interest of Ukraine, what kind of work did you do

1 for them?

2 MS. TRAMONTANO: We did--for--we did pro bono work,  
3 which consisted of delivering letters to Members of  
4 Congress, bipartisan Members of Congress, who had oversight  
5 or interest in the area of concern for the national interest  
6 of Ukraine Group.

7 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: So was that entity in any way, shape,  
8 or form supported by the Ukrainian government or Ukrainian  
9 political party or a Ukrainian government official?

10 MS. TRAMONTANO: Not to my knowledge.

11 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: And this was, you said, a nonprofit?

12 MS. TRAMONTANO: That was my--my understanding is, yes,  
13 that it was--it was an NGO.

14 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: And where was it registered?

15 MS. TRAMONTANO: In Ukraine. It was a Ukrainian NGO.

16 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: So other than your contacts with  
17 Congress, did you engage in any public relations activity  
18 for that entity, including but not limited to op-eds or  
19 contact with the media?

20 MS. TRAMONTANO: No, we did not.

21 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: So, at this point, I have finished my  
22 line of questioning for right now. I'm going to pass it  
23 back to Joe. Thank you. Ms. Tramontano.

24 MS. TRAMONTANO: Thank you.

25 MR. FOLIO: Ms. Tramontano, we've completed our

1 Majority questioning. So I'll turn it over to Zack Schram  
2 but ask if you would like to take a brief break before we do  
3 that.

4 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yeah. Actually, if I could have,  
5 like, a two-minute break, that would be great .

6 MR. FOLIO: That sounds good. Should we reconvene in  
7 three minutes?

8 MR. SCHRAM: Can we just say it's 11:33--it's 11:33  
9 now. Just to keep round numbers, can we say 11:40?

10 MR. FOLIO: Yes.

11 MR. SCHRAM: Thank you.

12 MR. FOLIO: Thank you.

13 [Recess.]

14 MR. SCHRAM: Ms. Tramontano, can you please just tell  
15 us a little bit about your career background prior to  
16 starting Blue Star Strategies?

17 MS. TRAMONTANO: Sure. Well, let's see. Immediately  
18 before Blue Star Strategies, I was a consultant to the  
19 Downey McGrath firm and also worked for the ILO Secretary  
20 General. Immediately before that, I ran President Clinton's  
21 transition up to New York and helped to start the foundation  
22 and his other philanthropic work. Before that I was Deputy  
23 Chief of Staff to President Clinton. Before that I was  
24 chief of staff to John Sweeney when he was president of the  
25 Service Employees International Union. Before that I was

1 chief of staff to the mayor of the District of Columbia.  
2 And before that I was a practicing trial attorney in the  
3 area of labor and civil and human rights.

4 MR. SCHRAM: Can you speak more about your  
5 responsibilities as Deputy Chief of Staff in the Clinton  
6 White House?

7 MS. TRAMONTANO: Sure. As Deputy Chief of Staff, you  
8 know, I had the role of the nexus between policy and  
9 politics and implementation--I mean politics with a small  
10 "p"--and my portfolio included all the economic agencies,  
11 including Energy, Treasury, Labor, Commerce, and I sat on  
12 the National Economic Council as well, and USTR.

13 MR. SCHRAM: What are some accomplishments from your  
14 time in the Clinton White House that you're proud of?

15 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, one of the accomplishments was  
16 we actually got an ILO treaty to eliminate the worst forms  
17 of child labor.

18 MR. SCHRAM: Can you just clarify what ILO stands for?

19 MS. TRAMONTANO: Oh, sure. The ILO stands for--it's a  
20 tripartite international organization. It's one of the  
21 oldest international organizations in the UN system, and it  
22 has government labor organizations and employer  
23 organizations as its members. And the U.S. has not signed  
24 many of the treaties, and in the Clinton administration we  
25 worked hard to get a treaty signed and endorsed by--

1 bipartisan endorsement, bicameral, and it eliminates the  
2 worst forms--a commitment to eliminate the worst forms of  
3 child labor.

4 We did a lot of work in NATO expansion, which was then  
5 followed at the Bush administration, and, you know, we had a  
6 lot of economic successes as well.

7 MR. SCHRAM: And what is GFI?

8 MS. TRAMONTANO: GFI is the Global Fairness Initiative.  
9 It's a nonprofit that I founded. President Clinton was our  
10 first chair, and it focuses on eliminating poverty through  
11 policy changes and multi-stakeholder engagement.

12 MR. SCHRAM: I'd like to turn to the majority's purpose  
13 for your interview today. Ms. Tramontano, in the Chairmen's  
14 December 3, 2019, letter to you, they stated that the  
15 purpose of the investigation is to determine "whether  
16 certain officials within the Obama administration had actual  
17 or apparent conflicts of interest because of Hunter Biden's  
18 role in Rosemont Seneca and related entities or as a board  
19 member of Burisma Holdings."

20 In the same letter, Chairman Johnson stated, "Recent  
21 reports indicate that Blue Star Strategies sought to  
22 leverage Hunter Biden's membership on the board of directors  
23 for Burisma in its communications and meetings with various  
24 U.S. Government officials."

25 During the first hour, you mentioned meetings that you

1 had with several Obama administration officials. Did you  
2 use Hunter Biden's name to secure a meeting with Under  
3 Secretary of State Catherine Novelli?

4 MS. TRAMONTANO: I did not.

5 MR. SCHRAM: Did you use Hunter Biden's name to secure  
6 a meeting with Deputy Assistant Secretary Amos Hochstein?

7 MS. TRAMONTANO: I did not.

8 MR. SCHRAM: Did you use Hunter Biden's name to secure  
9 a meeting with Ambassador to Ukraine Geoffrey Pyatt?

10 MS. TRAMONTANO: I did not.

11 MR. SCHRAM: Did you or your firm use Hunter Biden's  
12 name to secure a meeting with any State Department official?

13 MS. TRAMONTANO: I did not and we did not.

14 MR. SCHRAM: Did you or your firm use Hunter Biden's  
15 name to secure a meeting with any Government official?

16 MS. TRAMONTANO: I did not; we did not.

17 MR. SCHRAM: Did you or your firm ever meet with Vice  
18 President Biden on behalf of Burisma?

19 MS. TRAMONTANO: I did not and the firm did not.

20 MR. SCHRAM: Did any of your meetings with any Obama  
21 administration officials on behalf of Burisma result in  
22 policy changes toward Ukraine?

23 MS. TRAMONTANO: It didn't--they did not.

24 MR. SCHRAM: Are you aware of any policy changes made  
25 in the Obama administration intended to benefit Burisma?

1 MS. TRAMONTANO: I am not aware of any policy changes  
2 that were made that would benefit Burisma.

3 MR. SCHRAM: Did Vice President Biden change Ukraine  
4 policy because of the influence of Blue Star Strategies?

5 MS. TRAMONTANO: Absolutely not.

6 MR. SCHRAM: Did the State Department change Ukraine  
7 policy because of the influence of Blue Star Strategies?

8 MS. TRAMONTANO: Absolutely not.

9 MR. SCHRAM: Did any U.S. Government official change  
10 Ukraine policy because of the influence of Blue Star  
11 Strategies?

12 MS. TRAMONTANO: Absolutely not.

13 MR. SCHRAM: To your knowledge, did Vice President  
14 Biden change Ukraine policy because of Hunter Biden's role  
15 on the board of Burisma?

16 MS. TRAMONTANO: No, not to my knowledge.

17 MR. SCHRAM: To your knowledge, did Vice President  
18 Biden change Ukraine policy in any manner to benefit his  
19 son?

20 MS. TRAMONTANO: No, not to my knowledge.

21 MR. SCHRAM: Ms. Tramontano, in a February 24th letter,  
22 Chairman Johnson requested subpoena authorization for  
23 documents and an interview of Andrii Telizhenko. After  
24 bipartisan pressure from Committee members concerned about a  
25 Russian disinformation effort, the Chairman abruptly

1 withdrew the authorization request. In the letter Chairman  
2 Johnson described Andrii Telizhenko as a "former consultant  
3 to Blue Star Strategies." Is that an accurate description  
4 of Mr. Telizhenko's role at your firm?

5 MR. FOLIO: Hey, Zack, I'm going to--it's fine to quote  
6 from the letter, but, again, I'm just going to object to  
7 your characterization of what Chairman Johnson did and why  
8 he did it. This is something you're putting in your own  
9 words and not anything based on what Chairman Johnson has  
10 done or said.

11 MR. SCHRAM: I stand by everything that I just said,  
12 and there's ample public and Committee record to support it  
13 in its entirety, so thank you.

14 MR. FOLIO: I'm just being clear it's a statement of  
15 your opinion.

16 MR. SCHRAM: I disagree. It's a characterization of  
17 the facts.

18 Ms. Telizhenko, how would you describe--sorry. Ms.  
19 Tramontano, my apologies. How would you describe Mr.  
20 Telizhenko's role at your firm?

21 MS. TRAMONTANO: We brought him on as a contractor to  
22 handle administrative tasks on the ground in Ukraine for us  
23 and some translation.

24 MR. SCHRAM: And when did he work for Blue Star  
25 Strategies?

1 MS. TRAMONTANO: His contract began in July of 2016.  
2 It was suspended for a month in February--I believe in  
3 January or February of 2016, and then I believe it was  
4 terminated in May of--I'm sorry. It was suspended in  
5 January of--January or February of 2017, and then it was  
6 terminated in either May or June of 2017. So from 2016 to  
7 2017, it was about, you know, a 10-month contract, I think,  
8 10 or 11 months.

9 MR. SCHRAM: And why was the contract suspended?

10 MS. TRAMONTANO: Mr. Telizhenko was making statements  
11 to the press that were very critical of President  
12 Poroshenko, and it's, you know, our policy that, you know,  
13 none of our employees or certainly any of our contractors  
14 should be making public statements in foreign countries in  
15 which we work about the government or representatives of the  
16 government.

17 MR. SCHRAM: And why was his contract terminated?

18 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, Mr. Telizhenko had promised that  
19 he wouldn't violate those--our policies again, and basically  
20 it happened again in--I believe it would have been around  
21 May 2017 where he was giving press interviews and, you know,  
22 making a lot of allegations, and we were no longer  
23 comfortable with having him as a contractor.

24 MR. SCHRAM: In the Chairman's letter of February 24th,  
25 Chairman Johnson claimed that your firm used Hunter Biden's

1 name as "leverage" based in part on conversations the  
2 Chairman had with Andrii Telizhenko. Do you consider Andrii  
3 Telezhenko to be a reliable source?

4 MR. FOLIO: Sorry, Zack. I have got to object. That  
5 is not at all accurate. That is not what the letter says.  
6 The only reference to Telizhenko in the letter I'm certain  
7 is quoting from the Ken Vogel article.

8 MR. SCHRAM: Ms. Tramontano, are you aware that  
9 Chairman Johnson met with Andrii Telizhenko in July of 2019?

10 MS. TRAMONTANO: No, I'm not aware of that.

11 MR. SCHRAM: And that subsequently he started citing  
12 Mr. Telizhenko in letters related to this investigation?

13 MR. FOLIO: Again, Zack, to be clear, the only cite to  
14 Andrii Telizhenko made in any of Chairman Johnson's or  
15 Chairman Grassley's letters are citations to what he told  
16 Ken Vogel in the Politico story that was published in  
17 January 2017.

18 MR. GOSHORN: Joe, just to be clear, are you trying to  
19 draw a distinction between citing Telizhenko directly and  
20 citing the words Telizhenko said to somebody else in your  
21 letter? Is that the distinction you're drawing?

22 MR. FOLIO: Correct. Yeah, there's not one place in  
23 the Chairman's letter where they're drawing upon some sort  
24 of private interview with Telizhenko as Zack seems to be  
25 suggesting. Just to be clear--

1 MR. GOSHORN: So you're drawing upon claims Telizhenko  
2 made to others?

3 MR. FOLIO: Correct, yes.

4 MR. GOSHORN: So you're drawing upon Telizhenko's  
5 claims, just not the ones made to Johnson?

6 MR. FOLIO: Yes. There's no reference to anything  
7 Telizhenko said to Johnson or Grassley.

8 MR. GOSHORN: Okay.

9 MR. SCHRAM: In that case I'd like to introduce the  
10 February 24th letter as Exhibit A. Roy, can you pull up  
11 that letter, please.

12 [Tramontano Exhibit A was  
13 marked for identification.]

14 MR. SCHRAM: Ms. Tramontano, take as much time as you'd  
15 like to familiarize yourself with this letter. And I would  
16 suggest that Mr. Folio do the same.

17 MS. TRAMONTANO: Okay. Could somebody scroll it down  
18 so I can see it? I can only read the top part of it. Thank  
19 you.

20 [Pause.]

21 MS. TRAMONTANO: Okay. If you could scroll down  
22 further, please?

23 [Pause.]

24 MS. TRAMONTANO: Okay. If you could scroll down  
25 further, please?

1 [Pause.]

2 MS. TRAMONTANO: Okay. If you could scroll down  
3 further, please?

4 [Pause.]

5 MS. TRAMONTANO: And if you would scroll down further?

6 [Pause.]

7 MS. TRAMONTANO: And further, please?

8 [Pause.]

9 MS. TRAMONTANO: Further, please?

10 [Pause.]

11 MS. TRAMONTANO: Okay. Thank you.

12 MR. SCHRAM: Returning to the first page of this  
13 document, which cites Andrii Telizhenko, refers to Andrii  
14 Telizhenko at length, including conversations between the  
15 Chairman and Andrii Telizhenko, pointing to the third  
16 paragraph, the bottom of the first page, "In response, Mr.  
17 Telizhenko confirmed his intention to cooperate fully with  
18 the Committee's investigation and expressed his readiness to  
19 provide any evidence in his possession. During the course  
20 of our conversations with Mr. Telizhenko, he informed us  
21 that he worked as a consultant for Blue Star and he has  
22 responsive records from his time terrorism, specifically  
23 records relating to the work the firm did for Burisma."

24 Ms. Tramontano, do you consider --

25 MR. FOLIO: Hey, Zack, just to be clear, you've now

1 switched documents. When you raised the issue and I  
2 objected about our reliance on Telizhenko, we were  
3 discussing the December 3, 2019, letter from Johnson and  
4 Grassley to Blue Star for records. In all of Johnson and  
5 Grassley's request for records, we have not cited anything  
6 said by Andrii Telizhenko except for things that were  
7 reported in the press. Now you've substituted a different  
8 letter in which we did cite Mr. Telizhenko and his  
9 statements that he worked at Blue Star Strategies, possessed  
10 records from Blue Star Strategies, and was willing to  
11 voluntarily provide those to the Committee but for his  
12 nondisclosure agreement with Blue Star Strategies. Those  
13 are all statements of fact that Ms. Tramontano has  
14 confirmed.

15 MR. SCHRAM: Joe, I can read--we can ask Ms. Gray to  
16 read the record back, but I cited to the February 24th  
17 letter, and I've introduced it as an exhibit now. And if  
18 you'd just let me proceed with the question, I think it's  
19 quite clear, as we've now demonstrated in the Chairman's own  
20 words, that he refers extensively to Mr. Telizhenko.

21 MR. FOLIO: Well, first, it's not extensive. I think  
22 you're referring to one letter. And he refers to Telizhenko  
23 for the uncontroversial proposition, which Ms. Tramontano  
24 has confirmed today, that he was employed by Blue Star  
25 Strategies, was in possession of records from the time of

1 his employment, and that he was willing to provide those to  
2 the Committee. The statement made to which I objected was  
3 that Andrii Telizhenko told the Committee that Blue Star  
4 leveraged Hunter Biden's relationship, and that was an  
5 incorrect statement. That statement was based entirely on a  
6 State Department email that was received publicly through  
7 FOIA.

8 MR. SCHRAM: Joe, I ask you again that you familiarize  
9 yourself with your own letter. Turning to the second page  
10 of this letter, the first full paragraph, "These records are  
11 important to the Committee's investigation for several  
12 reasons. First, records indicate that Blue Star Strategies  
13 sought to leverage Hunter Biden's role as a board member of  
14 Burisma to gain access to and potentially influence matters  
15 at the State Department." So--

16 MR. FOLIO: Correct, citing that same State Department  
17 email.

18 MR. SCHRAM: I don't think that it's to anyone's  
19 benefit for you and I to have this debate. I'm asking a  
20 factual question to Ms. Tramontano, and I'll try to respect  
21 your time when it's back on your time.

22 MR. FOLIO: And I apologize. I really don't want to  
23 intervene in your time. I just want to make sure--

24 MR. SCHRAM: Moving on--

25 MR. FOLIO: --the record is clear about Johnson's

1 letter and what it says.

2 MR. SCHRAM: Moving on. Ms. Tramontano, do you  
3 consider Andrii Telizhenko a reliable source?

4 MS. TRAMONTANO: I do not.

5 MR. SCHRAM: Why not?

6 MS. TRAMONTANO: He proved to us in his short term as a  
7 contractor that the information he provided when we  
8 requested information was not reliable and couldn't be  
9 verified.

10 MR. SCHRAM: Are you aware that in a July 2020  
11 interview with BuzzFeed News, Mr. Telizhenko claimed, quote,  
12 We are going to expose corruption under the Obama-Biden  
13 administration in Ukraine and promise that, quote, there's a  
14 lot of new information still to come?

15 MS. TRAMONTANO: I'm aware of the article.

16 MR. SCHRAM: Ms. Tramontano, is Mr. Telizhenko's  
17 allegation concerning corruption in the Obama administration  
18 credible?

19 MS. TRAMONTANO: I do not find it credible.

20 MR. SCHRAM: Why not?

21 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, as I said, when we would ask Mr.  
22 Telizhenko to conduct research or, you know, provide to her  
23 information, it was--the information he provided was, you  
24 know, conspiratorial in nature and unfounded, could not be  
25 verified. He couldn't provide facts. So we found it--we

1 found it to be unreliable.

2 MR. SCHRAM: Ms. Tramontano, are you aware that Mr.  
3 Telizhenko has amplified Russian disinformation efforts  
4 including that Ukraine interfered in the 2016 election?

5 MS. TRAMONTANO: I am aware of those allegations now,  
6 yes.

7 MR. SCHRAM: Are you aware that last week, the Senate  
8 Intelligence Committee published a bipartisan report that  
9 concluded that the theory Mr. Telizhenko promotes about  
10 Ukraine's 2016 election interference originated with a  
11 Russian intelligence officer named Konstantin Kilimnik?

12 MS. TRAMONTANO: I'm aware of the report, and I did  
13 actually review the report because I had an interest in it.

14 MR. SCHRAM: In your opinion, whose interest is Mr.  
15 Telizhenko advancing by promoting these theories?

16 MS. TRAMONTANO: He would be promoting Russia's  
17 interest, in my opinion.

18 MR. SCHRAM: Just a moment.

19 [Pause.]

20 MR. SCHRAM: Ms. Tramontano, are you aware that the  
21 chairman uses Mr. Telizhenko's name roughly 17 times in his  
22 letter of February 24th, 2020, and many more occasions  
23 across multiple letters throughout this investigation?

24 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, I know from reviewing the  
25 letters that he does refer to Mr. Telizhenko several times,

1 many times.

2 MR. SCHRAM: Does that give you reason for concern  
3 about the reliability of the information that the Majority  
4 is relying on, the credibility of the information that the  
5 Majority is relying on?

6 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, I certainly have concerns about  
7 Mr. Telizhenko's reliability. So I would certainly have  
8 concerns about anyone relying on his information.

9 MR. SCHRAM: Nothing more from us.

10 MR. WITTMANN: Hi, Ms. Tramontano. My name is Scott  
11 Wittmann. Thank you for your time today.

12 I want to--

13 MS. TRAMONTANO: Thank you.

14 MR. WITTMANN: Sure.

15 I want to begin by going to the cover letter that you  
16 sent to the committees on December 18, 2019. Okay. It  
17 should be up on the screen shortly.

18 MS. TRAMONTANO: Okay.

19 MR. WITTMANN: And we're going to introduce this as  
20 Majority Exhibit 2.

21 [Tramontano Exhibit No. 2  
22 marked for identification.]

23 MR. WITTMANN: Roy, could you transfer the presenting  
24 authority over to Will, please?

25 [Pause.]

1 MR. WITTMANN: Ms. Tramontano, we're going to--this is  
2 the cover letter on the screen right now. Can you see this?

3 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes, I can.

4 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. We're going to scroll down to the  
5 second page.

6 MS. TRAMONTANO: Okay.

7 MR. WITTMANN: In the cover letter, you wrote about  
8 meetings at the U.S. embassy in Kyiv that occurred on  
9 December 14, 2015. In one of these meetings, you met with  
10 William Laitinen, the economic counselor at the embassy.  
11 You noted that the meeting had been scheduled to discuss--  
12 had not been scheduled to discuss Burisma, as we had several  
13 other corporate clients interest in Ukraine's economic  
14 situation. To be fully transparent, we disclosed that we  
15 were working with Burisma and inquired to his views of the  
16 company.

17 How did you obtain the meeting with Mr. Laitinen?

18 MS. TRAMONTANO: I mean, to the best of my  
19 recollection, we just asked for it probably via email.

20 MR. WITTMANN: Directly to him or to his staff?

21 MS. TRAMONTANO: You know, I don't know if they--if  
22 there were a written request, the committee--the committee  
23 would have it because we would have turned it over to the  
24 committee, but--so I don't have a present recollection, but  
25 typically, we just send an email and ask for the meeting.

1 MR. WITTMANN: If the meeting was not scheduled to  
2 discuss Burisma, why did you disclose that during the  
3 meeting?

4 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, we would always disclose to the  
5 U.S. government. You know, whenever we had embassy  
6 meetings, we would always disclose to the U.S. government  
7 who our clients were in the country. We do that as a matter  
8 of cause.

9 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. I want to turn--enter in our next  
10 exhibit as Exhibit No. 3. This will be Tab 3, Will.

11 [Tramontano Exhibit No. 3  
12 marked for identification.]

13 [Pause.]

14 MR. WITTMANN: We're going to pull it up shortly.

15 MS. TRAMONTANO: Okay.

16 [Pause.]

17 MR. WITTMANN: Ms. Tramontano, can you see this  
18 document on your screen?

19 MS. TRAMONTANO: No. I'm sorry. There isn't a  
20 document on the screen yet.

21 It's on the screen now.

22 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. We're going to scroll down to the  
23 bottom of that first page, and it looks--we want to ask  
24 about this particular email on December 15th, 2015. A Blue  
25 Star employee, Pero--and my apologies if I'm mispronouncing

1 the last name--Jolevski--

2 MS. TRAMONTANO: Jolevski.

3 MR. WITTMANN: Jolevski. Thank you. --wrote to  
4 Stephen--I'm sorry? Wrote to--

5 MS. TRAMONTANO: No, I just said Jolevski.

6 MR. WITTMANN: Jolevski. Okay. Thank you.

7 --wrote to Stephen Gonyea, a USAID official, about  
8 scheduling a meeting with Mr. Laitinen. Who is--

9 MS. TRAMONTANO: Mm-hmm.

10 MR. WITTMANN: Who is Pero?

11 MS. TRAMONTANO: He's an employee of Blue Star  
12 Strategies.

13 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. And what's his position at Blue  
14 Star?

15 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, his position now is he's a  
16 director. His position in 2015, I believe, would have been  
17 an associate.

18 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. Pero wrote Chip doesn't know  
19 anything about our work with Burisma, and they will probably  
20 not mention anything to him about it.

21 Mr. Gonyea responded this would be a very bad move not  
22 to mention this. Burisma linkages, good and bad, as you  
23 know, have a major news--have been a major news story and  
24 hugely politicized issue, especially during the recent  
25 visit. It's been used at--it's been used in attempts to

1 criticize U.S. policy and embarrass the ambassador.

2 Honestly would be the best--honesty would be the best

3 policy, seriously.

4 Pero wrote I totally understand, but I think we are

5 changing strategies.

6 Why did Blue Star not want to mention their work with

7 Burisma in their meeting with Mr. Laitinen originally?

8 MS. TRAMONTANO: I told you we mentioned it. We

9 disclosed.

10 MR. WITTMANN: Understand. But originally, it didn't--

11 based on this email, did Blue Star not want to mention

12 Burisma?

13 MS. TRAMONTANO: This is an email that Pero wrote. I

14 didn't--I didn't write it. We always disclose who, you

15 know, our clients in-country when we're in a U.S. embassy

16 meeting, and that's what we did.

17 MR. WITTMANN: Do you know why Pero would have thought

18 that you were considering not mentioning anything about

19 Burisma to Mr. Laitinen?

20 MS. TRAMONTANO: I do not.

21 MR. WITTMANN: When you met with Mr. Laitinen, what was

22 his awareness of Burisma?

23 MS. TRAMONTANO: I don't recall.

24 MR. WITTMANN: Did Mr. Laitinen have any aware ness of

25 Mr. Zlochevsky?

1 MS. TRAMONTANO: I do not recall.

2 MR. WITTMANN: When you disclosed your association with  
3 Burisma to Mr. Laitinen, what exactly did you disclose to  
4 him?

5 MS. TRAMONTANO: We would have--you know, I would have  
6 just said, you know, among our clients are and told him who  
7 our clients were in--I mean, not the list of Blue Star  
8 Strategies' clients, but those clients with whom we were  
9 working in Ukraine.

10 MR. WITTMANN: Did you decide--besides Burisma, did you  
11 disclose any other clients to Mr. Laitinen at that meeting?

12 MS. TRAMONTANO: We would have disclosed--the honest  
13 answer is I don't recall, but there were other clients that  
14 had--we represented Imperial Tobacco in Ukraine, and so  
15 there were--and they had an economic and a tax issue. So we  
16 would have--we would have mentioned--we would have mentioned  
17 them as a client.

18 MS. TRAMONTANO: Did Pero have the authority to decide  
19 what you would or would not disclose or discuss at this type  
20 of meeting?

21 MS. TRAMONTANO: Not at all.

22 MR. WITTMANN: Who would have had that authority?

23 MS. TRAMONTANO: I would have had that authority.  
24 Sally would have had that authority. As I said, Pero at the  
25 time--this was five years ago--he was an associate. That's

1 our--it's above the entry level of sort of our career  
2 ladder, but he would not have the authority. He would not  
3 have had the authority at that time.

4 MR. WITTMANN: In this early December 2015 meeting with  
5 Mr. Laitinen, did you discuss Vice President Biden's recent  
6 trip to Ukraine?

7 MS. TRAMONTANO: No, not--not that I recall.

8 MR. WITTMANN: Was Mr. Laitinen aware of Hunter Biden's  
9 role on Burisma's board?

10 MS. TRAMONTANO: I have no idea whether he was aware of  
11 not.

12 MR. WITTMANN: Did Mr. Laitinen offer any views or  
13 share his perspective about Burisma with you during this  
14 meeting?

15 MS. TRAMONTANO: Not that I recall.

16 MR. WITTMANN: We're going to go back to Exhibit 2.  
17 Tab 2, Will. This is the cover letter again, and we can  
18 scroll back to page 2 as a reference.

19 In this cover letter, you noted that you and Ms.  
20 Painter met with Amos Hochstein on December 10th, 2015.

21 MS. TRAMONTANO: That's correct.

22 MR. WITTMANN: What was discussed at this meeting?

23 MS. TRAMONTANO: We asked Mr. Hochstein if she knew the  
24 factual basis for Ambassador Pyatt's statements about the  
25 company. We asked Mr. Hochstein if he had a view of the

1 company, and we asked Mr. Hochstein if he knew whether the  
2 State Department had a position about the company.

3 MR. WITTMANN: What was Mr. Hochstein's position or his  
4 professional position in the State Department at the time of  
5 this meeting?

6 MS. TRAMONTANO: I don't know the exact title of the  
7 position, but it's the sort of energy czar, I think.

8 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. How did you obtain this meeting  
9 with Mr. Hochstein?

10 MS. TRAMONTANO: We asked him for it.

11 MR. WITTMANN: And this was directly to him or to his  
12 staff?

13 MS. TRAMONTANO: I think it was directly to him. I  
14 mean, Sally and I have known Amos for--I don't know--a  
15 couple of decades probably.

16 MR. WITTMANN: So you reached out to him directly?

17 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yeah. We would have just reached out  
18 to him directly.

19 MR. WITTMANN: Did Mr. Hochstein know about Burisma  
20 before he met with you?

21 MS. TRAMONTANO: I don't know what he knew before he  
22 met with us.

23 MR. WITTMANN: What was your--based on this meeting,  
24 did he have awareness of Burisma?

25 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes, he did.

1 MR. WITTMANN: Did he have any awareness of Mr.  
2 Zlochevsky?

3 MS. TRAMONTANO: We didn't talk about Mr. Zlochevsky.

4 MR. WITTMANN: What was his awareness of Burisma?

5 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, he was the energy czar. So he  
6 knew, you know--he knew about energy companies, you know,  
7 globally, I would guess, but he knew about the company.  
8 And, you know, he knew the company was a large private-  
9 sector energy company.

10 MR. WITTMANN: Was Mr. Hochstein aware of Ambassador  
11 Pyatt's statements that related to Burisma?

12 MS. TRAMONTANO: To the best of my recollection he was  
13 aware of the statements. He did not--he was not aware of  
14 the basis for the statements.

15 MR. WITTMANN: Did you all discuss what the basis of  
16 those statements might have been?

17 MS. TRAMONTANO: No, we didn't discuss what the basis  
18 of those statements would have been. Amos suggested we meet  
19 with Ambassador Pyatt.

20 MR. WITTMANN: And what was Amos' view of Burisma? Did  
21 he, in addition to having awareness of what the company  
22 does, did he have any other perspective regarding the  
23 company?

24 MS. TRAMONTANO: My recollection is he was negative.

25 MR. WITTMANN: And why was he negative?

1 MS. TRAMONTANO: I don't have a specific, you know,  
2 recollection that he--you know, that he stated reasons, but,  
3 you know, I recall that he was negative.

4 MR. WITTMANN: Did Mr. Hochstein's negative view of  
5 Burisma differ from the State Department's view?

6 MS. TRAMONTANO: I have no idea because I was--we were  
7 trying to find out what the State Department's view was, and  
8 we did not find that out.

9 MR. WITTMANN: How did you know that Mr. Hochstein's  
10 view was his personal view and not the view of the State  
11 Department?

12 MS. TRAMONTANO: He said it was his--he said it was his  
13 view.

14 MR. WITTMANN: And he didn't elaborate as to how he  
15 came to that--to hold that view?

16 MS. TRAMONTANO: I don't recall that he did.

17 MR. WITTMANN: Was Mr. Hochstein aware of Hunter  
18 Biden's role on Burisma's board?

19 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes, I believe he was.

20 MR. WITTMANN: Was that discussed at this meeting?

21 MS. TRAMONTANO: I don't believe that it was.

22 MR. WITTMANN: How do you know Mr. Hochstein was aware  
23 of Hunter Biden's role on Burisma's board?

24 MS. TRAMONTANO: I think he said that, you know, he  
25 knew Hunter was on the board, or Hunter Biden was on the

1 board, but I don't recall a discussion about it.

2 MR. WITTMANN: And you think he said that at this  
3 meeting?

4 MS. TRAMONTANO: I believe he did.

5 MR. WITTMANN: Why was that issue brought up at this  
6 meeting?

7 MS. TRAMONTANO: It wasn't brought up as an issue.

8 MR. WITTMANN: Why did Mr. Hochstein mention that at  
9 this meeting?

10 MS. TRAMONTANO: You'll have to ask Mr. Hochstein that.

11 MR. WITTMANN: In addition to suggesting that you all  
12 meet with Ambassador Pyatt, did Mr. Hochstein offer any  
13 other advice to you?

14 MS. TRAMONTANO: No, but he said he would be happy to  
15 reach out to Ambassador Pyatt and let him know that we would  
16 be seeking a meeting.

17 MR. WITTMANN: Do you know if he ended up doing that?

18 MS. TRAMONTANO: I don't recall if he did. I mean, if  
19 he did and there were communications that we knew about, we  
20 would have submitted them to the Committee. Right now I  
21 don't have present recollection of that.

22 MR. WITTMANN: Did you request anything of Mr.  
23 Hochstein, including him reaching out to the ambassador?

24 MS. TRAMONTANO: We didn't make that request of him.  
25 He offered.

1 MR. WITTMANN: And why do you think he offered that?

2 MS. TRAMONTANO: I don't know. You'd have to ask him.

3 MR. WITTMANN: Were you surprised when he made that  
4 offer to you?

5 MS. TRAMONTANO: No. As I said, I'd known Amos for,  
6 you know, probably, you know, 10, 15, maybe even 20 years,  
7 so no. I mean, this is somebody that I know. And, again,  
8 I'll repeat myself. We were trying to find out why  
9 Ambassador Pyatt said what he said and whether that  
10 reflected the view of the State Department or whether that  
11 was, you know, his view, and was the basis for his  
12 statements. And we asked Amos if he knew, and, you know,  
13 that was it.

14 MR. WITTMANN: Would you describe it that he said he  
15 would reach out to Ambassador Pyatt, did you think of that  
16 as a personal favor?

17 MS. TRAMONTANO: I didn't think of it as anything. He  
18 said--what I recall is he suggested we meet with Ambassador  
19 Pyatt. We said we would. And, you know, and I recall him  
20 saying, "And if you need any help I'm happy to reach out to  
21 him." That was it.

22 MR. WITTMANN: I want to go back to the cover letter--  
23 Will, if you could put that up--also on page 2.

24 MS. TRAMONTANO: It's not on the screen yet.

25 MR. WITTMANN: Can you see it now?

1 MS. TRAMONTANO: Not yet, but it looks like it's  
2 coming. Okay. Yes, I can see it now.

3 MR. WITTMANN: At the bottom of that document, you  
4 noted that on December 14, 2015, you met with USAID  
5 representative Steve Gonyea. You noted that USAID had made  
6 the decision to decline Burisma's offer of assistance during  
7 the gas shortage. What did--

8 MS. TRAMONTANO: I'm sorry. You're referencing a  
9 meeting but the page--I can't see the reference because the  
10 page keeps moving.

11 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. We want to go to the bottom of  
12 page 2, Will, at that footnote. Keep it on the footnote.  
13 Thank you. It's in footnote number 3, Ms. Tramontano.

14 MS. TRAMONTANO: Okay. Okay. So if you could hold it  
15 there and just let me read it. Thank you.

16 MR. WITTMANN: Sure. Just let me know when you're  
17 ready.

18 MS. TRAMONTANO: Okay.

19 MR. WITTMANN: You noted that USAID had made a decision  
20 to decline Burisma's offer of assistance--

21 MS. TRAMONTANO: I'm sorry. I'm sorry. Could you just  
22 give me one more second?

23 MR. WITTMANN: Oh sure. Just let me know.

24 MS. TRAMONTANO: Okay. Thank you.

25 [Pause.]

1 MS. TRAMONTANO: Okay. Sorry. Thank you.

2 MR. WITTMANN: Oh, no worries. I'll just repeat the  
3 intro again, to the question. You noted that USAID had made  
4 a decision to decline Burisma's offer of assistance during  
5 the gas shortage. What did Burisma offer USAID?

6 MS. TRAMONTANO: You know, I don't remember at this  
7 time what the offer was. I'm sorry.

8 MR. WITTMANN: Do you know why USAID declined Burisma's  
9 assistance?

10 MS. TRAMONTANO: No, I did not at the time, and as I  
11 recall, Gonyea was not clear about why.

12 MR. WITTMANN: And just so I understand, he wasn't  
13 clear during this meeting?

14 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yeah, that's correct. That's my  
15 recollection.

16 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. Did Burisma ever provide  
17 assistance to or cooperate with USAID?

18 MS. TRAMONTANO: Before we worked with Burisma, Burisma  
19 had offered assistance to USAID, and I believe that was  
20 accepted. I don't know the nature of it, but I believe  
21 there was an occasion where they did offer assistance and  
22 USAID accepted.

23 MR. WITTMANN: What was the type of assistance that was  
24 offered?

25 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yeah, I don't know. As I said, it was

1 before we were working with Burisma.

2 MR. WITTMANN: Before November of 2015?

3 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes. That's correct.

4 MR. WITTMANN: Do you know the date of when this  
5 assistance was accepted?

6 MS. TRAMONTANO: I do not know that.

7 MR. WITTMANN: I'm sorry. The line was breaking up.  
8 You do not?

9 MS. TRAMONTANO: Oh, no, I'm sorry. I do not know the  
10 date.

11 MR. WITTMANN: How did you obtain this meeting with  
12 USAID in December of 2015?

13 MS. TRAMONTANO: I think we just sent an email asking  
14 for the meeting.

15 MR. WITTMANN: And email to Mr. Gonyea?

16 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes. I believe that's correct. I  
17 think it was put up on the screen previously.

18 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. And during this meeting, did you  
19 get a sense of what Mr. Gonyea's awareness or perspective of  
20 Burisma was?

21 MS. TRAMONTANO: My recollection is that Mr. Gonyea was  
22 new to the position, and, I mean, that's my recollection.  
23 He was new to the position, or relatively new to Ukraine,  
24 and, you know, he did not have a lot of--you know, he didn't  
25 have a lot of background yet. That's my recollection.

1 MR. WITTMANN: When did USAID decline the company's  
2 assistance?

3 MS. TRAMONTANO: I don't know the date.

4 MR. WITTMANN: Because based on how I read the cover  
5 letter, it seemed as if that had occurred prior to December  
6 2015. Is that correct?

7 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yeah, I think--yes, it would have been  
8 prior to December 2015.

9 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. Do you know if it was before Blue  
10 Star took on Burisma as a client?

11 MS. TRAMONTANO: I believe it was.

12 MR. WITTMANN: Did Mr. Gonyea have any awareness of Mr.  
13 Zlochevsky?

14 MS. TRAMONTANO: Not that I'm aware of.

15 MR. WITTMANN: Was that discussed at this meeting, Mr.  
16 Zlochevsky?

17 MS. TRAMONTANO: No, not based on my recollection.

18 MR. WITTMANN: At this meeting, did you discuss Vice  
19 President Biden's recent trip to Ukraine?

20 MS. TRAMONTANO: No, not that I recall.

21 MR. WITTMANN: Was Mr. Gonyea aware of Hunter Biden's  
22 role on Burisma's board?

23 MS. TRAMONTANO: I have no idea if he was aware of it.

24 MR. WITTMANN: Was that discussed at this meeting?

25 MS. TRAMONTANO: No. I didn't discuss Hunter Biden's

1 role at the meeting.

2 MR. WITTMANN: Was the topic mentioned at this meeting?

3 MS. TRAMONTANO: No.

4 MR. WITTMANN: Why did Mr. Gonyea's perspective about  
5 Burisma matter to you?

6 MS. TRAMONTANO: As I said, we were trying to  
7 understand what the U.S. State Department position was,  
8 whether it had a position about Burisma. And so we were  
9 having meetings to learn that.

10 MR. WITTMANN: And what did you learn in this meeting?

11 MS. TRAMONTANO: As I said, my recollection is that Mr.  
12 Gonyea was either new to the position or new to Ukraine, and  
13 he was, you know, just beginning to understand, you know,  
14 the, you know, the complexities of the country, and, you  
15 know, its stakeholders. So that's my recollection.

16 MR. WITTMANN: We're going to stay on this exhibit but  
17 go to the next page, Will, page 3, right at the top,  
18 regarding your meeting with Ambassador Pyatt on December 16,  
19 2015. Could you tell us who attended this meeting, please?

20 MS. TRAMONTANO: I think I was--I mean, from--I think  
21 it was me, from Blue Star Strategies. And you're talking  
22 about the Yovanovich meeting, or were you talking about--

23 MR. WITTMANN: I'm sorry. The Ambassador Pyatt meeting  
24 on December 16, 2015.

25 MS. TRAMONTANO: Oh, okay. I'm sorry.

1 MR. WITTMANN: We'll get to Ambassador Yovanovich in a  
2 little bit.

3 MS. TRAMONTANO: Okay. Sorry about that.

4 MR. WITTMANN: It's okay.

5 MS. TRAMONTANO: No, in that case it was Sally Painter  
6 and me in that meeting.

7 MR. WITTMANN: Where did this--I'm sorry.

8 MS. TRAMONTANO: Ambassador Pyatt was in the meeting,  
9 and, you know, I don't recall if there was someone else from  
10 the Embassy in the meeting. There certainly may have been  
11 but I don't recall.

12 MR. WITTMANN: And just based on your previous  
13 statement, it sounded like this meeting occurred at the U.S.  
14 Embassy?

15 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes. Yes, it occurred at the U.S.  
16 Embassy. There was--I mean, the record--there are emails  
17 that we submitted to the Committee that at some point we  
18 were--it was going to be a coffee somewhere in Kiev, but  
19 then it was ultimately held at the Embassy. My recollection  
20 is that it was ultimately held at the Embassy.

21 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. And what was discussed at this  
22 meeting?

23 MS. TRAMONTANO: We talked to the ambassador about the  
24 clients that we were working with, and asked his advice  
25 about, you know, a couple of potential clients, and that was

1 about it.

2 MR. WITTMANN: Did you discuss Burisma at this meeting?

3 I'm sorry. Go ahead.

4 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes. We told him--no, I said it was a  
5 brief meeting as I recall.

6 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. Did you discuss Burisma at this  
7 meeting?

8 MS. TRAMONTANO: We did. We told him that we were  
9 working with Burisma.

10 MR. WITTMANN: And did the ambassador have any reaction  
11 to that?

12 MS. TRAMONTANO: My recollection is he said he, you  
13 know, didn't want to discuss it, or, you know, something  
14 like that.

15 MR. WITTMANN: Did he say why he didn't want to discuss  
16 it?

17 MS. TRAMONTANO: He did not.

18 MR. WITTMANN: Was--excuse me one second.

19 MS. TRAMONTANO: Sure.

20 MR. WITTMANN: You had mentioned earlier that Mr.  
21 Hochstein advised you to talk to the ambassador. Correct?

22 MS. TRAMONTANO: That's correct.

23 MR. WITTMANN: Specifically to get a better  
24 understanding of the State Department's view of Burisma. Is  
25 that correct?

1 MS. TRAMONTANO: Actually, to get a better  
2 understanding of the basis for Ambassador Pyatt's view of  
3 Burisma.

4 MR. WITTMANN: And going into this meeting, what was  
5 your understanding of the ambassador's view of Burisma?

6 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, it was negative. He had made a  
7 public statement earlier that year, as I said previously,  
8 either sometime in August or September, that was negative  
9 about the company. He singled the company out.

10 MR. WITTMANN: Why did you think it was a negative  
11 view?

12 MS. TRAMONTANO: Why did I think it was a negative  
13 view? The ambassador made a statement that was negative  
14 about the company, allegations about the company.

15 MR. WITTMANN: What type of allegations?

16 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, I don't recall specifically. I  
17 probably knew at the time but I don't recall specifically  
18 what the specific allegations were. But he was negative.  
19 He called the company out by name as, you know, a bad  
20 company. I don't recall the specific language he used.

21 MR. WITTMANN: Were you aware of any similar statements  
22 the ambassador made with regard to Mr. Zlochevsky?  
23 Specifically Mr. Zlochevsky.

24 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yeah, I was aware of statements that  
25 he had made about Mr. Zlochevsky as well.

1 MR. WITTMANN: And would you--was it your view at the  
2 time that those statements were also negative?

3 MS. TRAMONTANO: I had no view of those statements. I  
4 was trying to understand the ambassador's view of Burisma.

5 MR. WITTMANN: Was it your position that the  
6 Ambassador's view of Burisma was the same as the view of the  
7 U.S. Government?

8 MS. TRAMONTANO: As I said previously, we were trying  
9 to determine that very question. We were trying to  
10 determine whether the State Department's view was--or I  
11 should say it in the reverse, whether Ambassador Pyatt's  
12 view reflected the State Department's view or whether  
13 Ambassador Pyatt's view was Ambassador Pyatt's view.

14 MR. WITTMANN: And were you able to make that  
15 determination or any of those determinations following this  
16 meeting?

17 MS. TRAMONTANO: No.

18 MR. WITTMANN: Did you have any reason to believe that  
19 the Ambassador's view that he had publicly expressed wasn't  
20 the view of the United States Government?

21 MS. TRAMONTANO: Based on my experience, there are  
22 times when Ambassadors have a view that does not reflect the  
23 State Department's view. That's what we were trying to find  
24 out.

25 MR. WITTMANN: In your meeting with Ambassador Pyatt,

1 did you discuss Ukraine's prosecutor general?

2 MS. TRAMONTANO: No, we did not.

3 MR. WITTMANN: In this meeting with Ambassador Pyatt,  
4 did you discuss Hunter Biden's role on Burisma's board?

5 MS. TRAMONTANO: We did not.

6 MR. WITTMANN: At this meeting did you discuss Vice  
7 President Biden's recent trip to Ukraine?

8 MS. TRAMONTANO: We did not.

9 MR. WITTMANN: Did Ambassador Pyatt offer any advice to  
10 you regarding Burisma?

11 MS. TRAMONTANO: Not regarding Burisma.

12 MR. WITTMANN: Did you request anything of Ambassador  
13 Pyatt at this meeting?

14 MS. TRAMONTANO: I did not request anything.

15 MR. WITTMANN: Did you attempt to meet with anyone else  
16 during this time period, December 2015, did you attempt to  
17 meet with anyone else at the U.S. Embassy to discuss  
18 Burisma?

19 MS. TRAMONTANO: The meetings that we had during that  
20 time have all been submitted to the Committee. I don't  
21 recall any other--any other meetings that we had.

22 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. I want to turn now to our next  
23 exhibit, which we'll enter into the record as Exhibit No. 4.  
24 Tab 4, please, Will.

25 [Tramontano Exhibit No. 4

1 marked for identification.]

2 MR. WITTMANN: And I'll have Will scroll down to the  
3 bottom of this email. Will, down to the bottom of the first  
4 page, please? And I'll give you a chance to read that Ms.  
5 Tramontano. Just let me know when you're ready.

6 MS. TRAMONTANO: Okay.

7 MR. WITTMANN: On February 18, 2016, you emailed Under  
8 Secretary Catherine Novelli a request for a meeting. You  
9 wrote that you wanted to "discuss a matter on which I need  
10 your advice." You added, "Essentially, the U.S. Government  
11 has taken a position in a commercial matter regarding a  
12 Ukrainian individual, and I believe that position is in  
13 error."

14 So at this point when you wrote this, did you already  
15 know what the U.S. Government position was regarding--well,  
16 first of all, I should ask: What were you referencing in  
17 this line regarding a commercial matter about a Ukrainian  
18 individual?

19 MS. TRAMONTANO: The reference would have been to  
20 Burisma.

21 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. And who is the Ukrainian  
22 individual?

23 MS. TRAMONTANO: It would have been the shareholder.

24 MR. WITTMANN: And who was that person?

25 MS. TRAMONTANO: Mykola Zlochevsky.

1 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. So based on this email, were you  
2 aware what the U.S. Government's position on Burisma and  
3 Zlochevsky?

4 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, at this time, you know, I think  
5 this was--I don't see the date.

6 MR. WITTMANN: I'm sorry. We'll scroll up and show you  
7 that date.

8 MS. TRAMONTANO: Okay. Thank you.

9 MR. WITTMANN: Sure.

10 MS. TRAMONTANO: So it's February. Yeah, so at this  
11 time what we knew was Ambassador Pyatt's view and we knew  
12 from our meeting with Mr. Hochstein that he was negative.  
13 So that's what we knew.

14 MR. WITTMANN: So at this time did you think that that  
15 view was the view of the U.S. Government?

16 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, we were still trying to figure  
17 out if it were the U.S. Government's view and that was my  
18 reason for reaching out to Under Secretary Novelli.

19 MR. WITTMANN: You wrote, "The U.S. Government has  
20 taken a position." Was it your view at the time--

21 MS. TRAMONTANO: And as I said--no, and as I said, we  
22 knew what Ambassador Pyatt's view was, we knew what Amos'  
23 view was, and we were trying to figure out whether that was,  
24 you know, broadly the view of the U.S. State Department.

25 MR. WITTMANN: Was there a reason why you didn't ask

1 that question in your email?

2 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, that's what we were trying to  
3 do, so--

4 MR. WITTMANN: You noted in your--

5 MS. TRAMONTANO: --that is asking for--sorry.

6 MR. WITTMANN: I'm sorry. Go ahead, go ahead.

7 MS. TRAMONTANO: No, please go ahead.

8 MR. WITTMANN: You noted in your email that the reason  
9 of the email was to discuss the matter, and you asked for  
10 Ms. Novelli's advice, and you--

11 MS. TRAMONTANO: That's correct.

12 MR. WITTMANN: And you noted that the position is in  
13 error. Why was the position of, according to this email,  
14 the U.S. Government in error?

15 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, what we understood from  
16 Ambassador--about Ambassador Pyatt's position from the  
17 statement that he had made, as I said earlier, about the  
18 company and also about the U.K. decision was that U.K.  
19 decision and his statements about it, John Buretta had done  
20 some investigation of that, and the position was that it was  
21 in error.

22 MR. WITTMANN: At this point in time, had Mr. Buretta--  
23 had Blue Star worked with Mr. Buretta at this point?

24 MS. TRAMONTANO: At this point in time, Mr. Buretta had  
25 been retained by Burisma. I believe at this point in time

1 he had been retained. I believe he was retained in January.

2 MR. WITTMANN: Why did you think that Under Secretary  
3 Novelli could help you with this matter?

4 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, I wasn't asking--I wasn't asking  
5 for any help.

6 MR. WITTMANN: For her advice.

7 MS. TRAMONTANO: I was asking for her advice. Under  
8 Secretary Novelli in her position had negotiated the  
9 sovereign guarantee for Ukraine, so I thought she would be  
10 someone who would know a bit about the situation in Ukraine.

11 MR. WITTMANN: Did you think that she would have--did  
12 you think that she had knowledge of Burisma and Zlochevsky  
13 at this time?

14 MS. TRAMONTANO: I didn't know whether she had  
15 knowledge of Burisma or Zlochevsky at this time. I learned  
16 that in...

17 MR. WITTMANN: I'm sorry, Ms. Tramontano. The line was  
18 breaking up. Do you mind repeating that? All I heard was,  
19 "I learned that."

20 MS. TRAMONTANO: I said I did not know whether she had  
21 knowledge of Burisma or Zlochevsky at this time. I learned  
22 she did not.

23 MR. WITTMANN: And how did you learn that?

24 MS. TRAMONTANO: At the meeting we had with her.

25 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. Why did you not name the

1 Ukrainian individual in the email to Ms. Novelli?

2 MS. TRAMONTANO: I don't recall.

3 MR. WITTMANN: Was there a reason why you didn't  
4 mention the name of the company Burisma, in this email?

5 MS. TRAMONTANO: I don't--I don't recall.

6 MR. WITTMANN: I want to go back to Exhibit 2. We're  
7 going to go to page 2.

8 MS. TRAMONTANO: Okay.

9 MR. WITTMANN: The second to last paragraph. Ms.  
10 Novelli--I'm sorry. Ms. Tramontano, we're going to move on  
11 to questions about the meeting with Ms. Novelli. Do you see  
12 the paragraph on your screen that begins with "The second  
13 incorrect assertion"?

14 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes, I do.

15 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. In this cover letter, you  
16 acknowledged an internal State Department email about your  
17 request to Under Secretary Novelli. When you made the  
18 request to Ms. Novelli, we just saw the email directly to  
19 her. Did you have any follow-up conversations with her  
20 staff arranging this meeting?

21 MS. TRAMONTANO: As I recall, Ms. Novelli or Under  
22 Secretary Novelli responded to my email. It would be in the  
23 Committee documents. But my recollection is she responded  
24 to the email like, "Sure," or "Yes," or, you know, she  
25 agreed to the meeting. Subsequent to that, her staff was

1 preparing a briefing, a briefing for the meeting, and my  
2 best recollection is I had a phone conversation with her  
3 staff.

4 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. And when did that phone  
5 conversation occur?

6 MS. TRAMONTANO: You know, it was prior to the meeting  
7 with Under Secretary Novelli, but I don't recall the--I  
8 don't recall the date.

9 MR. WITTMANN: Did you mention Hunter Biden's name?

10 MS. TRAMONTANO: My recollection when I was talking to  
11 her staff is I was asked a question about whether there was  
12 any U.S. content or U.S. involvement in Burisma, and I  
13 responded that Burisma purchases its equipment from U.S.  
14 companies and that Hunter Biden and Devon Archer, both U.S.  
15 citizens, were on the board.

16 MR. WITTMANN: And was there any other follow-up  
17 discussion after you mentioned that regarding those two  
18 specific facts?

19 MS. TRAMONTANO: No, not to my--not to my recollection,  
20 no.

21 MR. WITTMANN: In this cover letter, in that same  
22 paragraph, you wrote, "Ms. Novelli agreed to the meeting and  
23 my request. The purpose of the meeting was to understand  
24 the State Department's position regarding Burisma as well as  
25 how the State Department came to that position." The date

1 of the meeting was March 1, 2016.

2 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yeah, I believe that's correct, yeah.

3 MR. WITTMANN: So at this time--or, rather, in this  
4 letter to the committees, you're saying that this is now--it  
5 is the position of the State Department that you wanted to  
6 discuss.

7 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes, that's correct.

8 MR. WITTMANN: What position did the State Department--  
9 did you want to specifically--what State Department position  
10 did you specifically want to discuss with Ms. Novelli?

11 MS. TRAMONTANO: We wanted to understand the State  
12 Department's position regarding Burisma and how the  
13 Department came to that position.

14 MR. WITTMANN: And what was the State Department's  
15 position regarding Burisma?

16 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, that's what we were trying to--  
17 that's what we were trying to understand. We knew  
18 Ambassador Pyatt's position, we understood Mr. Hochstein's  
19 position, and we were trying to understand whether that was  
20 the State Department's view as well.

21 MR. WITTMANN: In this letter, you reference how--that  
22 you were trying to understand how the State Department came  
23 to that position.

24 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes, that's correct.

25 MR. WITTMANN: So was it your understanding that those

1 positions held by the Ambassador and Mr. Hochstein were the  
2 positions that the State Department had already reached?

3 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, that's what we were trying to  
4 understand.

5 MR. WITTMANN: You mentioned that Mr. Buretta  
6 accompanied you at this meeting. Is that correct?

7 MS. TRAMONTANO: That's correct.

8 MR. WITTMANN: According to the cover letter, you met  
9 with Ms. Novelli on March 1, 2016. Correct?

10 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yeah, I believe that's correct. I  
11 mean, that's what the cover letter says, and I believe that  
12 was the time of the meeting.

13 MR. WITTMANN: And Mr. Buretta accompanied you at this  
14 meeting. Is that correct?

15 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes, he did.

16 MR. WITTMANN: Did anyone else attend this meeting?

17 MS. TRAMONTANO: I don't recall whether Under Secretary  
18 Novelli had a staff person in the meeting. I just don't  
19 recall that.

20 MR. WITTMANN: Did you prepare any materials for this  
21 meeting with Under Secretary Novelli?

22 MS. TRAMONTANO: I did not prepare any materials.

23 MR. WITTMANN: Did anyone on your staff prepare any  
24 materials?

25 MS. TRAMONTANO: No, they did not.

1 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. I want to introduce our next  
2 exhibit into the record, Exhibit No. 5. Tab 5, please,  
3 Will.

4 [Tramontano Exhibit No. 5  
5 marked for identification.]

6 MR. WITTMANN: And we're going to go to page 2, please,  
7 Will, towards the top.

8 In emails about preparation for this meeting with Under  
9 Secretary Novelli, a State Department employee requested  
10 that Pero provide more details about the meetings, mainly  
11 the name of the Ukrainian official, and you responded.

12 Please scroll up, Will.

13 And you responded let's have a conversation with the  
14 staff person rather than engage in emails.

15 MS. TRAMONTANO: Mm-hmm.

16 MR. WITTMANN: Why did you want to--I'm sorry. Why did  
17 you want to have a conversation with the staff person rather  
18 than engage in emails?

19 MS. TRAMONTANO: Because I'm old, and I prefer to have  
20 conversations with people rather than exchange emails. I  
21 find it's not the best medium sometimes.

22 MR. WITTMANN: Was there any reason why you didn't want  
23 to put the name of the Ukraine official in an email?

24 MS. TRAMONTANO: No. I just thought it would be best  
25 to have a conversation with the staff person, which is what

1 I did.

2 MR. WITTMANN: One moment, please.

3 Ms. Tramontano, I think I have time for one more  
4 question before our time is up.

5 MS. TRAMONTANO: Sure.

6 MR. WITTMANN: And that question is in line with what  
7 we were just talking about.

8 MS. TRAMONTANO: Mm-hmm.

9 MR. WITTMANN: Did you engage in conversations with a  
10 staff person?

11 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes, I believe I did, and I referred  
12 to them in your previous question.

13 MR. WITTMANN: And what did you discuss with that staff  
14 person?

15 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, as I said previously, my  
16 recollection is that I told him we were going to be  
17 discussing Burisma, explain the company, and he asked  
18 whether there was any U.S. persons or content involved in  
19 Burisma. And I responded affirmatively and explained that  
20 Burisma purchased its equipment from U.S. manufacturers, and  
21 that Hunter Biden and Devon Archer were on the board.  
22 That's my recollection.

23 MR. WITTMANN: Thank you.

24 I'm going to turn it over to my colleague, Josh, for  
25 our last few questions.

1 MR. FLYNN-BROWN: No questions here.

2 I just want a quick statement regarding the Minority's  
3 opening statement. I think most of the elements of their  
4 opening statement have been addressed in previous  
5 interviews, but I just want to make this clear for the  
6 record.

7 Senator Grassley cares very deeply about the COVID  
8 pandemic and the effect that it's had on the American people  
9 and our financial system. He has taken and will continue to  
10 take all necessary steps he can to use his finance  
11 jurisdiction to assist the American people in our fight  
12 against the virus and support the United States economy.  
13 Any insinuation, implication, or direct statement to the  
14 contrary is not rooted in fact.

15 MR. WITTMANN: Thank you, Josh.

16 I believe our time is up for this round. Zack, I'm  
17 happy to turn it over to you, or, Ms. Tramontano, if you'd  
18 like a break, please let us know.

19 MR. SCHRAM: Would this be a good time for a lunch  
20 break, Ms. Tramontano?

21 MS. TRAMONTANO: You know, if I had, like, a five-  
22 minute break or ten-minute break that would be sufficient.  
23 I mean, I don't need much more.

24 MR. SCHRAM: Scott, do you know how many--

25 MS. TRAMONTANO: It's up to you.

1 MR. SCHRAM: --more rounds that you--how many more  
2 rounds you have?

3 MR. WITTMANN: I'm not sure at this point, Zack, but we  
4 can--yeah. Not sure at this point, Zack, but we can  
5 discuss.

6 MR. SCHRAM: Okay. So--

7 MR. WITTMANN: We're happy to give Ms. Tramontano 10  
8 minutes if she would like.

9 MR. SCHRAM: I'm just wondering maybe this would be a  
10 good moment to take a little longer. It doesn't sound like  
11 you're wrapping up imminently. So why don't we take half an  
12 hour and come back at 1:40.

13 MR. WITTMANN: That works. Thank you. Zack.

14 MR. SCHRAM: Sure thing.

15 MS. TRAMONTANO: Okay. Thank you very much.

16 MR. WITTMANN: Thank you.

17 [Whereupon, at 1:09 p.m., the interview was recessed,  
18 to reconvene at 1:40 p.m. this same day.]

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1 AFTERNOON SESSION

2 [1:44 p.m.]

3 MR. SCHRAM: Let's go on the record. Will, can you  
4 hand Roy presenter control, please?

5 MR. SACRIPANTI: Absolutely. Sending it over now.

6 MR. SCHRAM: Ms. Tramontano, during my last hour of  
7 questioning the majority interjected when I mentioned the  
8 name of Andrii Telizhenko. I'd like to draw your attention  
9 to a number of the Chairman's letters, where they are using  
10 Mr. Telizhenko, relying on Mr. Telizhenko as a source of  
11 information to further the investigation.

12 On December 6, 2019, Chairman Johnson's staff reached  
13 out directly to Mr. Telizhenko, requesting documents and his  
14 appearance for a voluntary transcribed interview. In a  
15 September 27, 2019, letter from the Chairman to Attorney  
16 General Barr, Mr. Telizhenko was quoted extensively from a  
17 May 29, 2019, John Soloman article. On November 1, 2019,  
18 the Chairman sent a letter to the National Archives. In  
19 that letter, Mr. Telizhenko is cited as the basis for  
20 requesting records concerning a January 2016 meeting with  
21 the White House and Ukrainian prosecutors. In that letter  
22 alone, Mr. Telizhenko is mentioned 11 times.

23 In the February 24, 2020, letter that we discussed, the  
24 letter from Chairman Johnson to Ranking Member Peters,  
25 Chairman Johnson requested that the Committee authorize a

1 subpoena for records and personal attendance for Mr.  
2 Telizhenko. On March 1, 2020, the Chairman requested,  
3 again, records of Mr. Telizhenko, as mentioned because of  
4 concerns of Committee members that Mr. Telizhenko narratives  
5 are part of Russian disinformation campaign. The Chairman  
6 pulled down a vote to authorize that subpoena.

7 Marking as Exhibit B, a photograph, that I will ask Roy  
8 to pull up.

9 [Tramontano Exhibit B marked  
10 for identification.]

11 MR. SCHRAM: Ms. Tramontano, do you recognize the  
12 individuals in this photo?

13 MS. TRAMONTANO: Mr. Schram, the photo is not up yet.  
14 Oh, it's coming now. Give me one minute.

15 So that is Andrii Telizhenko and Senator Johnson.

16 MR. SCHRAM: That's all from us.

17 MR. WITTMANN: Thank you, Zack. Ms. Tramontano, can  
18 you hear me?

19 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes, I can.

20 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. Thank you. I want to go back--

21 MS. TRAMONTANO: I can't see--

22 MR. WITTMANN: I'm sorry?

23 MS. TRAMONTANO: I said I can't see you, though.

24 MR. WITTMANN: Oh, I'm sorry.

25 MS. TRAMONTANO: That's okay.

1 MR. WITTMANN: I can see you.

2 MS. TRAMONTANO: Okay.

3 MR. WITTMANN: I want to pick up where we left off  
4 regarding the March 1, 2016, meeting with Under Secretary  
5 Novelli.

6 MS. TRAMONTANO: Okay.

7 MR. WITTMANN: Could you talk about whether Ms. Novelli  
8 was aware of the U.S. Government's position regarding  
9 Burisma?

10 MS. TRAMONTANO: My recollection is she was not aware.

11 MR. WITTMANN: What did you discuss at that meeting on  
12 March 1, 2016?

13 MS. TRAMONTANO: So to the best of my recollection, I  
14 told Ms. Novelli that we were working with Burisma, that  
15 Ambassador Pyatt had made statements about the company, and  
16 had made statements that we believed to be incorrect about  
17 the UK court decision. And I asked her if she was aware of  
18 the company or if she was aware of Ambassador Pyatt's  
19 remarks, and to the best of my recollection she said she was  
20 not aware of either.

21 MR. WITTMANN: So just so I understand, not only was  
22 she not aware of the government's position regarding Burisma  
23 but she also did not have awareness of Burisma?

24 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes. That's my recollection.

25 MR. WITTMANN: And what about Mr. Zlochevsky? Did Ms.

1 Novelli have any awareness of Mr. Zlochevsky or the  
2 government's position of Mr. Zlochevsky?

3 MS. TRAMONTANO: I don't recall that being part of the  
4 conversation. I recall the conversation being about  
5 Burisma.

6 MR. WITTMANN: And what was Ms. Novelli's reaction to  
7 you telling her your position, that the government had--may  
8 have taken a perspective or position regarding Burisma that  
9 might have been in error?

10 MS. TRAMONTANO: As I recall, John Buretta offered to  
11 explain his position about the case and why he thought it  
12 was--why he thought Ambassador Pyatt's view was an incorrect  
13 view. And, you know, I don't recall much more about the  
14 meeting than what I've already said.

15 MR. WITTMANN: Were you surprised that Under Secretary  
16 Novelli did not have any awareness of Burisma or Mr.  
17 Zlochevsky?

18 MS. TRAMONTANO: I don't recall being surprised at  
19 that, no.

20 MR. WITTMANN: Was it your expectation that she would  
21 have awareness?

22 MS. TRAMONTANO: I didn't have any expectations.

23 MR. WITTMANN: Was Ms. Novelli aware of Hunter Biden's  
24 role on Burisma's board?

25 MS. TRAMONTANO: We didn't talk about it.

1 MR. WITTMANN: Was Ms. Novelli aware of Devon Archer's  
2 role on Burisma's board?

3 MS. TRAMONTANO: We did not talk about that.

4 MR. WITTMANN: Did you discuss Ukraine's Prosecutor  
5 General?

6 MS. TRAMONTANO: No, we did not.

7 MR. WITTMANN: Did the Prosecutor General's Office  
8 relate in any way to the UK case regarding Mr. Zlochevsky?

9 MS. TRAMONTANO: The only relationship that I recall  
10 was, again, Ambassador Pyatt's claim that the Prosecutor  
11 General's Office at that time did not provide any evidence  
12 to the UK case.

13 MR. WITTMANN: And did that specific point come up as  
14 part of your discussion with Ms. Novelli?

15 MS. TRAMONTANO: It did not come up as part of my  
16 discussion with Under Secretary Novelli. I believe John  
17 said--Mr. Buretta said that he reviewed the entire file and  
18 there were hundreds of documents submitted by the Office of  
19 the Prosecutor General for Ukraine.

20 MR. WITTMANN: When you left--when your meeting with  
21 Under Secretary Novelli ended, did you or Mr. Buretta have a  
22 better understanding of the government's perspective of  
23 Burisma?

24 MS. TRAMONTANO: We did not, because Under Secretary  
25 Novelli had no knowledge of Burisma or the government's

1 position, nor was she aware of Ambassador Pyatt's  
2 statements.

3 MR. WITTMANN: Did you request anything of Ms. Novelli  
4 at this meeting?

5 MS. TRAMONTANO: I did not.

6 MR. WITTMANN: Did Ms. Novelli offer any advice to you?

7 MS. TRAMONTANO: She did not.

8 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. I want to go back to Exhibit No.  
9 2. This is the cover letter from December 2019.

10 [Pause.]

11 MR. WITTMANN: Ms. Tramontano, please let us know when  
12 this appears on your screen.

13 MS. TRAMONTANO: Okay. It's now on my screen.

14 MR. WITTMANN: In the first paragraph that's on your  
15 screen, it mentions the second meeting that you had with Mr.  
16 Hochstein on March 24, 2016.

17 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes.

18 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. According to this letter, you and  
19 Mr. Buretta attended the meeting with Mr. Hochstein. Did  
20 anyone else attend this meeting?

21 MS. TRAMONTANO: I'm sorry if there's a  
22 misunderstanding, but the second meeting, I did not attend  
23 the second meeting with Mr. Hochstein. It was Sally  
24 Painter--

25 MR. WITTMANN: Okay.

1 MS. TRAMONTANO: --if you look at the line, the  
2 sentence above, "While Sally Painter attended the meeting,  
3 the counsel led the briefing--"

4 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. Thank you for--

5 MS. TRAMONTANO: --the first meeting.

6 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. Thank you for clarifying that.

7 MS. TRAMONTANO: No, that's fine.

8 MR. WITTMANN: Did you receive any debrief from this  
9 meeting?

10 MS. TRAMONTANO: I don't recall having received a  
11 debrief.

12 MR. WITTMANN: Do you know what was discussed at this  
13 meeting?

14 MS. TRAMONTANO: I don't recall. I mean, I wasn't in  
15 the meeting, so--

16 MR. WITTMANN: In the cover letter it talks about  
17 Burisma's counsel, Mr. Buretta, attending. It is fair to  
18 say that that meeting was about Burisma?

19 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes, the meeting was about Burisma,  
20 and as the letter said, Sally attended the meeting--Sally  
21 painter attended the meeting, but John Buretta led the  
22 briefing.

23 MR. WITTMANN: Could you explain what that means? Did  
24 he provide some sort of presentation?

25 MS. TRAMONTANO: I wasn't in the meeting.

1 MR. WITTMANN: Understood, but the letter that you  
2 submitted to the Committee talks about how Mr. Buretta led  
3 the meeting, and we're just seeking clarification on what  
4 that means.

5 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, I think it speaks for itself,  
6 but he led the briefing, so he was providing a briefing to  
7 Mr. Hochstein.

8 MR. WITTMANN: Why did Blue Star want to meet with Mr.  
9 Hochstein a second time?

10 MS. TRAMONTANO: When we met with him the first time,  
11 in December, we had agreed that we were going to follow up  
12 with him. I think that was the genesis of the second  
13 meeting.

14 MR. WITTMANN: And were there any developments between  
15 the first meeting and the second meeting regarding Mr.  
16 Hochstein's position or view of Burisma?

17 MS. TRAMONTANO: Not that I'm aware of.

18 MR. WITTMANN: Had there been any developments  
19 regarding what Blue Star believed the U.S. Government's  
20 position on Burisma was at the time?

21 MS. TRAMONTANO: We were still in the position of  
22 knowing what Ambassador Pyatt's statements were, and as I  
23 said, with what Mr. Hochstein's statements were. And the  
24 only other thing that we learned, which is what I just  
25 referred to, is that Cathy--I'm sorry, Under Secretary

1 Novelli, was unaware of Ambassador Pyatt's statements and  
2 was, you know, unaware of Burisma.

3 MR. WITTMANN: Was that--and just to confirm, was that  
4 discussed at this meeting, what Under Secretary Novelli's  
5 perspective or lack thereof regarding Burisma was?

6 MS. TRAMONTANO: I wasn't in the meeting, but you asked  
7 me did we learn anything further between these dates, so I  
8 was just sharing with you what we had learned. But I was  
9 not in the meeting so I can't tell you what was discussed in  
10 the meeting.

11 MR. WITTMANN: Do you know if Mr. Hochstein's  
12 perspective of Burisma had changed?

13 MS. TRAMONTANO: I have no knowledge of whether his  
14 perspective has changed.

15 MR. WITTMANN: Do you know whether the Prosecutor  
16 General's Office was discussed at this meeting?

17 MS. TRAMONTANO: I don't know whether it was.

18 MR. WITTMANN: Did Blue Star request anything of Mr.  
19 Hochstein at this meeting?

20 MS. TRAMONTANO: I wasn't at the meeting, but I know we  
21 made no request of the U.S. Government so I do not believe  
22 we would have asked anything of Mr. Hochstein.

23 MR. WITTMANN: Do you know if Mr. Hochstein offered any  
24 advice to Blue Star at this meeting?

25 MS. TRAMONTANO: Not that I'm aware of.

1 MR. WITTMANN: Did you engage in any preparations ahead  
2 of this meeting?

3 MS. TRAMONTANO: No, I did not. I did not engage in  
4 any preparations before this meeting.

5 MR. WITTMANN: Do you know if any preparations, any  
6 briefing materials were put together for this meeting?

7 MS. TRAMONTANO: No. Yeah, because I wasn't in the  
8 meeting, you know, I wouldn't have any knowledge of that.

9 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. I'm going to enter in, as Exhibit  
10 6, into the record. Tab 10 please, Will.

11 [Tramontano Exhibit No. 6  
12 marked for identification.]

13 MR. WITTMANN: And Will, if you could scroll down. Ms.  
14 Tramontano, do you see this email on your screen?

15 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes. It's moving, but I do see it,  
16 yes.

17 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. I'm going to ask a couple of  
18 questions on the March 20, 2016, email that you sent. That  
19 should appear on your screen now. It goes on to the next  
20 page, so please let us know when you're ready for us to  
21 scroll down.

22 MS. TRAMONTANO: Okay. Can you go back? I'm a slow  
23 reader. Sorry.

24 MR. WITTMANN: That's okay.

25 [Pause.]

1 MS. TRAMONTANO: So does it end with, "Sally, what do  
2 you think?" Is that the end of the email?

3 MR. WITTMANN: Will, please scroll up.

4 MS. TRAMONTANO: Or is there more? Oh, thank you.

5 MR. WITTMANN: Sure.

6 MS. TRAMONTANO: Okay.

7 MR. WITTMANN: On March 20, 2016, you sent an email to  
8 your colleagues about Vadym's--and I'm sorry if I'm  
9 pronouncing that incorrectly--upcoming trip to Washington,  
10 D.C. on March 29, 2016. In the email you mention that Vadym  
11 would like to just stop by to see Hunter, no more than 30  
12 minutes, because he does not have an agenda.

13 Why was Vadym traveling to Washington, D.C.?

14 MS. TRAMONTANO: If my recollection serves me  
15 correctly, President Poroshenko was coming to the U.S. to  
16 give a speech, and the U.S.-Ukraine Business Council was  
17 hosting a reception. So Vadym was coming to Washington to  
18 attend both the remarks and the reception. Assuming I get  
19 my dates right, I think that's why he was coming.

20 MR. WITTMANN: Why did Vadym want to meet with Hunter  
21 Biden?

22 MS. TRAMONTANO: Hunter was on the board.

23 MR. WITTMANN: And what was Vadym's position in  
24 Burisma?

25 MS. TRAMONTANO: Vadym was the advisor to the board of

1 directors.

2 MR. WITTMANN: Did Vadym know Hunter Biden?

3 MS. TRAMONTANO: I'm sure he did.

4 MR. WITTMANN: How did you come to learn that Vadym  
5 wanted to meet with Mr. Biden?

6 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, I think as I said in this email,  
7 I had a conversation with him, and we were putting his  
8 agenda together. And he indicated he wanted to meet with  
9 Hunter Biden.

10 MR. WITTMANN: How often did Vadym or other employees at  
11 Burisma meet with Hunter Biden?

12 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, I have no knowledge of how often  
13 they met. You know, what we, you know, submitted to the  
14 committee were a couple of meetings where we were putting  
15 his agenda together, and he indicated that he wanted to meet  
16 with Hunter. But I have no way of--no way of knowing how  
17 many times he met with Hunter.

18 MR. WITTMANN: Did Blue Star help facilitate those  
19 meetings for Vadym?

20 MS. TRAMONTANO: I don't know what you mean by  
21 facilitate.

22 MR. WITTMANN: Work with scheduling?

23 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yeah. Somebody on my staff would call  
24 the office and inquire about Hunter's availability.

25 MR. WITTMANN: In that same--in the same email, you

1 mentioned that on March 30th, 2016, the evening will be  
2 focusing on the pull-aside with President Poroshenko. What  
3 did you mean by this?

4 MS. TRAMONTANO: That we were trying to get a pull-  
5 aside with President Poroshenko.

6 MR. WITTMANN: Does that just mean a moment to speak  
7 with him? Is that what pull-aside means?

8 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yeah. That's sort of the common  
9 definition of it, I think. Yeah.

10 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. Did you speak with President  
11 Poroshenko on March 30th, 2016?

12 MS. TRAMONTANO: I did not.

13 MR. WITTMANN: Was anyone from Blue Star able to talk  
14 to Mr. Poroshenko that evening?

15 MS. TRAMONTANO: Sally Painter did.

16 MR. WITTMANN: And what did she discuss with him?

17 MS. TRAMONTANO: She told him we were going to be in  
18 Ukraine, and he motioned to Ambassador Chaly to help with  
19 any meetings we may need. And that was it.

20 MR. WITTMANN: Do you know if Ms. Painter mentioned  
21 Hunter Biden's role on Burisma's board in her conversation  
22 with President Poroshenko?

23 MS. TRAMONTANO: She did not.

24 MR. WITTMANN: Did President Poroshenko know Ms.  
25 Painter?

1 MS. TRAMONTANO: No.

2 MR. WITTMANN: Did she know that Burisma was a client  
3 of Ms. Painter's?

4 MS. TRAMONTANO: I do not believe that President  
5 Poroshenko knew that Burisma was a client of Blue Star  
6 Strategies, no.

7 MR. WITTMANN: Just one moment, please.

8 MS. TRAMONTANO: Sure.

9 [Pause.]

10 MR. WITTMANN: Ms. Tramontano, I just want to clear  
11 something up for the record. What specifically did Ms.  
12 Painter ask President Poroshenko or request of him?

13 MS. TRAMONTANO: She didn't ask--she didn't ask  
14 President Poroshenko anything nor did she request anything  
15 of him. As I recall, because I was standing next to her,  
16 she introduced herself and told President Poroshenko that we  
17 would be going to Ukraine, and he unsolicited called--  
18 motioned to Ambassador Chaly and said, you know, please help  
19 them with any meeting request they may have.

20 MR. WITTMANN: And did you speak to Ambassador Chaly at  
21 that point in time after President Poroshenko called him  
22 over?

23 MS. TRAMONTANO: We did not speak to him at the  
24 reception, no.

25 MR. WITTMANN: Did you have any other conversations

1 with Ambassador Chaly following this event?

2 MS. TRAMONTANO: As we submitted to the committee, we  
3 sent an email, I believe, to the ambassador recalling what  
4 President Poroshenko had said and said we were seeking  
5 meetings, and I think we--my recollection of the document or  
6 the email lists, you know, a half a dozen--a half a dozen  
7 meetings with various ministries that we were seeking.

8 MR. WITTMANN: And were you seeking these meetings on  
9 behalf of Burisma?

10 MS. TRAMONTANO: There was only meeting we were seeking  
11 on behalf of Burisma, and that was a meeting with the  
12 general prosecutor's office.

13 MR. WITTMANN: And why did you want to meet with the  
14 general prosecutor's office?

15 MS. TRAMONTANO: Because there were a number of pending  
16 cases against the company, and the prosecutor general at  
17 that time, who I believe was Shokin--it may have changed to  
18 Sevruk--they were taking no action on them, and those cases  
19 were just hanging over the company's head. And we wanted to  
20 have a meeting to understand what their--you know, what the  
21 prosecutor general's next steps were. Were they going to  
22 prosecute, or what actions were they going to take?

23 MR. WITTMANN: What type of cases were pending?

24 MS. TRAMONTANO: Oh, there were--I mean, I don't recall  
25 at this time, but there were tax cases. There were a number

1 of cases that were pending.

2 MR. WITTMANN: Do you know when those cases were open?

3 MS. TRAMONTANO: They were open at various times over a  
4 period of years. Some had been pending for quite some time.

5 MR. WITTMANN: What was the most recent case? When was  
6 that open?

7 MS. TRAMONTANO: You know, I don't--I don't know. I  
8 don't recall.

9 MR. WITTMANN: Do you know what prosecutor general  
10 opened those cases?

11 MS. TRAMONTANO: Oh, I mean, the prosecutor--the cases  
12 went--the cases were open before Shokin. To the best of my  
13 recollection, many of the cases were open before Shokin.  
14 Sevruk was only there a short period of time. My  
15 recollection is the cases had been--has been pending without  
16 action for, you know, years.

17 MR. WITTMANN: And Sevruk was the prosecutor general  
18 that came after Shokin; is that correct?

19 MS. TRAMONTANO: He was the acting prosecutor general,  
20 and I believe he was in the post for--as acting. He was  
21 never nominated to the Rada. So I believe he was in the  
22 post for, you know, maybe 60 days, maybe less.

23 MR. WITTMANN: I want to enter in our next exhibit.  
24 This is Exhibit No. 7.

25 Tab 12, please, Will.

1 [Tramontano Exhibit No. 7  
2 marked for identification.]

3 MR. WITTMANN: Ms. Tramontano, this is a briefing book  
4 that--for Vadym, for his meetings that we discussed earlier,  
5 but I just want to bring your attention to a specific  
6 meeting that we can scroll to on page 129.

7 This is a March 31st--is this on your screen, Ms.  
8 Tramontano?

9 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes, it is. I'm sorry. I should have  
10 said that. Yep.

11 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. This is a March 31st, 2016,  
12 meeting scheduled for Vadym with Hunter Biden at Rosemont  
13 Seneca Partners' offices in Washington. You're listed as  
14 the staffer of this meeting. Did this meeting occur?

15 MS. TRAMONTANO: I believe it did occur, yeah.

16 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. Did you attend this meeting?

17 MS. TRAMONTANO: I did not.

18 MR. WITTMANN: Did anyone else from Blue Star attend  
19 this meeting?

20 MS. TRAMONTANO: No. No one did. We didn't attend  
21 those meetings.

22 MR. WITTMANN: Do you know why you were listed as the  
23 staffer for the meeting if you did not attend?

24 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes. Because when we--when we have  
25 our staff prepare briefing books, there should always be

1 somebody listed if something, you know, were to go wrong or  
2 somebody needs to be contacted, and so we just try to have a  
3 staff person listed.

4 MR. WITTMANN: Did anyone from Blue Star accompany  
5 Vadym to the meeting or drive him to the meeting and then  
6 pick him up afterwards?

7 MS. TRAMONTANO: No.

8 MR. WITTMANN: Do you know what was discussed at this  
9 meeting?

10 MS. TRAMONTANO: I do not.

11 MR. WITTMANN: We're going to go to the next exhibit.  
12 I will enter it in as Exhibit 8.

13 Tab 13, Will. 138, please, Will.

14 [Tramontano Exhibit No. 8  
15 marked for identification.]

16 MR. WITTMANN: Ms. Tramontano, this is a briefing book  
17 for Mr. Archer.

18 MS. TRAMONTANO: Uh-huh.

19 MR. WITTMANN: This is another--this is a March 31st,  
20 2016, meeting, which appears to be the same time as Vadym's  
21 scheduled meeting with Mr. Biden. In Mr. Archer's briefing  
22 book, he is also scheduled to meet with Mr. Biden, and if we  
23 scroll down just a little bit to the next page, you are also  
24 listed as the staffer for this meeting.

25 Do you know if Mr. Archer attended the same meeting

1 with Vadym and Hunter Biden?

2 MS. TRAMONTANO: I do not know.

3 MR. WITTMANN: Was it your understanding at the time  
4 that this briefing booklet was put together that Mr. Archer  
5 would attend the meeting between Vadym and Mr. Biden?

6 MS. TRAMONTANO: That was not my understanding.

7 MR. WITTMANN: What was your understanding?

8 MS. TRAMONTANO: My understanding was that Vadym was  
9 meeting with Mr. Biden.

10 MR. WITTMANN: Do you know why this meeting is listed  
11 between Mr. Archer and Mr. Biden in Mr. Archer's briefing  
12 book?

13 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, Mr. Archer being a board member,  
14 we would have made him aware of what meetings were on the  
15 schedule.

16 MR. WITTMANN: Meetings with--that Vadym was taking?

17 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes, that's correct.

18 MR. WITTMANN: And did you provide this briefing book  
19 to any other board members?

20 MS. TRAMONTANO: No. The briefing book was prepared  
21 for Vadym and for Devon--Mr. Archer and Mr. Pozharskiy.

22 MR. WITTMANN: Why were they only provided to those two  
23 individuals?

24 MS. TRAMONTANO: Because Mr. Archer attended the  
25 speech, and Mr. Archer attended the reception. And as I

1 recall, Mr. Archer attended the U.S.-Ukraine Business  
2 Council briefing that Vadym Pozharskiy gave, and as I  
3 recall, he may have attended one or more of the  
4 congressional meetings. And that's why he had a briefing  
5 book.

6 MR. WITTMANN: We're going to go back to Exhibit No. 2.  
7 Tab 2, please, Will. We're going to go to page 4,  
8 please, Will.

9 And, Ms. Tramontano, just let me know when this is on  
10 your screen and when you're ready for me to ask a question.

11 MS. TRAMONTANO: I can't see the page number. So is  
12 this the page that says, finally, I want to assure the  
13 committees' chairmen?

14 MR. WITTMANN: Yes, that's correct.

15 MS. TRAMONTANO: Okay.

16 MR. WITTMANN: This is the final page and the cover  
17 letter that we've referenced earlier. In this paragraph  
18 that you wrote, I want to assure the committees' chairmen  
19 that at no time did I or anyone else in the firm working on  
20 behalf of Burisma collaborate or coordinate the development  
21 of implementation of our work with Hunter Biden.

22 You also noted Mr. Biden played no role in Blue Star  
23 Strategies' work on behalf of Burisma either in its limited  
24 scope in the U.S. or its more extensive scope in Ukraine.

25 If Mr. Hunter Biden played no role in Blue Star's work

1 on behalf of Burisma, why did Blue Star schedule or arrange  
2 a meeting between Hunter Biden and Vadym?

3 MS. TRAMONTANO: Vadym represented our client, Burisma,  
4 and he asked for a meeting with Burisma's board member,  
5 Hunter Biden. Since we were putting Vadym's schedule  
6 together, he asked if we would find the availability of Mr.  
7 Biden to meet with him. That's what we did.

8 MR. WITTMANN: Did you schedule any other meetings  
9 between Vadym and Mr. Biden?

10 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, if my memory serves me--and the  
11 committee should have this--there is at least one other  
12 briefing book where Vadym came to Washington, and since we  
13 were putting his schedule together, he asked if we would  
14 find out Mr. Biden's availability on the days that Vadym was  
15 there to meet him.

16 MR. WITTMANN: When Vadym-

17 MS. TRAMONTANO: I believe that that's--there's one--I  
18 believe that there's one other briefing book that would  
19 indicate that, although there may be--there may be two. I  
20 mean, I--we submitted a lot of documents.

21 MR. WITTMANN: Okay.

22 MS. TRAMONTANO: So I can't be 100 percent sure if it's  
23 only one.

24 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. When Vadym traveled to the United  
25 States, did he request that Blue Star schedule meetings with

1 other board members besides Mr. Biden?

2 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes, he did.

3 MR. WITTMANN: And who were those other board members?

4 MS. TRAMONTANO: Mr. Cofer Black, and Devon, Devon  
5 Archer, would have--would have been the only other person  
6 who we would have, you know, reached out to, letting him  
7 know that Vadym was coming to Washington if Vadym wanted to  
8 meet with him.

9 And I think, you know, there--I think in the documents  
10 we submitted to the committee, there would be a briefing  
11 book that included a meeting or perhaps two meetings with  
12 Mr. Cofer Black.

13 MR. WITTMANN: We're going to turn--we're going to  
14 enter into the record Exhibit 9.

15 Tab 14, please.

16 [Tramontano Exhibit No. 9  
17 marked for identification.]

18 MR. WITTMANN: Ms. Tramontano, let me know when you can  
19 see this on your screen, and we will scroll up.

20 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yeah. It's on the screen, so you  
21 could--

22 MR. WITTMANN: Just let us know when you'd like--

23 MS. TRAMONTANO: But it's kind of--

24 MR. WITTMANN: I'm sorry.

25 MS. TRAMONTANO: Could you scroll down to the beginning

1 because it's--

2 MR. WITTMANN: Sure.

3 MS. TRAMONTANO: It's in the middle of the page. Does  
4 it start with most sincerely, Karen, or--

5 MR. WITTMANN: So that--so this is--this is the  
6 beginning of the document on this page.

7 MS. TRAMONTANO: Okay.

8 MR. WITTMANN: And we can--just let us know when you'd  
9 like us to scroll up.

10 MS. TRAMONTANO: Okay. Yeah. If you could scroll up,  
11 that would be helpful.

12 MR. WITTMANN: Okay.

13 [Pause.]

14 MS. TRAMONTANO: Okay. Is there a part before--this  
15 says Dear Sally and Karen, it was nice seeing you at the  
16 embassy. This is my email, and with regards, Andrii  
17 Telizhenko. Is that what you're asking about?

18 MR. WITTMANN: We're going to keep scrolling up,  
19 please, Will.

20 MS. TRAMONTANO: Oh. Oh, okay. Great.

21 MR. WITTMANN: And my question is going to relate to  
22 this, to your email, actually. So let me know when you're  
23 ready.

24 MS. TRAMONTANO: Okay. I'm ready.

25 MR. WITTMANN: Okay.

1 MS. TRAMONTANO: I'm just going to read it just for one  
2 second.

3 MR. WITTMANN: Yeah, sure.

4 [Pause.]

5 MS. TRAMONTANO: Okay.

6 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. On March 22nd, 2016, Mr.  
7 Telizhenko emailed you and Ms. Painter, commenting on your  
8 visit to the Ukraine embassy and thanking you for your help.  
9 At this point in time, where does--where is Mr. Telizhenko  
10 working?

11 MS. TRAMONTANO: So I'm sorry. I didn't see the email  
12 where he thanks us for our help. I was reading the email.  
13 I thought you wanted me to read the--

14 MR. WITTMANN: Sure. We'll scroll--we can scroll down  
15 on the screen.

16 MS. TRAMONTANO: Okay. I mean, I just didn't read--I  
17 didn't read that. You told me to read the one that I wrote.

18 MR. WITTMANN: Oh, sure.

19 MS. TRAMONTANO: Okay. Okay. Great. So you can just  
20 scroll back up to my email. I think that what you want to  
21 ask me a question on, right?

22 MS. TRAMONTANO: So my first question was, at this  
23 point in time, where is Mr. Telizhenko working? Who does he  
24 work for?

25 MS. TRAMONTANO: He was working at the embassy.

1 MR. WITTMANN: And--

2 MS. TRAMONTANO: That's where we met him.

3 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. And did you meet him at a meeting  
4 around this time period?

5 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes. Sally and I requested--and  
6 again, this is in the documents. I think all the requests  
7 are there. Sally and I, I think, initially had requested a  
8 meeting with the ambassador. He wasn't available. There's  
9 several emails going back and forth, and we met with the--I  
10 think--I think she was the DCM at the time, and Andrii  
11 Telizhenko was--as I recall was in that meeting.

12 MR. WITTMANN: And who was the woman that you met with?  
13 What was her name?

14 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yeah. I wish I could remember. I'm  
15 sorry. It's--

16 MR. WITTMANN: Was it Oksana Shulyar?

17 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes.

18 MR. WITTMANN: Does that refresh your recollection?

19 MS. TRAMONTANO: It was. Thanks.

20 MR. WITTMANN: Okay.

21 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes. It helped.

22 MR. WITTMANN: And Mr. Telizhenko attended this  
23 meeting; is that correct?

24 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes. I believe he did. Yeah.

25 MR. WITTMANN: In this email chain, the email that you

1 see on your screen right now, you responded to Mr.  
2 Telizhenko, Sally and I will be in Kyiv, April 6th, 7th, and  
3 8th. The attorney from the U.S., John Buretta, who has  
4 reviewed the matter we discussed, and I would like to meet  
5 with the general prosecutor on April 5th, preferably in the  
6 afternoon.

7       What was the matter you discussed with Mr. Telizhenko  
8 that you referenced in this email?

9       MS. TRAMONTANO: The matter we discussed is what I had  
10 referred to before, that there were many cases pending at  
11 the office of the prosecutor general, and we wanted to learn  
12 whether the prosecutor general had any next steps for these  
13 cases or were they, you know, not going to, you know,  
14 continue to do what they had done and have them just linger.  
15 And that was the matter that we had discussed, best of my  
16 recollection.

17       MR. WITTMANN: And did you--I'm sorry. Thank you.

18       Did you specify to Mr. Telizhenko that these cases had  
19 to deal with Burisma?

20       MS. TRAMONTANO: I don't--I don't think we had a--at  
21 least I don't recall a specific discussion about specific  
22 cases. As I said, there were a range of cases that were  
23 pending against the company.

24       MR. WITTMANN: So at this point in this discussion that  
25 you referenced with Mr. Telizhenko, you had not brought up

1 Burisma specifically?

2 MS. TRAMONTANO: Oh. No, we had--I'm sorry. To be  
3 clear, yes, we had brought up Burisma, and my--we did not  
4 bring up, you know, specific cases that were pending.

5 MR. WITTMANN: I understand. And did you just bring up  
6 Burisma to Mr. Telizhenko, or did this come up in your  
7 meeting with Ms. Shulyar?

8 MS. TRAMONTANO: It came up in our meeting with Ms.  
9 Shulyar that Mr. Telizhenko attended. We had the meeting to  
10 inform them of the clients we had, including Burisma, and  
11 the meetings that we were seeking. So, yes, it came up in  
12 that discussion.

13 MR. WITTMANN: Was Mr. Telizhenko in a position to help  
14 you to arrange a meeting or schedule a meeting with the  
15 prosecutor general on your behalf?

16 MS. TRAMONTANO: The embassy offered their assistance  
17 and Mr. Telizhenko's assistance, which was delivering a  
18 letter to the prosecutor general and following up to  
19 coordinate the dates.

20 MR. WITTMANN: At the meeting with Ms. Shulyar and Mr.  
21 Telizhenko, when you raised Burisma, did either of them have  
22 awareness of the company?

23 MS. TRAMONTANO: I mean, I don't specifically recall.

24 MR. WITTMANN: Did anyone else either in the embassy or  
25 Blue Star attend this meeting?

1 MS. TRAMONTANO: Sally Painter attend the meeting. I  
2 believe it was the both of--both of us attended that  
3 meeting. If my memory serves me, I think we were both  
4 there. There wasn't anybody else there.

5 MR. WITTMANN: Did either Ms. Shulyar or Mr. Telizhenko  
6 know the prosecutor general personally?

7 MS. TRAMONTANO: When we met with them, the prosecutor  
8 general was Mr. Shokin, and I have no knowledge as to  
9 whether either of them knew Mr. Shokin.

10 Shortly thereafter, Mr. Shokin was fired, and Mr.  
11 Sevruk was named acting prosecutor general. And I have no  
12 idea whether either of them knew Mr. Sevruk personally.

13 MR. WITTMANN: One moment, please.

14 MS. TRAMONTANO: Sure.

15 MR. WITTMANN: At the meeting with Ms. Shulyar and Mr.  
16 Telizhenko, did either one of them offer any indication  
17 about Mr. Shokin and any issues he might be having in the  
18 upcoming days?

19 MS. TRAMONTANO: What I recall--what I recall being  
20 said by the DCM was that President Poroshenko was changing  
21 his cabinet officials, and that before we started requesting  
22 meetings, we should wait. But it was a reference to  
23 changing cabinet officials.

24 MR. WITTMANN: And that reference to telling you to  
25 wait, was that--who made--who told you this?

1 MS. TRAMONTANO: The DCM.

2 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. At this meeting?

3 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes, it was at that meeting.

4 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. When did you meet with Mr.  
5 Sevruk?

6 MS. TRAMONTANO: So it's in the--it's in the records  
7 that we submitted to the committee. I don't have the  
8 specific date in front of me, but I believe it was in April  
9 of 2016.

10 MR. WITTMANN: And did you make any requests of Mr.  
11 Sevruk's office at this meeting?

12 MS. TRAMONTANO: We did not make any request of his  
13 office.

14 MR. WITTMANN: Did you discuss the issue relating to  
15 Burisma and the pending cases?

16 MS. TRAMONTANO: We did. John Buretta led the  
17 discussion, the substance of which were there were--and  
18 these cases had lingered a long time. Some of the cases  
19 relied on the factual predicate that was disproven in the UK  
20 case, and we--you know, and he was trying to engage in  
21 learning what the prosecutor general's--or acting prosecutor  
22 general's plans were with regard to these pending cases.

23 MR. WITTMANN: At this meeting with Mr. Sevruk, did you  
24 discuss the previous prosecutor general, Victor Shokin?

25 MS. TRAMONTANO: We did not.

1 MR. WITTMANN: Did Mr. Sevruk discuss or mention the  
2 previous prosecutor general, Victor Shokin?

3 MS. TRAMONTANO: Not in my memory, no. I don't believe  
4 he did.

5 MR. WITTMANN: Was he aware of Burisma when you met  
6 with him in April 2016?

7 MS. TRAMONTANO: Honestly, it was difficult to  
8 determine. His English was not very--not very good. As I  
9 said before, you know, my Ukrainian is nonexistent, and my  
10 Russian is nonexistent. And neither Sally nor John spoke  
11 either language. The translator that was in the room, let's  
12 just say it was not--I would not call it a productive  
13 dialogue in any way.

14 MR. WITTMANN: Did Mr. Telizhenko attend this meeting?

15 MS. TRAMONTANO: He did not.

16 MR. WITTMANN: Did you debrief him following the  
17 meeting?

18 MS. TRAMONTANO: We did not.

19 MR. WITTMANN: Did he request any information from you  
20 about the meeting?

21 MS. TRAMONTANO: He did not.

22 MR. WITTMANN: Did you leave the meeting with better--  
23 would you say you left the meeting with any insight into the  
24 PGO's view of Burisma following the meeting?

25 MS. TRAMONTANO: I had--we left the meeting with no

1 additional insight as to the PGO's next steps that were  
2 under consideration regarding Burisma.

3 MR. WITTMANN: Just one moment, please.

4 MS. TRAMONTANO: Sure.

5 [Pause.]

6 MR. WITTMANN: Zack, we're going to have a new line of  
7 questioning coming up. SO this might be a good time, and I  
8 think we only have a few minutes left in our time. So we're  
9 happy to hand it over to you, Zack, if you're ready to go,  
10 or, Ms. Tramontano, if you would like a break, please let us  
11 know.

12 MS. TRAMONTANO: I'm fine. Thank you.

13 MR. SCHRAM: Scott, do you know how many more rounds  
14 you expect?

15 MR. WITTMANN: Not at the moment, Zack. I know that  
16 we're going to have at least one more round, but we're still  
17 trying to--hopefully, we'll have a better idea after the  
18 next round.

19 MR. SCHRAM: All right. It's 2:45 now. Give us five  
20 to plan for how the rest of the afternoon goes. We might  
21 not have much more to add, but let's come back at 2:50. And  
22 we'll suggest a course of action.

23 MR. WITTMANN: Okay.

24 MS. TRAMONTANO: Thank you.

25 MR. WITTMANN: Does that work for you, Ms. Tramontano?

1 MS. TRAMONTANO: Sorry. Yes.

2 [Recess.]

3 MR. FOLIO: Zack, we'll be turning it over to you for a  
4 few questions, but I just had a logistical thing I wanted to  
5 highlight. So we've looked at where we are in the outline,  
6 Ms. Tramontano, Peter, and everyone else, and I think that  
7 we have a fair amount of information left to cover. And I  
8 know, Peter, that you had highlighted trying to wrap up by  
9 4:00. So I don't think that we'll be able to conclude today  
10 and then walk through all the documents that are prepared to  
11 talk about. So I just wanted to flag for you that, you  
12 know, we'll do our next round of questioning but I just  
13 don't think we'll be able to conclude today. So we'll do  
14 our best to stop right on 4:00, and then we'll talk about  
15 what's left to do.

16 MR. KADZIK: Well, if you need to go until 4:30, Ms.  
17 Tramontano has something then, but we'd ask you to wrap up  
18 by 4:30.

19 MR. FOLIO: We were thinking that as well, that if we  
20 could get it done between 4 and 4:30, ask you to forge  
21 ahead. Unfortunately, I think that there's just more than  
22 that that we would need to cover, so it's probably cleaner  
23 just to shoot for 4:00 wrap-up and talk about another day.

24 MR. KADZIK: Yeah. I wouldn't be too sure about  
25 talking about it another day, quite frankly. I think six

1 and a half hours is more than enough time for you to  
2 finishing your question, and that's about all we're willing  
3 to provide.

4 MR. FOLIO: Well, I think that's a bridge we'll have to  
5 cross.

6 MR. KADZIK: Okay.

7 MR. FOLIO: I mean, we're happy to go until 4:30, but  
8 just--

9 MR. KADZIK: Yeah. Let's go to 4:30. That would be  
10 great.

11 MR. FOLIO: Okay. That's fine. It doesn't change our  
12 position that we anticipate it taking longer, but we'll do  
13 that. Thanks.

14 All right, Zack.

15 MR. SCHRAM: Ms. Tramontano, did you ever consult with  
16 Vice President Biden as part of your representation of  
17 Burisma?

18 MS. TRAMONTANO: No. No, never.

19 MR. SCHRAM: Did Vice President Biden ever direct your  
20 strategy with respect to representing Burisma?

21 MS. TRAMONTANO: No. Not at all.

22 MR. SCHRAM: Did Vice President Biden ask you to take a  
23 meeting with the Prosecutor General's Office with respect to  
24 Burisma?

25 MS. TRAMONTANO: Never.

1 MR. SCHRAM: On behalf of Burisma?

2 MS. TRAMONTANO: No.

3 MR. SCHRAM: Are allegations to the contrary false?

4 MS. TRAMONTANO: Any allegations that we had any  
5 conversations with the Vice President about Burisma are  
6 absolutely false.

7 MR. SCHRAM: What about allegations with respect to  
8 advocating on behalf of the Vice President's interest in  
9 your dealings with Burisma?

10 MS. TRAMONTANO: It's absolutely false.

11 MR. SCHRAM: The majority spent hours reviewing  
12 meetings that you had with Obama administration officials.  
13 Did you continue to represent Burisma to Trump officials,  
14 Trump administration officials?

15 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes, we did. We had many meetings  
16 with officials in the Trump administration.

17 MR. SCHRAM: Did any Trump administration officials  
18 speak at events that you sponsored or organized?

19 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes. The Deputy Assistant Secretary  
20 spoke at one of the conferences in Monaco, I believe in 2018  
21 or 2019. I don't have the documents in front of me, but it  
22 was during the Trump administration. It was the Deputy  
23 Assistant Secretary.

24 MR. SCHRAM: At previous conferences in Monaco had you  
25 invited Obama administration officials to participate?

1 MS. TRAMONTANO: I don't believe we invited any Obama  
2 administration officials to participate.

3 MR. SCHRAM: Did any Obama administration officials  
4 ever participate under their own volition?

5 MS. TRAMONTANO: No, they did not.

6 MR. SCHRAM: So how did it come to pass that a Trump  
7 administration official participated in the conference in  
8 Monaco?

9 MS. TRAMONTANO: He reached out to--actually, he  
10 reached out to our offices and he reached out to Burisma  
11 directly, that he wanted to be on one of the panels.

12 MR. SCHRAM: Nothing else from us.

13 MR. BRADY: Hi, Ms. Tramontano. My name is Quinton  
14 Brady. I'm with Chairman Grassley's staff. Can you hear me  
15 okay?

16 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes, I can. Thank you.

17 MR. BRADY: Great. I just want to reiterate our  
18 appreciation for you taking the time today. I just have two  
19 quick questions for you.

20 MS. TRAMONTANO: Okay. Thank you.

21 MR. BRADY: Did you, Sally Painter, or Blue Star  
22 Strategies ever seek or receive an advisory opinion from the  
23 Department of Justice regarding registering under the  
24 Foreign Agent Registration Act as it pertains to your firm's  
25 representation of Burisma?

1 MS. TRAMONTANO: No, we did not.

2 MR. BRADY: Did not?

3 MS. TRAMONTANO: We did not.

4 MR. BRADY: Did you, Sally Painter, or Blue Star  
5 Strategies ever receive a FARA letter of inquiry from the  
6 Department of Justice as it pertains to your firm's  
7 representation of Burisma?

8 MS. TRAMONTANO: We have not.

9 MR. BRADY: Thank you. That's all for me. I'm going  
10 to pass it over to Brian.

11 MR. DOWNEY: Hi, Ms. Tramontano. How are you?

12 MS. TRAMONTANO: I'm very well, thank you.

13 MR. DOWNEY: When we left off, where Mr. Wittmann was,  
14 we were still in the spring of 2016, so we're going to kind  
15 of continue in that time period, to give you a frame of  
16 reference.

17 MS. TRAMONTANO: Thank you.

18 MR. DOWNEY: This will be Exhibit 10. Will, it's Tab  
19 17, if you could pull that up, please.

20 [Tramontano Exhibit No. 10  
21 marked for identification.]

22 MR. DOWNEY: So on May 25, 2016, you emailed Mr.  
23 Telizhenko about your plans to meet the new Prosecutor  
24 General of Ukraine. You wrote, "We will be sending a letter  
25 to the new Prosecutor General requesting a meeting. Once

1 again, we would like your advice." What advice did you seek  
2 from Mr. Telizhenko?

3 MS. TRAMONTANO: Mostly who to, you know, send the  
4 letter to.

5 MR. DOWNEY: Why did you think Mr. Telizhenko was in a  
6 position to offer the advice you were looking for?

7 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, he was at the Embassy and so he  
8 would--we thought he would know to whom, you know, to email  
9 the letter. Did the new Prosecutor General, for example,  
10 have a chief of staff? So that's why we asked him the  
11 question.

12 MR. DOWNEY: At this time, in May of 2016, did you  
13 trust Mr. Telizhenko's advice?

14 MS. TRAMONTANO: To the extent that he could tell us to  
15 whom to email a request for a meeting, yes.

16 MR. DOWNEY: Why, in May of 2016, did Blue Star want to  
17 meet with the new Prosecutor General?

18 MS. TRAMONTANO: Same reason as I have articulated  
19 before. There were many pending cases against the company.  
20 Previous Prosecutor Generals had not moved on those cases,  
21 and the company had, either those cases moved to prosecution  
22 or, you know, dispensed with in accordance with rules of  
23 evidence.

24 MR. DOWNEY: So at that point, in May of 2016, was  
25 there any indication that the cases lingering against

1 Burisma and Zlochevsky in the PGO was part of the reason the  
2 U.S. Government viewed Burisma as corrupt?

3 MS. TRAMONTANO: I have no idea what the basis for--  
4 one, I have no idea what the U.S. Government's position was  
5 with regard to Burisma, nor do I have any idea what the  
6 basis for that opinion, should the State Department have had  
7 an opinion.

8 MR. DOWNEY: In this May 25, 2016, email, you also  
9 mentioned that John Buretta would draft a letter requesting  
10 the meeting. Why was this necessary?

11 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, usually when you're seeking a  
12 meeting you would draft a letter to request it.

13 MR. DOWNEY: And why was it important that it came from  
14 Mr. Buretta and not yourself or Sally Painter at Blue Star?

15 MS. TRAMONTANO: John Buretta had been brought on as  
16 counsel by Burisma, and I thought it was appropriate that  
17 John Buretta send the letter to the Prosecutor General.

18 MR. DOWNEY: And who was the Prosecutor General in May  
19 of 2016?

20 MS. TRAMONTANO: Mr. Lutsenko.

21 MR. DOWNEY: Okay. We're going to enter in Exhibit 11,  
22 which is Tab 18, Will, please.

23 [Tramontano Exhibit No. 11  
24 marked for identification.]

25 MR. DOWNEY: So this is a June 7, 2016, email from Mr.

1 Telizhenko to you, Ms. Tramontano. Mr. Telizhenko wrote, "I  
2 wanted to recommend to, in the official request letter, to  
3 take away Mr. Zlochevsky's company name and his name. Just  
4 request a meeting and put just the topics you wanted to  
5 discuss, except Zlochevsky. I will brief you more when you  
6 come to Kiev, but because the President does not really like  
7 Zlochevsky (he has personal issues), Mr. Lutsenko will deny  
8 the meeting if his name stays in the letter. You can raise  
9 the issue during the meeting, but on the official letters I  
10 would recommend to remove it. I spoke to the chief of  
11 staff. He is ready to meet, but please take off the name of  
12 the company and his name."

13       What was your reaction to Mr. Telizhenko recommending  
14 that you remove all references to your client, Burisma, and  
15 its owner, Mr. Zlochevsky, in your meeting request to Mr.  
16 Lutsenko?

17       MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, I thought it was odd, because  
18 that was the very purpose of the meeting. John's letter was  
19 requesting a meeting to discuss the cases pending against  
20 Burisma.

21       MR. DOWNEY: What was your reaction to Mr. Telizhenko's  
22 statement that the President does not like Mr. Zlochevsky  
23 and that Mr. Lutsenko will deny the meeting if Mr.  
24 Zolchevsky's name stays in your meeting request letter?

25       MS. TRAMONTANO: There was no basis for his statement,

1 and he never articulated what the basis for that statement  
2 was.

3 MR. DOWNEY: Outside of Mr. Telizhenko's statement in  
4 this June 2016 email, did Blue Star have any indication how  
5 President Poroshenko viewed Burisma?

6 MS. TRAMONTANO: We did not.

7 MR. DOWNEY: Was it important to know what Mr.  
8 Poroshenko's view of Burisma was?

9 MS. TRAMONTANO: It was not.

10 MR. DOWNEY: Why not?

11 MS. TRAMONTANO: Because the Prosecutor General was the  
12 person that we were focused on and had the authority to deal  
13 with the pending cases.

14 MR. DOWNEY: Mr. Telizhenko noted that he would brief  
15 you more when you arrived in Kiev. Did Mr. Telizhenko  
16 provide more information about the President's views of Mr.  
17 Zlochevsky when you arrived in Kiev?

18 MS. TRAMONTANO: No. That's what I was referring to.  
19 He never articulated the reasons for that statement.

20 MR. DOWNEY: Did you know what President Poroshenko's  
21 relationship was to Mr. Shokin?

22 MS. TRAMONTANO: I have no personal knowledge of Mr.  
23 Poroshenko's relationship with Mr. Shokin, no.

24 MR. DOWNEY: During your work for Burisma and Mr.  
25 Shokin's removal in the spring of 2016, were you made aware

1 of how that decision, for Mr. Poroshenko to remove Shokin,  
2 came about?

3 MS. TRAMONTANO: I only know what I read in news  
4 reports.

5 MR. DOWNEY: And what was that?

6 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, the news reports generally  
7 stated that Mr. Shokin was not doing his job as the  
8 Prosecutor General.

9 MR. DOWNEY: Did Burisma view Mr. Shokin as not doing  
10 his job as Prosecutor General?

11 MS. TRAMONTANO: We never had a discussion about that.

12 MR. DOWNEY: You never discussed with Burisma about Mr.  
13 Shokin?

14 MS. TRAMONTANO: We never had a discussion about Mr.  
15 Shokin. By the time we had our meetings with the Prosecutor  
16 General, Mr. Shokin was no longer in office.

17 MR. DOWNEY: Understood. We're going to go to Exhibit  
18 12, and this will be Tab 19, Will.

19 [Tramontano Exhibit No. 12  
20 marked for identification.]

21 MR. DOWNEY: On June 10, 2016, Ms. Tramontano, you  
22 thanked Mr. Telizhenko for his assistance and wrote, "I hope  
23 you received the revised letter. Is there any news to  
24 report? I look forward to seeing you in Kiev. All the  
25 best." Did Blue Star make the changes to the letter that

1 was sent to the Prosecutor General that Mr. Telizhenko  
2 recommended?

3 MS. TRAMONTANO: John Buretta made the changes.

4 MR. DOWNEY: And what changes did Mr. Buretta make?

5 MS. TRAMONTANO: As I recall, and I believe this  
6 document is in the submission, he changed the agenda items  
7 to take the name of the company off the agenda items.

8 MR. DOWNEY: So Mr. Buretta followed Mr. Telizhenko's  
9 advice?

10 MS. TRAMONTANO: He took the references off the agenda.  
11 I don't think there was any change to the letter.

12 MR. DOWNEY: Understood. We're going to go to Exhibit  
13 13, which is Tab 21, will.

14 [Tramontano Exhibit No. 13  
15 marked for identification.]

16 MR. DOWNEY: According to your calendar, on June 22,  
17 2016, you were schedule to meet the Prosecutor in Kiev. Did  
18 this meeting occur?

19 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yeah. I had a meeting with--John  
20 Buretta and I had a meeting with Prosecutor General  
21 Lutsenko.

22 MR. DOWNEY: Did anyone else attend the meeting besides  
23 you and Mr. Buretta?

24 MS. TRAMONTANO: Vadym Pozharskiy was in the meeting,  
25 and the meeting was actually set up--Mr. Telizhenko could

1 never get the meeting to be scheduled, so the meeting was  
2 actually scheduled with the help of a parliamentarian. And  
3 I just honestly don't recall whether the parliamentarian was  
4 in that meeting. I don't believe that he was.

5 MR. DOWNEY: Do you remember the name of that  
6 parliamentarian?

7 MS. TRAMONTANO: You know, I don't, and I actually, you  
8 know, looked, you know, as we were going through these  
9 documents. I was looking for any references, but I  
10 couldn't--I couldn't find one. You know, it was years ago,  
11 and I just don't remember his name.

12 MR. DOWNEY: What was discussed at this meeting with  
13 Prosecutor General Lutsenko?

14 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, the discussion generally was  
15 similar to the previous discussion with the acting General  
16 Prosecutor Sevruk. It was to state that the cases had been  
17 pending for a long time, that it would be good to know what  
18 Mr. Lutsenko as the new prosecutor general, what plans he  
19 had regarding these cases, and that a number of the cases  
20 relied on the factual predicate of the case that had been  
21 decided in the UK.

22 And as I recall, John encouraged Mr. Lutsenko to read  
23 the UK decision and the evidence that had been submitted by  
24 both parties.

25 MR. DOWNEY: During this meeting, did the topic of

1 Ambassador Pyatt's view of Burisma come up?

2 MS. TRAMONTANO: It did not.

3 MR. DOWNEY: During this June 22nd, 2016, meeting with  
4 the PGO, did Lutsenko seek to understand Ambassador Pyatt's  
5 view of Burisma?

6 MS. TRAMONTANO: There was no discussion about  
7 Ambassador Pyatt.

8 MR. DOWNEY: Was there a discussion about the U.S.  
9 government's view of Burisma?

10 MS. TRAMONTANO: There was no discussion about the U.S.  
11 government's view of Burisma.

12 MR. DOWNEY: So Mr. Buretta didn't bring up what the  
13 U.S. government's view of Burisma was?

14 MS. TRAMONTANO: No. As I said before, we're never  
15 clear--never did we have a clear understanding what the U.S.  
16 government's position of Burisma was, and it was not a topic  
17 for discussion in this meeting.

18 MR. DOWNEY: In this June 22nd, 2016, meeting with the  
19 PGO, were you able to determine how many cases were pending  
20 against Mr. Zlochevsky or Burisma?

21 MS. TRAMONTANO: No. I mean, I don't have a  
22 recollection of the number of cases. There were a number of  
23 cases, but I don't know the exact number of cases.

24 MR. DOWNEY: So you left that meeting with the PGO not  
25 knowing the exact quantity of cases that were open against

1 Burisma or Mr. Zlochevsky?

2 MS. TRAMONTANO: Mr. Buretta may have known. I didn't  
3 know.

4 MR. DOWNEY: Did you discuss Hunter Biden's role on  
5 Burisma's board during this meeting?

6 MS. TRAMONTANO: We did not.

7 MR. DOWNEY: Did you discuss any other Burisma board  
8 members during this meeting?

9 MS. TRAMONTANO: We did not.

10 MR. DOWNEY: Did you discuss Vice President Biden's  
11 role in U.S.-Ukraine policy during this meeting?

12 MS. TRAMONTANO: We did not.

13 MR. DOWNEY: Did you or John Buretta or Vadym request  
14 anything of Prosecutor General Lutsenko during this meeting?

15 MS. TRAMONTANO: The only request that I recall was  
16 John Buretta, I would say, encouraged the new prosecutor  
17 general to read the decision, the UK decision.

18 MR. DOWNEY: After the meeting with Lutsenko, did you  
19 communicate further with Mr. Lutsenko or any other  
20 individuals in his office?

21 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, what happened shortly after the  
22 meeting sometime in July, I believe, Mr. Lutsenko froze bank  
23 accounts, assets, pipelines of Burisma.

24 MR. DOWNEY: Did you or Mr. Buretta or Ms. Painter make  
25 any U.S. government official aware of your meeting of June

1 22nd, 2016, with Prosecutor General Lutsenko?

2 MS. TRAMONTANO: I don't--I don't recall that we--I  
3 don't recall that we did at that time.

4 MR. DOWNEY: So you--Blue Star didn't make the U.S.  
5 embassy in Kyiv aware of their meeting with the prosecutor  
6 general's office?

7 MS. TRAMONTANO: No, I don't believe that--I don't  
8 believe that we did at that time. As I recall, I think--I  
9 don't think there was an ambassador post, and we were in-  
10 country, I believe, for a very short period of time.

11 MR. DOWNEY: Did Blue Star offer anything to Prosecutor  
12 General Lutsenko?

13 MS. TRAMONTANO: We didn't offer anything to him, no.

14 MR. DOWNEY: Okay. We're going to go to Exhibit 14,  
15 which is Tab 27.

16 [Tramontano Exhibit No. 14  
17 marked for identification.]

18 MR. DOWNEY: So Exhibit 14 is a June 27, 2016, email  
19 that Ms. Painter sent to the State Department and said per  
20 my conversation with Tony at the Truman event, Karen  
21 Tramontano and I would like to have a brief coffee with Tony  
22 at his earliest convenience regarding some troubling events  
23 we are seeing in Ukraine. He said yes. Who is Tony?

24 MS. TRAMONTANO: I think that would be Tony Blinken.

25 MR. DOWNEY: And who is Tony Blinken?

1 MS. TRAMONTANO: Tony Blinken at the time, I believe,  
2 was at the--well, I don't know. I think he as at the State  
3 Department, Deputy Secretary of State at the time, I  
4 believe.

5 MR. DOWNEY: And how did you and Ms. Painter know Mr.  
6 Blinken?

7 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, I've known Mr. Blinken for a  
8 couple of decades. I came to know him when he worked at the  
9 Senate for then Senator Biden as his foreign policy advisor,  
10 and I was doing work with the Secretary-General of the ILO.  
11 And that's--I mean, if memory serves me, I think that's one  
12 of the first times I met Tony, Mr. Blinken.

13 MR. DOWNEY: What did you want to discuss with Mr.  
14 Blinken based off this June 27, 2016, email?

15 MS. TRAMONTANO: So we had--it had come to our  
16 attention that the DCM at the Ukrainian embassy was making a  
17 false allegation about our firm, and we were quite upset  
18 about it. And we were seeking Tony's--Mr. Blinken's advice.

19 MR. DOWNEY: Who was the DCM you're referring to?

20 MS. TRAMONTANO: Mr. George Kent.

21 MR. DOWNEY: And what was Mr. Kent alleging about Blue  
22 Star?

23 MS. TRAMONTANO: He was stating that we represented  
24 somebody that we did not represent nor did we know, and he  
25 had--he had made the statement, it came to our attention

1 through a client.

2 MR. DOWNEY: When did Mr. Kent make this allegation  
3 about Blue Star?

4 MS. TRAMONTANO: I don't know exactly. It didn't come  
5 to our attention until sometime in June, and it came about  
6 because a client was doing due diligence on our firm. And  
7 they were interviewing a number of people, and Mr. Kent made  
8 this false allegation. And it was brought to our attention.

9 MR. DOWNEY: Who did Mr. Kent make these allegations  
10 to?

11 MS. TRAMONTANO: It was the firm--it was a firm that a  
12 client of ours had hired to do their due diligence. I  
13 don't--I don't know the name of the firm.

14 MR. DOWNEY: Did this meeting with Mr. Blinken occur?

15 MS. TRAMONTANO: It did not.

16 MR. DOWNEY: Why didn't it?

17 MS. TRAMONTANO: I don't--I don't recall why it didn't  
18 occur. I don't know if it was scheduling or--I don't know  
19 why it didn't occur.

20 MR. DOWNEY: Did you or Sally have a phone call with  
21 Mr. Blinken on this topic?

22 MS. TRAMONTANO: We did not.

23 MR. DOWNEY: Just a second.

24 MS. TRAMONTANO: Sure.

25 [Pause.]

1 MR. DOWNEY: Did you discuss this topic of George  
2 Kent's allegations with any other U.S. official?

3 MS. TRAMONTANO: We discussed it directly with George  
4 Kent. We discussed it with Ambassador Fried and with  
5 Ambassador Yovanovitch.

6 MR. DOWNEY: What did you know about George Kent at  
7 this time period in June of 2016?

8 MS. TRAMONTANO: I knew absolutely nothing about George  
9 Kent.

10 MR. DOWNEY: So the first--

11 MS. TRAMONTANO: I never--

12 MR. DOWNEY: The first interaction you had with him was  
13 these allegations he was making about Blue Star?

14 MS. TRAMONTANO: That's correct.

15 MR. DOWNEY: Okay. We're going to go to Tab 26, Will,  
16 which will be Exhibit--I believe it's Exhibit 15. Will,  
17 could you scroll down? Thank you.

18 [Tramontano Exhibit No. 15  
19 marked for identification.]

20 MR. DOWNEY: So on September 8th, 2016, Ms. Painter  
21 emailed Dan Fried and wrote quick update, Masha called Karen  
22 back, and they had a very good conversation. Who is Masha?

23 MS. TRAMONTANO: I believe that is reference to  
24 Ambassador Yovanovitch.

25 MR. DOWNEY: Did you have a conversation with Ms.

1 Yovanovitch?

2 MS. TRAMONTANO: I did.

3 MR. DOWNEY: And what did you discuss with Ms.

4 Yovanovitch?

5 MS. TRAMONTANO: I discussed George Kent and his false

6 allegations about the firm and that we are represented

7 Andriy Klyuyev.

8 MR. DOWNEY: Will, if you could scroll up on the

9 exhibit. Thank you.

10 As the exhibit shows, Ms. Painter forwarded kind of an

11 update on your conversation with Ms. Yovanovitch to Dan

12 Fried. Why did--

13 MS. TRAMONTANO: Dan "Fried."

14 MR. DOWNEY: Dan Fried.

15 Why did Ms. Painter update Mr. Fried about the phone

16 call between you and Ambassador Yovanovitch.

17 MS. TRAMONTANO: As I recall, we had reached out to

18 Ambassador Fried to ask his advice. I can't recall whether

19 it was a phone conversation or an in-person meeting. I

20 believe it may have been an in-person meeting, and so--and

21 we explained to him that we were quite upset that Mr. Kent,

22 when we talked to him, he said he would not stop making the

23 allegation, that he was will within his right to say what he

24 was saying. And so we were pretty upset about it. You

25 know, it continued for several months, and we had reached

1 out to Ambassador Fried, as I said. And so Sally was--Sally  
2 Painter was following up with him to tell him that I had a  
3 conversation with the ambassador.

4 MR. DOWNEY: In September of 2016, was Ambassador Fried  
5 an official at the--a current official at the State  
6 Department?

7 MS. TRAMONTANO: I believe he was.

8 MR. DOWNEY: Did you or any other Blue Star employees  
9 have contact with other government officials at the State  
10 Department around this time period?

11 MS. TRAMONTANO: You mean generally speaking?

12 MR. DOWNEY: Between you and Mr. Painter.

13 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, we had a--I mean, we have an  
14 international consulting firm. So we talk to State  
15 Department officials all the time. In specific reference to  
16 what? To this particular--

17 MR. DOWNEY: To this--to this allegations, to the  
18 allegations George Kent was putting forth about Blue Star.

19 MS. TRAMONTANO: It was about Blue Star. This had  
20 nothing to do with Burisma.

21 MR. DOWNEY: Yeah, it's Blue Star.

22 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yeah.

23 The best of my recollection is that Sally had a  
24 conversation with Mr. Kent that didn't go well. I had a  
25 conversation with Mr. Kent that went very badly.



1 with you what occurred on this phone call with USAID?

2 MS. TRAMONTANO: She did not.

3 MR. DOWNEY: In Ms. Painter's email she wrote that  
4 Burisma has worked with Steve Gonyea on the Municipal Energy  
5 Reform Project, or MERP. What is MERP?

6 MS. TRAMONTANO: I don't know.

7 MR. DOWNEY: Do you know if Burisma had involvement  
8 with the MERP?

9 MS. TRAMONTANO: I'm reading the same document you are.  
10 That's all I know.

11 MR. DOWNEY: So this is--Ms. Painter might know more  
12 about this than you.

13 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yeah. I wasn't involved in the  
14 meeting.

15 MR. DOWNEY: Understood. We're going to go to Tab 34C,  
16 which will be Exhibit 17, Will.

17 [Tramontano Exhibit No. 17  
18 marked for identification.]

19 MR. DOWNEY: So this is another email regarding Burisma  
20 and USAID. According to this October 31, 2016, email chain,  
21 it appears that Burisma met with USAID representatives. Did  
22 anyone from Blue Star attend this meeting between Burisma  
23 and USAID?

24 MS. TRAMONTANO: No. I believe it was in Kiev.

25 MR. DOWNEY: Did this meeting occur?

1 MS. TRAMONTANO: From the email it appears it did  
2 occur. It said, "I had a brief, 30-minute meeting with  
3 USAID," so-

4 MR. DOWNEY: Do you know what was discussed at this  
5 meeting between Burisma and USAID?

6 MS. TRAMONTANO: I only know what's in this email.

7 MR. DOWNEY: Do you know if USAID--do you know what  
8 USAID's perspective of Burisma was in October of 2016?

9 MS. TRAMONTANO: I do not. I mean, they met with them  
10 but I don't know what their perspective was.

11 MR. DOWNEY: We're going to go to Exhibit 18, which  
12 will be Tab 36E.

13 [Tramontano Exhibit No. 18  
14 marked for identification.]

15 MR. DOWNEY: On November 18, 2016, you emailed  
16 Ambassador Yovanovitch requesting a meeting in early  
17 December 2016. In your cover letter to the Committee you  
18 noted that you met with the ambassador on December 8, 2016.  
19 Why did you want to meet with Ambassador Yovanovitch in  
20 December of 2016?

21 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, we did--you know, we had several  
22 clients in Ukraine. I knew the ambassador from previous--  
23 her previous roles, and, you know, we typically, when we  
24 were working in country would request a meeting with the  
25 ambassador.

1 MR. DOWNEY: So how well did you know Ambassador  
2 Yovanovitch?

3 MS. TRAMONTANO: I knew her as a professional  
4 acquaintance.

5 MR. DOWNEY: How many times before this December 2016  
6 meeting had you met with Ambassador Yovanovitch?

7 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, I talked to her as reflected in  
8 the document that you put up on the screen, sometime in  
9 September. Before that, you know, I probably, you know, saw  
10 her, you know, one or two times, maybe talked to her, you  
11 know, more often, one or two times.

12 MR. DOWNEY: So going back to the December 2016  
13 meeting, at this point what was your understanding of  
14 Ambassador Yovanovitch's awareness of Blue Star representing  
15 Burisma?

16 MS. TRAMONTANO: I had no understanding of her  
17 awareness.

18 MR. DOWNEY: Did you or other Blue Star representatives  
19 disclose the fact that Blue Star represented Burisma to the  
20 ambassador's office?

21 MS. TRAMONTANO: I did when I met with her.

22 MR. DOWNEY: Do you know why Ambassador Yovanovitch  
23 agreed to meet with Blue Star?

24 MS. TRAMONTANO: You'll have to ask her.

25 MR. DOWNEY: Did this meeting occur in December of

1 2016?

2 MS. TRAMONTANO: It did.

3 MR. DOWNEY: And who attended the meeting?

4 MS. TRAMONTANO: I was in the meeting. I don't recall  
5 whether there was somebody from her office in the meeting.

6 Yeah, I know I was in the meeting. I don't have a  
7 recollection if there was anybody else in the meeting.

8 MR. DOWNEY: Did George Kent attend the meeting?

9 MS. TRAMONTANO: No. Not based on my recollection,  
10 because I don't think I've ever met George Kent.

11 MR. DOWNEY: How long did the meeting last?

12 MS. TRAMONTANO: Oh, I don't know. Probably 15, 20  
13 minutes. I don't recall it as an extensive meeting.

14 MR. DOWNEY: What was discussed at this meeting?

15 MS. TRAMONTANO: I think I talked about the clients  
16 that we were working with in country, you know, including  
17 Burisma. And, you know, I recall, you know, giving her an  
18 update on the Burisma--the cases that had been pending with  
19 Burisma. I don't recall whether it was--I don't recall any  
20 specifics, but I do recall, you know, giving her an update  
21 of what those conversations were.

22 MR. DOWNEY: And what was that update, on the cases  
23 against Burisma that you provided to Ms. Yovanovitch?

24 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, you know, I had met with Mr.  
25 Lutsenko on two occasions, and there was an agreed-upon

1 process that the Prosecutor General was, you know, going to  
2 implement with regard to several of the cases.

3 MR. DOWNEY: What was that process?

4 MS. TRAMONTANO: One of the things that the Prosecutor  
5 General asked was whether Burisma would agree to an  
6 independent audit of its finances, because one of the  
7 pending cases against the company involved taxes, and  
8 Burisma agreed to that, and an audit was being conducted.  
9 And Burisma agreed to abide by whatever the results of the  
10 audit was.

11 MR. DOWNEY: Who did this independent audit?

12 MS. TRAMONTANO: I don't know. You know, it was an  
13 auditor that the general prosecutor selected. I have no  
14 idea who it was.

15 MR. DOWNEY: When did this independent auditor begin  
16 its work?

17 MS. TRAMONTANO: I don't know exactly when the work  
18 began. My recollection is it was in the fall of 2016.

19 MR. DOWNEY: And what was the results of the  
20 independent auditor's work?

21 MS. TRAMONTANO: That Burisma owed taxes, and they  
22 agreed to abide by the audit and pay whatever the audit  
23 results indicated.

24 MR. DOWNEY: How much did Burisma owe in taxes?

25 MS. TRAMONTANO: You know, I don't remember. You know,

1 there's press reports that state what it was. But I don't  
2 recall right now what the amount was.

3 MR. DOWNEY: So is this independent audit work, is this  
4 what you provided to Ambassador Yovanovitch in December of  
5 2016?

6 MS. TRAMONTANO: I didn't provide anything to her. You  
7 know, I generally gave her an update and, you know, spoke  
8 briefly about, you know, the process that the Prosecutor  
9 General requested and Burisma agreed to.

10 MR. DOWNEY: Why did--

11 MS. TRAMONTANO: It wasn't a long conversation, as I  
12 recall.

13 MR. DOWNEY: --why did Ambassador Yovanovitch need an  
14 update on Burisma?

15 MS. TRAMONTANO: I have no idea whether she needed an  
16 update on Burisma. I was informing her of working in  
17 Ukraine. Burisma was among one of our clients in country,  
18 and that was it.

19 MR. DOWNEY: Regarding the independent auditor, what  
20 violations were found in relation to Burisma?

21 MS. TRAMONTANO: I have no ideas what the findings of  
22 the independent auditor were. I was not privy to that  
23 report.

24 MR. DOWNEY: When did results of that independent  
25 auditor's report become public?

1 MS. TRAMONTANO: I don't know if the results of the  
2 report became public or if Lutsenko just made a public  
3 statement as to the taxes that were owed and paid.

4 MR. DOWNEY: So do you know if a document was made  
5 publicly available of this independent auditor's findings in  
6 relation to Burisma?

7 MS. TRAMONTANO: I have no knowledge of that.

8 MR. DOWNEY: When did you first meet Andrii Telizhenko?

9 MS. TRAMONTANO: I think I've already answered that  
10 question. I'm happy to answer it again. I met Andrii  
11 Telizhenko at a meeting that Sally and I had in March at the  
12 Ukrainian Embassy.

13 MR. DOWNEY: March of 2016?

14 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yeah, that's correct.

15 MR. DOWNEY: And at that time, what was Mr.  
16 Telizhenko's relationship with Blue Star Strategies?

17 MS. TRAMONTANO: He had no relationship with Blue Star  
18 Strategies.

19 MR. DOWNEY: Why did Blue Star contract with Mr.  
20 Telizhenko?

21 MS. TRAMONTANO: We had several clients that were not  
22 domiciled in Ukraine, and we needed to get letters to  
23 different ministries. We needed, you know, somebody to  
24 follow the Ukrainian news. And at the time we didn't have  
25 anybody to perform those administrative tasks. And in July

1 of 2016, after he left the Embassy, we contracted with him  
2 to help us do those--perform those tasks.

3 MR. DOWNEY: Did Blue Star receive any recommendations  
4 on Mr. Telizhenko's behalf before deciding to contract with  
5 him?

6 MS. TRAMONTANO: We may have talked to the DCM. I  
7 don't recall at this time.

8 MR. DOWNEY: Oksana Shulyar?

9 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yeah, we may have spoken with her. I  
10 just--I don't remember at this time.

11 MR. DOWNEY: You've described some of this, but what  
12 was Mr. Telizhenko's responsibilities as a contractor for  
13 Blue Star Strategies?

14 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, it was, you know, to get  
15 documents to the key ministries that we needed to  
16 communicate with, or, you know, to help to schedule  
17 meetings. And he was to also follow the press and, you  
18 know, Ukrainian press, and provide, you know, translation.  
19 That frankly didn't work out very well, because it's--you  
20 know, his ability to translate into English wasn't--it  
21 wasn't a smooth--you know, it wasn't a smooth translation.  
22 But, you know, the other administrative tasks, delivering  
23 letters and identifying, you know, to whom to send, you  
24 know, the email, those were essentially, you know, the tasks  
25 that we asked him to perform.

1 MR. DOWNEY: Did Mr. Telizhenko have a good grasp on  
2 how the Ukrainian Embassy in Washington and Ukrainian  
3 politics were in country?

4 MS. TRAMONTANO: I would not say he had a good grasp,  
5 no.

6 MR. DOWNEY: And why not?

7 MS. TRAMONTANO: I think he had--

8 MR. KADZIK: You can't speculate on why he didn't.

9 MR. DOWNEY: You figured out Mr. Telizhenko didn't have  
10 a good grasp of Ukrainian politics after you ended the  
11 contractual agreement with him, or during it?

12 MS. TRAMONTANO: During it.

13 MR. DOWNEY: Where did Mr. Telizhenko perform his work  
14 for Blue Star?

15 MS. TRAMONTANO: In Kiev, most of the time.

16 MR. DOWNEY: Did Blue Star provide Mr. Telizhenko with  
17 any computer equipment, phone, company email address?

18 MS. TRAMONTANO: No. None of the above.

19 MR. DOWNEY: How did you communicate with Mr.  
20 Telizhenko?

21 MS. TRAMONTANO: Either via his email or telephone.

22 MR. DOWNEY: How did Ms. Painter communicate with Mr.  
23 Telizhenko?

24 MS. TRAMONTANO: Oh, I mean, I believe the same way.

25 MR. DOWNEY: Who was Mr. Telizhenko's supervisor or

1 main point of contact at Blue Star during his contracted  
2 work?

3 MS. TRAMONTANO: He wasn't an employee so he didn't  
4 have a supervisor. He would be in contact with me. He  
5 would be in contact with Ms. Painter. And, you know, from  
6 time to time our employees, at our direction, may reach out  
7 to him for, you know, information or to perform a task.

8 MR. DOWNEY: Did Mr. Telizhenko's contract with Blue  
9 Star overlap with Blue Star's work for Burisma?

10 MS. TRAMONTANO: It did, but he did not perform any  
11 work for Burisma.

12 MR. DOWNEY: Did Mr. Telizhenko ever mention or discuss  
13 Burisma's corruption problems with you or Sally Painter?

14 MS. TRAMONTANO: I don't recall having discussions with  
15 Mr. Telizhenko in that regard.

16 MR. DOWNEY: How often did you ask Mr. Telizhenko for  
17 assistance on items relating to Burisma?

18 MS. TRAMONTANO: As we submitted to the Committee,  
19 there was one time where, I believe it was February or March  
20 of 2017, where I asked Mr. Telizhenko if he had knowledge  
21 about a specific NGO and the leadership of the NGO.

22 MR. DOWNEY: After ending the contract with Mr.  
23 Telizhenko, have you remained in contact with him?

24 MS. TRAMONTANO: I mean, we remained in contact, I  
25 would say, you know, from time to time. When he came to

1 Washington he would, you know, let us know. But I haven't  
2 talked to him in quite some time, I would say.

3 MR. DOWNEY: What about Ms. Painter?

4 MS. TRAMONTANO: I would think it's the same.

5 MR. DOWNEY: So how did you remain in contact with Mr.  
6 Telizhenko? You said he visited Washington a few times.

7 Did you communicate via email, text message, messaging apps?

8 MS. TRAMONTANO: You know, I don't--I mean, a normal  
9 way of communicating with him was through his Gmail account,  
10 so I would imagine that, but I don't specifically recall.

11 MR. DOWNEY: Did you ever ask Mr. Telizhenko to remove  
12 Blue Star from his resume?

13 MS. TRAMONTANO: No.

14 MR. DOWNEY: Do you know if Ms. Painter requested Mr.  
15 Telizhenko to remove Blue Star from his resume?

16 MS. TRAMONTANO: I don't know. I don't think so. I  
17 don't know the--

18 MR. DOWNEY: Do you know if Ms. Painter communicated  
19 more with Mr. Telizhenko than you did?

20 MS. TRAMONTANO: I don't even know how to answer that  
21 question. I'm sorry. You know--

22 MR. DOWNEY: Just a second. Thank you.

23 MS. TRAMONTANO: Sure.

24 [Pause.]

25 MR. DOWNEY: Okay. So it's 3:59. Our hour is up.

1 Zack, I don't know if you have further questions of Ms.  
2 Tramontano.

3 MR. SCHRAM: I can be brief.

4 MR. DOWNEY: Okay. We will kick it over to you. Thank  
5 you.

6 MR. SCHRAM: Ms. Tramontano, did Blue Star ever meet  
7 with Prosecutor General Shokin?

8 MS. TRAMONTANO: No, we did not.

9 MR. SCHRAM: You stated that during Shokin's tenure the  
10 cases against Burisma were pending without action. Is that  
11 correct?

12 MS. TRAMONTANO: That is correct.

13 MR. SCHRAM: Did Blue Star ever advocate to any U.S.  
14 Government official for the removal of Viktor Shokin?

15 MS. TRAMONTANO: We did not.

16 MR. SCHRAM: Nothing else. I should offer my finance  
17 colleagues, Dan and David, an opportunity to ask questions  
18 if they'd like.

19 MR. BERICK: I don't have any.

20 MR. DOWNEY: Okay. We have a couple more lines of  
21 questioning. Mr. Kadzik, I thought we were going to about  
22 4:30 today, if that's okay with everyone.

23 MR. KADZIK: We can go to 4:30 today, but I would say  
24 that 4:30 today is it.

25 MR. DOWNEY: Well, as Mr. Folio said, we'll discuss

1 that after this is complete.

2 MR. KADZIK: Well, let me just put it this way. If we  
3 were in a court of law, I could have said "asked and  
4 answered" a thousand times to your questions. And if you  
5 want to eat up your time that way, that's your business, but  
6 we're not carrying on as a consequence.

7 MR. DOWNEY: Well, we'll discuss that after this is  
8 over. Thank you.

9 We're going to go to Tab 38, Will. This will be  
10 Exhibit 19.

11 [Tramontano Exhibit No. 19  
12 marked for identification.]

13 MR. DOWNEY: So as we're scrolling through this  
14 exhibit, it begins on November 30, 2016 with Blue Star  
15 requesting a meeting with Mr. Reggie Singh of the State  
16 Department to discuss Burisma. In the meeting request, Pero  
17 of Blue Star wrote, "For your background, the board of  
18 directors of Burisma consists of U.S. nationals, and the  
19 company uses U.S. technology for its operations."

20 Ms. Tramontano, why was it important for Blue Star to  
21 highlight the fact that Burisma's board consists of U.S.  
22 nationals when trying to obtain a meeting with the State  
23 Department?

24 MS. TRAMONTANO: Well, as you can see from the emails,  
25 the meeting was already obtained, but we always alert the

1 State Department when a foreign company that we're  
2 representing has U.S. nationals or U.S. content or purchases  
3 equipment in the U.S. or has a supply chain in the U.S.  
4 It's typically relevant information to the State Department.

5 MR. DOWNEY: So who was the U.S. nationals on the board  
6 of Burisma in November of 2016?

7 MS. TRAMONTANO: So in November of 2016 it would have  
8 been Devon Archer and Hunter Biden. I don't know whether  
9 Cofer Black was on the board at that time.

10 MR. DOWNEY: So this meeting did occur with the State  
11 Department?

12 MS. TRAMONTANO: It did.

13 MR. DOWNEY: Did you attend?

14 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yeah, I believe I did attend.

15 MR. DOWNEY: What was discussed in this meeting?

16 MS. TRAMONTANO: Vadym talked about the company and  
17 talked about Burisma's role in energy security. I mean, as  
18 you will recall, at this time there was a Russian invasion.  
19 Most of the issues for Ukraine were around the conflict as  
20 well as energy security. And so Burisma, you know, was a  
21 part of providing energy security to Ukraine, and so that's  
22 what Vadym was briefing on.

23 MR. DOWNEY: Understood. Can you describe Blue Star's  
24 relationship with the Atlantic Council?

25 MS. TRAMONTANO: Sure. We have, I guess, you know,

1 somewhat long-term relationship with the Atlantic Council.  
2 The co-founder of the firm, Sally Painter, was an advisor to  
3 the Atlantic Council. She's been deeply involved in  
4 transatlantic relations. She was a member of the U.S.  
5 Committee on NATO, along with Steve Hadley and Madeleine  
6 Albright and others. We've served on panels for the  
7 Atlantic Council. You know, we've had different engagements  
8 with the Atlantic Council and some of our clients. I served  
9 on the board of the Atlantic Council. Sally served on the  
10 board of the Atlantic Council. I don't know if you have any  
11 specific questions, but generally that--

12 MR. DOWNEY: No, no. That's helpful to understand.  
13 Thank you.

14 We're going to go to, I think this is Exhibit 20, and  
15 it's going to be 44M.

16 [Tramontano Exhibit No. 20  
17 marked for identification.]

18 MR. DOWNEY: So on January 16, 2018, Pero at Blue Star  
19 sent Vadym an invitation for an event from the Atlantic  
20 Council to Mr. Zlochevsky.

21 MS. TRAMONTANO: Mm-hmm.

22 MR. DOWNEY: Pero noted that the invitation is for visa  
23 application purposes. Do you know what Pero meant by this?

24 MS. TRAMONTANO: I believe the Atlantic Council had  
25 offered to, if I'm remembering this correctly, had offered

1 to have the board of directors to the Atlantic Council for  
2 either one of their events or a briefing, and for, you know,  
3 some of the board members to travel they would need to apply  
4 for a visa.

5 MR. DOWNEY: Did Blue Star or the Atlantic Council  
6 assist Mr. Zlochevsky in obtaining a visa?

7 MS. TRAMONTANO: The event never happened. I don't  
8 think he applied for a visa at this time.

9 MR. DOWNEY: Understood. I'm going to turn this to a  
10 colleague, Mr. Wittmann. Thank you.

11 MR. WITTMANN: Hi, Ms. Tramontano. Can you hear me?

12 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes, I can.

13 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. We're going to enter into the  
14 record Exhibit 21. Tab 41, Will.

15 [Tramontano Exhibit No. 21  
16 marked for identification.]

17 MR. WITTMANN: And we just want to scroll down to the  
18 bottom of the first page, so you can see the email that you  
19 sent on February 27, 2017, and we can keep scrolling--do you  
20 see that, Ms. Tramontano?

21 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yeah. I don't see the email, though.  
22 I see the chain, but--

23 MR. WITTMANN: Sure. We'll keep scrolling down so you  
24 can see the rest of that email.

25 MS. TRAMONTANO: Okay.

1 MR. WITTMANN: So this is on February 27, 2017, you  
2 sent an email regarding Vadym's schedule for an upcoming  
3 trip to the United States. In that email you mentioned that  
4 Vadym was scheduled to meet with Hunter Biden at 11 a.m. on  
5 March 9, 2017. And we discussed--you mentioned this  
6 earlier, so I just wanted to bring up the document that  
7 referenced that as well. We also have the briefing book  
8 that shows the meeting. I'm happy to bring that up on the  
9 screen as well, Ms. Tramontano. If you would like to see  
10 that just let me know.

11 MS. TRAMONTANO: Sure. Yeah, please do.

12 MR. WITTMANN: Okay, sure. We'll go to Tab, what we'll  
13 enter in as Exhibit 22. Tab 42, please, Will. Page 915,  
14 please.

15 [Tramontano Exhibit No. 22  
16 marked for identification.]

17 MR. WITTMANN: And just stop right there. Do you see  
18 where it says Thursday, March 9th, Ms. Tramontano?

19 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes, I do.

20 MR. WITTMANN: Do you know if this meeting between  
21 Vadym and Hunter Biden occurred?

22 MS. TRAMONTANO: I do not recall.

23 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. Was this the meeting you had  
24 previously referenced earlier today, the second meeting  
25 between Vadym and Hunter Biden?

1 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yeah. I mean, what I said is that in  
2 the documents that we submitted, you know, that there may  
3 have been one or, you know, two other occasions. And that  
4 was in response to a question that maybe you had, Mr.  
5 Wittmann, about were there other meetings. I just don't  
6 recall right now whether that meeting took place or not.

7 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. I want to turn to our next  
8 exhibit. We're going to enter it in to the record as  
9 Exhibit 23. This is Tab 46L, Will.

10 [Tramontano Exhibit No. 23  
11 marked for identification.]

12 MR. WITTMANN: And please let us know, Ms. Tramontano,  
13 when you can see it on your screen, and just let us know if  
14 you'd like us to scroll down.

15 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yep, it's up on the screen. Yeah,  
16 please do.

17 [Pause.]

18 MS. TRAMONTANO: Okay.

19 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. So let's go ahead, and please  
20 scroll all the way back up, Will.

21 MS. TRAMONTANO: Thank you.

22 MR. WITTMANN: On July 27, 2019, you received this  
23 email. It appears--is that email address Vadym's email?

24 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes, that's Vadym's email, yes.

25 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. Containing what appears to be

1 news clips regarding President Trump's call with President  
2 Zelensky, and some of these clips mention Burisma. You  
3 responded, "Thank you, Vadym. I have brief Sally. She will  
4 reach out to our friend. I've talked to our other friend  
5 this morning."

6 What did you brief Sally on?

7 MS. TRAMONTANO: You know, I read the links that he  
8 sent. You know, this was the first--as I recall, this was  
9 the first news about a phone conversation that obviously  
10 later became the subject of some inquiry. And I had read  
11 the links, and I talked to Sally about it. I mean, we were  
12 unaware that there was a phone conversation.

13 MR. WITTMANN: Understood. Understood. In this email  
14 you wrote that "Sally will reach out to our friend." Who  
15 did Sally reach out to, or rather, did Sally reach out to  
16 anybody?

17 MS. TRAMONTANO: I don't know if she did. And, you  
18 know, I honestly don't know, you know, with certainty who  
19 the friend references are.

20 MR. WITTMANN: References as in the friend that Sally  
21 was going to reach out to?

22 MS. TRAMONTANO: No. The friend that I was going to  
23 reach out to.

24 MR. WITTMANN: I'm sorry, Ms. Tramontano. The line was  
25 breaking up just a little bit. Do you mind repeating that,

1 please?

2 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yeah. I said I don't--I do not recall  
3 who the reference--the reference to "friend" in this email,  
4 I don't recall who that would have been.

5 MR. WITTMANN: Do you recall--did you talk to anyone  
6 outside of Sally about the information that you read in  
7 these clips, around this time period?

8 MS. TRAMONTANO: I don't recall talking to anyone. I  
9 mean, what I do recall was that the news was moving quite  
10 quickly on this topic, and changing, you know, in terms of  
11 details and about the conversations. So I don't recall  
12 talking to anybody at this time. Actually, I've tried to  
13 recollect that but I really don't recall.

14 MR. WITTMANN: I'm going to turn now back to Exhibit  
15 10, that we entered into the record earlier. This is Tab  
16 17, Will. And, Ms. Tramontano, my question relates to the  
17 email at the very top. And Will, if you wouldn't mind just  
18 scrolling down a little bit, and stop right there.

19 In that last sentence of this--is this email on your  
20 screen?

21 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes, it is.

22 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. In the last sentence of Mr.  
23 Telizhenko's email he writes that he would recommend to have  
24 an unofficial meeting with former Prosecutor General, Mr.  
25 Yarema. Are you familiar with Mr. Yarema, or were you

1 familiar with Mr. Yarema at the time of this email?

2 MS. TRAMONTANO: No.

3 MR. WITTMANN: Do you know why Mr. Telizhenko  
4 recommended that you take an unofficial meeting with Mr.  
5 Yarema?

6 MS. TRAMONTANO: I do not.

7 MR. WITTMANN: Did any Burisma representative ever  
8 mention Mr. Yarema to you?

9 MS. TRAMONTANO: No.

10 MR. WITTMANN: Did you meet with Mr. Yarema?

11 MS. TRAMONTANO: I did not.

12 MR. WITTMANN: Did you ever follow up with Mr.  
13 Telizhenko about why he made this recommendation?

14 MS. TRAMONTANO: Not that I recall.

15 MR. WITTMANN: Okay.

16 We're going to enter into the record Exhibit No. 24.  
17 Tab 6, please, Will.

18 [Tramontano Exhibit No. 24  
19 marked for identification.]

20 MR. WITTMANN: It's a calendar entry, Ms. Tramontano.  
21 Please let us know when you can see it on your screen.

22 MS. TRAMONTANO: I have it on my screen. Thank you.

23 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. Thank you. This is an entry in  
24 Ms. Painter's calendar for March 8, 2016, and we can scroll  
25 up a little bit so you can see the date. And at some time

1 before 8 a.m. it looks like Ms. Painter was scheduled to  
2 call Devon on court case. Do you know what this is in  
3 reference to?

4 MS. TRAMONTANO: I do not.

5 MR. WITTMANN: Did Ms. Painter ever mention a court  
6 case relating to a discussion with Devon around this time  
7 period?

8 MS. TRAMONTANO: Not that I recall.

9 MR. WITTMANN: Do you know if Devon, the Devon  
10 mentioned in this entry, is Devon Archer?

11 MS. TRAMONTANO: I mean, I don't know for sure.

12 MR. WITTMANN: Did you ever discuss any specific court  
13 cases with Mr. Archer?

14 MS. TRAMONTANO: No, I did not.

15 MR. WITTMANN: Do you know if Ms. Painter did?

16 MS. TRAMONTANO: I should say I'm assuming you're  
17 asking, so I should not have made this assumption, so I  
18 guess I should ask you to make sure we have a meeting of the  
19 minds on this question. If you are asking me whether I  
20 discussed with Devon any of the court cases that were  
21 pending in Ukraine against Burisma, the answer to that  
22 question is no. So if that's the question you're asking,  
23 then no, I did not discuss those pending court cases,  
24 Burisma's pending court cases with Devon.

25 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. Were there other court cases

1 besides those, that you would have discussed with him?

2 MS. TRAMONTANO: At this time I believe there was a  
3 court case that involved Norvik Bank, and that could be the  
4 court case referenced. And I did talk to him about a court  
5 case with regard to Norvik Bank. So I just want to answer  
6 the question, have I talked to Devon about any court case,  
7 and at this time I did talk to him about a court case with  
8 regard to Norvik Bank.

9 MR. WITTMANN: Was Norvik Bank ever a client of Blue  
10 Star's?

11 MS. TRAMONTANO: Yes, it was. It became a client, yes.

12 MR. WITTMANN: And when did they become a client?

13 MS. TRAMONTANO: You know, I don't know. It's not  
14 something I can pull up right now.

15 MR. WITTMANN: Do you know if it was like March 8, 2016  
16 they were a client?

17 MS. TRAMONTANO: You know, I don't know.

18 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. Was Blue Star ever asked to help  
19 convince Hunter Biden to end his relationship with Burisma?

20 MS. TRAMONTANO: No. We were never asked that.

21 MR. WITTMANN: Okay. I'm going to turn it over to Mr.  
22 Downey.

23 MR. DOWNEY: So it's 4:25. I believe Chairman Johnson  
24 and Chairman Grassley's line of questioning is complete,  
25 knowing the 4:30 stop time. I don't know if Senator Peters'

1 or Senator Wyden's office has anything else before the 4:30  
2 stop time.

3 MR. SCHRAM: Just one more question. Did Devon Archer  
4 or Hunter Biden, in their capacity as Burisma board members,  
5 direct any of Blue Star's activities?

6 MS. TRAMONTANO: They did not.

7 MR. SCHRAM: That's all.

8 MR. DOWNEY: Okay. Ms. Tramontano, we thank you for  
9 your time today, and hope everything is healthy and safe  
10 wherever you are, along with you, Mr. Kadzik. We'll be in  
11 touch.

12 MS. TRAMONTANO: Thank you very much.

13 MR. KADZIK: Thank you. Thank you very much.

14 MR. DOWNEY: Bye.

15 MS. TRAMONTANO: Bye-bye.

16 [Whereupon, at 4:25 p.m., the interview was concluded.]

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## CONSULTING SERVICES AGREEMENT

This Consulting Services Agreement (the "Agreement") is between **Burisma Holdings Ltd.** (the "Client"), an independent oil and gas company, with principal place of business at Archiepiskopou. Makariou III, 155 PROTEAS HOUSE, 5<sup>th</sup> floor, 3026, Limassol Cyprus, and **Blue Star Strategies, LLC** (the "Firm"), a limited liability company with its principal place of business at 888 17th Street, NW, Suite 800, Washington, D.C. 20006, USA. For purposes of this Agreement, the Client and the Firm are referred to singularly as "the Party" or collectively as "the Parties". The Parties hereby agree to the following terms and conditions:

### AGREEMENT

#### 1. SERVICES

Under the terms of this Agreement, the Firm agrees to provide to the Client independent professional consulting services ("Services") as follows:

- Provide government relations assistance to the Client in the U.S. and Ukraine;
- Communicate to officials about the Client's business and its economic importance to Ukraine; and
- Prepare brief written reports as requested by the Client.

#### 2. OBLIGATIONS OF THE FIRM

- A. The Firm shall perform its responsibilities under this Agreement in an ethical and business-like manner and as per requirements and/or guidance of the Client and in its best interests.
- B. The Firm shall submit all reports required of it by applicable federal and state disclosure and/or reporting laws.

#### 3. OBLIGATIONS OF CLIENT

- A. Assisting with Government Disclosures by the Firm: Where applicable, the Client recognizes that the Firm may periodically be required to file federal and disclosure forms in the U.S. which may require the Client's signature.



- B. Non-payment: The Client acknowledges that any failure to timely remit payments due under this Agreement constitutes a material breach hereof.

#### 4. COMPENSATION

- A. Monthly Retainer Fee: The Client agrees to pay the Firm a Monthly Retainer Fee of US\$30,000 (thirty thousand U.S. dollars), exclusive of all expenses. The Monthly Retainer Fee is exclusive of value-added tax (VAT) and out-of-pocket business expenses. Any expenses exceeding US\$500 (five hundred U.S. dollars) shall be pre-approved by the Client in advance of being incurred.
- B. Payment Schedule: Payment of the Monthly Fee is due upon receipt of the Firm's invoice. The first invoice shall include the first two months of the Monthly Retainer Fee, in the amount of \$60,000 (sixty thousand U.S. dollars). Should the Client allow its account to fall more than thirty (30) days in arrears, the Firm retains the option of suspending its Services and those of subcontractors called for in this Agreement until payment arrangements are made to the reasonable satisfaction of the Firm.
- C. Payment by Check: If the Client chooses to remit payment in the form of a check, please make payable to:

Blue Star Strategies, LLC  
888 17<sup>th</sup> Street NW, Suite 800  
Washington, DC 20006, USA  
Attn: Sally Painter

- D. Payment by Wire: If the Client chooses to remit payment by wire transfer:

Receiving Bank: Sun Trust Bank  
Receiving Bank Swift: SNTRUS3A  
Beneficiary Bank: ABA#061000104

Account Name: Blue Star Strategies, LLC  
Account Number: #1000168741998

- E. Invoices: The Firm agrees to send all invoices to the Client. Such invoice must be original and will contain a detailed statement (report) of the work and tasks performed by the Firm hereunder, as well as receipts and/or other appropriate documents for all items for which the Firm requests reimbursement. The Client shall pay for appropriately documented and approved fees within thirty (30) days of receipt. Invoices should be mailed to:

Burisma Holdings Ltd.  
10-A Ryleyeva St., Office 424



Kyiv 04073, Ukraine  
Attn: Vadym Pozharskyi  
[vadym.pozharskyi@burisma.com](mailto:vadym.pozharskyi@burisma.com)

## **5. ASSIGNMENT**

The Firm shall not assign this Agreement or any of its rights or obligations hereunder without the express prior written approval of the Client. This Agreement shall bind and inure to the benefit of the Parties, and their respective successors and assigns permitted, as provided in this section.

## **6. CONFIDENTIALITY**

The Firm and the Client agree that they will hold in confidence and will not utilize in any manner the content of this Agreement and any information whatsoever of a restricted or confidential nature concerning the activities or business of the other, unless such disclosure: (a) is mutually agreed upon in writing; (b) is reasonably required in connection with the fulfillment of the disclosing party's obligations hereunder, and then is made only to the minimum extent necessary to carry out such obligations; (c) pertains to information which had generally become known to the public other than through the disclosure thereof by the disclosing party; (d) is made to attorneys, accountants or other professional advisors of the disclosing party under confidentiality agreements substantially similar to this one; or (e) pursuant to compulsory legal process, provided that the disclosing party has opportunity to seek a protective or similar order and only the minimum information is disclosed to comply with such legal process. "Confidential information" means any (a) information designated by the other party in writing as confidential, proprietary or restricted, and (b) any information of which the receiving party knows or should reasonably know that (i) the disclosing party treats as confidential or proprietary, or (ii) public disclosure can or will negatively affect the interests of the other party. The terms of this Section 6 shall survive the termination of this Agreement.

## **7. WORK PRODUCT**

Any and all Work Product developed or generated under this Agreement per Section 1 herein shall be owned by the Client unless otherwise agreed with the Firm.

## **8. NOTICES**

All notices required or authorized by this Agreement shall be given in writing and shall contain a reference to this Agreement. All such notices shall be deemed effective when they are either served by personal delivery, or sent, postage pre-paid, by registered or certified mail to the receiving Party at the following address:



If to the Firm: Blue Star Strategies, LLC  
888 17th Street, NW, Suite 800  
Washington, DC 20006 USA  
Attn: Sally Painter  
[sally.painter@bluestarstrategies.com](mailto:sally.painter@bluestarstrategies.com)

If to the Client: Burisma Holdings Ltd.  
10-A Ryleyeva Str., Office 424  
Kyiv 04073, Ukraine  
Attn: Vadym Pozharskyi  
[vadym.pozharskyi@burisma.com](mailto:vadym.pozharskyi@burisma.com)

## **9. RESOLUTION OF DISPUTES**

The Firm and the Client agree to make every effort to resolve amicably by direct informal negotiations any disagreement or dispute arising between them under or in connection with this Agreement. Any dispute, controversy or claim arising out of or relating to this Agreement, which cannot be settled amicably within sixty (60) days, shall be settled by arbitration in accordance with the rules of the American Arbitration Association as presently in force. The place of arbitration shall be agreed by the parties in writing within ten (10) days from the above-mentioned 60 day period, or if no agreement is reached, shall be determined by the arbitral tribunal, having regard to the circumstances of the arbitration. The language to be used in the arbitral proceedings shall be English. The Parties hereto agree to be bound by any arbitration award rendered in accordance with this provision as the final adjudication of any dispute arising under this Agreement.

## **10. PRIVILEGES AND IMMUNITIES**

Nothing in this Agreement or relating thereto shall be construed as constituting a waiver of the privileges and immunities of the Parties.

## **11. AMENDMENTS**

This Agreement may only be amended in writing signed by the Client and an executive officer of the Firm, explicitly stating that the writing is intended to amend this Agreement.

## **12. DURATION AND TERMINATION**

- A. **Term and Renewal:** This Agreement shall commence on November 1, 2015 ("the Start Date") and continue until October 31, 2016 ("Initial Term"). This



Agreement shall automatically renew and continue on a six month basis until renewed or terminated by either Party pursuant to the terms herein.

- B. Either Party may terminate this Agreement for cause upon the other Party's breach or default of any provision of this Agreement unless such breach or default is corrected or cured within thirty (30) days after receipt of written notice thereof from the other Party.
- C. Either Party may terminate this Agreement for cause immediately, in the event that the other Party: (i) is the subject of a voluntary or involuntary petition in bankruptcy; (ii) is or becomes insolvent; or (iii) ceases to pay its obligations or conduct business in the normal course.
- D. Following the expiration of the Initial Term, the Client may terminate the Agreement upon the provision, in writing, of no fewer than sixty (60) days' notice. Termination pursuant to this paragraph does not release Client or the Firm from any ongoing disclosure or reporting requirements either might have under this Agreement or any amendments hereto or of any obligation of the Client to provide compensation for any and all Services provided on behalf of the Client, which shall be pro-rated for any partial month.

### **13. WAIVER**

The failure of either Party to enforce at any time or for any period of time any provision hereof shall not be construed to be a waiver of such provision of the right thereafter to enforce each and every provision. No waiver by either Party to this Agreement, either express or implied, of any breach of any term, condition or obligation of this Agreement shall be construed as a waiver of any subsequent breach of that term, condition or obligation or of any other term, condition or obligation of this Agreement.

### **14. RELATIONSHIP OF THE PARTIES**

The Firm is an independent contractor. All persons employed by the Firm in the performance of the Agreement shall perform under the control and direction of the Firm and shall under no circumstances be considered employees of the Client.

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We, the undersigned, hereby agree that these terms and conditions constitute the entire Agreement governing the business relationship between the **Burisma Holdings Ltd.** and **Blue Star Strategies, LLC** for the purpose of delivery of the Services agreed above, which is made effective as from the Start Date above.

**Burisma Holdings Ltd.**

By: 

Vadym Pozharskyi  
Advisor to the Board

Date: 11/11/2015

**Blue Star Strategies, LLC**

By: 

Sally Painter  
Chief Operating Officer

Date: Nov. 18, 2015





The Honorable Ron Johnson  
Chairman  
U.S. Senate Committee on Homeland  
Security and Governmental Affairs  
328 Hart Senate Office Building  
Washington, DC 20510

The Honorable Charles E. Grassley  
Chairman  
U.S. Senate Committee on Finance  
135 Hart Senate Office Building  
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Chairman Johnson & Chairman Grassley:

I have received your letter dated December 3, 2019 requesting certain information from Blue Star Strategies, LLC (Blue Star Strategies).

Blue Star Strategies is a small, woman owned government and public affairs firm co-founded by Sally Painter and me.<sup>1</sup> This year marks Blue Star Strategies' 10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary. Prior to founding Blue Star Strategies, Sally Painter and I were partners in a bi-partisan government affairs firm, Dutko Worldwide. Dutko Worldwide's partners included Mark Irion, Ron Kaufman, Brad Card and Gary Andres – all well-known professionals in the government affairs sector. Sally Painter and I led the international business at Dutko Worldwide. In 2009, we decided to launch Blue Star Strategies.

Blue Star Strategies is unique in that the government and public affairs practice is exclusively international. We assist foreign entities (public and private) by providing an array of government and public affairs services. From time to time, those services include advocacy before government agencies, including the U.S. government. We also assist U.S. private, commercial enterprises in Europe, Eurasia and throughout Latin America.

As early as 2002, the founders of the firm began working with Eastern European countries and countries formerly within the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) to develop their strategic security plans to join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). To achieve that end, we worked closely with the Bush Administration and other Members of the NATO Alliance and saw several countries – including Bulgaria, Latvia and Estonia – be accepted into NATO. In 2004, again in collaboration with the Bush Administration, we began our work in Ukraine – initially to see the fraudulent 2005 election overturned, and Viktor Yushchenko elected President of Ukraine.

I outline our history so that you would understand Blue Star Strategies' track record of achieving positive results for governments and private enterprises from Eastern European and former USSR countries. Based

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<sup>1</sup> A third individual, Gabriel Zinny was a minority shareholder at the time of the company's founding. Mr. Zinny is no longer with the firm and was not at the firm during the firm's work with Burisma.



on our success, we receive referrals from current and former clients, colleagues, and other professionals when they believe we have the expertise to provide the services required. Burisma is among several clients referred to our firm. Given the questions raised in your letter, I note that Hunter Biden did not refer Burisma to the firm.

The firm continues to work in the private and public sectors in Central and Eastern Europe, the Baltics, the Balkans, and the Caucasus regions and throughout Latin America.

We were engaged by Burisma in November 2015 to provide a range of government, public affairs, and legal services. The U.S. component of our work has focused on fact-finding as outlined below, partnerships with private institutions, and discussions with appropriate government and non-governmental organizations regarding Ukraine's energy security needs. In Ukraine, we provide legal advice and public affairs services. Burisma continues as a client of the firm.

Your letter asserts several claims referenced primarily to two media sources: the Washington Examiner and The Hill. It is important to inform the Committees that the assertions made, and the conclusions drawn from those assertions, are incorrect. While Sally Painter and I met Mr. Amos Hochstein, it was not "to convince Hochstein. . .that Burisma was on the level and did not warrant further investigation," as stated in your letter. The initial meeting with Mr. Hochstein was to understand his and the State Department's position regarding an independent energy company, Burisma. At that meeting we learned Mr. Hochstein's view – although it was not stated to be the State Department's view. There was a subsequent meeting with Mr. Hochstein that included Burisma's U.S. counsel, John Buretta. While Sally Painter attended the meeting, the counsel led the briefing. The first meeting with Mr. Hochstein was on December 10, 2015. The second meeting was on March 24, 2016.

The second incorrect assertion is that I leveraged Hunter Biden's name for a meeting with then Under Secretary of State Catherine Novelli. To substantiate that claim, your letter references a note written by someone presumably in the State Department. The note was not written by me. The fact is, I have known Catherine Novelli for over two decades and did not need to use anyone's name – including Hunter Biden's – to obtain a meeting. Ms. Novelli agreed to the meeting at my request. The purpose of the meeting was to understand the State Department's position regarding Burisma, as well as how the State Department came to that position. The date of the meeting was March 1, 2016.<sup>2</sup>

Although not referenced in the Committees' letter, as part of our fact-finding Sally Painter and I had meetings with State Department professionals<sup>3</sup> in Washington, DC and at the U.S. Embassy in Kyiv wherein Burisma was mentioned. During a trip to Kyiv, we requested a meeting with Ambassador Geoffrey Pyatt to discuss several issues, one of which included understanding how he came to his

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<sup>2</sup> John Buretta, Burisma's U.S. Counsel attended the meeting and briefed Undersecretary Novelli.

<sup>3</sup> Prior to meeting Ambassador Pyatt, we had two professional staff meetings at the U.S. Embassy in Kyiv. On December 14, 2015 we met William Laitinen, Economic Counselor at the Embassy, to understand his view of Ukraine's economic situation. The meeting had not been scheduled to discuss Burisma as we had several other corporate clients interested in Ukraine's economic situation. To be fully transparent, we disclosed that we were working with Burisma and inquired as to his views of the company. Also, on December 14, 2015 we met USAID Representative Steve Gonyea to understand USAID's decision-making process. Burisma had offered to assist USAID during a gas shortage in regions under Russian attack and we were inquiring about the decision to decline the company's assistance.





position about Burisma.<sup>4</sup> A year later, we met Ambassador Marie Yovanovitch to discuss a variety of issues – Burisma was raised in our discussions. As it related to Burisma, the purpose of the meeting was to understand whether Ambassador Yovanovitch held the same view of Burisma as Ambassador Pyatt. The meeting with Ambassador Pyatt was on December 16, 2015. The meeting with Ambassador Yovanavitch was on December 8, 2016.

On December 14, 2016 we met Reggie Singh, Ukraine Desk Officer, to discuss economic and energy security in Ukraine and the role of independent gas companies such as Burisma<sup>5</sup>. On November 2, 2017 we met Andrea Lockwood, Deputy Assistant Secretary of International Affairs at the Energy Department, to discuss the role independent gas companies such as Burisma could play to better ensure energy security in Ukraine.

Burisma purchases extraction and other equipment from several U.S. companies. The cost of this specialized equipment exceeds \$80 million over 5 years. As a result of the Trump Administration’s focus on U.S. jobs, we met officials at the Departments of State and Commerce who were interested in foreign company purchases from U.S. manufacturers that resulted in job creation. At the State Department we met Melissa Simpson, then Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary, and Brian DaRin. The State Department meeting was held on November 21, 2018. At the Department of Commerce, we met Matthew Edwards, Director, and Boris Chumuk, Desk Officer, of the Office of Russia, Ukraine & Eurasia to discuss Burisma’s U.S. equipment purchases. The Department of Commerce meeting was held on November 27, 2018. Among several recommendations from that meeting was to meet Charles Phillips, Deputy Senior Commercial Officer and Heather Bell, Director from the Department of Energy at the U.S. Embassy in Kyiv. The meeting with Mr. Phillips and Ms. Bell meeting took place on February 19, 2019.

We had no meetings related to Burisma at the Executive Office of the President or the Office of the Vice President during the Obama Administration.

In response to your request outlined in item #2 of your letter, we include an appendix (Appendix A)<sup>6</sup> containing records between Blue Star and U.S. officials specifically related to Burisma. Due to the Confidentiality clause and the Client Work Product Ownership clause of the binding contract between Blue Star Strategies and Burisma, we are unable to provide copies of documents requested in item #1b of your letter.

During my meetings in Ukraine with Ukrainian officials, I was working in my capacity as “Of Counsel” to Burisma in collaboration with Burisma’s U.S. counsel, John Buretta. Due to the nature of those meetings, disclosure of the discussions would be a breach of client confidentiality and the attorney-client privilege.

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<sup>4</sup> Ambassador Pyatt had been sharply critical of Burisma in one of his official public speeches in his capacity as the U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Singh included colleagues from the State Department’s Economics office. We have no record of the attendees.

<sup>6</sup> The records include records for meetings that occurred, and records for meetings requested that did not occur. We have indicated the dates of those meetings that did occur in the letter. Where the records refer to a discussion of issues unrelated to Burisma we have redacted the reference. Where the records specifically identify a Burisma representative we have redacted the name to adhere to the confidentiality clause in our agreement.





Finally, I want to assure the Committees' Chairmen that at no time did I or anyone else in the firm working on behalf of Burisma collaborate or coordinate the development or implementation of our work with Hunter Biden. We had no discussions or meetings with Mr. Biden regarding our contractual agreement with Burisma or Blue Star Strategies' terms of engagement. Mr. Biden played no role in Blue Star Strategies' work on behalf of Burisma – either in its limited scope in the U.S. or its more extensive scope in Ukraine. Mr. Biden has no role in Blue Star Strategies and holds no financial interest in Blue Star Strategies.

The information provided in this letter is based on the firm's best recollection and after a review of our records.<sup>7</sup> Consistent with recommendations from the IRS we retain records, including client records, for a period of 5 years. We will continue to preserve records relevant to this inquiry.

I trust that this letter responds to your inquiry.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Karen Tramontano", written over a horizontal line.

Karen Tramontano  
Chief Executive Officer  
Blue Star Strategies, LLC

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<sup>7</sup> Earlier this year, Blue Star Strategies embarked on an office renovation that included major changes in our telecommunications and computer systems. While we are confident that the search of our records has resulted in producing records responsive to your inquiry major systems changes have their challenges.



## Pero Jolevski

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**From:** Pero Jolevski  
**Sent:** Friday, December 11, 2015 4:54 PM  
**To:** Stephen Gonyea  
**Subject:** RE: Meeting next week

Ok, will give you a buzz over the weekend. Have a good night!

---

**From:** Stephen Gonyea [mailto:sgonyea@usaid.gov]  
**Sent:** Friday, December 11, 2015 4:52 PM  
**To:** Pero Jolevski <Pero.Jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Meeting next week

I don't want to be in a position of knowing something that I can't share with the ambassador. :) Not a good career move. Let's talk over the weekend. I'm going to sleep!

**Steve Gonyea Director/EG Office | USAID/Ukraine (From U.S. - 301.985.8659 ext 5494)**

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On Dec 11, 2015, at 23:30, Pero Jolevski <Pero.Jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com> wrote:

I totally understand – but I think we are changing strategies. I am not sure what their talking points are for the meeting but will leave it up to them on what they will talk about at the Embassy. I can confidentially brief you over the phone. Let me know when you have 5 minutes to talk.

---

**From:** Stephen Gonyea [mailto:sgonyea@usaid.gov]  
**Sent:** Friday, December 11, 2015 4:23 PM  
**To:** Pero Jolevski <Pero.Jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Meeting next week

IMHO, this would be a VERY bad move to not mention this. Burisma and linkages, good and bad, as you know, have been a major news story and hugely politicized issue, especially during the recent visit. It's been used in attempts to criticize US policy and embarrass the Ambassador. Honesty would be the best policy. Seriously.

---

**Steve Gonyea Director/EG Office | USAID/Ukraine (From U.S. - 301.985.8659 ext 5494)**

On Dec 11, 2015, at 19:01, Pero Jolevski <Pero.Jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com> wrote:

Apparently the pool is nice ☺

Ok so I'll tell them that you will meet them after Chip. BTW – Chip doesn't know anything about our work with Burisma and they will probably not mentioning anything to him about it.

**From:** Stephen Gonyea [mailto:sgonyea@usaid.gov]  
**Sent:** Friday, December 11, 2015 11:34 AM  
**To:** Pero Jolevski <Pero.Jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Meeting next week

Yes at the embassy.

Well Premier is a nice Russian owned hotel. :)

---

On Dec 11, 2015, at 18:31, Pero Jolevski <Pero.Jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com> wrote:

Yes, meeting with Chip on Monday at 4 pm so after that will work. Is your office at the Embassy?

They are staying at Premier Palace Hotel

---

**From:** Stephen Gonyea [mailto:sgonyea@usaid.gov]  
**Sent:** Friday, December 11, 2015 11:27 AM  
**To:** Pero Jolevski <Pero.Jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Meeting next week

So your meeting with Chip is Monday? I may be called in on it too. If so then after that is fine. Maybe I can bring them back to the center. Have them a hotel yet?

**Steve Gonyea Director/EG Office | USAID/Ukraine (From U.S. - 301.985.8659 ext 5494)**

On Dec 11, 2015, at 18:18, Pero Jolevski <Pero.Jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com> wrote:

Monday. Sorry. Tuesday works too

---

**From:** Stephen Gonyea [mailto:sgonyea@usaid.gov]  
**Sent:** Friday, December 11, 2015 11:17 AM  
**To:** Pero Jolevski <Pero.Jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Meeting next week

Uh, on which day?

**Steve Gonyea Director/EG Office | USAID/Ukraine (From U.S. - 301.985.8659 ext 5494)**

1355024

On Dec 11, 2015, at 17:23, Pero Jolevski  
<[Pero.Jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com](mailto:Pero.Jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com)> wrote:

Hi Steve,

What is a good time for you to meet Karen and Sally next week. They have a 4 pm meeting with Chip from the Embassy. Would sometime before or after that work with you?

I'll send you a full list of their meetings later today.

Pero

Pero Jolevski  
Blue Star Strategies

(+1)-202-833-1281  
(+1)-202-822-9088 fax

[pero.jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com](mailto:pero.jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com)  
m

888 17th Street NW, Suite 800  
Washington, DC 20006

[www.bluestarstrategies.com](http://www.bluestarstrategies.com)

The information in this transmittal is privileged and confidential and is intended only for the recipient(s) listed above. If you are not the intended recipient(s) for the delivery of this transmittal, you are hereby notified that any unauthorized distribution or copying of this transmittal is prohibited. If you have received this transmittal in error, please notify me at (202) 833-1281

ESSOR5

## Pero Jolevski

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**From:** Karen Tramontano  
**Sent:** Thursday, February 18, 2016 8:00 AM  
**To:** Pero Jolevski  
**Subject:** Fwd: Need your advice

see below. please follow up with her office. thanks

---

Sent from my iPhone

Begin forwarded message:

**From:** "Novelli, Catherine A" <NovelliCA@state.gov>  
**Date:** February 18, 2016 at 7:48:00 AM EST  
**To:** Karen Tramontano <Karen.Tramontano@bluestarstrategies.com>  
**Cc:** "Dodman, Michael J" <DodmanMJ@state.gov>, "Thomas, Anita Y" <ThomasAY@state.gov>  
**Subject:** Re: Need your advice

---

Hi Karen,

Happy to meet with you. Copying Anita Thinas who can make it happen on my schedule

Best,  
Cathy

Sent from my iPhone

On Feb 18, 2016, at 7:42 AM, Karen Tramontano  
<Karen.Tramontano@bluestarstrategies.com<mailto:Karen.Tramontano@bluestarstrategies.com>>  
wrote:

<image001.gif>

Dear Undersecretary Novelli:

I have requested a meeting to discuss a matter on which I need your advice. I spoke to Michael Tracton in your office yesterday to explain my reason for asking for a meeting. Essentially, the U.S. government has taken a position in a commercial matter regarding a Ukrainian individual and I believe the position is in error. I would like to give you a briefing and ask your advice in this matter. We are reaching out to your office and hopefully we could arrange a meeting in the upcoming week. Thank you in advance for your time.

Best regards

Karen

1355089

Karen A. Tramontano

Blue Star Strategies

<image002.png>

(+1) 202-833-1265 direct

(+1) 202-320-4102 mobile

(+1) 202-822-9088 fax

[karen.tramontano@bluestarstrategies.com](mailto:karen.tramontano@bluestarstrategies.com)<<http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:patrick.boland@bluestarstrategies.com>>

888 17th Street NW, Suite 800

Washington, DC 20006

[www.bluestarstrategies.com](http://www.bluestarstrategies.com)<<http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://www.bluestarstrategies.com>>

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BSS030

## Pero Jolevski

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**From:** Pero Jolevski  
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 1, 2016 10:57 AM  
**To:** Thomas, Anita Y; Karen Tramontano  
**Subject:** RE: Meeting with Undersecretary Novelli

Thanks!

---

**From:** Thomas, Anita Y [mailto:ThomasAY@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 01, 2016 10:51 AM  
**To:** Pero Jolevski <Pero.Jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com>; Karen Tramontano <Karen.Tramontano@bluestarstrategies.com>  
**Subject:** RE: Meeting with Undersecretary Novelli

Hi Pero,

Yes. We are confirmed for today at 4pm. Karen and Bill are both pre-cleared at 3:45pm.

Thanks for checking!

Best,  
Anita

---

**From:** Pero Jolevski [mailto:Pero.Jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 01, 2016 9:47 AM  
**To:** Thomas, Anita Y; Karen Tramontano  
**Subject:** RE: Meeting with Undersecretary Novelli

Good morning Anita,

Just wanted to reconfirm with you the meeting today at 4 pm, Karen and John will be in at State Department 10-15 minutes prior the meeting.

Best regards,  
Pero

---

**From:** Thomas, Anita Y [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:ThomasAY@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Thursday, February 18, 2016 3:25 PM  
**To:** Karen Tramontano <Karen.Tramontano@bluestarstrategies.com>  
**Cc:** Pero Jolevski <Pero.Jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com>  
**Subject:** RE: Meeting with Undersecretary Novelli

Sure. I can have Amy Dove to contact you when she is out of her meeting. You can also call her direct on 202 647-4092. She will be available around 4:30pm.

Thanks,  
Anita





## Karen Tramontano

---

**From:** Sean Keeley  
**Sent:** Monday, March 21, 2016 4:47 PM  
**To:** Karen Tramontano  
**Cc:** Sally Painter; Jessica Lindgren  
**Subject:** RE: Vadym P - Burisma coming to Washington

Dear Karen,

Sally, Jes and I just talked to Morgan and he will hold a lunch spot on Thursday, March 31<sup>st</sup> (12:15-1:30pm) for Vadym to present on the energy situation in Ukraine for USUBC members. Morgan said he will invite about 30-35 members who would be interested for a lunch reception led by Vadym.

I sent a request to Marcy Kaptur as you saw this morning.

I will also reach out to:

- Tyler Brace: Republican Staff Contact for Senate Ukraine Caucus (Senator Portman's office)
- Chris Homan: Democrat Staff Contact for Senate Ukraine Caucus (Senator Durbin's office)
- John Herbst – Sally to do out reach?
- Alexander Orr – Ukraine desk officer at State (energy)
- Marc Gartner – Ukraine desk officer at State
- Hunter Biden for quick meeting

Let me know if I am missing anyone that should be on the list. And if you have 5-10 minutes at the end of the day today to confer and also discuss the upcoming Kiev trip and Prosecutor outreach, that would be helpful for me.

Thanks,  
Sean

---

**From:** Karen Tramontano  
**Sent:** Sunday, March 20, 2016 10:01 AM  
**To:** Sally Painter; Jessica Lindgren; Sean Keeley  
**Subject:** Vadym P - Burisma coming to Washington

Dear All  
I just spoke w/ Vadym -

He will be arriving on 29 March and expects no agenda on that day. Sally we may want to take him to dinner. On 30th - the evening will be focusing on the pull aside w/ President Poroshenko - Jessica thank you for talking to Morgan's person L - and informing her of our needs.

Here are the meetings I discussed with Vadym

On the House side ... let's get Marcy Kapter if we can Let's make the request early this week

Let's figure out the 2 staff people - one R and one D that either care about Ukraine or Energy but focus on Ukraine

In the Senate let's request meeting at the Ukraine desk -- Sally the guy we met with was very help.

He would like to just "stop by" to see Hunter - no more than 30 minutes because he does not have an agenda -

I think we should also ask for Pfifer or Herbts -- Sally what do you think?

We should try for meetings on the 30th and the afternoon of the 31st

Jesica he said Morgan was putting together a morning briefing for Vadym to discuss the energy situation in Ukraine the morning of the 31st would you check this out with Morgan and L --

any other thoughts?

sally i know you are trying to figure out whether the chief of staff is coming w/ the President -

Lastly let's begin to plan our trip to Kiev - leaving on the 5th. We still do not have the meeting w/ the General Prosecutor .... Let's together talk about how to get this done it's a MUST have for that trip

thanks

Karen



# Burisma Holdings Ltd.

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Washington, D.C. Meetings

**Vadym Pozharskyi**

**March 29-April 1, 2016**

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Agenda.....3  
Office of Sen. Rob Portman.....6  
Office of Sen. Jeanne Shaheen.....7  
Office of Rep. Marty Kapur.....8  
State Department.....9

**Washington, D.C.**

**TUESDAY, MARCH 29:**

**8:00 PM      Arrival in Washington**

*Dulles International Airport  
1 Saarinen Circle  
Dulles, VA 20166*

**WEDNESDAY, MARCH 30:**

**9:00 AM      Briefing at Blue Star Strategies**

Karen Tramontano, CEO, Blue Star Strategies

*Blue Star Strategies  
888 17<sup>th</sup> Street NW  
Suite 800  
Washington, D.C. 20006*

**10:00 AM      Arrival of Devon at Blue Star Strategies**

**10:30 AM      Meeting with Staff of Senator Rob Portman**

Tyler Brace, Legislative Aide to Senator Rob Portman and Republican Staff  
Contact for Senate Ukraine Caucus

*Office of Senator Rob Portman (R-OH)  
448 Russell Senate Office Building  
2 Constitution Ave NE  
Washington, DC 20515  
Tel: (202) 224-3353*

Staffer: Sally Painter

**3:00 PM      Meeting with Staff of Senator Jeanne Shaheen**

Josh Lucas, Foreign Policy Advisor to Sen. Jeanne Shaheen  
Ariel Marshall, Energy Advisor to Sen. Jeanne Shaheen

*Office of Senator Jeanne Shaheen (D-OH)  
506 Hart Senate Office Building  
Washington, DC 20510  
Tel: (202) 224-2841*

Staffer: Karen

**5:30 PM Reception before Poroshenko Speech**  
**-7:00PM**

*Atrium by Congressional Auditorium  
U.S. Capitol Visitors Center  
First Street, NE  
Washington, DC 20515*

Staffers: Karen and Sally

N.B. Ticket and photo ID required  
Seating for speech begins at 6:00pm

**7:00 PM Speech by President Petro Poroshenko**  
**-8:00PM**

*Congressional Auditorium  
U.S. Capitol Visitors Center  
First Street, NE  
Washington, DC 20515*

**8:00 PM VIP Reception with President Petro Poroshenko**  
**-9:00PM**

*Congressional Meeting Room South  
U.S. Capitol Visitors Center  
First Street, NE  
Washington, DC 20515*

**THURSDAY, MARCH 31:**

**10:30 AM Meeting with Congressional Staff of Rep. Marcy Kaptur (D-OH)**

TJ Lowdermilk, Legislative Assistant (Energy)  
Nora Sarsour, Legislative Assistant (Foreign Affairs)

*Office of Congresswoman Marcy Kaptur (OH-9)  
2186 Rayburn House Office Building  
Washington, DC 20515  
Tel: (202) 225-4146*

Staffer: Jesica Lindgren

**12:15 PM USUBC Roundtable Briefing and Lunch with Vadym Pozharskyi**  
**-1:45 PM "Ukraine's Future Energy Security"**

Hosted by: Morgan Williams, President/CEO, U.S.-Ukraine Business Council

*1030 15<sup>th</sup> Street NW  
Suite 230E, Conference Room  
Washington, DC 20005*

**2:30 PM Meeting with Hunter Biden**

**-3:00 PM**

Hunter Biden, Director, Burisma Holdings

*Rosemont Seneca Partners  
1010 Wisconsin Ave NW  
Suite 705  
Washington, DC 20007  
Tel: (202) 333-1880*

Staffer: Karen

**3:30 PM Meeting with State Department Officials**

**-4:15PM**

Alex Orr, Ukraine Desk Officer, State Department  
Marc Gartner, Ukraine Desk Officer, State Department  
Leo Gallagher, Bureau of Energy Resources, State Department

*2201 C Street NW\*  
Washington, D.C. 20520  
Tel: (202) 647-5998*

*\*Note: Alex and Marc to meet you outside the C street entrance*

Staffer: Karen

**7:00 PM Dinner with Karen and Sally**

Karen Tramontano, CEO, Blue Star Strategies  
Sally Painter, COO, Blue Star Strategies

*Location to be determined*

**FRIDAY, APRIL 1:**

**5:20 PM Departure from Washington**

## BACKGROUND

### Office of Senator Rob Portman (R-OH)



**Senator Rob Portman** is an influential Republican politician who is currently the junior United States Senator from Ohio, in office since 2011. Portman won his first election in 1993, earning a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives. Portman became a U.S. trade representative under President George W. Bush in 2005. He also served as Bush's budget director from 2006 to 2007. In 2010, Portman won his bid for the U.S. Senate. Portman is a member of the Finance Committee, Committee On Homeland Security And Governmental Affairs, Energy And Natural Resources Committee, and Committee On The Budget.

Senator Portman is also the co-chair of the Senate Ukraine Caucus, which was inaugurated in February 2015 to “strengthen the political, military, economic, and cultural relationship between the United States and Ukraine.” Portman has been a vocal advocate on behalf of Ukraine in the Senate, arguing for increased military assistance to Ukraine, speaking out in favor of loan guarantees to the country, and writing several op-eds on the subject. Senator Portman has also participated in two Congressional delegations to Ukraine, met with President Petro Poroshenko after his address to Congress in September 2014, and co-sponsored the Ukraine Freedom Support Act of 2014.

**Tyler Brace** is a legislative assistant to Senator Rob Portman. His legislative responsibilities include the armed services and military, defense, foreign affairs, homeland security, intelligence issues, judiciary issues, and veterans’ affairs. He is also the Republican Staff contact for the Senate Ukraine Caucus, which is co-chaired by Senator Portman. In this capacity, he travelled to Ukraine in October 2014, to serve as an election monitor for Ukraine’s parliamentary elections and meet with key Ukrainian and U.S. Embassy officials. Previously, Tyler worked in the office of Congressman Michael Turner.

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**Senator Jeanne Shaheen** is the senior United States Senator from New Hampshire, in office since 2009. She also served as Governor of New Hampshire from 1997 to 2003, and remains the only woman in U.S. history to be elected as both a Governor and a U.S. Senator. She is a member of the Senate Committees on Armed Services, Appropriations, the Small Business and Entrepreneurship Committee, and the Committee on Foreign Relations. She is the ranking member of the Subcommittee on Europe and Regional Cooperation.

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**Nora Sarsour** is a Legislative Assistant in the Office of Representative Marcy Kaptur. She advises the Congresswoman on foreign affairs, with particular interest in Ukraine, Poland, Hungary, Russia, and the Middle East. Nora previously worked in the Office of Representative Jim Moran and as a Congressional Staff Assistant in the White House's Presidential Personnel Office.

## State Department

### **Office of Ukraine, Moldova, and Belarus Affairs [EUR/UMB]**

The Office of Ukraine, Moldova, and Belarus Affairs is an office within the State Department's Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs. EUR/UMB coordinates U.S. foreign policy with Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus. The office serves as the link between the three embassies, bureaus and offices within the Department, and a wide range of U.S. Government agencies. EUR/UMB works closely with posts in the development and implementation of U.S. political and economic strategy for each country and for the region. The overarching goal is to help these countries develop into nations that are democratic, prosperous, secure within their own borders, and free to become full partners in the Euro-Atlantic community.



#### **Alexander Orr, Ukraine Desk Officer**

Alexander Orr is a desk officer for Ukraine at the State Department's Office of Ukraine, Moldova, and Belarus Affairs. He has worked for the State Department since August 2009 at various postings both in Washington, D.C. and abroad. Alex has worked as the Vice Consul at the U.S. Embassy in Astana, Kazakhstan; an Economic Officer at the U.S. Embassy in Bogota, Colombia; and a Trade and Commercial Officer at the U.S. Consulate General in Karachi, Pakistan. Prior to joining the Foreign Service, Alex worked as an Emerging Markets

Equities Analyst at JP Morgan Chase, and a strategy consultant for Oliver Wyman in New York.

#### **Marc Gartner, Ukraine Desk Officer**

Marc Gartner is an Economic Officer at the Ukraine desk in the State Department's Office of Ukraine, Moldova, and Belarus Affairs. Marc previously served in the Economic Section at the U.S. Embassy in Kyiv, Ukraine. He holds a Master of Business Administration from UCLA. Prior to joining the Foreign Service, Marc worked in finance in Los Angeles, California.

### **Bureau of Energy Resources [ENR]**

The Bureau of Energy Resources is a State Department bureau first established in October 2011. The Bureau has three principal goals:

- 1) To manage the geopolitics of today's energy economy through vigorous diplomacy with producers and consumers;
- 2) To stimulate market forces for transformational policies in alternative energy, electricity, development and reconstruction;
- 3) To increase access to energy in developing countries, expand good governance, and deepen transparency.

#### **Leo Gallagher, Officer at Bureau of Energy Resources**

Leo Gallagher is an officer at the State Department's Bureau of Energy Resources. Leo's previous roles have included work as an Economic/Commercial Officer at the U.S. Embassy in Barbados.





# Burisma Holdings Ltd.

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Washington, D.C. Meetings

**Devon Archer**

**March 29-April 1, 2016**

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Office of Sen. Jeanne Shaheen.....7

Office of Rep. Marty Kapur.....8

**Washington, D.C.**

**WEDNESDAY, MARCH 30:**

**10:00 AM      Arrival for Briefing at Blue Star Strategies**

Sally Painter, COO, Blue Star Strategies

*Blue Star Strategies  
888 17<sup>th</sup> Street NW  
Suite 800  
Washington, D.C. 20006*

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Staffer: Sally Painter

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*Atrium by Congressional Auditorium  
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First Street, NE  
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Staffers: Karen and Sally

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**7:00 PM**      **Speech by President Petro Poroshenko**  
**-8:00PM**

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Staffer: Jesica Lindgren

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## Karen Tramontano

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**From:** Karen Tramontano  
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 22, 2016 6:06 PM  
**To:** Andrii Telizhenko; Sally Painter  
**Subject:** RE: Andrii Telizhenko (Embassy of Ukraine)

Dear Andrii

Thank you very much. It was indeed a pleasure to meet you. As I mentioned, Sally and I will be in Kiev April 6, 7 and 8. The attorney from the U.S. John Buretta who has reviewed the matter we discussed and I would like to meet the General Prosecutor on April 6<sup>th</sup> – preferable in the afternoon. I will reach out to John today to see whether he has any flexibility and get back to you ASAP. Thank you again for your assistance.

Most sincerely,  
Karen

**From:** Andrii Telizhenko [mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, March 22, 2016 5:14 PM  
**To:** Karen Tramontano <Karen.Tramontano@bluestarstrategies.com>; Sally Painter <Sally.Painter@bluestarstrategies.com>  
**Subject:** Andrii Telizhenko (Embassy of Ukraine)

Dear Sally, Karen,

It was nice seeing you at the Embassy today, thank you for coming and your help. This is my email that I respond 24/7 if you have any questions.

My cell 202 230 0141

With Regards,

Andrii Telizhenko

--

Андрій Теліженко | Andrii Telizhenko  
III Секретар Посольства України в США  
III Secretary of the Embassy of Ukraine to the USA  
| [telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com](mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com) |

## Karen Tramontano

---

**From:** Andrii Telizhenko <telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com>  
**Sent:** Friday, June 3, 2016 7:33 AM  
**To:** Karen Tramontano  
**Subject:** Re: Going to Ukraine

Karen,

Hi, hope you are well. I am back in Kyiv, had a long flight back, getting out of the jet lag. I was at the PGO today, they are asking me to come back- still thinking.

Next week there will be a new Deputy on international Relations - I would recommend you to send the letter to the international office. There are mostly new assistants right now. If you could send the letter also this week I will pass it to Mr. Lutsenko.

Also to understand what is the situation in the PGO and the Ministry of Internal Relations - I would recommend to have an unofficial meeting with former Prosecutor General Mr. Yarema?

Andrii

On Wednesday, May 25, 2016, Karen Tramontano <[Karen.Tramontano@bluestarstrategies.com](mailto:Karen.Tramontano@bluestarstrategies.com)> wrote:

Dear Andrii

I hope you are doing well. We'd love to have an update on your plans. I want to let you know that we are planning to travel to Ukraine the week of the 20<sup>th</sup>. We are traveling primarily to meet the new Prosecutor General. We will be sending a letter to the new prosecutor general requesting a meeting. Once again we would like your advice. We will draft a brief note from John Buretta requesting a meeting – but we are not sure how to directly send it to the new prosecutor and to whom to copy? Should we send it to his e mail? Should we send it to his assistant? If so, does he have a new assistant? Should we also send a copy to the head of international affairs for the office? Would really appreciate your advice and counsel. Thank you very much

All the best

Karen

Karen A. Tramontano

Blue Star Strategies

## Karen Tramontano

---

**From:** Andrii Telizhenko <telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com>  
**Sent:** Tuesday, June 7, 2016 10:13 AM  
**To:** Karen Tramontano  
**Subject:** Andrii Telizhenko

Karen,

Hi, hope all is well. I wanted to get back on the PGO meeting. Last week received all the documents, all is good. However, I wanted to recommend to in the official request letter to take away Mr. Zlochevskiys company name and his name, just request the meeting and put just the topics you wanted to discuss except Zlochevskiy. I will brief you more when you come to Kyiv, but because the President does not really like Zlochevskiy - he has personal issues Mr. Lutcenko will deny the meeting if his name will stay in the letter. You can raise the issue during the meeting, but on the official letters I would recommend to remove it.

I spoke to the chief of staff, he is ready to meet but please take off the name of company and his name.

Thank you

Andrii

--  
--  
Андрій Теліженко | Andrii Telizhenko  
| [telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com](mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com) |

## Karen Tramontano

---

**From:** Andrii Telizhenko <telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com>  
**Sent:** Friday, June 10, 2016 7:58 AM  
**To:** Karen Tramontano  
**Subject:** Re: GPO

I'll keep you posted. Have a nice weekend)

On Friday, June 10, 2016, Karen Tramontano <Karen.Tramontano@bluestarstrategies.com> wrote:  
thank you very much

Sent from my iPhone

On Jun 10, 2016, at 7:34 AM, Andrii Telizhenko <telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com> wrote:

Karen, Sally,

Yes, received the documents. I was just at the PGO - passed the letters to the Chief of Staff he said that next week (Tuesday) should confirm the time and what exact date of the meeting.

Waiting to see you in Kyiv.

Andrii

On Friday, June 10, 2016, Karen Tramontano <Karen.Tramontano@bluestarstrategies.com> wrote:

Dear Andrii

Thank you for your assistance. I hope you received the revised letter. Is there any news to report?  
? Look forward to seeing you in Kiev

All the best

Karen

Sent from my iPhone

--

--

Андрій Теліженко | Andrii Telizhenko  
| [telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com](mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com) |

--

--

Андрій Теліженко | Andrii Telizhenko



[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

-----Original Message-----

From: [REDACTED]  
Sent: Monday, June 27, 2016 9:09 AM  
To: 'Sally Painter'  
Cc: Pero Jolevski; [REDACTED] D\_Scheduling  
Subject: RE: Coffee with Tony

Sally -

Thanks for following up - I'm looping in our scheduling team and some other colleagues.

Regards,

[REDACTED]

-----Original Message-----

From: Sally Painter [<mailto:Sally.Painter@bluestarstrategies.com>]  
Sent: Monday, June 27, 2016 9:05 AM  
To: [REDACTED]  
Cc: Pero Jolevski  
Subject: Coffee with Tony

Dear [REDACTED]

Per my conversation with Tony at the Truman event, Karen Tramontano and I would like to have a brief coffee with Tony at his earliest convenience regarding some troubling events we are seeing in Ukraine. (He said yes).

Karen was President Clinton's Deputy Chief of Staff and we are just back from Kiev.

Many thanks for your help. With warm regards sally

Sent from my iPhone

**From:**Fried, Daniel  
**Sent:**Thu, 8 Sep 2016 12:02:36 -0400  
**To:**'Sally Painter'  
**Subject:**RE: Update

Good to hear.

---

**From:** Sally Painter [mailto:Sally.Painter@bluestarstrategies.com]  
**Sent:** Thursday, September 08, 2016 11:37 AM  
**To:** Fried, Daniel  
**Subject:** Update

Dear Mr. Ambassador,

Quick update. Masha called Karen back and they had a very good conversation.

She said she would clear up any confusion around the misrepresentation that we are representing Andriy Klyuyev – which as you know we are not and have never met him.

Thank you very much for your guidance, support and most importantly friendship. Karen and I deeply appreciate it and you. Warmest sally

Sally Painter  
Co-Founder and COO  
Blue Star Strategies



(+1) 202-833-1268 direct  
(+1) 202-822-9088 fax  
[sally.painter@bluestarstrategies.com](mailto:sally.painter@bluestarstrategies.com)

888 17th Street NW, Suite 800  
Washington, DC 20006

[www.bluestarstrategies.com](http://www.bluestarstrategies.com)

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## Sally Painter

---

**From:** Sally Painter  
**Sent:** Monday, September 26, 2016 6:05 PM  
**To:** Vadym Pozharskyi  
**Cc:** Karen Tramontano; Sean Keeley  
**Subject:** USAID Update

Dear Vadym,

Greetings. I had a good conversation today with Susan Fritz, the new USAID Mission Director in Ukraine, and her Deputy Joel Sandefur. Here are the takeaways:

### GENERAL COMMENTS

- USAID is currently in the process of developing a new five-year strategy in Ukraine.
- One of USAID's main priorities is anti-corruption, including programs on e-governance and e-procurement.
- USAID will also be pushing judicial reform and decentralization, and will continue to advocate for civil society groups to act as watchdogs and advocates for reform.
- We raised our concern that anti-corruption efforts by civil society in Ukraine have too often been based on groundless allegations and not the rule of law. Susan said that she is aware of the current allegations against leading "reformers" in Parliament but is still trying to get her bearings as she is new in the country. She agreed that this is a very gray area and she needed to learn a lot more before making any conclusions.

### BURISMA AND ENERGY

- In the energy sector, USAID's priorities include programs on energy efficiency and reducing waste.
- We stressed that Ukraine needs to attract FDI in the energy sector, and that the best way to do so is to work with existing investors and companies in the country, like Burisma.
- We discussed how we are working with Burisma on issues of corporate social responsibility and energy diversification.
- We mentioned that Burisma is the largest private gas producer in Ukraine and has worked with Steve Gonyea on the Municipal Energy Reform Project (MERP), which Susan noted is winding down in early 2017 so there is not much activity going forward. (Going forward we should work with her and Joel.)
- With regard to further cooperation between Burisma and USAID, Susan and Joel said they are open to a discussion.
- We agreed to introduce you to Joel and Susan via e-mail so we can set up a meeting to discuss potential further cooperation.

It was a constructive and good discussion. She seems to be open to making her own evaluation of the company, rather than taking others views. She also said she would be happy to meet Karen and me when we are next in Kiev.

Happy to discuss further.

with warmest personal regards,

sally

Sally Painter  
Co-Founder and COO  
Blue Star Strategies



(+1) 202-833-1268 direct  
(+1) 202-822-9088 fax  
[sally.painter@bluestarstrategies.com](mailto:sally.painter@bluestarstrategies.com)

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## Sally Painter

---

**From:** Sally Painter  
**Sent:** Monday, October 31, 2016 1:18 PM  
**To:** Vadym Pozharskyi  
**Cc:** Karen Tramontano; Pero Jolevski  
**Subject:** Re: meeting follow up

Great

Sent from my iPhone

On Oct 31, 2016, at 11:02 AM, Vadym Pozharskyi <[vadym.pozharskyi@burisma.com](mailto:vadym.pozharskyi@burisma.com)> wrote:

Dear colleagues,

This is to let you know that today I had a brief 30 minute meeting with our colleagues from the USAID: I presented the company, we exchanged ideas and agreed to stay in touch should any opportunities arise for our cooperation in close future.

Thank you for your assistance with this,

Best,

Vadym

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

**From:** Vadym Pozharskyi <[vadym.pozharskyi@burisma.com](mailto:vadym.pozharskyi@burisma.com)>

**Date:** Mon, Oct 31, 2016 at 6:00 PM

**Subject:** meeting follow up

**To:** Susan Fritz <[sfritz@usaid.gov](mailto:sfritz@usaid.gov)>, Joel Sandefur <[jsandefur@usaid.gov](mailto:jsandefur@usaid.gov)>, Natalia Kolesnik <[nkolesnik@usaid.gov](mailto:nkolesnik@usaid.gov)>

Dear Susan and Joel

Thank you so much for our constructive meeting today. It was my pleasure. I hope this meeting will lead to our productive cooperation in the future.

Stay in touch.

Very best,

Vadym

## Karen Tramontano

---

**From:** Karen Tramontano  
**Sent:** Saturday, November 19, 2016 8:05 AM  
**To:** Yovanovitch, Marie L  
**Cc:** Wampler, Dianne  
**Subject:** Re: Coming to Ukraine

---

great i'll follow up with dianne directly. c u soon

Sent from my iPhone

On Nov 19, 2016, at 7:30 AM, Yovanovitch, Marie L <[YovanovitchML2@state.gov](mailto:YovanovitchML2@state.gov)> wrote:

<image003.gif>  
Karen—

---

Look forward to seeing you. My assistant Di will be in touch to set up a time.

Best, M

**Marie L. Yovanovitch**  
Ambassador  
U.S. Embassy Kyiv  
Office: +380-44-521-5479  
Email: [YovanovitchML2@state.gov](mailto:YovanovitchML2@state.gov)

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

**From:** Karen Tramontano [<mailto:Karen.Tramontano@bluestarstrategies.com>]  
**Sent:** Friday, November 18, 2016 4:41 PM  
**To:** Yovanovitch, Marie L  
**Subject:** Coming to Ukraine

Dear Madame Ambassador

I hope you are well. As you know things are a bit in flux in Washington these days. I will be in Kiev sometime the week of December 5<sup>th</sup> and I have flexibility in planning my visit so I was wondering if there is any day that week where we could meet perhaps for a cup of coffee or lunch. I know your schedule is very busy so I will accommodate any date/time that works for you. Thank you very much and I look forward to meeting

My warmest regards

Karen

Karen A. Tramontano

10/5/16

Blue Star Strategies

<image004.png>

(+1) 202-833-1265 direct  
(+1) 202-320-4102 mobile  
(+1) 202-822-9088 fax

[karen.tramontano@bluestarstrategies.com](mailto:karen.tramontano@bluestarstrategies.com)

888 17th Street NW, Suite 800  
Washington, DC 20006

[www.bluestarstrategies.com](http://www.bluestarstrategies.com)

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255057

## Pero Jolevski

---

**From:** Pero Jolevski  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2016 9:58 AM  
**To:** Singh, Reggie X  
**Subject:** RE: Requesting a meeting

Great! See you later today.

---

Pero

---

**From:** Singh, Reggie X [mailto:SinghRX@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 14, 2016 9:56 AM  
**To:** Pero Jolevski <Pero.Jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com>  
**Subject:** RE: Requesting a meeting

Pero- A couple of my colleagues on the Ukraine desk may join this meeting as well. See you at 4:30 today.

---

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

---

**From:** Pero Jolevski [mailto:Pero.Jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com]  
**Sent:** Tuesday, December 13, 2016 10:44 AM  
**To:** Singh, Reggie X  
**Subject:** RE: Requesting a meeting

Dear Reggie,

The names of the people attending the meeting with you are the following:

  
Karen Tramontano  
Pero Jolevski

If you need any additional information please let me know.

---

We look forward to meeting you.

Best regards,  
Pero

---

**From:** Singh, Reggie X [mailto:SinghRX@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Friday, December 09, 2016 5:26 PM  
**To:** Pero Jolevski <Pero.Jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com>  
**Subject:** RE: Requesting a meeting

PJSS039

For pre-clearance, don't need ID info, just full names of all attendees. But you should bring proper ID with you to enter the building.

Official  
UNCLASSIFIED

---

**From:** Pero Jolevski [mailto:Pero.Jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com]  
**Sent:** Friday, December 09, 2016 5:20 PM  
**To:** Singh, Reggie X  
**Subject:** RE: Requesting a meeting

Excellent. Thank you. I will send you ID and passport information on Monday if you don't mind.

Have a nice weekend!  
Pero

---

**From:** Singh, Reggie X [mailto:SinghRX@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Friday, December 09, 2016 5:19 PM  
**To:** Pero Jolevski <Pero.Jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com>  
**Subject:** RE: Requesting a meeting

Yes, that should work. Let's lock it in.

Official  
UNCLASSIFIED

---

**From:** Pero Jolevski [mailto:Pero.Jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com]  
**Sent:** Friday, December 09, 2016 5:14 PM  
**To:** Singh, Reggie X  
**Subject:** RE: Requesting a meeting

Thank you, Reggie. Would it be possible to meet at 4:30 pm on December 14? We have a meeting in the Senate ending at 3:30 pm so want to make sure we are on time.

Please let me know if that works with you.



Pero

---

**From:** Singh, Reggie X [mailto:SinghRX@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Friday, December 09, 2016 5:12 PM  
**To:** Pero Jolevski <Pero.Jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com>  
**Subject:** RE: Requesting a meeting

Hi Pero- Dec.14 might work to meet. Do you have available times that day?

Official  
UNCLASSIFIED

---

**From:** Pero Jolevski [mailto:Pero.Jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com]  
**Sent:** Friday, December 09, 2016 12:57 PM  
**To:** Singh, Reggie X  
**Subject:** RE: Requesting a meeting

1355040

Dear Reggie,

Just checking to see if a meeting would be possible next week?  
[REDACTED]

Many thanks  
Pero

---

**From:** Pero Jolevski  
**Sent:** Wednesday, December 07, 2016 1:55 PM  
**To:** 'Singh, Reggie X' <SinghRX@state.gov>  
**Subject:** RE: Requesting a meeting

Dear Reggie,

I am writing to follow up to see if you are available to meet next week. At the meeting it will be [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] and Karen Tramontano.

Many thanks  
Pero

---

**From:** Singh, Reggie X [mailto:SinghRX@state.gov]  
**Sent:** Friday, December 02, 2016 5:34 PM  
**To:** Pero Jolevski <Pero.Jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com>  
**Subject:** RE: Requesting a meeting

Hi Pero- sorry for the delay in responding. Can you give me a call on Monday to discuss in more detail?

Regards,  
Reggie Singh  
Econ Unit Chief  
Office of Ukrainian Affairs  
U.S. Dept. of State

tel. 202-647-5998

Official - Transitory  
UNCLASSIFIED

---

**From:** Pero Jolevski [mailto:Pero.Jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com]  
**Sent:** Wednesday, November 30, 2016 11:41 AM  
**To:** Singh, Reggie X  
**Cc:** Karen Tramontano  
**Subject:** Requesting a meeting  
**Importance:** High

Dear Mr. Singh,

I am writing to request a meeting with you and [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] international energy company headquartered in Ukraine with operations in the country as well as other markets such as Italy and Germany. Burisma is an oil and gas exploration company, and recently expanded its operations with geothermal energy production. [REDACTED] in Washington DC on the week of December 12. Given your role with the State Department we wanted to check if you are available for a meeting to brief you on the political and commercial developments in Ukraine. Would you be available for a short meeting on December 13 or 14?

1355041

For your background, the Board of Directors of Burisma consist of U.S. nationals and the company uses U.S. technology for its operations. At the meeting it will be [REDACTED] and Karen Tramontano, CEO of Blue Star Strategies – an international consulting firm based in Washington, DC. Karen also served as the Deputy Chief of Staff of President Clinton. Please see attached bios for your consideration.

Many thanks in advance. If you have any questions please let me know.

Best regards,  
Pero

Pero Jolevski  
Blue Star Strategies  
[REDACTED]  
(+1)-202-833-1281  
(+1)-202-822-9088 fax

[pero.jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com](mailto:pero.jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com)

888 17th Street NW, Suite 800  
Washington, DC 20006

[www.bluestarstrategies.com](http://www.bluestarstrategies.com)

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BSS042

## Sally Painter

---

**From:** Pero Jolevski  
**Sent:** Tuesday, January 16, 2018 6:05 PM  
**To:** Burisma  
**Cc:** Anna Smaga; Karen Tramontano; Sally Painter  
**Subject:** Invitation Letter  
**Attachments:** Invitation - Zlochevskyi.pdf

Dear Vadym,

Please find attached letter from Ambassador Herbst for the visa application purposes.

Best regards  
Pero

Pero Jolevski  
Blue Star Strategies

(+1)-202-833-1281  
(+1)-202-822-9088 fax

[pero.jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com](mailto:pero.jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com)

888 17th Street NW, Suite 800  
Washington, DC 20006

[www.bluestarstrategies.com](http://www.bluestarstrategies.com)

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**INVITATION**

Mykola Zlochevskyi  
10-A Ryleyeva Str.  
04073, Kyiv  
Ukraine

Dear Mr. Zlochevskyi,

The Atlantic Council invites you to attend a **Ukraine Strategy Session** on **March 19, 2018** from **12:00 p.m. to 3:00 p.m.** at the **Atlantic Council headquarters** (1030 15<sup>th</sup> Street NW, 12<sup>th</sup> Floor, West Elevators).

The session will feature prominent international policy makers and experts. To RSVP, please email my colleague Tamari Ramishvili at [tramishvili@atlanticcouncil.org](mailto:tramishvili@atlanticcouncil.org).

We hope you can join us for this important and timely strategy session.

Best,

John

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "John Herbst".

**John Herbst** Ambassador (Ret.)  
Director, Eurasia Center

## Karen Tramontano

---

**From:** Pero Jolevski  
**Sent:** Friday, March 3, 2017 12:15 PM  
**To:** Karen Tramontano  
**Cc:** Jesica Lindgren; Norman Rozenberg; Sally Painter  
**Subject:** RE: Burisma background; March 8 meeting  
**Attachments:** Pozharskyj\_BriefingBook\_DC\_March7-112017.pdf

Dear Karen,

Attached is the briefing book for Vadym. The only outstanding point is the location of the meeting with Hunter. I will speak with Joan early next week to see if their office will be ready. If their office is not ready, Joan suggested that Vadym and Hunter meet at the Four Seasons Hotel.

On March 7, when Vadym arrives, we marked the meeting at BSS. If you would like to meet him at his hotel we can change that.

Thanks  
Pero

-----Original Message-----

**From:** Karen Tramontano  
**Sent:** Monday, February 27, 2017 3:12 PM  
**To:** Pero Jolevski <Pero.Jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com>  
**Cc:** Jesica Lindgren <jesica.lindgren@bluestarstrategies.com>; Norman Rozenberg <Norman.Rozenberg@bluestarstrategies.com>; Sally Painter <Sally.Painter@bluestarstrategies.com>  
**Subject:** Re: Burisma background; March 8 meeting

thanks. i have jaines cv and jes has charles

Sent from my iPhone

> On Feb 27, 2017, at 2:59 PM, Pero Jolevski <Pero.Jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com> wrote:

>

> Thanks, Karen. Will work on all points.

>

> Pero

>

> -----Original Message-----

> **From:** Karen Tramontano

> **Sent:** Monday, February 27, 2017 2:46 PM

> **To:** Jesica Lindgren <jesica.lindgren@bluestarstrategies.com>

> **Cc:** Norman Rozenberg <Norman.Rozenberg@bluestarstrategies.com>; Pero

> Jolevski <Pero.Jolevski@bluestarstrategies.com>; Sally Painter

> <Sally.Painter@bluestarstrategies.com>

> **Subject:** RE: Burisma background; March 8 meeting

>

> Pero

>

> Would you coordinate w/ Norman the briefing book and background material for Vadym. The meeting schedule is:  
>  
> Tuesday, March 7th arrival maybe check with Anna on his actual arrival and see if he needs a car... Norman could handle w/ Anna  
>  
> Upon arrival ...hotel check in followed by a meeting w/ the Blue Star Team ...  
>  
> You, Jessica, Norman and Sally - topics are:  
>  
> 1. Philanthropic Award  
> 2. Political Action - US  
> 3. Civil Society - Ukraine  
> 4. Engineers - if we have anything to say  
>  
> March 8  
>  
> 9:30 meeting .... Jaime ... (one on one)  
>  
> 11:30 meeting Charles (one on one)  
>  
> 2 pm Atlantic Council Sally - perhaps KT  
>  
> 3:30 return to hotel/free time  
>  
> 6:30 dinner Sally, Cofer Karen - Al Crostino (please confirm w/  
> Cofer)  
>  
> March 9  
>  
> Hotel/free time  
>  
> 11:00 meeting Hunter Biden - would you call Joan or Eric Schwerin in Hunter's Office - originally they asked for the meeting to be in our offices but I think their new offices are ready.  
>  
> Depart to Texas -- Anna knows the times it would be good to know  
>  
> We need to include the two cv's Jaime and Charles ...  
>  
> Thanks  
> -----Original Message-----  
> From: Jessica Lindgren  
> Sent: Monday, February 27, 2017 9:40 AM  
> To: Charles Di Leva <charlesdileva@gmail.com>  
> Cc: Karen Tramontano <Karen.Tramontano@bluestarstrategies.com>; Norman  
> Rozenberg <Norman.Rozenberg@bluestarstrategies.com>  
> Subject: Re: Burisma background; March 8 meeting  
>  
> Many thanks, Charles!  
> Best, Jessica  
>  
> Sent from my iPhone  
>

>> On Feb 26, 2017, at 8:22 PM, Charles Di Leva <charlesdileva@gmail.com> wrote:

>>

>> Dear Jesica,

>>

>> Attached please find my CV. Please let me know if you have any questions.

>>

>> Thanks again to you and Karen for your help in arranging the 11:30

>> meeting on the 8th. I look forward to meeting Vadym.

>>

>> Warm regards,

>>

>> Charles

>>

>>

>>

>>

>>

>> ----- Forwarded message -----

>> From: Jesica Lindgren <jesica.lindgren@bluestarstrategies.com>

>> Date: Wed, Feb 22, 2017 at 5:02 PM

>> Subject: Burisma background; March 8 meeting

>> To: Charles Di Leva <charlesdileva@gmail.com>

>> Cc: Karen Tramontano <Karen.Tramontano@bluestarstrategies.com>,  
>> Norman Rozenberg <Norman.Rozenberg@bluestarstrategies.com>

>>

>>

>>

>> Dear Charles,

>>

>>

>>

>> Thanks again for our meeting us yesterday. Here is some background

>> about Burisma Holdings for your review (attached and below).

>>

>>

>>

>> · Vadym Pozharskyi, Advisor to the Board of Directors, will be

>> in DC on Wed. March 8th. He would like to meet you at 4pm at our

>> offices if you are available?

>>

>> Vadym's bio: <http://burisma.com/en/director/vadim-pozharskij/> .

>> Please forward me your CV when you can, too.

>>

>>

>>

>> · Amb. Joseph Cofer Black is the newest member of the Board of

>> Directors. Good interview in the Kyiv Post about his interest in

>> joining the board:

>>

>> <https://www.kyivpost.com/business-wire/joseph-cofer-black-excited-joi>

>> n

>> -burismas-board-directors-focus-strategic-development-security-issues

>> -expand-burismas-global-opportunities.html

>>  
>>  
>>  
>> · Finally, here's a recap of Burisma's forum last year in  
>> Monaco, with planning underway for June 1, 2017:  
>>  
>> <http://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/burisma-group-together-with-t>  
>> h  
>> e-prince-albert-ii-of-monaco-foundation-will-be-holding-a-european-fo  
>> r  
>> um-on-energy-security-for-the-future-new-sources-responsibility-susta  
>> i  
>> nability-300256320.html

>>  
>>  
>>  
>> Please let us know if any questions. Thanks in advance for your CV  
>> and confirming if 4pm on March 8th works for you here.

>>  
>>  
>> Best,

>>  
>>  
>>  
>>  
>> Jesica

>>  
>>  
>>  
>> Jesica Lindgren | Blue Star Strategies  
>>  
>> 888 17th Street NW, Suite 800 | Washington, DC 20006  
>>  
>> (Office) +1 202 833 1281 (Desk) +1 202 650 5466  
>>  
>> (Cell) +1 202 615 9783 (Fax) +1 202 822 9088  
>>  
>> [jesica.lindgren@bluestarstrategies.com](mailto:jesica.lindgren@bluestarstrategies.com)  
>>  
>> [www.bluestarstrategies.com](http://www.bluestarstrategies.com)

>>  
>>  
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>>  
>>  
>>  
>>

>> --  
>> Charles E. Di Leva  
>> <Burisma - Presentation rev.pptx>  
>> <Charles Di Leva CV Feb. 2017 .docx>



**Vadym Pozharskyi**  
**Washington, D.C. & Dallas, Texas**

---

**March 7 – 11, 2017**

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    **Dr. Jaime Jaramillo-Vallejo.....**  
    **Charles Di Leva.....**

## BLUE STAR STRATEGIES CONTACT NUMBERS

Sally Painter, Chief Operating Officer:	Cell +1 301 580 1569
Karen Tramontano, Chief Executive Officer:	Cell +1 202 320 4102
Jesica Lindgren, General Counsel	Cell +1 202 615 9783
Pero Jolevski, Director	Cell +1 202 250 4272
Norman Rozenberg, Intern	Cell +1 732 824 1505

## AGENDA

### TUESDAY, MARCH 7:

3:20 PM Arrival in Washington, D.C.

**Driver** (*will greet you at international arrivals*)

*Ike, Tel: 240-463-7414*

#### **Hotel**

*Sofitel Lafayette Square  
806 15<sup>th</sup> Street, NW  
Washington, D.C.  
202-730-8800*

5:00 PM Meeting with Blue Star Team  
*Location: Blue Star Strategies, 888 17 Street NW, Suite 800  
With: Sally Painter, Jesica Lindgren, Pero Jolevski & Norman Rozenberg*

### WEDNESDAY, MARCH 8:

9:30 AM Meeting with Dr. Jaime Jaramillo-Vallejo  
*Location: Blue Star Strategies, 888 17 Street NW, Suite 800*

11:30 AM Meeting with Charles Di Leva  
*Location: Blue Star Strategies, 888 17 Street NW, Suite 800*

2:00 PM Meeting with Atlantic Council  
*Location: Atlantic Council, 1030 15 Street NW  
With: Ambassador John Herbst, Sally Painter*

3:30 PM Free time/Return to Hotel  
5:00 PM Meeting with Cofer Black  
*Location:* Blue Star Strategies, 888 17 Street NW, Suite 800

6:30 PM Dinner at Al Crostino  
*Location:* 1926 9 Street NW  
*With:* Karen Tramontano, Sally Painter & Cofer Black

**THURSDAY, MARCH 9:**

11:00 AM Meeting with Hunter Biden  
*Location:* TBD  
6:30 PM Depart for DCA Airport – Regan National Airport  
8:05 PM Depart for Dallas, Texas

**Hotel**

*Marriott Fort Worth West at Cityview.  
6400 Overton Ridge Blvd  
Fort Worth, TX 76132  
817-294-7600*

**FRIDAY, MARCH 10:**

6:00 PM Meeting with Aerotek  
*Location:* Marriott Fort Worth West at Cityview  
*With:* Justin Tredway & Missy Kanz

**SATURDAY, MARCH 11:**

1:10 PM Depart for DFW Airport  
4:10 PM Depart for Kiev

## ATLANTIC COUNCIL BACKGROUND



### **Ambassador John Herbst**

*Director, Dinu Patriciu Eurasia Center*

Ambassador Herbst served for thirty-one years as a foreign service officer in the US Department of State, retiring at the rank of career-minister. He was US ambassador to Ukraine from 2003 to 2006, when he worked to enhance US-Ukrainian relations, help ensure the conduct of a fair Ukrainian presidential election, and prevent violence during the Orange Revolution. Prior to that, he was ambassador to Uzbekistan (2000-03), where he played a critical role in the establishment of an American base to help conduct Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan. He also promoted

improved US-Uzbek relations, in part by encouraging the government in Tashkent to improve its human rights record.

In his last four years at the State Department, he served as the coordinator for reconstruction and stabilization, leading the US government's civilian capacity in societies in transition from conflict or civil strife, and to provide support to countries at risk of instability. He oversaw the establishment of the Civilian Response Corps of the United States, the US civilian rapid response force for reconstruction and stabilization operations overseas.

Ambassador Herbst previously served as US consul general in Jerusalem; principal deputy to the Ambassador-at-Large for the Newly Independent States; the Director of the office of independent states and commonwealth affairs; director of regional affairs in the Near East Bureau; and at the embassies in Tel Aviv, Moscow, and Saudi Arabia.

He most recently served as director of the center for complex operations at National Defense University. He has received the Presidential Distinguished Service Award, the Secretary of State's Career Achievement Award, and the State Department's Distinguished Honor Award. Ambassador Herbst has written book chapters, articles, and op-eds on stability operations in Central Asia, Ukraine, and Russia. His writings have appeared in the New York Times, the Washington Post, the Atlantic, the National Interest, and Foreign Policy. He has been a frequent guest discussing the Ukraine crisis on television and radio.

Ambassador Herbst earned a bachelor of science in foreign service from Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service, Phi Beta Kappa, and a master of law and diplomacy, with distinction, from the Fletcher School at Tufts University. He also attended the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies Bologna Center.

## **AEROTEK BACKGROUND INFORMATION**

Founded in 1983 by Steve Bisciotti and Jim Davis, Aerotek is one of the largest privately held staffing and recruitment services in the world. Aerotek was founded to support the aerospace and defense industries but has since expanded into the energy & utilities, construction, financial services, biotechnology, engineering, automotive, and other technical fields. Aerotek is headquartered outside of Baltimore, Maryland and has offices across the United States and around the world, including Germany, France, the United Kingdom, China, and Japan.



**Justin Tredway**  
*Account Executive, Aerotek*

Justin Tredway is an account executive based in Dallas/Fort Worth, Texas at Aerotek. He has been in this position since 2009, after receiving his Bachelor degree in Business Administration and Marketing from the University of North Texas. He specializes in the placement of technical professionals with various backgrounds in engineering including manufacturing, oil and gas, medical device as well as software, hardware and test engineering skill sets.

**Missy Kanz**  
*Technical Recruiter Lead, Aerotek*

Missy Kanz specializes in technical recruiting for oil & gas industry, traditional energy, and alternative energy. She has been at the Fort Worth office since 2015. Kanz obtained her Bachelor degree from Otterbein University.

**BOARD CANDIDATE CURRICULA VITAE**

JAIME JARAMILLO-VALLEJO, J.D., Ph.D.

**Address:**

6130 Ramshorn Drive  
McLean, VA 22101  
(703) 609 4623 C  
(703) 757 1306 H  
E-mail: jaimejv@gmail.com

Main highlights in the macroeconomic and financial area, especially banking, which have been the central theme of my career:

**Policy and Regulation:**

- As a lead member of *Colombia's Monetary Board*, led the government's technical team responsible for macroeconomic policy, and designed and championed a set of reforms that included: a free foreign exchange system replacing existing strict controls, banking regulations pioneering the principles of the Basle I Accords ahead of OECD countries, a Banking Law allowing more competition, and the elimination of all the quasi-fiscal burdens on financial institutions. These reforms still hold after two decades, with some refinements.
- Negotiated and drafted the Law for the *Central Bank of Bosnia and Herzegovina* (currency board), including the monetary system. This is one of the few currency boards in recent history that has survived for almost two decades.
- As a senior advisor, worked with the *Governor of the National Bank of Ukraine* in the monetary reform that substituted the *kupon* for the *Hryvnia*, a key element for ending hyperinflation in Ukraine.
- As lead advisor to *Slovenia* on the monetary aspects of its independence, helped develop macroeconomic policies that ensured the stability and convertibility of the new currency, and helped adapt the relevant regulations to the introduction of Slovenia's own currency, including a free exchange system. Also developed and put in place a working methodology for Slovenia's monetary policy.

**Supervision:**

- As one of the Colombian President's representatives in the *Advisory Council of the Superintendency of Banks* (two phases), vetted all the major decisions on supervisory activities, including the intervention of financial institutions, the resolution of issues arising from on- and off-site inspections, and the program and methodology of inspections.

**Financial and Corporate Practice:**

- Member of the Boards of Directors of *Banco de Colombia*, *Fiducolombia S.A.*, and *Aseguradora Grancolombiana S.A.*. In this capacity, oversaw Banco de Colombia's external financing and anti-money laundering programs.
- Member of the Board of Directors of *Banco del Estado*.
- Attorney for several commercial banks on Banking Law and Regulations issues.

**Research:**

- Produced government policy papers that set the directions and guidelines for the substantial reforms of monetary and banking systems referenced above.
- Produced several published papers focusing on the public policy aspects of different kinds of regulations, including banking, and anti-money laundering.

**Other:**

- Member of the *World Bank's Financial and Private Sector Development Board* (2006-10).

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## DETAILED C.V.

### ACADEMIC BACKGROUND

1979 to 1983	PH.D. IN ECONOMICS Areas: Money and Banking, Econometrics and International Economics	BOSTON UNIVERSITY, Boston
1979 to 1982	M.A. IN POLITICAL ECONOMY	BOSTON UNIVERSITY, Boston
1968 to 1973	J.D. (DOCTORIS SCIENTIAE JURIDICAE)	UNIVERSIDAD JAVERIANA, Bogotá, D.C.

### EXPERIENCE

2016 to Date	<b>INTERNATIONAL CONSULTANT ON MONETARY AND FINANCIAL MATTERS:</b> <b>Centennial Group:</b> Review of the relationship between national savings and financial deepening in Africa. <b>Analysis Group:</b> Peru's treatment of its Agrarian Bonds.
2012 to 2016	<b>INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND:</b> <b>Senior Financial Sector Expert</b> , Monetary and Capital Markets Department, Financial Crisis Preparedness and Management Division.
2002 to 2012	<b>WORLD BANK:</b> <b>Head of Country Evaluations and Lead Economist</b> , Independent Evaluation Group (IEG), Country Evaluation and Regional Relations (IEGCR) Unit and Country, Corporate and Global Evaluations (IEGCC) Unit. <b>Lead Economist</b> , Operations Policies and Country Services Vice-presidency (OPCS), Country Economics Unit (OPCCE). <b>Lead Economist</b> , Operations Policies and Country Services Vice-presidency (OPCS), Comprehensive Development Framework (CDF) Secretariat. <b>Visiting Research Fellow</b> , World Bank Institute, Governance, Regulation & Finance Division.
1995 to 2001	<b>INTERNATIONAL CONSULTANT ON MONETARY AND FINANCIAL MATTERS:</b> <b>United States Department of the Treasury:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Treasury's Representative in the Monetary Monitoring Committee of Indonesia's Macroeconomic Program.</li><li>• Special Advisor for the development of the economic institutions of the Dayton Peace Accords in Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially the central bank and monetary system.</li></ul> <b>World Bank:</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Head of the Macroeconomic Team of the Joint Assessment Mission to Timor-Leste.</li><li>• Team Leader for the development of the payments system in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and consultant on monetary and financial matters.</li></ul> <b>Harvard Institute for International Development (HIID):</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Senior Advisor to the Governor of the National Bank of Ukraine for the introduction of the Hryvnia.</li></ul> <b>Inter American Development Bank:</b> Assignments in Central America, Colombia, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, and Peru. <b>Corporación Andina de Fomento, and Asociación de Bancos Privados de Bolivia.</b>

Jaime Jaramillo-Vallejo - 2

- 1994 to 1995 PONTIFICIA UNIVERSIDAD JAVERIANA. **Dean** of the School of Economics and Administrative Sciences.
- 1994 BANCO DE COLOMBIA S.A., FIDUCOLOMBIA S.A. ASEGURADORA GRANCOLOMBIANA S.A.: **Member of the Board of Directors.**
- 1993 to 1994 SUPERINTENDENCY OF BANKS OF COLOMBIA: **Member of the Advisory Council** to the Superintendent, appointed by the President of the Republic.
- 1993 to 1994 ESTRATEGIA ECONOMICA Y FINANCIERA. **Editor-in-Chief and General Manager.**
- 1993 MINISTRY OF PLANNING OF COLOMBIA: **Senior Advisor to the Minister.**
- 1992 to 1993 INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND:  
**Deputy Division Chief**, Policy Development and Review Department, Stand-By Operations Division.  
**Deputy Division Chief**, Policy Development and Review Department, Special Facilities and Issues Division.
- 1991 JEFFREY D. SACHS AND ASSOCIATES. **Senior Advisor** to the Government of the Republic of **Slovenia.**
- 1989 to 1991 MONETARY BOARD OF THE GOVERNMENT OF COLOMBIA: **Advisor (Deputy Minister- level position).** Concurrent with this capacity, appointed by the President of the Republic as:  
  - **Member of the Advisory Council of the Superintendency of Banks** (1990 to 1991).
  - **Advisor to the National Commission for Agricultural Credit** (1991).
- 1990 UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM, UNDP. **Advisor** to Deputy Prime Minister of **Poland.** (While on leave from the Monetary Board)
- 1988 MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE OF COLOMBIA: **Economic Advisor** to the Minister on macroeconomic, financial and trade matters.
- 1983 to 1988 INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND:  
**Economist**, Exchange and Trade Relations Department, Stand By Operations Division.  
**Economist**, Western Hemisphere Department, Pacific Division.
- 1976 to 1979 PEÑA Y JARAMILLO, ABOGADOS. **Attorney** for several banks, and **member of the Board of Directors** of Banco del Estado.
- 1974 to 1976 CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF BOGOTA. **Financial Director.**

#### ACADEMIC EXPERIENCE

- 2014 to date GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIV., Elliot School of International Affairs, Washington, D.C.  
Assistant Instructor, Economic Development of Latin America (Master's level).
- 1995 UNIVERSIDAD JAVERIANA, Facultad de Economía, Bogotá, D.C.  
Lecturer, Macroeconomic Theory I (undergraduate level).
- 1988 to 1989 UNIVERSIDAD JAVERIANA, Postgrado en Economía, Bogotá, D.C.  
- Director of the Dissertation Workshop on Macroeconomics.  
- Lecturer, Money and Banking (Master's level).

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- 1981 BOSTON UNIVERSITY, Graduate School, Boston  
Teaching Assistant, Macroeconomics (Master's level).
- 1976 to 1979 UNIVERSIDAD JAVERIANA, Facultad de Derecho, Bogotá, D.C.  
Lecturer, Introduction to Economics (first year level).

#### **OTHER DISTINCTIONS AND ACTIVITIES**

- 2016 REPUBLIC OF SLOVENIA: Awarded the **Medal of Honor** by the President of Slovenia for my contribution to the independence of the country as a member of the Sachs Group in 1991. Other recipients: Jeffrey D. Sachs and David A. Lipton. Ceremony to be scheduled.
- 1999 KONRAD ADENAUER FOUNDATION: Member of the **Group of 30** Latin American social scientists exploring the second-generation structural reforms in the region.
- 2000 to 2001 HORSE BREEDERS ASSOCIATION OF RISARALDA, CRINES, Pereira, Risaralda:  
**President.**
- 2001 COLOMBIAN FEDERATION OF HORSE BREEDERS ASSOCIATIONS, FEDEQUINAS, Bogotá, D.C.: **Member of the Executive Board.**
- 1997 to 1998 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF ALFONSO VALDIVIESO: **Chief Economic Advisor.**
- 1995 to 1997 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF NOEMÍ SANÍN: **Chief Economic Advisor.**
- 1974 TRIBUNAL SUPERIOR DE BOGOTA, D.C.: Accepted to the Bar.
- To date AMERICAN ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION, **Member,**

#### **PERSONAL DATA**

Nationality: Colombian. USA Permanent Resident.  
Date of birth: October 12, 1950.  
Languages: Spanish and English.  
References: Available upon request.

Attachment: Selected Publications

February 2017

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## SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

### Policy Papers:

- 1990 "Notas Para la Liberación del Sistema Cambiario de Colombia", Internal Document of the Monetary Board of the Republic of Colombia, Bogotá, D.C., (Available on request).
- 1989 "Competitividad y Eficiencia del Sistema Financiero Colombiano", Internal Document of the Monetary Board of the Republic of Colombia, Bogotá, D.C., (Available on request).
- 1989 "Competitividad y Eficiencia del Sistema Financiero Colombiano – II", Internal Document of the Monetary Board of the Republic of Colombia, Bogotá, D.C., (Available on request).

### Published Papers:

- 2011 "Timor-Leste Country Program Evaluation 2000-2010", joint with evaluation team, Independent Evaluation Group, World Bank, Washington, D.C.
- 2009 "Bangladesh Country Assistance Evaluation", joint with evaluation team, Independent Evaluation Group, World Bank, Washington, D.C.
- 2005 "Streamlining Conditionality in Bank and Fund Supported Programs", joint with Abdildina, Zhanar, in "*Conditionality Revisited: Concepts, Experiences and Lessons*" edited by Koeberle, Bedoya, Silarsky and Verheyen, World Bank, Washington, D.C.
- 2002 "Lavado de Activos: Temas de Política Pública" in "*Reforma Legal y Judicial y Control de la Corrupción en América Latina y el Caribe*" edited by González de Asis, Maria, World Bank, Washington, D.C.
- 2000 "La Situación del Sistema Financiero Colombiano", in "*Memorias de la Asamblea Anual de la Asociación Nacional de Instituciones Financieras*", Montenegro and Langebeck, Editors, Bogotá, D.C.
- 1998 "Securitization in Less Developed Financial Markets" published in the "Conference on Securitization and Infrastructure Public Works" of the Inter American Development Bank and Bear Sterns, Washington and New York, Mimeo.
- 1995 and 1996 "El Sistema Financiero Colombiano", in "*Sistemas Financieros y Bancarios en América Latina*" published by Centro Interdisciplinario de Estudios Sobre el Desarrollo Latinoamericano, CIEDLA, Buenos Aires, 1995. Also in "*La Nueva Regulación Financiera en Colombia*" editada vi Hertz, Rafael S., Instituto de Políticas de Desarrollo, Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, Bogotá, D.C, 1996.
- 1994 "Conclusiones Sobre un Fondo de Estabilización Petrolero", in "*Cusiana: Un reto de Política Económica*" edited by Montenegro, Armando, Departamento Nacional de Planeación, Bogotá, D.C.

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- 1994 "The Role of the State in Financial Markets" discussion with Stiglitz, Joseph and Park, Yung Chul in *"Proceedings of the World Bank Annual Conference on Development Economics"*, edited by Bruno and Pleskovic, World Bank, Washington, D.C.
- 1991 "Some Ideas on Monetary Programming" (Nekatere Ideje o Denarnem Programiranju) in *Denarna In Devizna Gibanja, Letnik XXII, št. 4*, National Bank of Slovenia, Ljubljana.

## CHARLES E. DI LEVA

4445 Butterworth Place, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20016

E-mail: CharlesDiLeva@gmail.com  
Mobile Tel: 202-746-0030

### PROFILE

A recognized and trusted global expert with over thirty years' experience in addressing the legal and policy challenges of sustainable development, climate change, and environmental and social risk management, particularly in large-scale high-risk infrastructure projects, and in accountability and compliance reviews and investigations. A leading legal expert on climate change, with expertise as the World Bank's longest serving legal advisor on the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change and its related agreements, as well as the Bank's relations with the Green Climate Fund. Recognized as the longest serving legal expert on World Bank environmental and social safeguards, leading the Bank through the launch in 2012 of its largest global consultation and the successful adoption in 2016 of the new "Environmental and Social Framework for Investment Project Finance". Extensive network of professional relationships established during the development and implementation of the Bank's environmental and social standards, including with other international financial institutions, civil society, and Indigenous Peoples' organizations. A profile that includes diverse and broad senior advisory roles in the International Union for Conservation of Nature, United Nations Environment Program, and in U.S. federal, state, and private entities with a particularly unique background in the development and implementation of a range of multilateral environmental agreements and their global financing arrangements, and in the development and implementation of national environmental and natural resource related legislation and regulations.

### EXPERIENCE

#### THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

**Environmental Law Program, 1994 – 2014, 2016 – present**

*Adjunct Professor.* Helped design new course in International Trade and Sustainable Development. Focus on development of WTO and WTO Agreements, NAFTA and NAFTA Side Agreements and trade related adjudication, Multilateral Environmental Agreement and Trade, including recently adopted Paris Agreement and its relation to trade. Received "Certificate of Appreciation for Fifteen Years of Teaching".

#### AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

**Washington College of Law, 1993 – 1996, 2013 - present**

*Adjunct Professor.* Designed and taught courses on Comparative Environmental Law; Project Finance and the Environment; International Financial Institutions and International Law. Mentoring research project on Green Finance, overseeing Ph.D. Thesis on International Accountability Mechanisms.

**INDEPENDENT ADVISOR ON ISSUES RELATED TO SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND THE LAW,  
Washington DC, December 15, 2016 - present**

Since retiring from the World Bank December 15, 2016, *inter alia*, serving as co-chair to Green Growth Knowledge Platform Rule of Law Committee (GGKP partnership of OECD, UNEP, World Bank and GGKI); pro bono legal advisor to Bird Life International; co-author for World Commission on Environmental Law advisory group on Inter-American Court of Human Rights Request for Advisory Opinion by Gov't of Columbia relating to Transboundary Impact Assessment and Human Rights.

**THE WORLD BANK, Washington, DC**

*Chief Counsel, Environmental and International Law, Legal Vice Presidency, 1992 –1999; 2001-December 15, 2016*

Promoted in 2003 to the position of Chief Counsel following international competition, becoming the Bank's chief legal advisor on environmental and social development law and policy issues. Served as legal advisor on environmental and social standards to World Bank Presidents, Senior Vice Presidents for Sustainable Development, and to the Directors of the Bank's Global Practice on Environmental and Natural Resources and the Climate Change Solutions Area. Managed an international team of stellar legal experts responsible for institution-wide advice on environmental and social compliance, as well as the development and implementation of climate and carbon finance instruments and operations.

Beginning in 2012 with the launch of the largest consultation in Bank history, led all legal responsibilities for the drafting and negotiating of the Bank's first-ever "Environmental and Social Framework" (2016) for investment project finance. Throughout this period, also led the Bank's legal preparations leading to the Paris Agreement, including in negotiations for the Bank to be accredited to the Green Climate Fund and thereafter, to finalize the GCF Accreditation Master Agreement. Represented the Bank as legal advisor on treaty related matters, particularly on Climate Change, Biodiversity, and CITES treaty negotiations, including for the 2015 "Paris Agreement". Handled negotiations on environmental and policy issues with a range of UN organizations, such as ILO, WHO and UNOHCHR, as well as Indigenous Peoples and other civil society organizations. Lead lawyer engaged for over twenty years in the Multilateral Financial Institution Working Group on the Environment. Advised during the development of the new environmental and social standards for the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank.

At the project level, worked in the Bank's six geographic regions and in over fifty countries on full range of operations, particularly those with high corporate risk, such as Nam Theun 2 and Bujagali hydro facilities and the ESKOM thermal and renewable energy facility, and in land and natural resource projects with environmental and social impacts. Guided the Bank on policy compliance investigations and in relations and filings with the Independent Inspection Panel. Co-authored and managed projects that required analysis of regulatory issues and impediments related to carbon capture and storage; analysis of maritime boundaries and climate change, and in the analysis of human rights and international law. Lead legal advisor on many projects that led to the adoption of domestic environmental and natural resources law and regulations including for environmental impact assessment, forests, mining, fisheries and water resources.

Participated extensively in the drafting, development, and implementation of an array of sustainable development initiatives, including the founding of the Global Environment Facility, the launch and programs of the World Bank Climate Investment and Carbon Funds, GEF Conservation Trust Funds, Global Partnership for Oceans, the Global Tiger Initiative, and the launch in St. Petersburg of the International Consortium to Combat Wildlife Crime.

Served as legal advisor to "IDA/IFC Secretariat Team" responsible for proposing harmonized World Bank Group (IFC/MIGA/World Bank) safeguard approach for public-private partnership projects. Helped launch first Bank-wide effort at "Green Procurement", co-authoring study on domestic systems for green procurement. Helped lead Bank efforts toward transparency, by helping develop and managing grant to support "The Access Initiative for Rio Principle 10" on access to information and environmental justice, partnering with World Resources Institute and the Aarhus Convention Secretariat.

**IUCN – INTERNATIONAL UNION FOR CONSERVATION OF NATURE, Bonn, Germany**

*Director, IUCN Environmental Law Program, 1999 - 2001*

Directed the worldwide environmental law program for IUCN, including serving as the head of the IUCN Environmental Law Center multinational staff of fifteen professionals and in its arrangements with the IUCN Environmental Law Commission.

Successfully developed proposals for, and prepared analysis, of Ramsar Convention at request of Convention Secretariat on issue of "urgent national interest" following Airbus site expansion controversy; and with the World Bank to compare environmental impact assessment policy and domestic law. Successfully negotiated several host country arrangements for IUCN offices.

Successfully drafted new forest law for the government of Cambodia while based in Phnom Penh. Helped establish partnership relationship with Chinese environmental law program at Wuhan University. Managed work relating to Global Invasive Species Program. Collaborated on initiatives with the Convention on Migratory Species and Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species.

**U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, Washington DC**

*Trial Attorney, Environmental Enforcement Section, 1990 - 1992*

Represented the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency and U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, and U.S. National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration in complex matters pertaining to pollution caused by pesticide manufacturers, cases brought against violations in fresh and coastal wetlands, and in precedent-setting claim against the City of Seattle for natural resource damages, particularly to fish species in Elliot Bay due to combined sewer overflow discharges. Received "Special Commendation for Outstanding Service".

Appointed as first Section Coordinator for international environmental enforcement issues, established to provide coordination and advice on transboundary and extraterritorial environmental law and pollution matters.

Appointed as member of U.S. inter-agency working group, working with U.S. Coast Guard on negotiations to negotiate proposed International Maritime Organization administered Hazardous and Noxious Substances Treaty.

**UNITED NATIONS ENVIRONMENT PROGRAMME, Nairobi, Kenya**

*Senior Programme Officer, Environmental Law Unit, 1989 - 1990*

Coordinated the implementation of the Basel Convention on Transboundary Movements of Hazardous Waste with the London Convention and other international waste transport and disposal regimes. Coordinated and co-authored UN report on illegal traffic in hazardous wastes.

Drafted and arranged negotiations for the UNEP Regional Seas Conventions for the East Asian and South Asian Seas, managing negotiations among ten countries in Bangkok, Thailand. Assisted teams working on preparatory documentation for the Convention on Biological Diversity.

**PIPER & MARBURY, Washington, D.C**

*Associate Attorney, 1986 - 1989*

Advised on handling expert witness presentations concerning internationally known public health challenges in the "Love Canal" case. Successfully represented major Multinational Corporation and major health care facility in litigation brought by the U.S. EPA on matters concerning alleged hazardous waste disposal. Advised clients concerning their obligations under federal laws related to pesticides, air and water pollution.

**U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE Washington, D.C.**

*Trial Attorney, Environmental Defense Section, 1984 - 1986*

Successfully represented the U.S. EPA in federal trial and appellate courts in litigation involving U.S. national wastewater construction grants programs, national water pollution requirements for gold mining operations in Alaska, and in air pollution actions brought by industry and citizen groups to challenge EPA decisions on State Implementation Plans. Successfully represented the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers' efforts to protect wetlands in Florida against quarrying operations.

## **STATE OF RHODE ISLAND**

*State Environmental Advocate, Department of Attorney General, 1983 - 1984*

Appointed to statutory position as State's lead environmental attorney, responsible for managing precedent-setting hazardous waste cases. Handled a wide range of extensive and contentious challenges pertaining to coastal resources permit applications before the Coastal Resources Management Council. Testified before State legislative committees concerning hazardous waste and marine-vessel traffic legislation.

*Legal Counsel, Department of Environmental Management, 1979 – 1983*

Advised team of technical experts responsible for preparation of Rhode Island's first comprehensive set of regulations for hazardous and solid waste management, air pollution control, coastal zone and freshwater wetlands management. Represented the state as lead attorney in high visibility litigation concerning cases against developers in hazardous and solid waste landfill permits and licensing cases, state freshwater and coastal wetlands, air, water and waste pollution, as well as challenges to state hunting and fishing programs. Argued fisheries case before the Rhode Island Supreme Court and other matters concerning state environmental issues.

Served as Administrative Hearing Officer to adjudicate and issue written opinions on highly contentious air pollution and hazardous waste facility permit hearings involving extensive local community opposition, stakeholder engagement, and media coverage.

## **EARLIER POSITION IN ACADEMIA**

### **UNIVERSITY OF RHODE ISLAND**

**Marine Affairs Graduate Program, 1982 - 1984**

*Adjunct Professor. Ocean and Coastal Zone Law.*

## **EDUCATION**

**Vermont Law School**, South Royalton, Vermont, J.D., 1978.

**University of Rhode Island**, Kingston, Rhode Island, B. A. History, 1975, *cum laude*.

## **MEMBERSHIPS**

D.C. Bar Association, twice elected to the Bar Committee Section on Energy and Environment; Bar Memberships of States of Massachusetts and Rhode Island; Member American Bar Association, former Chair of Committee on International Environmental Law, American Society of International Law, and Environmental Law Commission of the International Union of Conservation of Nature. Appointed Senior Advisor of the International Environmental Law Committee of the ABA Section on International Law (August 2014–2015). Member American Society of International Law; Environmental Law Institute.

## **LANGUAGES**

Spanish - intermediate – high-level; French – intermediate and ongoing studies; German – basic.

## **PERSONAL**

Holder of US and EU passports (Italian national). Born and raised in New York City. Married, two children.

## **SELECTED PUBLICATIONS (For pre-2000, please see "Google Scholar")**

*Climate Standards after the Paris Agreement and the International Trade Regime*, (forthcoming in Sustainable Development Law and Policy Journal of American University Washington College of Law).

*Climate Related Standards and Multilateral Finance for Development*, October, 2015, www.mdpi.com/journal/laws

*Some Insights on the Role of the World Bank in Water and Agriculture Against the Backdrop of Climate Change*, ABA Section of International Law, International Environmental Law Committee Newsletter, Summer 2015

*Reducing Gaps to Thwart Pirates*, The Environmental Forum (Environmental Law Institute) September/October 2013, Note at 39 accompanying "The Challenges to Governance".

*The Path Toward Doha (The Durban Climate Platform)* The Environmental Forum (Environmental Law Institute), March/April 2012 at 36-41.

*International Financial Institutions and International Environmental Law* Oxford Univ. Press (2009).

*Maritime Rights of Coastal States and Climate Change: Should States Adapt to Submerged Boundaries*. (World Bank, May 2008) with S. Morita.

*Forest Law and Sustainable Development. Addressing Contemporary Challenges Through Legal Reform*. Co-authored with L. Christy, et al. The World Bank Law Development and Justice Series (2007).

*Art and Cultural Heritage: Law, Policy and Practice* Cambridge University Press (2006), Chapter 33, The World Bank's Policy on Physical Cultural Resources, at 245-249.

*Public Participation in the Governance of International Freshwater Resources* United Nations University (2005). Chap 10 at 199-216.

*Helping to Achieve the Millennium Development Goals: Partnerships, Projects and Policies of the World Bank*, ABA Journal of Energy, Environment and Natural Resources Section. (Fall, 2004) at 13-20.

*The Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources Through Market-Based Mechanisms and Legal Instruments*, 11 Review of European Community and International Environmental Law, at 84 (2002).

*A Legal Review of the Key Provisions to the Kyoto Protocol and the Buenos Aires Action Plan*, Co-authored with K. Ramakrishna, C. Carpenter, prepared for Asian Development Bank at ADB-UNEP-IUCN Workshop on the Design of the Kyoto Protocol Cooperative Implementation Mechanisms, (Manila 2000).

*Fundamental Legal and Ethical Principles in Adjudging the Merits of Development Projects*, World Dams Commission, Thematic Reviews (November 2000). See <http://www.dams.org/>.

*International Environmental Law and Development*, 10 Georgetown International Environmental Law Review, at 501 (1998).

## **SELECTED CONFERENCE PAPERS and PRESENTATIONS (Post 2000)**

*The World Bank's New Environmental and Social Framework*, American Society of International Law, scheduled April 13, 2017. Washington DC.

*National Financing Vehicles and Climate Finance*, Korean Pavilion, Marrakech, UNFCCC COP 22, November 10, 2016

*Some Key Development in Global Environmental Law 2015*, ABA Section of Environment, Energy and Resources, Chicago, October 28-31, 2015.

**Fostering Country-Driven Green Growth**, Carbon Expo, Cologne, May 26, 2015 (with Global Green Growth Institute)

**The Paris Agreement and Nationally Determined Contributions: Case Studies from Brazil and Mexico**, World Bank, Washington DC, November 1, 2016

**The Roles Played by Federal Agencies and International Organizations to Combat International Wildlife Crimes**, University of Pennsylvania Law School Symposium, February 11, 2016

**Rule of Law Challenges in the Context of Land and Water**, Wilson Center, Washington, DC Jan. 19, 2016

**Climate Law and Governance**, presentation during Paris Agreement UNFCCC COP negotiations for Climate Law and Governance Day, Paris, December 2015

**Developments in International Environmental Law**, American Bar Association Section on Environment, Fall Meetings, Chicago, November 11, 2015

**The Forest Carbon Partnership Fund Methodological Framework**, Fifteenth Dialogue on Forests, Governance and Climate Change, Washington, D.C., March 19, 2014.

**The Role of Lawyers in Redressing Harm through International Accountability Mechanisms**, ABA Section on International Law, Spring Meeting, April 2, 2014

**Global Environmental Law Conference**, Keynote speech, Baker and McKenzie Law Firm, June 21, 2013.

**The World Bank and the Amendment of its Environmental and Social Policies – What's new?** The Academy on Human Rights and Humanitarian Law, American University, June 7, 2013.

**Multilateral Environmental Agreements and International Financial Institutions**, School of International Service, American University, February 2013.

**Courts, Rule of Law, and the Environment**, George Washington University Law School side event to World Bank Law, Justice and Development Week, December 11, 2012

**Trade and Climate Change – Differentiated Responses**, Georgetown University Trade Seminar for Professionals, Washington, October 2012

**Environmental Health and Governance**, World Health Summit, Berlin, October 2012

**Comparative Environmental Law**, Judicial Symposium, Rio de Janeiro Supreme Court, June 16, 2012

**China and Environmental Law**, World Bank Law, Justice and Development Week, November 28, 2011.

**Accountability, Standards and Safeguards**, Fifth RRI Dialogue on Forests, Governance and Climate Change, Washington DC, June 22, 2010

**World Bank Statement on UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and Application of World Bank Safeguard Policies to Forests and Climate Change Operations**, Economic and Social Council, Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues, New York, April 26, 2010.

**The Road to Rio and Beyond**, Organization of American States, April 10, 2012

**The World Bank and International Environmental Law**, University of Texas Law School, Austin, February 12, 2012.

**REDD+ and Biodiversity**, Washington D.C. Bar Association, January 31, 2012

**Climate Change and the New Paradigm of Environmental Law**, Nineteenth Annual Eastern Boot Camp on Environmental Law, Washington, D.C. November 10, 2012.

***Emerging Issues in International Law and Policy on Climate Change***, International Development Law Organization, Copenhagen University, December 12, 2009

***"International Lending in an Age of Global Warming, Security Concerns and Nagging Inequities"***, Featured Speaker at Amer. Univ. Washington College of Law Program, May 29, 2008 (Washington, D.C.)

***International Developments in Ecosystem Services***, D.C. Bar Environment Committee, Washington D.C., March 5, 2008.

***Perspectives on Climate Change and Security***, Chatham House Conference, London, UK, June 2007.

***The World Bank and the Aarhus Convention on Access to Information***, UNECE Sponsored Conference, Geneva, Switzerland, June 2007.

***"How Institutions and Good Governance Contribute to Sustainable Development"***, The 13<sup>th</sup> Annual International Development Conference, Harvard University, April 20-22, 2007.

***ALA-ABA Conference on International Environmental Law***, Keynote Presentation, April 12, 2007, Washington DC.

***International Climate Change Strategies***, 17<sup>th</sup> Annual National Association of Environmental Law Societies Conference, Washington, D.C. March 17, 2007.

***"Global Environmental Governance – Challenges to Consensus"***, European Union Conference on Global Environmental Governance, Keynote Presentation, (Georgetown Law School, June 2006)

***Global Approaches to International Environmental Issues***, University of Virginia Law School Environmental Law Colloquium "": Keynote Presentation (May 2006).

***International Organizations and Responsibility under International Law***, American University Law School (March 2006)

***Corporate Social Responsibility- A view from the World Bank***, Inogen Worldview Conference (Nov. 2005)

***Multilateral Environmental Agreements and the Private Sector***, (OECD Meeting, Helsinki, July 2005)

***International Legal Issues Pertaining to Carbon Storage***, ( Int'l Energy Agency, Paris, July, 2004)

***The Equator Principles and Other Initiatives Addressing the Environmental and Social Impacts of Project in Development Markets***, (Environmental Law Institute, Washington, D.C. May, 2004)

***Domestic and International Legal Frameworks to Manage Global Water Resources***, (American Bar Association, Section on Environment, Energy and Natural Resources Law Washington, D.C. October, 2003)

***World Bank Policy on Cultural Property***, (International Bar Association, San Francisco, September, 2003)

***Environmental Review in the Global Arena: Comparative Approaches to Transboundary Impacts*** (New York University Law School, April 2003)

***Addressing Accountability Issues***, (World Summit on Sustainable Development, Johannesburg September 2002, for Business Day Presentations)

***Effective Implementation of the Biodiversity Convention*** (De Klemm /IUCN Colloquium, Paris, March 2000).

## Karen Tramontano

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**From:** Karen Tramontano  
**Sent:** Saturday, July 27, 2019 10:44 AM  
**To:** Vadim Pozharskyi  
**Cc:** Tamar Gegechkori; Sally Painter  
**Subject:** Re: Zelensky/Trump talk

Thank you Vadym. I've briefed sally. She will reach out to our friend. I've talked to our other friend this morning.

Sent from my iPhone

On Jul 27, 2019, at 10:34 AM, Vadim Pozharskyi <[v.pozharskyi.ukraine@gmail.com](mailto:v.pozharskyi.ukraine@gmail.com)> wrote:

Dear Karen and all,

Please, see a link to an official website of the President of Ukraine with news on the recent phone call between Ukraine's President Zelensky and President Trump:

<https://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/volodimir-zelenskij-proviv-telefonnu-rozmovu-z-prezidentom-s-56617>

**"Donald Trump is convinced that the new Ukrainian government will be able to quickly improve image of Ukraine, complete investigation of corruption cases, which inhibited the interaction between Ukraine and the USA"**

Some Ukrainian media focused on this very quote and made it look as though President Trump was talking about Burisma/Biden situation.

Please, see links to correspondent publications:

<https://www.eurointegration.com.ua/news/2019/07/25/7098933/>

**"The GP's office is investigating the case of a former Minister of Ukraine under Viktor Yanukovich, Mykola Zlochevsky and his firm Burisma Holdings on suspicion of obtaining illegal decisions on gas extraction, money laundering, and evasion of tax payments in particularly large amounts. The son of Trump's opponent in the 2020 Presidential elections Joe Biden, Hunter was a member of the Board of Burisma Holdings. Trump's personal attorney, Rudolf Giuliani, said that Biden had wrongfully pressured the Ukrainian president Petro Poroshenko and the parliament in March 2016 to fire GP Viktor Shokin. The visit of Ukraine's President Volodymyr Zelensky to the United States will take place prior to his visit to Warsaw on September 1, said Deputy Head of Office Mr Vadym Prystaiko."**

Links to other publications on this are offered below:

<https://antikor.com.ua/articles/317745->

[tramp\\_nameknul\\_zelenskomu\\_na\\_neobhodimostj\\_rassledovatj\\_dela\\_protiv\\_bajdena](#)

<https://tsn.ua/politika/zelenskiy-upershe-telefonom-peregovoriv-iz-trampom-1384566.html>

[https://zik.ua/news/2019/07/26/tramp\\_radyt\\_zelenskomu\\_rozsliduvaty\\_koruptsiyni\\_spravy\\_shcho\\_gal\\_muyut\\_1614285](https://zik.ua/news/2019/07/26/tramp_radyt_zelenskomu_rozsliduvaty_koruptsiyni_spravy_shcho_gal_muyut_1614285)



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# United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON  
HOMELAND SECURITY AND GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6250

GABRIELLE D'ADAMO SINGER, STAFF DIRECTOR  
DAVID M. WEINBERG, MINORITY STAFF DIRECTOR

February 24, 2020

The Honorable Gary C. Peters  
Ranking Member  
Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs  
U.S. Senate  
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Ranking Member Peters:

Pursuant to Rule 5(C) of the Rules of Procedure of the Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs, I write to notify you of my intent to issue a subpoena for attendance and the production of records to Andrii Telizhenko, a former consultant at Blue Star Strategies (Blue Star).<sup>1</sup> This subpoena is in furtherance of the Committee's ongoing work to address the many unanswered questions about potential conflicts of interest and the extent to which representatives of Burisma—including officials at Blue Star—used individuals with close personal connections to high level officials within the Obama administration to gain access to and potentially influence U.S. government agencies. This committee's oversight work is being conducted jointly with the Senate Committee on Finance and the Senate Committee on the Judiciary (the committees).

As you know, on December 6, 2019, the committees wrote to Mr. Telizhenko and requested the production of records and an interview about, among other topics, "whether certain officials within the Obama administration had actual or apparent conflicts of interest, or whether there was any other wrongdoing, because of Hunter Biden's role in Rosemont Seneca and related entities, and as a board member of Burisma Holdings."<sup>2</sup>

In response, Mr. Telizhenko confirmed his intention to "cooperate fully with the [committees'] investigation" and expressed his readiness "to provide any evidence" in his possession.<sup>3</sup> During the course of our conversations with Mr. Telizhenko, he informed us that he worked as a consultant for Blue Star and he has responsive records from his time there, specifically, records relating to work the firm did for Burisma. However, because Mr. Telizhenko's employment contract with Blue Star included a non-disclosure agreement (NDA),

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<sup>1</sup> According to Mr. Telizhenko, he was employed as a consultant at Blue Star Strategies from July 2016 through June 2017. Prior to his work at Blue Star Strategies, Mr. Telizhenko served as an official at the Embassy of Ukraine in Washington, D.C.

<sup>2</sup> Email from S. Comm. on Homeland Sec. & Governmental Affairs Staff to Andrii Telizhenko (Dec. 6, 2019) (on file with Comm.).

<sup>3</sup> Email from Andrii Telizhenko to S. Comm. on Homeland Sec. & Governmental Affairs Staff (Dec. 10, 2019) (on file with Comm.).

he believes that he is unable to produce these records to the committees without being compelled to do so by a congressional subpoena.

These records are important to the committees' investigation for several reasons. First, records indicate that Blue Star sought to leverage Hunter Biden's role as a board member of Burisma to gain access to and potentially influence matters at the State Department. In a February 24, 2016, email with the subject line "Burisma," a State Department official wrote:

Per our conversation, Karen Tramontano of Blue Star Strategies requested a meeting to discuss with [Under Secretary] Novelli [U.S. Government] remarks alleging Burisma (Ukrainian energy company) of corruption. **She noted that two high profile U.S. citizens are affiliated with the company (including Hunter Biden as a board member). Tramontano would like to talk with U/S Novelli about getting a better understanding of how the U.S. came to the determination that the company is corrupt.** According to Tramontano, there is no evidence of corruption, has been no hearing or process, and evidence to the contrary has not been considered. Would appreciate any background you may be able to provide on this issue and suggested TPs for U/S Novelli's meeting.<sup>4</sup>

On March 1, 2016, Blue Star met with Under Secretary Catherine A. Novelli in an effort "to understand the State Department's position regarding Burisma," and in April 2016 Blue Star then reportedly met with Ukrainian prosecutors.<sup>5</sup> According to what appears to be contemporaneous notes by one of those Ukrainian prosecutors during the April 2016 meeting, Blue Star apologized about allegedly "false information" promoted by the U.S. Government about the prosecutors' handling of the investigation of Burisma.<sup>6</sup>

On December 3, 2019, Chairman Charles Grassley and I sent a letter to Blue Star requesting information and records on this matter.<sup>7</sup> On December 18, 2019, Blue Star provided a written response to the committees and produced 83 pages of records showing interactions

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<sup>4</sup> John Solomon, *Hunter Biden's Ukraine gas firm pressed Obama administration to end corruption allegations, memos show*, johnsolomonreports.com, Nov. 4, 2019, <https://johnsolomonreports.com/hunter-bidens-ukraine-gas-firm-pressed-obama-administration-to-end-corruption-allegations-memos-show/> (emphasis added).

<sup>5</sup> See Letter from Karen Tramontano, Chief Executive Officer, Blue Star Strategies, to Sen. Ron Johnson, Chairman, S. Comm. on Homeland Sec. & Governmental Affairs, and Sen. Charles E. Grassley, Chairman, S. Comm. on Finance (Dec. 18, 2019) (on file with Comm.); John Solomon, *These once-secret memos cast doubt on Joe Biden's Ukraine story*, The Hill, Sept. 26, 2019, <https://thehill.com/opinion/campaign/463307-solomon-these-once-secret-memos-cast-doubt-on-joe-bidens-ukraine-story>.

<sup>6</sup> Solomon, *These once-secret memos cast doubt on Joe Biden's Ukraine story*, *supra* note 5.

<sup>7</sup> Letter from Sen. Ron Johnson, Chairman, S. Comm. on Homeland Sec. & Governmental Affairs, and Sen. Charles E. Grassley, Chairman, S. Comm. on Finance, to Karen Tramontano, Chief Executive Officer, Blue Star Strategies (Dec. 3, 2019), available at <https://www.grassley.senate.gov/sites/default/files/documents/2019-12-03%20RHJ%20CEG%20to%20Blue%20Star%20Strategies%20%28Burisma%29.pdf>.

between the firm and U.S. government agencies about Burisma.<sup>8</sup> Many of these records are emails arranging meetings between Blue Star and U.S. officials at different agencies, including the Departments of State, Commerce, and Energy.

Second, Blue Star's response to the committees was incomplete. Notably, although we asked Blue Star twice to identify its employees and contractors who worked on the Burisma matter, it never identified Mr. Telizhenko. Additionally, Mr. Telizhenko recently produced records to the committees that included some correspondence with Blue Star before he began his employment there (and, thus, not covered by his NDA) which indicate that Blue Star has records about its work on behalf of Burisma that are responsive to the committees' requests that it has not produced.

For example, the committees requested from Blue Star "the dates and descriptions, including a list of attendees, of all meetings between Blue Star representatives and Ukrainian officials regarding Burisma."<sup>9</sup> This month, Mr. Telizhenko provided the committees a copy of a May 27, 2016, letter he received from a Blue Star official which was sent from John Buretta, Burisma's U.S. attorney, to Yuriy Lutsenko, the General Prosecutor of Ukraine, requesting a meeting "on behalf of my client, Burisma Holdings Limited, and its owner Mykola Zlochevskiy."<sup>10</sup> Blue Star's Chief Executive Officer, Karen Tramontano, noted to the committees that she worked "in collaboration with Burisma's U.S. counsel, John Buretta."<sup>11</sup> The letter to Mr. Lutsenko and information about this meeting was not included in Blue Star's production to the committees.

Mr. Telizhenko also provided a March 23, 2016, email from a Blue Star official to individuals at the Embassy of Ukraine, including Oksana Shulyar, offering to help schedule a meeting between a Ukrainian official and Denis McDonough, the then-Chief of Staff to President Obama.<sup>12</sup> The committees did not receive this email or others related to it from Blue Star. It is unclear what the purpose of that meeting was and whether the meeting occurred. Mr. Telizhenko's responsive records on this matter from his time working for Blue Star will enable the committees to ensure that they are receiving complete and thorough productions from other subjects of this investigation, as well as ensure that the committees are gathering all relevant information to determine what actually occurred.

The American people have a right to know how their government officials conducted official business, whether certain parties received special treatment, and whether any apparent or actual conflict of interest unduly influenced U.S. policy. Gathering all of the relevant information is necessary to determine not only whether any wrongdoing occurred, but also if wrongdoing did not occur. Accordingly, pursuant to the committee rules, this letter constitutes

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<sup>8</sup> See Letter from Karen Tramontano, *supra* note 5.

<sup>9</sup> Letter from Chairman Ron Johnson and Chairman Charles E. Grassley, *supra* note 7.

<sup>10</sup> Letter from John D. Buretta, Counsel for Burisma Holdings, Ltd., to Yuriy Lutsenko, Gen. Prosecutor of Ukraine (May 27, 2016) (on file with Comm).

<sup>11</sup> Letter from Karen Tramontano, *supra* note 5.

<sup>12</sup> Email from Sally Painter, Chief Operating Office, Blue Star Strategies, to Andrii Telizhenko *et al.*, (Mar. 23, 2016) (on file with Comm.).

The Honorable Gary C. Peters  
February 24, 2020  
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official notice that I intend to issue a subpoena to Andrii Telizhenko, a former consultant at Blue Star Strategies, for the records and attendance described in the enclosed schedule.

Sincerely,



Ron Johnson  
Chairman

Enclosure

Mr. Andrii Telizhenko  
Sent Electronically

**Schedule A**

Please provide the following by March XX, 2020:

1. All records from your work for Blue Star Strategies (“Blue Star”) related to Burisma Holdings, including emails, memoranda, employment contract, or other electronically stored information (*e.g.*, text messages).
2. Your attendance, at a date and time to be determined by the Chairman, to discuss the matters described in Request 1.

