I'd adjust the last sentence to change our desired end state. Something like "...begin rooting out the cancer of corruption that has done so much over the years to hold back economic growth and sap the confidence of Ukrainians in those who govern them."

I assume all have the DoJ background on Zlochevsky. The short unclas version (in non lawyer language) is that US and UK were cooperating on a case to seize his corrupt assets overseas (which had passed through the US). The case fell apart when individuals in the PGO acted to thwart the UK case.

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

Proposed TPs for the VP if he gets asked after the stories break in the next few days. Especially interested in your feedback on how to answer the third Q if he gets asked. He is not currently slated to take any questions from reporters on the record on the trip, but he will talk to our traveling press at length off the record and will need to be prepared to answer these kinds of questions.

TALKING POINTS

- My son is a private citizen and I'm not going to get into discussing his personal business, it has no impact on my work.

- What I will say, though, is that no one has been tougher in pushing Ukrainian leaders to root out corruption than I have. It has been a primary focus of my discussions, both publicly and privately, for years. And I think you can see from the substance of this trip it remains a major priority for me and for the US government.

- Important strides have been made – the appointment of a Special Anti-Corruption Prosecutor and the establishment of an independent Inspector General to prosecute corrupt prosecutors are two good ones. But much more needs to be done and we will continue to encourage everyone involved to commit to meaningful reforms.

Q: Have you asked Hunter to step down from the board? Has he discussed that with you?
A: I’m not going to discuss private conversations with my family. Hunter is a private citizen and does independent work.

Q: Do the optics of this situation undermine your credibility when you’re pushing the Ukrainians to clean up their own house?

A: No. I have long pushed and will continue to push for the Ukrainian government to root out corrupt practices. My record on this speaks for itself. I have called on Ukrainian leadership to root out corruption, encouraged civil society reformers to remain focused on this and push the government themselves, and I welcome the news that the government will appoint a Special Anti-Corruption Prosecutor. Important steps have been taken, but there is so much left to be done. Corrupt officials must be brought to justice and reformers must work together to ensure this happens.

Q: Do you think Zlochevsky is corrupt?

A: I’m not going to get into naming names or accusing individuals. We have been working consistently to push the Ukrainian leadership to make meaningful changes in the Prosecutor General’s office and across the government to help ensure that the Ukrainian people are represented fairly and fully.

-----Original Message-----
From: Carpenter, Michael [mailto: ...]
Sent: Sunday, December 6, 2015 6:23 AM
To: 'PyattGR...'; Kahl, Colin H. EOP/OVP; Bedingfield, Kate J. EOP/OVP
Subject: Re: Podrobnosti.biz: The Ukrainian scam of the Biden family (information on the website included)

Ugh.

+ Kate, CK

From: Pyatt, Geoffrey R [mailto: ...]
Sent: Sunday, December 06, 2015 01:45 AM
To: Carpenter, Michael
Subject: FW: Podrobnosti.biz: The Ukrainian scam of the Biden family (information on the website included)

A really nasty Russian outlet on the same issue

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.
From: lbi@lbicompany.com.ua
Sent: Saturday, December 05, 2015 7:05 PM
To: Kyiv, Media Alerts
Subject: Podrobnosti.biz : The Ukrainian scam of the Biden family (information on the website included)

this web site is very similar (stile, shrifts etc) to Ukrainian Podrobnosti that belongs to Inter TV Channel - the same name as its TV summary news block at 8pm

but we checked contacts and there is a Russian address there

Podrobnosti.biz

The Ukrainian scam of the Biden family

05.12.2015

Author: Eugene Prosvirin

The news that the son of the US Vice President Joe Biden was appointed to the board of directors of the Ukrainian gas company Burisma Holdings, for the first time appeared in media last spring.

The Internet marked this new appointment unequivocally - a massive stamping folklore entertainment began in social networks. The story had got a special piquancy - Joe Biden's visit to Kyiv in April, where he took a place of the president of Ukraine, not the guest at the negotiation table.

There were even such headlines: "Hunter Biden: a rape of Ukraine with a special cynicism."

The hatred among the public was coursed by the fact that Biden's tandem participates not only in Ukrainian politics, but in the Ukrainian business as well. However, neither Joe nor Hunter weren't ashamed of their imperial approach. On the contrary, they have demonstrated that this could be and should be.

Hunter demonstrated his true management potential in six months after the appointment. In mid-October 2014 it became clear that he failed out of the US Navy Reserve. Hunter failed an ordinary drug test - it was accused of cocaine use. A failed sailor, but a successful businessman due to family ties, said then that he was "deeply sorry" about the incident.

He still owns an investment-consulting company Rosemont Seneca Partners. Nobody took his place it the chair Board of the US World Food Programme, which, with other things, works directly with the UN World Food Programme. He still heads the Burisma Holdings, part of Kolomoisky's financial empire.

A tandem of the influential father and the enriched son opened not a small window but a real portal of capabilities for the Biden family in Ukraine. Analysts make an unnerving forecast: it is quite possible that the Biden family will begin a large-scale privatization in Ukraine, which in fact would be a banal
raider seizure of state enterprises. The family has already watched their six at the politician field - it's time to do American business.


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With best regards,
LBI Team

>http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=www.lbicompany.com.ua<
(044) 501 58 41

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With best regards,
LBI Team

>http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=www.lbicompany.com.ua<
(044) 501 58 41

[Redacted]
From: Kahl, Colin  
Sent: Thu, 3 Dec 2015 00:03:45 +0000  
To: 'Amos J Hochstein'  
Subject: FW: Paul Sonner - WSJ

See below. This will be a press issue on the trip. Can we chat Friday or Saturday?

I'm traveling domestically tomorrow and Friday, but could could talk non-secure anytime Friday afternoon or talk secure on Saturday after 3pm.

Sent with Good (www.good.com)

-----Original Message-----
From: Bedingfield, Kate  
Sent: Wednesday, December 02, 2015 04:53 PM Eastern Standard Time  
To: Carpenter, Michael; Kahl, Colin; Ricchetti, Steven; McGrail, John; Mackler, Alexander; Ratner, Ely  
Subject: RE: Paul Sonner - WSJ

Eric Schwerin called to say that the Journal reached back out to say they anticipate this story will run in the next few days, obviously pegged to the VP’s trip. He was going to give me a call back after he connected with the reporter again. He doesn't anticipate Hunter will say anything on the record, and as you see from this chain, Kendra gave the reporter the below statement back in October.

-----Original Message-----
From: Bedingfield, Kate J. EOP/OVP  
Sent: Friday, October 23, 2015 10:59 AM  
To: Barkoff, Kendra A. EOP/OVP >; Carpenter, Michael R. EOP/OVP >; Kahl, Colin H. EOP/OVP >; McGrail, John P. EOP/OVP >; Mackler, Alexander S. EOP/OVP >; Ratner, Ely S. EOP/OVP  
Subject: Re: Paul Sonner - WSJ

I'm good with this response.

From: Barkoff, Kendra A.  
Sent: Friday, October 23, 2015 10:13 AM  
To: Carpenter, Michael R. EOP/OVP; Kahl, Colin H. EOP/OVP; Ricchetti, Steven J. EOP/OVP; McGrail, John P. EOP/OVP; Mackler, Alexander S. EOP/OVP; Bedingfield, Kate J. EOP/OVP; Ratner, Ely S. EOP/OVP  
Subject: RE: Paul Sonner - WSJ
Mike and I just talked, I think to make it more clear that the VP is no way talking about the specifically person we should add in something like “generally speaking.” Let me know if folks are good with this.

On the record from me:

Hunter Biden is a private citizen and a lawyer. The Vice President does not endorse any particular company and has no involvement with this company. Regarding anti-corruption efforts in Ukraine generally speaking, the Vice President has consistently said that Ukraine must make every effort to investigate and prosecute corruption in accordance with the rule of law.

Do you want to add one more line -- not on Zlochevsky but on Ukraine more broadly – that says:

Regarding anti-corruption efforts in Ukraine generally speaking, the Vice President has consistently said that Ukraine must make every effort to investigate and prosecute corruption in accordance with the rule of law.
Flagging the story below that the WSJ is working on. Here is the line I gave out on the record last time when the news broke about Hunter’s involvement with the company:

“Hunter Biden is a private citizen and a lawyer. The Vice President does not endorse any particular company and has no involvement with this company. For any additional questions, I refer you to Hunter’s office.”

Are folks comfortable with using the same line as before? I am concerned about getting into anything relating to Mr. Zlochevsky directly.

From: Sonne, Paul [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:Paul.Sonne@wsj.com]
Sent: Wednesday, October 21, 2015 11:42 AM
To: FN-OVP-Press
Subject: WSJ / Hunter Biden

Dear Kate,

I’m a correspondent for The Wall Street Journal, based in our bureau in Moscow. I’m working on a story about Hunter Biden’s involvement with the Ukrainian gas firm Burisma and former Ukrainian ecology minister Mykola Zlochevsky (Burisma’s owner).

As you may know, Mr. Zlochevsky is under scrutiny in the U.K. in a money laundering probe and in Ukraine in a number of investigations, including those examining allegations of illegal enrichment and abuse of power.

Here’s the main question I was hoping you could answer for the story: The Vice President has served as the point person to deliver U.S. calls for Ukraine to root out corruption. Do you believe Hunter’s involvement with Mr. Zlochevsky – who for many Ukrainians has come to symbolize the sort of behavior the Vice President is demanding the country put to an end – undermines the U.S. message?
Would be very happy to hear your response on this, or anything else the Vice President’s office may have to add on Hunter’s involvement with Burisma and Mr. Zlochevsky. Also happy to chat if you’d like. Thanks very much.

All the best,

Paul

--

Paul Sonne

The Wall Street Journal

+7 495 234 0805

paul.sonne@wsj.com
From: Kent, George P  
Sent: Tue, 6 Sep 2016 09:55:14 -0400  
To: Brink, Bridget A; Andrews, Jorgan K  
Cc: Yovanovitch, Marie L  
Subject: Bullying, threatening call by Blue Star's Sally Painter (Re Lutsenko)

Bridget, Jorgan:

Need to give you a heads up that I took a call just now from Sally Painter from Blue Star Strategies, the first time we have interacted. I am confident it will be the last. Nearly simultaneously her boss, Karen Tramontano, called on the other line asking to talk to the Ambassador (who is out on the run the rest of the day, event to event).

Painter adopted a hostile, aggressive tone from the outside, and was rude and accusatory throughout. It was unlike any conversation I have had in my 24+ years in the foreign service, and completely inappropriate on her part. She ended the conversation by saying that she would take the matter up with “The Under Secretary.” (NFI)

The topic/issue was Prosecutor General Yuri Lutsenko, and his now cancelled plans to come to Washington – a trip that Blue Star had apparently been arranging.

I wasn’t able to scribble notes to follow the specific accusations and bullying remarks. The crux of the accusation was that I had allegedly damaged her/firm’s reputation to Lutsenko, and allegedly told him not to have anything to do with them (for the record: I did not tell him that. Full stop). She then proceeded to make rambling reference to “not representing Nikolai in the US” (I presume this is Zlochevsky), “because he has legal representation in the US, or Burisma” (Zlochevsky’s company), and that she had represented Yushchenko’s interests in the US for five years, and knew what was legal and what was not, and when it was required to register, that she was on the board of the Atlantic Council, and on a pro bono basis had been happy to arrange something with John Herbst (ie, for Lutsenko to speak), and that they also had offered a private dinner for Lutsenko that she and her partner Tramontano would have hosted for Lutsenko at no cost, to invite various people, important people, including Melanne Veveer, who was by the way close to former Secretary Clinton.

After I let her vent for close to five minutes and she reached a pause, I pointed out that we had never previously talked. I noted that her tone and accusations, including outright misrepresentations of my conversations with Lutsenko, was an odd way of initiating a first time conversation. I stated that the first time I had ever heard her name had been earlier this summer, when Dan Fried called and asked me if I would be willing to talk to her. I told Dan I would, and had passed him my number. Painter jumped in and said: “you never called back.” I reiterated that Dan had asked me if I would be willing to talk to her; I had said yes, and passed him my number, and never heard anything further.

I told her that, given the aggressive, threatening, bullying tone she had adopted and her misrepresentations of what I had said in the course of diplomatic discussion, I was within norms and my rights simply to wish her good day and hang up. I instead offered a partial reset, if she were interested (she was). I told her that I had met the Prosecutor General to talk about his proposed trip. I had given him the general advice that for a trip to Washington on which he would look to engage the USG, it made sense to work primarily through the US embassy here and the Ukrainian embassy in Washington. We
became aware of the trip because a senior DOJ official had reached out to the embassy for our reaction and what we knew of the trip.

Painter broke in at this point and said: “we know that. Government to government meetings would be the responsibility of the Ukrainian embassy.” This is in fact a false statement by Painter. Blue Star, through an associate who traveled with Tramontano to Kyiv in July and was previously a DOJ political appointee, reached out to DOJ itself; Bruce Szwartz then called RLA Jeff Cole about the visit. That is how we learned of the trip. I subsequently reached out to the Ukrainian acting DCM, Oksana, who indicated she knew nothing of the request to DOJ.

Beyond arranging govt-govt meetings, I continued, I had suggested to Lutsenko that the proposed timing of his trip (25-27 Sept) was not the best, because of UNGA and attention on international relations focused on New York in the second half of September, and the election season, with key people on the Hill out on the stump six weeks before the general election. That suggested an earlier or later trip. Ukrainian officials had been known to have relations with third parties for other events, and that was their business. Ours was bilateral relations, and that had been my focus.

When Painter went back into interrogative mode, asking whether I had mentioned her company, I told her that it would not be appropriate to share the content of my conversation with the Prosecutor General. She referenced an email that Lutsenko sent “her” (Blue Star), and said I would have to answer if I damaged the reputation of her company, and that she would take it up with the Under Secretary (unspecified).

At that point, I told her I could not and would not presume to characterize Lutsenko’s private correspondence, while reminding that she had mischaracterized my conversations with Lutsenko. I wished her good day, and told her the conversation was over. And went back to my regularly scheduled business, since I had kept the visiting regional medical officer waiting in the meantime.

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Footnote1: Lutsenko told me he did not know who exactly had come to Kyiv and talked to him in July about coming to Washington. He said Blue Star had promised they could arrange access to high levels of the Clinton campaign, including someone who might lead her White House (my guess: Podesta, head of the campaign, for whom Tramontano worked in the last year of the Bill Clinton White House). The political angle of the trip is what interested him. I pulled up the Blue Star website on my phone and showed him photos of Tramantano (he said: “that’s her”). I showed him a picture of Painter (right underneath); he shook his head and replied: “never seen her.”

Footnote 2: When Dan Fried called me in the summer, asking if I would be willing to talk to Painter, the subject was Zlochevsky, and allegedly the bad reputational deal he was getting. I warned Dan this was a sticky wicket, that Zlochevsky was viewed as corrupt, not just in Ukraine but by the USG/FBI, that he almost certainly had paid a bribe to the PGO office (Yarema team) to have them close a case against Zlochevsky in December 2014 and issue a letter to that effect to Zlochevsky’s lawyer, who flipped it to a UK judge, who unfroze assets that the FBI and MI5 had spent months trying to make a case for asset repatriation – the first and so far only possible case, in an effort we collectively have spent hundreds of thousands of dollars. Furthermore, the presence of Hunter Biden on the Bursima board was very awkward for all US officials pushing an anti-corruption agenda in Ukraine. Dan then said: “Sally’s apparently been asked to gather information in an attempt to convince Hunter to sever the relationship.” I said he was free to pass my name and number to her, and I would be as forthright about
Zlochevsky and Burisma as I had been to him. I heard nothing further. From the conversation today with Painter, it would appear she is on a first name basis with Zlochevsky.

Footnote 3: after we learned of the possible Lutsenko trip by the DOJ-RLA interaction, I discussed with RLA, LEGATT, and INL possible next steps. We agreed I would SMS Lutsenko to seek confirmation of his plans, both to travel to DC and to use of a third party rather than embassies to arrange the trip. He responded with a request to meet one on one to discuss. We did – it slipped from Friday to Saturday, because on Friday Lutsenko released the Illovaisk report regarding the August 2014 tragedy, and who was at fault (in short: the Russians, for invading/killing hundreds of Ukrainians after offering free passage; but “mistakes were made” by the Ukrainian general staff).

Sensitive
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.
From: Kent, George P  
Sent: Thu, 15 Sep 2016 16:06:24 -0400  
To: Yovanovitch, Marie L  
Subject: Zlochevsky, Cravath, Burisma (and Blue Star)

This is further to the Blue Star effort to rehabilitate the reputation of their non-client in the US, former Ministry of Ecology Zlochevsky, who clearly has retained the services of a blue chip law firm (Cravath), and his energy company Burisma, which in turn has Hunter Biden on its board.

I think a briefing by Johannes and Jeff Cole on the background of the Zlochevsky case and the US effort therein would be in order, so you can separate what the US position on this set of circumstance is, as opposed to paid legal counsel.

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Yovanovitch, Marie L  
Sent: Thursday, September 15, 2016 7:01 PM  
To: Kent, George P  
Subject: Fw: Letter from John Buretta

What is this about?  
Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Jun Li <jli@cravath.com>  
Sent: Thursday, September 15, 2016 6:10 PM  
To: Yovanovitch, Marie L  
Cc: John Buretta  
Subject: Letter from John Buretta

Ambassador Yovanovitch:

Please see the attached letter from John Buretta.

Regards,
Jun

Jun Li
Cravath, Swaine & Moore LLP
825 Eighth Avenue, New York, NY 10019
212-474-1358 | jli@cravath.com
Dear Ambassador Yovanovitch:

I respectfully write with regard to my clients, Burisma Holdings Limited ("Burisma") and Mr. Mykola Zlochevskiy, to address the announcement yesterday by the Pechersk District Court of the City of Kyiv of the Decree dated September 13, 2016. The Court reviewed the case file and came to the conclusion that Mr. Zlochevskiy is a witness, not a suspect, in criminal proceeding No. 42014000000000805, and that no further criminal procedural measures should be taken against him. The Court also ordered the Prosecutor General’s Office of Ukraine (the “PGO”) to remove Mr. Zlochevskiy’s name from the wanted list, due to a lack of evidence. The Court’s decision is consistent with the prior findings of a U.K. Court that the same allegations against Mr. Zlochevskiy were unsupported. Both courts’ decisions reflect the application of the rule of law to the facts and should be respected.

Mr. Zlochevskiy owns Burisma, one of Ukraine’s most significant natural gas producers. Burisma is a well-run company committed to Ukraine’s energy independence and to good corporate governance. Burisma’s board of directors is comprised of, among others, prominent and experienced U.S. and European advisers who likewise are committed to sustainable energy production and legal compliance.

In August 2014, the PGO opened an investigation (No. 42014000000000805) pursuant to part 3 of Article 368-2 of the Criminal Code of Ukraine. The investigation was opened shortly after the United Kingdom’s Serious Fraud Office (the “SFO”) commenced a money laundering investigation in March 2014, and obtained a Restraint Order on Mr. Zlochevskiy’s companies’ accounts held at a London branch of BNP Paribas (“BNP”) in April 2014. The centerpiece of the SFO’s claim was that Mr. Zlochevskiy had allegedly abused his position as the Chairman of the State Committee on Natural Resources in order to issue special permits for subsoil rights to companies in which he had an interest, thus purportedly committing the common law offense of misconduct in public office. In connection with the U.K. proceeding, the
Ukrainian government, BNP and Mr. Zlochevskiy produced voluminous materials to the SFO and to the U.K. Central Criminal Court (the “U.K. Court”) for consideration. Those materials included, among others, documents explaining the origins of Mr. Zlochevskiy’s wealth, the regulatory environment in Ukraine, the history of the corporate structure of Mr. Zlochevskiy’s companies, the nature of the business deals that resulted in the payments into the BNP accounts, the reasons why the accounts were opened in the first place and the information required by and provided to BNP to ensure regulatory compliance.

In a lengthy decision, the U.K. Court soundly rejected the SFO’s claim that there was reasonable cause to believe Mr. Zlochevskiy’s assets were unlawfully acquired as a result of misconduct in public office. The decision is attached hereto as Exhibit A. The U.K. Court stated that “the case remains a matter of conjecture and suspicion with no or insufficient concrete data on which a clearly founded restraint application is made.” (Exhibit A at 20.) Furthermore, the U.K. Court found that there were no “reasonable grounds for a belief that [Mr. Zlochevskiy’s] assets were unlawfully acquired as a result of misconduct in public office. It is plain from the business history now available that [Mr. Zlochevskiy] was already a businessman of some 12 years standing before he held office. He was declaring income of some US $2 million throughout his second period of office. Oil and gas industries can yield very large sums of money and according to the prospectus material in the possession of the BNP, the Burisma group of companies is the second largest gas producer in Ukraine at a time when demand for gas was rising, and its total worth is now very great.” (Id. at 14-15.) Finally, the U.K. Court found that there was a material and “significant failure of disclosure of relevant documents” on the part of the SFO; in other words, the SFO withheld evidence favorable to Mr. Zlochevskiy. (Id. at 13 (“10 of the 17 documents in the defendant’s supplementary schedule should have been disclosed . . . The judge was left with the impression that the only reason for the accounts to be opened was money laundering, whereas evidence about the companies’ reasons for opening the accounts, the information they provided to the due diligence inquiries, and the bank’s initial satisfaction with answers in response to its information gathering before opening the accounts, would all be evidence that a defendant, if present at the hearing, would have wanted to have been before the judge.”).) As a result, the Court discharged the restraint order and exercised its discretion to refuse to enter a new order. (Id. at 20.)

The U.K. Court’s decision was premised on the rule of law. Information was exchanged, evidence was adduced and a court of law made a decision based on written laws. With due process applied, the baseless allegations against Mr. Zlochevskiy were soundly rejected.

In the past, media outlets in Ukraine and others, including the former Ambassador to Ukraine, have conveyed a different, and inaccurate, narrative about the U.K. case. As recently as a few months ago, for example, the Kiev Post claimed that the outcome of the U.K. proceeding was allegedly the result of corruption within the PGO and specifically driven by the PGO’s provision of a letter to the U.K. Court claiming that no investigation of Mr. Zlochevskiy was then pending in Ukraine. The claim in the Kiev Post, which echoed prior inaccurate statements along the same lines by others, is clearly
incorrect. The U.K. Court based its decision on the facts and the law, not based on a letter from the PGO about whether an investigation existed in Ukraine. (Id. at 21 ("investigation 805 was one of those mentioned in the 2 December 2014 letter which stated that allegation notification had not been delivered due to absence of grounds for criminal prosecution. It is not known why the authorities subsequently changed their minds 27 days later, or whether fresh evidence has arisen. Equally it is not known what persuaded the judge to make a seizure order without notice, when of course the assets were already subject to an existing UK order of which the defendant had notice.").) These baseless claims in the media, seeking to tarnish Mr. Zlochevskiy’s reputation, are the opposite of the rule of law.

The recent actions of the Pechersk District Court only further demonstrate that the claims against Mr. Zlochevskiy in Ukraine—claims that the U.K. Court had already adjudicated and rejected—are baseless. The Ukraine Court’s decision was preceded by provision to the Special Investigative Division of voluminous documentation demonstrating the bona fides of Mr. Zlochevskiy’s income. We attach hereto as Exhibit B a list of certain key documents previously provided to the PGO.

We respectfully request that Your Excellency take into consideration these objective facts when considering the narrative promoted by some, and no doubt to be repeated again, in disregard of the facts and the law and the decisions by courts in two different countries.

Respectfully,

John D. Buretta

Ambassador Marie L. Yovanovitch
U.S. Embassy in Ukraine
4, I. Sikorsky St. (formerly Tankova)
04112 Kyiv, Ukraine

VIA EMAIL AND COURIER
Exhibit A
IN THE CENTRAL CRIMINAL COURT

Case No: RSTO/7/2014

Old Bailey
London
EC4M 7HS

Date: 20/01/2015

Before:

THE HONOURABLE MR JUSTICE BLAKE

Between:

SERIOUS FRAUD OFFICE
- and -
MYKOLA ZLOCHEVSKYI

Applicant

Defendant

Mr Jonathan Kinnear QC and Mr Jonathan Lennon (instructed by) for the SFO
Mr Hugo Keith QC (instructed by Peters and Peters) for the Defendant


Approved Judgement as Revised 21 January 2015
The Honourable Mr Justice Blake:

Introduction:

1. On 16 April 2014, at a without notice application made to His Honour Judge Kramer QC sitting in private at this court, a restraint order was made against the defendant, who I shall refer to as MZ for short, and three third parties, Brociti Investments Limited, Burisma Holdings Limited and Andrii Kicha preventing them from dealing with assets in a number of bank accounts (the accounts) held at a London branch of the BNP Paribas (BNP).

2. This is the hearing of the defendant’s application to discharge the order and, in the event that the order was to be discharged, the applicant’s application for a new order in similar terms.

3. MZ is a national of Ukraine, he is a wealthy businessman. He is a former member of the Ukrainian parliament, the Rada, and has held political office. From 16 December 2003 to 22 February 2005 he was appointed Chairman of the State Committee for Natural Resources, a committee overseen by the Ministry of Environmental Protection. During that time two private companies owned by the defendant, Esko-Pivnich and Pari, were awarded licences to explore for oil pursuant to a new procedure for tendering established by a resolution of the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers in October 2003. Other exploration licences were subsequently awarded when he was not in office as were further licences to commence production.

4. In February 2005, the defendant was dismissed from his post when there was a change of government in Ukraine. He remained out of office until March 2010 when there was another change of government that remained in power until February 2014. During this second period the defendant held the posts successively of Chairman of the State Committee for Material Reserves (March to July 2010); Minister of Environmental Protection (July to December 2010); Minister of the Environment and Natural Resources (December 2010 to April 2012) and Deputy Secretary of National Security (April 2012 to February 2014). The first three positions were connected with the licensing of exploration and production of the natural resources of Ukraine. The last position was not and did not form part of the executive.

5. In February 2006, during the period when he was out of office and his political opponents were in power, an executive decree cancelled the exploration licences granted to his companies in 2004. The validity of this decree was successfully challenged in the Ukrainian courts in 2007, and the prosecutor’s subsequent appeals up the judicial hierarchy as far as the Supreme Court of Ukraine were all dismissed. In February 2006 the Minister of Internal Affairs announced a criminal inquiry into the activities of the committee of which the defendant was chairman but no formal investigation resulted. Allegations of corruption against political opponents appear to have been a feature of Ukrainian political life at this time. The same minister was one of those subsequently jailed for offences following the change of regime in 2010.
6. The only connection that the defendant has with the United Kingdom is that the two companies owned by him, Brociti Investments and Burisma Holdings, have held bank accounts at the BNP since about June 2013. Some US$35 million was paid into these accounts, of which it is estimated that $20 million was provided by a company owned by Mr Sergey Kurchenko. Since the change of regime in Ukraine in February 2014 criminal proceedings have been instituted against Mr Kurchenko and his name also appears on a restrictive measure directed against certain persons in view of the situation in Ukraine (Council Regulation (EU) No 208/2014 effective from 5 March 2014 onwards).

7. Mr Andrii Kicha is a Ukrainian commercial lawyer, the chief legal officer of Burisma and other companies owned by the defendant. He was the sole authorised signatory on the BNP accounts that are the subject to the restraint order. On 11 and 25 March 2014 he instructed BNP to transfer the balance of some $23 million held in the accounts to other accounts of the companies held in Cyprus. In his witness statement of 18 June 2014, made for the purpose of these proceedings, he states that the reason for the transfer was that BNP had wanted, since October 2013, to close the accounts and an end date of 4 April 2014 had been agreed in order to do so.

8. It seems, however, that these requests may have been the trigger for a notification by the bank to the SFO. On 22 March 2014 the Director of the SFO authorised a money laundering investigation into the defendant. On 3, 4 and 8 April production orders were issued to the bank pursuant to s. 345 of the Proceeds of Crime Act 2002 (the Act). The first two orders were complied with by 11 April 2014. The third order resulted in much more documentation being supplied to the SFO between 6 May and 20 May 2014 and a special team was assembled to examine 6170 electronic documents. As a result of this review, on 22 August 2014, 22 documents were produced to the defendant in pursuit of the applicant’s duty of disclosure.

9. The SFO investigator Richard Gould made a witness statement on 14 April 2014 in support of the without notice application. The investigation was in its early stages, and the information available to him comprised the product of the two orders that BNP had by then complied with, some information supplied by the NCA liaison officer in Kiev and the product of his own unspecified researches on the internet. A short supplementary (unnumbered) statement by him was filed on 16 April. This was confined to the question whether MZ had made the appropriate disclosure of receipt of a large dividend payment made by one of his companies, as he was required to do as both a public official and a taxpayer. He indicated that as a result of information received from Ukraine he believed that MZ had failed to declare the dividend of some US$4 million.

10. The hearing before HHJ Kramer QC was short, some 19 minutes in length, and oral evidence was limited to the question of the dividend disclosure relied on as evidence of the defendant’s dishonesty. The substance of the case put in the witness statement and supporting skeleton argument was that there were reasonable grounds to believe that the defendant had engaged in criminal conduct in Ukraine and the funds in the BNP account were believed to be the proceeds of such criminal conduct because:-
i. His wealth increased when he held public office and the only apparent source of his private wealth was from the exploitation of mineral licences awarded to his companies when he held public office.

ii. Although no specific offence of bribery or fraud could be identified at this early stage in the investigation, the potential for conflict of interest ‘gives rise to a clear inference of a wilful and dishonest exploitation of a direct conflict of interest by a man holding an important public office such as to amount to an abuse of the public’s trust in him’. Such conduct would, if committed in this jurisdiction, amount to an offence of misconduct in public office.

iii. The complicated pattern of off-shore holding companies established when he was still a serving Minister was effectively to conceal his beneficial ownership of Burisma and the economically active enterprises of which it was the holding company. The court could draw the inference of dishonest motive for the corporate structure.

iv. Scrutiny of the statements of the BNP accounts shows very limited activity and this is an indicator that their primary purpose was to facilitate the transfer of criminal property.

v. The recent attempt to transfer the assets was troubling evidence of an attempt to avoid sanctions and freezing orders by transferring the funds to the companies’ accounts in Cyprus.

11. Since the order was made, evidence has been filed on behalf of the defendant in the form of two witness statements from Mr Kicha with numerous exhibits seeking to explain the origins of the defendant’s wealth, the regulatory environment in Ukraine at the time when the defendant held office, the history of the corporate structure of the defendant’s companies, the nature of the business deals that resulted in the payments into the BNP accounts, the reasons why the accounts were opened in the first place and the information required by and provided to BNP to ensure regulatory compliance. These include a report from a well known international investigation agency Kress Associates into MZ’s business history prepared for BNP and a memorandum on relevant provisions of Ukraine law at the time prepared by reputable lawyers for these proceedings. He states that BNP had asked for closure of the accounts because the reason for applying to the bank in April 2013 to open the accounts in the first place, namely a proposed placement, was no longer going to proceed.

12. Mr Kicha also observed that Mr Gould’s second witness statement proceeded on a false basis about disclosure of dividend payments. As a state officer MZ had declared income of approximately US $2million in 2010 and 2011, $4.8 million in 2012, and had declared on 24 February 2014 (within the relevant accounting period) the sum of $3 million received in late November 2013. He suggested that Mr Gould had erroneously looked to the date of the resolution awarding the
payment of a dividend on 28 December 2012 rather the date when instructions were given by Mr Kicha for the payment to be made even though this instruction was in Mr Gould’s possession and had been exhibited in his first witness statement (Vol 2/ 240, RG1/73). The date of payment and the February declaration was subsequently accepted by the applicant. There has been no evidence contradicting Mr Kicha’s account that earlier declarations had been made.

13. The defendant also relied on the witness statement of Mr Boiko a defence lawyer and current chair of the Bar Council of Kiev and Professor Sakwa. Mr Boiko gives evidence both of the procedural requirements of Ukrainian criminal law and the fact that although the present authorities in Ukraine have been anxious to investigate possible criminal wrongdoing by the defendant, and a number of different investigations connected with him have been opened, he has never been named as a suspect in any criminal investigation. An embezzlement inquiry (investigation 155) into a procurement fraud in his department concerned others and related to events after MZ had left that office.

14. The Ukrainian authorities had written on a number of occasions to the applicant giving information about inquiries that had been opened but had not progressed to the point where evidence of wrongdoing had been discovered such as to require the prosecutor to inform MZ that he was a suspect. Shortly before the hearing of this application a letter dated 2 December 2014 was received from the General Prosecutor of Ukraine stating that in respect of five separately identified investigations opened between 19 December 2012 and 6 August 2014 (including 155 and another investigation 181) ‘allegation notification was not delivered to MZ due to absence of grounds for criminal prosecution.’ It may be the case, as Mr Gould points out in his second witness statement, that search warrants were executed at his premises in April and May 2014 but that does not mean that there was evidence to make him a suspect.

15. Professor Sakwa gives some background evidence about the susceptibility of the prosecution authorities in Ukraine to political pressure as regimes change. Given the state of the evidence that no investigations of criminal conduct against the defendant in Ukraine have resulted in his being named as a suspect some ten months after the change of regime, this evidence is only of very limited assistance.

16. The defendant’s solicitors have pressed for full disclosure of relevant data that might undermine the applicant’s case or support that of the defendant emerging from the product of the first two orders that were available before the hearing on 16 April. Mr Gould disputed that there was anything further to be disclosed in his second witness statement of 29 August 2013 (at [9] to [12]) and specifically addressed this in his third witness statement of 3 October 2014, where he again disputed that there was any relevant disclosure to be made from this material. This remained the position of the applicant in the written submissions lodged and when Mr Kinnear QC addressed me in response to the defendant’s application on 4 December the second day of this three day hearing.
17. However, on 5 December, following overnight inquiries and a request for a short
adjournment to consider matters, Mr Kinnear concluded that on reviewing the
contents of the first production order, there were a small number of documents
that should have been disclosed. Disclosure was now being made. In the interest
of transparency the whole of the material produced would be supplied to the
defendant’s team. As a result of these developments the applicant would not now
oppose the defendant's application to set aside HHJ Kramer’s order but it was
nevertheless contended that I should make a fresh order for restraint in the light of
all the evidence.

18. As the defendant had not had the opportunity to examine the relevance of the three
volumes of material supplied on 5 December (some of which was duplicated
material) a time-table was set for further written submissions to be lodged before
the end of last term. I have received those submissions and carefully considered
them. I conclude that there is no need for this hearing to be reconvened for further
oral submissions, nor is there any need for me to be provided with bundles of the
newly disclosed material. It is sufficient to note that of the 17 documents
identified and described by the defendant in a schedule dated 11 December, the
applicant now accepts that 10 should have been disclosed and that at least two
mis-statements of fact were made by Mr Gould in his third witness statement,
about the documents the applicant had in its possession.

The Law

19. The parties are in broad agreement as to the governing law with respect to the
following propositions:

   i. The court has the discretion to make a restraining order if the
   statutory conditions are met (s.41 (1) of the Act).

   ii. As the Director of SFO had authorised the commencement of a
   money laundering investigation in March 2014 the relevant
   statutory conditions are those set out in s.40((2)(b) of the Act
   namely ‘there is reasonable cause to believe that the offender has
   benefitted from his criminal conduct’.

   iii. A necessary aspect of this test, in present circumstances, is whether
   there is reasonable cause to believe that the defendant has
   committed any criminal conduct in the first place.

   iv. Reasonable cause to believe that the defendant has committed a
   crime requires a higher threshold than a reasonable cause to suspect
   that he may have done, but at an early stage in an investigation
   there will be many uncertainties, which do not prevent the
   existence of a reasonable cause to believe (Windsor [2011] 2 Cr
   App R 7 per Hooper LJ at [53], [78], and [87]).

   v. The criminal conduct concerned does not have to be an offence
   punishable in Ukraine (s.76 (1) and 340 (2) of the Act).
vi. It is not necessary to establish that money that is being handled is criminal property by identifying that it is the product of a specific criminal offence; it suffices if all the circumstances give rise to an irresistible inference that it could only be derived from crime (Anwoir [2008] 2 Cr App R 36 at [21]).

vii. An inference that a crime has been committed is only irresistible if it is the only reasonable inference that can be drawn from the evidence as a whole and all inferences consistent with the absence of criminality can be excluded. However, this is the test to be applied by the fact finder at the conclusion of the trial process after all the material evidence has been tested (Jabbar [2006] EWCA Crim 2694 per Moses LJ at [21]).

20. The way that the applicant advanced his case on 16 April 2014 and the primary way in which the case was developed in the written and oral submissions for the December hearing, was that the defendant’s assets were the product of criminal wrongdoing when he held public office, and that in the absence of any specific evidence of corruption or fraud, such wrongdoing is reflected in the common law offence of misconduct in public office. The elements of that offence have been described in Attorney General’s Reference No 3 of 2003 [2004] 2 Cr App R 23. So far as is material to present circumstances, the prosecution must show that a public officer without reasonable excuse ‘wilfully neglects to perform his duty or misconducts himself to such a degree to amount to an abuse of the public’s trust in the office holder.’

21. I accept Mr Kinnear’s submission that for present purposes it matters not whether Ukraine has an equivalent offence of misconduct in public office. However, in order to show either misconduct or a failure to perform a duty and in order to evaluate whether any failure is sufficiently grave to amount to an abuse of trust, there needs to be some breach by the defendant of a local obligation that is imposed with respect to the office. That means that provisions of Ukrainian law and the conditions of public service relating to conflicts of interests are relevant as a matter of fact. In my judgment, it is not sufficient that MZ was the owner of the shares in a holding company that owned oil and gas production companies and related companies that were commercially active when he held office, unless there was some local requirement to divest himself of all such shareholdings during the period of office.

22. In support of the submission that, whatever their origin, the assets in the account were the proceeds of money-laundering, the applicant points to the complex nature of the commercial transactions described by Mr Kicha, the origin of the venture that is said to be the source of the funds paid into the accounts, the use of offshore companies, the evidential gaps in the documentation produced by him, the absence of any evidence from the defendant himself and the other participants in the joint venture.

23. I accept that as a matter of law appropriate adverse inferences may be drawn from a defendant’s failure to explain apparently incriminating evidence consistent with money laundering activity. Whether it is right to draw such an inference depends
on all the surrounding circumstances, the evidential strength of the applicant’s secondary submission, and whether there is good reason to doubt what Mr Kicha has said on behalf of the defendant and the interested parties.

24. If there is jurisdiction to make a restraint order, there is a clear legislative steer as to how discretion should be exercised. The application is made in the public interest in order to preserve from dissipation, assets that may be confiscated upon conviction or other order: see s. 69 (2) of the Act and the observations of the court in Jennings v CPS [2005] EWCA Civ 746 [2006] 1 WLR 182 at [56] dealing with the provisions of the predecessor legislation.

25. In this case, the continued existence of an investigation is dependent on the restraint order being continued. If the assets are transferred to the companies’ accounts in Cyprus, it is improbable that resources will continue to be devoted to the question of whether they were the proceeds of money laundering. Further, by contrast with most of the cases cited by the parties, by the time of the hearing the British authorities had not brought any charge against anyone concerned with the funds in the BNP banks. It was far from clear that there would be such a charge or that there would be confiscation proceedings related to the accounts.

26. It is clear that a public authority seeking a restraint order without notice has to comply with a duty of candour that goes beyond an obligation not to misrepresent. As Hughes LJ put it in Re Stanford International Bank Ltd [2010] EWCA Civ 137; [2010] 3 WLR 941at [191]:

‘It consists in a duty to consider what any interested person would, if present, wish to adduce by way of fact, or to say in answer to the application, and to place that material before the judge. That duty applies to an applicant for a restraint order under POCA in exactly the same way as to any other applicant for an order without notice. Even in relatively small value cases, the potential of a restraint order to disrupt other commercial or personal dealings is considerable. The prosecutor may believe that the applicant is a criminal and he may turn out to be right, but that has yet to be proved. An application for a restraint order is emphatically not a routine matter of form with the expectation that it will routinely be granted. The fact that the initial application is likely to be forced into a busy list, with very limited time for the judge to deal with it, is yet a further reason for the obligation of disclosure to be taken very seriously. In effect a prosecutor seeking an ex parte order must put on his defence hat and ask himself what, if he were representing the defendant or third party with a relevant interest he would be saying to the judge, and having answered that questions, that is what he must tell the judge’.

27. If there has been a material failure of disclosure, when considering whether the order should be discharged, the question is not whether the order was obtained as a result of the misrepresentation or non-disclosure but whether the information was material to be taken into account in the exercise of the discretion to grant the relief sought, Stanford (above) per Sir Andrew Morritt C at [83].

28. A failure of disclosure may result in an award of costs and/or a setting aside of the order made without notice, but it may still be in the public interest to make a
fresh order in the light of all the evidence now available to the court and the relevant issues: see Stanford at [97] to [101]; [198] to [202].

The contentions of the parties

29. I do not propose to lengthen this judgment with a detailed consideration of the evidence relating to MZ’s period in office, the grant of exploration and production licences, and the regime then applicable in the Ukraine to prevent conflicts of interest. I have had the benefit of skeleton arguments and in addition there has been a contemporaneous live note record kept of the oral submissions made in these proceedings.

30. In essence Mr Keith submits:

i. It is peculiar that the Director of the SFO decided to open a domestic money laundering investigation without any clear evidence to suggest that the assets in the accounts were criminal property or criminal property derived from offences committed when MZ held public office. If there had been any basis for such a contention there could have been an external request from Ukraine using the Proceeds of Crime Act 2002 (External Requests and Orders) Order 2005. There has never been such a request.

ii. Instead there has been political contact between Ukraine and the United Kingdom since the change of regime in February 2014. There have been high profile commitments on the English side to assist Ukraine to recover stolen assets and some political expressions of support on the Ukrainian side for the fact that the English authorities have taken the lead with respect to MZ.

iii. It was wholly misleading of Mr Gould in his first witness statement at [12] to indicate that, although MZ has no known criminal convictions against him, according to a letter from the head of the Main Investigation Department in the Ministry of the Interior of Ukraine dated 13 March 2014 (addressed to the National Crime Agency liaison officer in Kiev) investigation 462 opened in December 2013 and ‘there are sufficient grounds to suggest that MZ had been receiving his share of money for participating in law violations’. The subsequent disclaimer that as this was not the basis of the application as it was not a formal request for assistance did not cure its prejudicial effect.

iv. The true position was that any investigation into embezzlement was against other officials in MZ’s former department and he appeared to have been interviewed as a witness. The subsequent witness statement of Mr Boiko and the 2 December letter from the state prosecutor’s office written for the purposes of the present hearing, indicate that he was never named as a suspect for embezzlement or indeed any other offence, let alone one related to
the exercise of improper influence in the grant of exploration and production licences.

v. It was equally misleading for the applicant to rely on Mr Gould’s assertion that there were well publicised allegations of abuse when the public allegation was that of a political opponent in 2006, who was himself subsequently convicted of offences when the regime changed. There was no evidence at all to suggest that the oil production licences were improperly obtained. Indeed the decision of the Ukrainian courts given when MZ was out of power indicate that there was no perceived irregularity with the way the licences had been granted before 2010. It also appeared that production licenses were granted from 2005 onwards when he was out of power.

vi. If Mr Gould had properly investigated the requirements of Ukrainian law before relying on the allegations of corruption, he should have been aware that the change of the tendering system was not a decision taken by MZ himself but a change promoted before he took office. This change was not evidence of corruption but a move to liberalise the market. There was a system of checks and requirements before a licence could be issued and the decision was taken by people other than MZ himself, as the detailed analysis of Ukrainian law prepared by a Ukraine branch of a US law firm, Chadbourne and Parke, dated 17 September 2014 that was attached to Mr Kicha’s second witness statement of 23 October 2014 confirmed.

vii. The suggestion in Mr Gould’s first witness statement that the acquisition of MZ’s wealth coincided with his holding of political office was untrue, as he could (or should) have known if he had properly researched the topic before making the restraint application. A number of the documents provided to BNP Paribas in their regulatory compliance/Know Your Client investigation between April 2003 and June 2013, before the accounts were opened, showed the pre-2003 business history of the defendant indicating that he had been active in a company called Infox since September 1991. Notable in this respect was a Kroll Associates report, dated 3 August 2013 that had been commissioned by BNP’s clients and supplied to the bank as part of the intelligence gathering process. This document was disclosed by Mr Gould in his second witness statement 29 August as something that had been disclosed in the third production order effected in May 2013, but it was surprising that core documents from the Know Your Client process were not sought and obtained in the earlier production orders or specially sought before an inaccurate history was presented to the judge.

viii. Mr Gould’s first witness statement gave the impression that it was suspicious that the accounts showed no commercial activity of the
sort that would be expected with an active oil exploration company. The inference was thereby given that the only reason for the accounts being opened was to launder money from tainted sources. In fact the BNP disclosure material should have revealed that the accounts were opened in the context of a private placement to increase the capital base of the companies and the corporate structure was such that these accounts were related simply to the overall holding companies and not the business operational accounts.

ix. This last point has been supported by the schedule of documents on which the defendant relies arising from 5 December 2014 disclosure. Most of the seven documents, where concessions of disclosure have not been made by the applicant, related to the original reasons for the account being opened and the initial satisfaction of the bank with the results of its due diligence inquiries.

x. Equally it was wrong for Mr Gould (and also counsel relying on him in the without notice application), to give weight to the request to withdraw the funds from the companies’ accounts in London and transfer them to their accounts in Cyprus as evidence of risk of dissipation. The closure of the London accounts had been requested by the bank from October 2013 as would have been known by the time of the without notice application.

xi. There was clear and damaging misinformation provided to the judge with respect to a failure to declare a dividend when received. In addition it is now accepted that there was a failure to disclose documents that were in the possession of the applicant at the time of the without notice application and which should have been disclosed.

xii. Taking these matters cumulatively, the misrepresentations and failure to disclose was sufficiently serious to set aside the judge’s order and not make a fresh one. The applicant should not be able to rely on its significant failures to now seek an order on a fundamentally changed case when it is recognised that their primary case has collapsed.

xiii. If the court nevertheless evaluates today whether there is a good case for restraint, on any basis the evidence of Mr Kicha as to the good faith of the business transactions resulting in the payment in and payment out of the funds in the account, is un-contradicted and not undermined by anything the applicant has put forward.

xiv. In so far as the applicant relies on documentary gaps in Mr Kicha’s evidence, this relates largely to documents from third parties and in any event does not establish a reasonable belief that the proceeds of
the account were criminal property the subject of money laundering.

31. By contrast Mr Kinnear contends that:

i. The failures of disclosure were innocent errors of judgment at an early stage of a complex investigation. Mr Gould had drawn attention to factors favourable to the defence in his first witness statement. There was no reason to doubt the good faith of the applicant in seeking the restraint order in the first place and its replacement with a fresh order today.

ii. The fact remains that MZ held political office in a former regime now notorious for corruption and abuse of power, as the defendant’s own expert Professor Sakwa explains.

iii. MZ has not made a witness statement detailing how he came by his significant wealth or the nature of his dealings with those who are connected to the funds in the BNP accounts, or explaining the source of the funds paid into the accounts. It is not sufficient for him to rely on the evidence of Mr Kicha and that evidence leaves unanswered questions. It is a reasonable inference that it involved criminality of one sort or another.

iv. The BNP material dealing with the proposed public to private placement was overtaken by subsequent events when the possibility of a venture was brought to an end. In any event, it is clear that by February 2014 a senior official in the bank was concluding that the relationship should terminate because of concerns about money laundering.

v. The conclusion that disclosure of the fact that the bank wanted to close the accounts may be prejudicial to the defendant was an exercise of judgment made in good faith.

vi. It is not sufficient to establish reasonable grounds for belief of money laundering that off-shore companies are used in complex transactions. However, the level of complexity here and the involvement of Mr Kurchenko in a joint venture giving rise to the funds in the accounts, suffice, when combined with the other factors, to substantiate reasonable grounds for a belief that the funds represent criminal property.

vii. In these circumstances the statutory steer suggests that discretion should still be exercised to restrain the proceeds pending the completion of investigations and the outcome of any possible trial.
Conclusions:

(1) Non-disclosure

32. In giving directions for the present hearing Phillips J rejected the applicant’s application for cross-examination of Mr Kicha. His reasons for doing so were brief but were in essence that such an application is not a detailed examination of the facts but the exercise of a discretion on the principles set out in the legal authorities above. Either the applicant has established a sufficient basis for the grant of relief on the documents or it has not.

33. At an earlier stage of the proceedings, when setting the timetable on 27 June as to when the applicant should file evidence by way of response, he also said this:

‘It is not acceptable that this sort of order is obtained unless the SFO has already sufficient evidence to satisfy the court that there is the relevant reasonable cause present and it is not right there should be, effectively, an initial order followed by a period of investigation’.

34. There is common ground between the parties that there has been a significant failure of disclosure of relevant documents resulting from the BNP response to the first two production orders. On any view, 10 of the 17 documents in the defendant’s supplementary schedule should have been disclosed. Summarily reviewing the descriptions of the seven documents where the applicant SFO has not conceded that disclosure should have been made, it would appear to me that each was relevant to the exercise of the judge’s discretion within the Stanford criteria identified above. The judge was left with the impression that the only reason for the accounts to be opened was money laundering, whereas evidence about the companies’ reasons for opening the accounts, the information they provided to the due diligence inquiries, and the bank’s initial satisfaction with answers in response to its information gathering before opening the accounts, would all be evidence that a defendant, if present at the hearing, would have wanted to have been before the judge.

35. Taking all seventeen documents together, I am satisfied that a serious error of judgment was made by the applicant’s team about what should have been put before Judge Kramer and in response to the defendant’s solicitors repeated requests for the product of the initial production orders.

36. I am puzzled by the submission that Mr Gould thought it would be prejudicial to the defendant to inform the judge that BNP wanted the accounts closed. It seems to me infinitely more prejudicial to identify as the ‘most troubling aspect’ (as counsel’s skeleton argument did at [15]) the fact of Mr Kicha’s request for BNP to transfer the assets of $23 million from the BNP account to the companies’ accounts in Cyprus when that was what BNP had wanted the companies to do and had set a time table for so doing. Further, on 29 August 2014 Mr Gould exhibited an BNP email dated 11 February 2014 where there is a reference to the deal that is the source of the funds and where it said “it looks” obvious that the deal itself is probably a mixture of money laundering and corruption’ which might be the kind of
prejudice he had in mind, but this did not result in more disclosure of the product of the first two orders.

37. Precisely what led the bank to seek to terminate the relationship established in June 2013 is unclear. In October 2013 it may have been simply that the commercial venture that had been proposed was not going to take place, or it may have been other concerns not communicated to the clients. The bank’s concerns may have been the starting point of an inquiry into the nature of the assets in the accounts, but this does not amount to a reasonable belief that the assets are criminal proceeds either from some corrupt activity of the defendant or an attempt to money launder the dubious assets of others.

38. In addition to the failure to disclose material documents forming part of the banking relationship with BNP, there was a positive inaccurate (false without any connotation of knowingly and dishonestly false) information about the failure to disclose a dividend in an accounting year before it had been paid. Whilst this was only a small point, it went directly to the credibility and honesty of the defendant and was in fact the only issue ventilated when Mr Gould gave short evidence in a very short hearing. It must have played a role in the judge’s decision.

(2) Criminal property from corruption in office

39. In the light of the acceptance by Mr Kinnear that the judge’s order made without notice should be set aside for material non-disclosure, it seems to me that I do not have to engage in an assessment of whether the order would have been made if no misrepresentation had occurred and the fuller picture set out in the disclosure documents had been provided. The evidential picture before me is fundamentally different to that before him.

40. I accept Mr Keith’s submission that despite ample opportunity to do so, nothing has been produced by Mr Gould to undermine the reliability of Mr Kicha’s account of the business history and transactions or Chadbourn and Parke’ account of the applicable Ukrainian law. However this material along with Mr Boiko’s account of the state of the investigations being conducted in the Ukraine undermines most of the six points that I have summarised as the evidential basis for the earlier application at [10] above.

41. I accept that very large sums of money came into the BNP accounts, US $35 million, of which $23 million remains. I accept that the defendant held public office in a regime that is presently considered corrupt. I accept that Ukrainian domestic arrangements to prevent conflict of influence by public officials who were already wealthy businessmen and had substantial shareholdings in companies involved in the extractive industries might either be considered inadequate or inadequately enforced. I accept that there is always the possibility that, despite the existence of safeguards as to who makes decision, undue influence can be brought to bear.

42. However, none of these general points establishes reasonable grounds for a belief that his assets were unlawfully acquired as a result of misconduct in public office. It is plain from the business history now available that MZ was already a
businessman of some 12 years standing before he held office. He was declaring income of some US $2 million throughout his second period of office. Oil and gas industries can yield very large sums of money and according to the prospectus material in the possession of the BNP, the Burisma group of companies is the second largest gas producer in Ukraine at a time when demand for gas was rising, and its total worth is now very great.

43. Mr Kinnear points out that the Kroll Associates report suggests that a career in politics was chosen by MZ around 2002 precisely to develop further his business. I do not read that as an admission of corruption, nor is it likely that BNP did so when agreeing to open the accounts after reading this report. The passage is consistent with a view that unless the regulatory regime was opened up and political changes made to encourage market economy, the role of the private sector and opportunities for economic development were limited.

44. I accordingly conclude that the primary way in which the applicant puts and has put its case, does not support the making of a further restraint order.

(3) Criminal property by money laundering the assets of others

45. I now turn to Mr Kinnear’s second submission, namely that analysis of the details of the transactions provided by Mr Kicha in his June witness statement itself leads to the conclusion that the funds that went into the accounts were the product of money laundering. If so, whatever the source of MZ’s wealth may have been, in 2013 he was engaging in transactions that had no genuine commercial purpose but were designed to transfer money that was in someway tainted out of Ukraine, possibly in anticipation of pending political turmoil in that country.

46. For this point to be explored, it is necessary to summarise some of the transactions on which the applicant founds this submission. I am conscious that Mr Keith’s primary response to this second limb is that the court should not consider making a fresh restraint at all giving the misrepresentations, the failure of disclose and the changes in the way the applicants puts its case.

47. Mr Kicha’s account of the source of the US $35m that was placed in the accounts is as follows:

i. MZ owned property assets of parcels of land outside Kiev. These were unrelated to oil and gas industry. They were held through a company called Chartlux Resources Inc and its subsidiary TOV Kam that was founded on 1 August 2003. In September 2013 these assets were valued at US $46.34 million.

ii. A Latvian businessman called Andrej Kiselovs who had extensive experience in real estate in Ukraine was interested in developing the land in a joint venture with MZ and believed that they could be sold for more than their current valuation.
iii. There was an agreement to set up a joint venture entity to acquire and hold the assets. This was Cipriato Alliance Limited, a company registered in Belize. MZ and Mr Kiselovs both held a 50 per cent stake in Cipriato. Kiselovs was to invest US$ 17 million in the venture and MZ $18 million.

iv. TOV Kam did not sell the assets direct to Cipriato, but a complex series of transactions ensued, whereby TOV Kam was sold to a special purpose vehicle called Seanon Limited, Seanon sold it to Brociti and Brocoti sold it to Cipriato for $35 million. MZ was the ultimate beneficial owner of Seanon as well as Tov Kam and Brociti. Seanon was sold to Brociti at a nominal value because this was a transfer between companies all owned by MZ.

v. The ultimate sale agreement between Brociti and Cipriato dated 11 December 2013 was provided (see AK8 vol 2/442). The position described above is rendered more complex by the existence of various loans.

vi. In due course, the sums representing the $35m were paid into the accounts in six instalments between 19 December and 21 January 2014.

48. Thus, it is said, the payments were the product of a good faith sale of assets to a joint venture for value. What is not known, possibly because Mr Kicha cannot say and MZ has not made a statement, is:-

i. Why an asset valued at $46.3 million was sold to the joint venture for $35 million?

ii. Why MZ thought it appropriate that Mr Kiselovs should acquire 50% of the value of this asset for US $17 million?

iii. What the commercial reasons were to sell the assets through the chain described above?

iv. Why the purchase price was paid into the BNP account at a time when the placement proposal was at an end and BNP was suggesting that the account should be closed?

49. Mr Kicha then turns to how MZ raised his share of the funds needed by Cipriato to purchase Seanon. He explains that this was achieved by the sale of an oil terminal and tank farm in Kherson that was owned by him through a British Virgin Islands registered company under his control called Kisaliano Holdings Limited. It is stated that US $20.03 million was transferred by Kisaliano into Cipriato’s bank account in Latvia. A further point is made that that payment did not arouse any regulatory concerns by the bank, although the footnote in the statement refers to regulatory compliance in Estonia not Latvia. The sum paid in was more than the $18 million that was due to be MZ’s share of the investment as
the balance was a loan to Mr Kiselovs to help him raise his share of the joint venture.

50. Mr Kicha then explains more about Kisaliano and the sale of the oil terminal. He states that the property in question was owned by MZ’s operating company Infox from 2002 having had an earlier association with it when an opportunity arose to acquire it when its original owner became bankrupt. The asset then went through various holding companies until in about September 2013 it was transferred to Vestorgia Holdings Limited, a company registered in Cyprus on 22 March 2012.

51. Mr Kicha further explains that in mid 2013, MZ had decided to sell the asset to Rosseu Business Group Ltd. Rosseu was understood to be a subsidiary company of the Vetek Group, which is owned by Sergey Kurchenko.

52. Kisaliano Holdings was therefore created as a special purpose vehicle in July 2013 in the BVI in contemplation of the sale of the assets to Rosseu through Vestorgia. The sale agreement was signed on 9 October 2013 whereby Kisaliano sold 1000 shares in Vestorgia to Rosseu for the sum of US$32 million. Payment was made between October and 8 November 2013, of $30.950, and a further $1 million was held in an escrow account.

53. The $20.3 million paid into Cipriato came from this $30.95 million. The Cipriato monies (to which Mr Kiselovs added some $15m of his own) were the source of the payments into the accounts that are the subject of the restraint order.

54. In his second witness statement, Mr Gould comments that, far from providing evidence tending to show that the funds were legitimately derived from the sale of assets, the explanation supports the applicant’s case that they are the product of money laundering. He points out that one high risk money laundering indicator known to law enforcement and the financial sector is corporate entities that are based in one jurisdiction and operate in another. He suggests that the sequence of transfers of assets through different companies is suspicious in itself and indicative of attempts to disguise the nature of the transactions.

55. He then makes the point that Mr Kicha’s June statement made no comment on the current status of Mr Kurchenko. He explains that on 20 March 2014 it was reported in the global media sources that Mr Kurchenko was the subject of an arrest warrant in relation to misappropriation, embezzlement or obtaining state funds through abuse. Inquiries were still pending with the Ukrainian authorities as to the nature of these charges. He fled Ukraine after the fall of the previous government. His present whereabouts are unknown. He is the subject of a Treasury Sanctions notice dated 6 March 2014 freezing his assets pursuant to the EU Regulation.

56. By way of preamble, Mr Gould also commented on the sale of a subsidiary of Brociti called Egeli Services to Audrinura Trade LLP Limited on 27 December 2012. The sale price was US $6 million but the funds were not paid until 8 July 2013. Egeli was the Cypriot corporate vehicle for the acquisition earlier in 2012 of two Ukrainian companies supplying specialist gas drilling products. Audrinura is registered in the UK but the annual returns for the accounting period ending 30
September 2013 made no reference to the acquisition of Egeli and its net profit was recorded as merely £243. All this is said to be consistent with money laundering, the creation of a complex series of transactions where there is little evidence of genuine trading or proper accounting of high value transactions.

57. Mr Kicha’s response to the points about Egeli is, first, this was not raised in the first witness statement when it could have been; second the assets owned by Egeli are genuine assets and the sale was properly recorded in Brociti’s financial statements. Third, he volunteers the fact that Audrinura is a company owned by Mr Kiselovs (who of course is the partner of MZ in the Cipriato joint venture). Fourth, he says if the irregularity is that Audrinura did not record the purchase in its trading account then that is a matter for Mr Kiselovs to comment on, not the defendant. It does nothing to suggest that the Cipriato monies are criminal property.

58. In his submissions by way of reply to the points developed by Mr Kinnear orally on this part of [46] above:-

   i. Each of the transactions under consideration resulted in real assets being exchanged for real cash, with ownership going one way and cash the other.

   ii. Each was properly recorded in the relevant accounts that, in turn, were audited and accepted as a true statement by various professionals in a number of jurisdictions.

   iii. The underlying transactions were completed in the autumn of 2013 before the dramatic events of February 2014 that led to change of regime and any need to transfer ill gotten gains out of the country.

   iv. The fact that Mr Kurchenko is now the subject of a freezing order does not invalidate or taint business transactions conducted with him some six months previously.

   v. It was Mr Kicha who disclosed the names of Kiselovs and Kurchenko as the real individuals behind the corporate entities. He was the person running the Brociti bank accounts and was able to provide credible evidence of the transactions under scrutiny.

   vi. Nothing is known to the discredit of Mr Kiselovs save possibly a failure to lodge accurate accounts but could this not make the sums he paid into Cipriato tainted.

   vii. The information that Mr Kurchenko is now under investigation for criminal activity is too vague and evidentially unsupported to give rise to any proper basis for concluding that the purchase price for the oil terminal was criminal property that has now come into the BNP accounts.
(4) **Decision**

59. I am required to perform an overall exercise of discretion as to whether relief should now be granted afresh having regard to the fact that the without notice order is to be set aside, there was material non disclosure, and the principal basis on which it was obtained does not justify the conclusion that there are reasonable grounds to believe that MZ was engaged in criminal conduct relating to his companies when he held office. The burden is on the applicant to persuade me that such an order should be granted, evaluating all the material as it now stands.

60. The non disclosure of the 10 or 17 documents identified in the schedule was not a momentary or accidental slip. It was an exercise of judgment that is now accepted to be flawed having regard to the issues or criteria. It may be that the misrepresentation as to the dividend disclosure (noted at [38] above) was a slip, as it required detailed reading of the accounts for the point to be noted and there was undoubtedly pressure of time in preparing the first statement.

61. Despite the number of documents in question, the concerns of Mr Keith at the nature of the communications between Ukraine and the SFO and the inappropriate reliance by Mr Gould in his first witness statement on information and belief from sources whose identity is not revealed, I do not conclude that the errors of judgment were such to suggest that he was not acting in good faith.

62. As a result of these matters, the hearing before HHJ Kramer was unfair and the order made is set aside. That does not prevent the making of a fresh order as was in fact done in the case of Stanford. I do not consider that the non-disclosure and false representations are of such serious misconduct as to prevent a fresh order being made, having regard to the guidance in Jennings. An adverse costs order, relating to the proceedings will often suffice to address a failure of disclosure that falls below this threshold.

63. However, eight months have passed since the original order. I have concluded that the basis for any fresh order rests on the suspicious inferences arising from the details of the transactions disclosed with particularity by Mr Kicha.

64. This is a different case to that advanced in April although, I accept, not totally disconnected from it. Where, on a without notice application, it is submitted that the known circumstances give rise to the reasonable inference of money laundering, and the defendant then provides a detailed account by way of response, the applicant’s critical comments on the evidence produced by the defendant are part of the continuum of the inquiry. This is not a case of delaying the hearing to permit some wholly extraneous fresh investigation to yield forensically probative fruit.

65. Nevertheless, the case now rests largely on the analysis of what has not been provided by Mr Kicha, whose credibility and reliability has not been undermined. The applicant’s principal point is that we have not heard from MZ personally to explain more. The question for me is whether the SFO has presented such an
evidentially cogent case of reason to believe that the money in the accounts were
the product of money laundering that the absence of a response from the
defendant personally can assume evidential significance in the balance of factors.

66. I have given very anxious consideration to the written and oral submissions (the
transcript of which I have reminded myself of) of the applicant on this aspect of
the case. I recognise that the unexplained complexity of the transaction gives
reasonable cause to suspect that something other than a simple commercial
transaction may have been conducted here, but the case remains a matter of
conjecture and suspicion with no or insufficient concrete data on which a clearly
founded restraint application is made.

67. Whilst it is understandable why much should remain unclear and unsubstantiated
at the first application, when only 25 days had passed since the institution of the
investigation and a much shorter period since the receipt from the BNP in
response to the disclosure orders, it is reasonable in the light of the passage of
time to have expected a much clearer and evidentially supported account of why
there had been a benefit for criminal conduct. There is nothing to suggest that Mr
Kiselovs’s businesses are unlawful; there may well be real suspicion about Mr
Kurchenko’s activities given his current status and investigation but no specific
evidence of illegality has been identified to suggest that any commercial
transaction with him was tainted. The transactions appear to involve more
corporate vehicles than might seem necessary, but Mr Kicha explains that special
purpose vehicles are often the means of conducting large scale transactions in
Ukraine and explains why foreign companies and bank accounts are preferred to
domestic ones. There is nothing to suggest that any other inference than
criminality is implausible.

68. A restraint order is a draconian measure. It should not be made on the basis of
suspicion and conjecture alone. The court must critically examine the evidential
foundation for such an application, whilst recognising that there will be omissions
in the evidence presented by both parties. In substance I prefer Mr Keith’s
submissions on this issue summarised at [58] above. Taking all the above into
account I have concluded that I should set aside the restraint order previously
made without making a new one. The applicant’s application for such an order
accordingly fails.

69. On 8 January 2015, shortly before this draft judgment was finalised, I received a
note from Mr Kinnear updating the court with respect to developments since the
conclusion of the hearing. So far as material, they amounted to this:

i. On 29 December 2014, in respect of investigation
   42014000000805 (805), the Ukrainian prosecutor made a decision
to give MZ notice that he was suspected of having committed a
criminal offence of unlawful enrichment. He could not be served
with this notice as his whereabouts were unknown.

ii. On 30 December 2014, at a without notice hearing in the same
   investigation, a judge of the Percherskyi District Court in Kyiv
gave a decision on the prosecution’s application to seize the funds
in the BNP accounts, inviting the initiation of a mutual assistance request to the English authorities so as to obtain their recovery.

70. These developments do not cause me to reopen this hearing or to revisit the provisional conclusions already reached.

71. Investigation 805 was referred to in a letter from the Prosecutor General’s office (undated but in response to an inquiry of 14 November 2014). It was there stated that an investigation had been registered on 5 August 2014 into an allegation of unlawful enrichment as a result of receiving a large bribe and money laundering based on the information provided from the competent authorities in the United Kingdom in the course of their money laundering investigation started on 22 March 2014. It was further stated in this letter that:

‘the British investigation established the fact that (MZ being a Minister of Ecology and Natural Resources and being the beneficial owner of a non resident company that owned the subsidiary companies) illegally ensured the issuance of mineral resource use permits to the companies’.

The evidence I have seen established nothing of the sort. Disregarding the possibility that the applicant has supplied to the Ukrainians probative data not supplied to this court, there is a real risk that the effect of the without notice order of 16 April has been misunderstood.

72. Further, investigation 805 was one of those mentioned in the 2 December 2014 letter which stated that allegation notification had not been delivered due to absence of grounds for criminal prosecution. It is not known why the authorities subsequently changed their minds 27 days later, or whether fresh evidence has arisen. Equally it is not known what persuaded the judge to make a seizure order without notice, when of course the assets were already subject to an existing UK order of which the defendant had notice.

73. In the event that this information suggests that a Ukrainian request for mutual assistance is about to be made on fresh evidence not considered in this application, that is a matter that can be addressed by a timetable for setting aside the existing order and to which the parties can give consideration following the handing down of this judgment.
Exhibit B
1. History
2. Copy of the extract from the resolution of the Central Criminal Court of the Royal Courts of Equity dated 20.01.2015
3. Copy of the extract from the resolution of the Central Criminal Court of the Royal Courts of Equity dated 20.01.2015 (as amended dated 21.01.2015)
6. Individual license of the National Bank of Ukraine No. 199 dated 01.11.2012
9. Copy of biography of M.V. Zlochevskyi
10. Copy of the certificate of the administration of the National Security and Defence Council of Ukraine No. 076 on awarding M.V. Zlochevskyi
11. Copy of the certificate of Association of Kyiv Radio Engineering Academy of Air Defence Forces Youth NGO on awarding M.V. Zlochevskyi
12. Copy of the certificate of the Ministry of Defence of Ukraine on awarding M.V. Zlochevskyi
13. Copy of the certificate of the State Customs Service of Ukraine on awarding M.V. Zlochevskyi
14. Copies of certificates of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine on awarding M.V. Zlochevskyi
15. Copy of the certificate of the State Service of Geology and Mineral Resources of Ukraine on awarding M.V. Zlochevskyi
16. Copy of the certificate of the Minor Academy of Sciences – Ecology and Health and Safety on awarding M.V. Zlochevskyi
17. Copy of tax return of M.V. Zlochevskyi dated 25.04.2013
18. Copy of the bank order No. 1, dated 15.05.2013, on payment of personal income tax by M.V. Zlochevskyi
19. Copy of the bank order No. 1, dated 28.04.2014, on payment of personal income tax by M.V. Zlochevskyi
21. Copies of university diplomas of M.V. Zlochevskyi
22. Copy of the certificate of incorporation of Burisma Holdings Limited dated 05.12.2014
24. Copy of the certificate of location of Burisma Holdings Limited dated 05.12.2014
28. Copy of the certificate of directors of Burisma Holdings Limited dated 05.12.2014
29. Certificate of shareholders of Brociti Investments Limited dated 20.08.2012 (1,000 shares)
30. Certificate of shareholders of Brociti Investments Limited dated 15.10.2012 (1,000,000 shares)
31. Email from BNP Paribas dated 25.06.2013 on accounts opening confirmation
32. Translation of email from BNP Paribas dated 25.06.2013 on accounts opening confirmation.
33. Letter from BNP Paribas on accounts opening confirmation
34. Translation of letter from BNP Paribas on accounts opening confirmation
35. Resolution of directors of Burisma Holdings Limited on opening the company account dated 13.05.2013
36. Translation of resolution of directors of Burisma Holdings Limited on opening the company account dated 13.05.2013
37. Resolution of the Director of Brociti Investments Limited on opening the company account dated 13.05.2013
38. Translation of resolution of the Director of Brociti Investments Limited on opening the company account dated 13.05.2013
39. Resolution of the directors of Burisma Holdings Limited on opening the company account with a signature sample of a person assigned to be the facility agent of the company dated 25.06.2013
40. Translation of resolution of the directors of Burisma Holdings Limited on opening the company account with a signature sample of a person assigned to be the facility agent of the company dated 25.06.2013
41. Resolution of the Director Brociti Investments Limited on opening the company account with a signature sample of a person assigned to be the facility agent of the company dated 25.06.2013
42. Translation of resolution of the Director Brociti Investments Limited on opening the company account with a signature sample of a person assigned to be the facility agent of the company dated 25.06.2013
43. Copy of a foreign passport of A.V. Kicha
44. Resolution on conclusion of share sales agreement between Brociti Investments Limited and Cipriato dated 11.12.2013
45. Translation of resolution on conclusion of share sales agreement between Brociti Investments Limited and Cipriato dated 11.12.2013
46. Share sales agreement between Brociti Investments Limited and Cipriato dated 11.12.2013
47. Translation of share sales agreement between Brociti Investments Limited and Cipriato dated 11.12.2013
48. Annex G. Financial reports of Seanon for the period from 04.07 until 31.10.2013
56. Certificate of share transfer of Seanon between Brociti Investments Limited and Cipriato
57. Translation of certificate of share transfer of Seanon between Brociti Investments Limited and Cipriato.
58. Assignment agreement dated 11.12.2013
60. Transaction scheme between Brociti Investments Limited and Cipriato
61. Copy of the power of attorney of Burisma Holdings Limited to A. Kicha
62. Copy of the power of attorney of Brociti Investments Limited to A. Kicha
63. Copy of the certificate of Brociti Investments Limited dated 09.01.2015
64. Copy of the certificate of Burisma Holdings Limited dated 09.01.2015
65. Copy of the certificate of Burisma Holdings Limited dated 09.01.2015
66. Copy of the bank account statement of Brociti Investments Limited for the period from 28.06.2013 until 03.02.2014
67. Copy of the bank account statement of Burisma Holdings Limited for the period from 28.06.2013 until 03.02.2014
68. Copy of the certificate No. 232/17-01/24227104810 of the State Tax Inspectorate in Shevchenko District of the Main Department of the State Fiscal Service of Ukraine in the City of Kyiv dated 30.06.2015

69. Copy of the certificate No. 305/17-01/2427104810 of the State Tax Inspectorate in Shevchenkovskyi District of the Main Department of the State Fiscal Service of Ukraine in the City of Kyiv dated 17.09.2015

Correspondence with BNP Paribas on the share sales agreement between Brociti Investments Limited and Cipriato dated 11.12.2013, on dividend payment, account balance repayment to other company’s account and notifications on accounts closing

70. Email from A. Kicha to BNP Paribas (P. Koval) dated 17.12.2013 in the attachment with the Sales agreement dated 11.12.2013

71. Email from A. Kicha to BNP Paribas (Victoria Wright) on the request for dividend payment amounting to USD 10 million dated 24.02.2014 and SWIFT provision in the letter from BNP Paribas

72. Translation of the email from A. Kicha to BNP Paribas (Victoria Wright) on the request for dividend payment amounting to USD 10 million dated 24.02.2014 and SWIFT provision in the letter from BNP Paribas

73. Email from A. Kicha to BNP Paribas (Victoria Wright) on the request for dividend payment amounting to USD 9,899,900 dated 11.03.2014

74. Translation of email from A. Kicha to BNP Paribas (Victoria Wright) on the request for dividend payment amounting to USD 9,899,900 dated 11.03.2014

75. Email from A. Kicha to BNP Paribas (Victoria Wright) on the request for transferring the accounts balances dated 24.03.2014

76. Translation of the email from A. Kicha to BNP Paribas (Victoria Wright) on the request for transferring the accounts balances dated 24.03.2014

77. Email from A. Kicha to BNP Paribas (Victoria Wright) dated 25.03.2014

78. Translation of the email from A. Kicha to BNP Paribas (Victoria Wright) dated 25.03.2014

79. Email from A. Kicha to BNP Paribas dated 31.03.2014 on closing the accounts

80. Translation of the email from A. Kicha to BNP Paribas dated 31.03.2014 on closing the accounts

81. Email on behalf of Chadbourne & Parke to BNP Paribas dated 02.04.2014 on behalf of Chadbourne & Parke
82. Translation of the email on behalf of Chadbourne & Parke to BNP Paribas dated 02.04.2014

83. Email from BNP Paribas to Chadbourne & Parke dated 03.04.2014 with the attached official letter explaining why the bank cannot conduct the transactions

84. Translation of the email from BNP Paribas to Chadbourne & Parke dated 03.04.2014 with the attached official letter explaining why the bank cannot conduct the transactions

**Tax returns on the assets and income and certifying documents. Dividends**

85. Tax return on the assets and income for 2011

86. Tax return on the assets and income for 2012

**Payment under Loan Agreement amounting to USD 2.1 million**

87. BNP Paribas account statement


89. Letter with payment instruction

90. Tax return on the assets and income for 2013

**Dividend payment for 2013**

91. Resolution on dividend payment amounting to USD 21 million dated 31.12.2013

92. Resolution dated 18.03.2014 on cancelling the resolution on dividend payment amounting to USD 21 million dated 31.12.2013

93. Letter with payment instruction for USD 10 million

94. Statement of LGT Bank on receipt of USD 10 million to the account dated 25.02.2014

**Closing LGT Bank account**

95. Statement of LGT Bank for the period from 01.01.2014 until 31.03.2014


97. Statement of LGT Bank for the period from 01.04.2014 until 24.04.2014 and confirmation of closing the account in LGT Bank

98. Tax return on the assets and income for 2014 dated 25.04.2013

99. Certificate of authorities of M.V. Zlochevskyi as Deputy Secretary of the National Security and Defence Council of Ukraine

100. Copy of the expert’s opinion of Kyiv Independent Court Expert Authority based on the results of forensic and economic examination No. 1090 dated 06.02.2015

Lots of accusations/innuendo. Mentions Biden's son and kwasniewski are on board of Burisma which allegedly had a subsidiary dump natural gas recently as a way to pay bribes to P2 inner cicle.

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

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**KyivPost**

**Onyshchenko accuses Poroshenko of pressuring Burisma, energy firm linked to Biden, Kwasniewski**


By [Oleg Sukhov](mailto:Oleg.Sukhov@ibicompany.com.ua)

Fugitive lawmaker Oleksandr Onyshchenko and Radical Party leader Oleg Lyashko have accused President Petro Poroshenko of wrongdoing involving the Ecology Ministry, which approves lucrative licenses for gas and oil exploration.

The Presidential Administration denied the allegations and accused Onyshchenko of cooperating with Russian intelligence agencies and getting a Russian passport, which he denies.

"All statements made by lawmaker Onyshchenko, who has been charged with corruption, are lies that are not confirmed by any evidence," the administration told the Kyiv Post. "...This cause has gone beyond a personal campaign against Petro Poroshenko and has become an aspect of Russia’s information war against Ukraine."

With respect to the Ecology Ministry, Onyshchenko and Lyashko accused Poroshenko of bribing lawmakers to appoint his loyalists so that the appointees would cancel certain mineral resource licenses.

Among those were licenses granted to two natural gas producers — Naftogazvydobuvannya, controlled by billionaire tycoon Rinat Akhmetov, and Burisma, a firm controlled by ex-Ecology Minister Mykola Zlochevsky. Hunter Biden, son of U.S. Vice President Joe Biden, and former Polish President Aleksander Kwasniewski are on Burisma’s board of directors.

When the attempt to revoke the licenses failed, Onyshchenko alleges that the president used his loyal prosecutors to freeze the assets of Burisma and Naftogazvydobuvannya.
Onyshchenko claimed that Poroshenko extorted money from Akhmetov and Zlochevsky for unfreezing them. The licenses are active today.

Critics have questioned Onyshchenko’s credibility because he has been charged with stealing Hr 1.6 billion ($64 million) from state-owned gas producer Ukrgazvydobuvannya, which he denies. He fled Ukraine before he was stripped of his parliamentary immunity in July.

He said on Dec. 1 he had given the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation information alleging corruption of Poroshenko and his inner circle. The Department of Justice has indirectly confirmed that its representatives had met with Onyshchenko, but issued a statement afterwards saying it would not cooperate with him in the future.

**Shevchenko’s appointment**

Onyshchenko told the Kyiv Post that, after his election as president, Poroshenko lobbied for the appointment of loyalists – Igor Shevchenko and Petro Matveyev – as ecology minister and head of the State Service for Geology and Mineral Resources, respectively.

Shevchenko formally represented Yulia Tymoshenko’s Batkyvshchyna, while Matveyev was formally a candidate from Oleg Lyashko’s Radical Party but effectively they would represent the interests of Poroshenko and Onyshchenko, he said.

Onyshchenko supposedly acted as an intermediary.

Poroshenko tried to use these appointees to cancel the mineral resource licenses of Burisma and Naftogazvydobuvannya in order to extort money from them, Onyshchenko claimed.

Shevchenko was eventually appointed in December 2014, while Matveyev’s appointment was blocked by Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenyuk.

Shevchenko was fired in July 2015 amid a corruption scandal over his earlier flights on Onyshchenko’s private jet. He denies any wrongdoing.

Tymoshenko on Dec. 5 denied cooperating with Onyshchenko on Shevchenko’s appointment, saying his claim had been an effort by discredit her team.

But on the same day, Lyashko published what he said was a letter by Tymoshenko nominating Shevchenko for a minister’s job. He accused Tymoshenko of writing the letter in exchange for money, which she denied.

Shevchenko told the Kyiv Post he had not been aware of Poroshenko’s alleged lobbying for his candidacy.

“Of course, the president participated in this process,” he told the Kyiv Post. “But I don’t know who lobbied for what… I was told that my candidacy had been approved by the president.”

He also said he had been acquainted with Onyshchenko for a long time, and that Poroshenko had talked with Onyshchenko about him and asked him to talk to Shevchenko.

“We were checking the issuance of licenses to different companies, but we did not have a task to target Naftogazvydobuvannya specifically,” Shevchenko said.

But he said Yatsenyuk had likely protected Akhmetov’s interests because he had prevented Matveyev’s appointment and blocked Shevchenko and Matveyev “from the opportunity to
check the issuance of licenses, including those of Akhmetov’s company, Burisma or anyone else.”

**Mineral resources agency**

Onyshchenko said he had met with Poroshenko and Yatsenyuk in November 2014, and the president had demanded the appointment of Matveyev and deputy ecology ministers loyal to Poroshenko and Onyshchenko.

Yatsenyuk’s spokeswoman Olga Lappo neither confirmed nor denied that the meeting took place.

“Yatsenyuk did not appoint an Onyshchenko loyalist to the State Service for Geology and Mineral Resources despite the efforts to nominate him repeatedly by the ecology minister, who was fired due to suspected corruption,” she told the Kyiv Post. “On all other issues, we will comment to investigators.”

Meanwhile, Lyashko said in September 2015 that Poroshenko had repeatedly offered him bribes for the appointment of his candidate for the State Service for Geology and Mineral Resources.

“When I blocked Matveyev's appointment, Poroshenko met me several times and tried to persuade me not to block it,” Lyashko told the Kyiv Post. “But I didn’t agree to this because I knew that Matveyev is an Onyshchenko loyalist.”

Onyshchenko claimed Poroshenko had offered $5 million to Lyashko, while Lyashko wanted $10 million, and they did not reach an agreement. Yatsenyuk blocked the appointment because he protected Akhmetov’s interests, Onyshchenko said.

However, Lyashko denied being interested in a bribe.

“This is utter nonsense,” he said. “On the contrary, I blocked this appointment when I found out that Ecology Minister Shevchenko nominated Matveyev, an Onyshchenko protege, as head of the State Service for Geology and Mineral Resources. I also demanded that Poroshenko fire Ecology Minister Shevchenko, who was nominated by Yulia Tymoshenko and lobbied for Onyshchenko’s interests.”
Lawmaker Serhiy Berezenko asking Onyshchenko whether he had approved the appointment of a Yaroslav Klymovych, CEO of Nadra Ukrainy. He also asks him to get votes for the appointment of Ihor Bilous as head of the State Property Fund in May 2015.

Onyshchenko sent to the Kyiv Post what he says is his smartphone correspondence with Poroshenko’s right-hand man and lawmaker Ihor Kononenko and Serhiy Berezenko, a lawmaker from the Poroshenko Bloc, about appointments at state firms and agencies reporting to the Ecology Ministry.

According to the messages, Kononenko discussed the appointment of the chief of a firm based in the Chernobyl Exclusion Zone, while Berezenko asked Onyshchenko whether he had authorized the appointment of Yaroslav Klymovych as CEO of Nadra Ukrainy, a state mineral resource firm.
Lawmaker Igor Kononenko discussing the appointment of Chernobylsky Spetskombinat’s CEO with Oleksandr Onyshchenko.

Prosecutors’ pressure

When the alleged efforts to revoke the licenses of Naftogazvydobuvannya and Burisma failed, prosecutors loyal to Poroshenko froze their assets and then unfroze them when the president received money from them, Onyshchenko claimed.

The Prosecutor General’s Office did not respond to a request for comment.

Naftogazvydobuvannya used to be co-owned by Poroshenko and his top ally and lawmaker Igor Kononenko but later it was acquired by lawmakers Nestor Shufrich and Mykola Rudkovsky and then by Akhmetov.

In 2015 Dmytro Sus, a prosecutor accused of links to Poroshenko’s allies Kononenko and Oleksandr Hranovsky, ordered the assets of Naftogazvydobuvannya to be frozen as part of a case into the kidnapping of the company’s CEO Oleh Seminsky. The company’s operations were blocked, and the freeze was deemed controversial because it happened three years after Seminsky’s kidnapping.

The assets were unfrozen by a court in December 2015, with prosecutors deciding not to dispute the decision. Meanwhile, in February 2016 a British Virgin Islands firm with unknown beneficiaries became a co-owner of Naftogazvydobuvannya.

Earlier this year Sus also ordered a freeze on the assets of Burisma and other firms controlled by Zlochevsky as part of the embezzlement case into another firm, Ukrgazvydobuvannya.

But later courts unfroze them, and Sus did not dispute the rulings. At the same time, Zlochevsky, who has been charged with unlawful enrichment, was taken off the wanted list at the request of Sus’ department in October 2016.

Burisma did not respond to a request for comment, while Akhmetov denied the accusations.

“Onyshchenko’s claim that money was extorted from me in exchange for unfreezing Naftogazvydobuvannya’s assets is absolutely untrue,“ he told the Kyiv Post in a written comment. “As far as claims by the Prosecutor General’s Office against Naftogazvydobuvannya are concerned, they have been resolved in a legal way.”

Onyshchenko claimed that Poroshenko had tried to extort $200 million from Naftogazvydobuvannya, and they settled at $180 million.

He also claimed that Poroshenko had wanted a $100 million payment from Zlochevsky, while Zlochevsky offered $50 million. Eventually they settled at about $80 million, he added.

Previously Burisma had also been supplying natural gas to a glass factory linked to Kononenko and Poroshenko free of charge, Onyshchenko said.

Ukrainska Pravda reported on Dec. 27, citing a market source, that Esko Pivnich, a Burisma subsidiary, was currently selling natural gas at a dumping price of Hr 7,400 to Hr 7,500 per 1,000 cubic meters. Onyshchenko claimed that, by selling gas at a below-market price, Zlochevsky was effectively paying a bribe to Poroshenko’s inner circle.
Meanwhile, Olga Vasilevskaya, a journalist at television channel 1+1, on Dec. 25 published what she claimed to be photos of Kononenko meeting in Vienna with Zlochevsky. Kononenko’s face is clearly visible, while the person identified by her as Zlochevsky is seen from behind.

The alleged meeting took place after Onyshchenko testified about Poroshenko’s alleged raid on Zlochevsky’s business while interrogated by anti-corruption prosecutors by Skype on Dec. 22.

Kononenko did not respond to a request for comment. Previously he has denied Onyshchenko’s accusations.

Coincidentally, Radio Liberty journalist Mykhailo Tkach on Dec. 22 photographed the cars of Poroshenko and Kononenko visiting the Security Service of Ukraine, a fact confirmed by SBU Chief Vasyl Hrytsak.

**Bribery in parliament**

Onyshchenko has also made sweeping claims about alleged corruption in parliament, including the buying of seats in the 2014 election – similar to allegations made by many others, including Poroshenko Bloc lawmaker Sergii Leshchenko and Dragon Capital CEO and European Business Association leader Tomas Fiala. Poroshenko’s administration denied the allegations.

Onyshchenko has accused Poroshenko, Kononenko and other allies of the president of using him as an intermediary to bribe lawmakers.

*Lawmaker Serhiy Berezenko asks Oleksandr Onyshchenko to get votes for the resignation of Security Service of Ukraine Chief Valentyn Nalyvaichenko*

As proof of his claims, Onyshchenko showed to the Kyiv Post alleged text messages in which Berezenko asks him to get votes for the resignation of Valentyn Nalyvaichenko as head of the Security Service of Ukraine in June 2015 and the appointment of Ihor Bilous as head of the State Property Fund in May 2015.
Another alleged message shows Kononenko asking Onyshchenko to get votes for a bill on production sharing agreements in June 2016.

Lawmaker Ihor Kononenko asking Oleksandr Onyshchenko to get votes for a bill on production sharing agreements.

Additionally, Onyshchenko has said that he had given $6 million to David Zhvania, a member of Poroshenko’s election headquarters in 2014, for the Poroshenko Bloc’s campaign in order to get registered as a candidate despite his violation of residency rules.

Zhvania did not respond to a request for comment.

Another one making the allegations is Artem Bidenko, an unsuccessful candidate for parliament from the Poroshenko Bloc in 2014 and now a deputy information policy minister.

Bidenko told the Slidtvto.info investigative show in 2014 that Zhvania was responsible for selling parliamentary seats. He said then between 10 and 20 seats had been sold.

The seats, including that of lawmaker Glib Zagory, were sold for between $5 million and $10 million, Bidenko said. Zagory has denied the claim and filed a libel lawsuit against Bidenko.

Bidenko backtracked on Dec. 21, saying that he had had no evidence to back up his earlier claims and that he had made a mistake.

However, others — such as lawmaker Leshchenko — say the bribes paid are fueling today’s corruption as lawmakers seek to recoup their payments.

**U.S. government**

Onyshchenko said on Dec. 1 that he had transferred recordings implicating Poroshenko in corruption to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Peter Carr, a spokesman for the Department of State, told the Kyiv Post on Dec. 16 that “the U.S. Department of Justice has no plans to have further meetings or communications with Mr. Onyshchenko.”
Despite this, Onyshchenko said on Facebook on Dec. 19 that U.S. intelligence agents had had him pass a polygraph test on that day. Carr said he could not comment on the claim.

Onyshchenko sent to the Kyiv Post what he says is a copy of his agreement with the Department of State signed by Ephraim Wernick, a trial attorney at the Department of Justice’s fraud section representing Andrew Weissman, chief of the section.


--

With best regards,
LBI Team

www.lbicompompany.com.ua

(044) 501 58 41
Hi George,

I wanted to follow back up on this. Although we didn't do anything with Burisma on the Donetsk pipeline repair issue as I mentioned below, I was just informed today that we have been working with Burisma through our Municipal Energy Reform Program (MERP) since Oct. 2014. In fact, our MERP project has an MOU (attached) with Burisma which covers cooperation on some public information activities (e.g., contests for best mass media materials on energy efficiency, alternative and clean energy sources, advantages of condominiums, etc.) conducted by MERP. Burisma participation has been limited to sponsoring prizes/awards for the winners, and participating in the award ceremony—the last one was conducted last year and another contest is underway now with the award ceremony planned for Sep. 13.

I imagine you'd like to discuss further, so pls advise and I'll set up. Thx.

------------------

[Redacted], Deputy Mission Director
USAID/Ukraine, Moldova, & Belarus
U.S. Embassy Kyiv

Follow us on:
Twitter: [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=https://twitter.com/USAIDUkraine](http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=https://twitter.com/USAIDUkraine)
YouTube: [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCVceCp4NEN5_epzT86xdOLg](http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCVceCp4NEN5_epzT86xdOLg)

On Wed, Jul 27, 2016 at 8:11 AM, Kent, George P <[redacted]> wrote:

Thanks, [Redacted]

PA team - the below translation is just a part of her screed. Apparently it in the original must go into defense projects based on the title. Her reputed lover Pashynsky is neck deep in defense sector corruption. it would be worth reviewing the whole article to see what other allegations against us she makes.

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.
Original Message
From: [Redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, July 27, 2016 8:01 AM
To: Kent, George P  
Cc: Wagner, JoAnne; Kyiv, POL Core; [Redacted] (Kyiv); Kyiv, ECON FSOs; [Redacted] (ee/aa); [Redacted] (dcha/oti); [Redacted] (kyiv/oeg); [Redacted] (kyiv/dir)
Subject: Re: Chornovol - Addressing FBI: American grants go to "Yanukovychs" and against the Ukr army

Hi George--no cooperation with them at all to my knowledge. We had some internal conversations including with your predecessor re: whether or not we could or should, but decided against it. There was a possibility of linking them to the Donetsk oblast administration to fix a pipeline with their own resources, not ours, as we didn't have the resources to do so on our own.

-----
Deputy Mission Director
USAID/Ukraine, Moldova, & Belarus

Sent from my iPhone

> On Jul 27, 2016, at 07:50, Kent, George P <[Redacted]> wrote:
> 
> Nasty smear here - against EuroOptimists, against Kasko, against potentially USAID.
> 
> Chornovol, reputed lover of corrupt NF grey cardinal Pashynsky, is a loose cannon.
> 
> But just for our background, did Burisma ever co-sponsor a USAID activity as alleged?
> 
> To remind: someone who joined the Burisma team is Hunter Biden. Zlochevsky is the corrupt ex minister of Ecology whose frozen asets were released by GPO perfidy in Dec 2014.
> 
> Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.
> > From: lbi@lbicompany.com.ua
> > Sent: Tuesday, July 26, 2016 9:16 PM
> > To: Kyiv, Media Alerts
> > Subject: UP: Addressing FBI: American grants go to "Yanukovychs" and against the Ukrainian army
> >
> > Ukrainska Pravda:
Addressing FBI: American grants go to "Yanukovychs" and against the Ukrainian army

Tetyana Chornovol| Member of the parliament of Ukraine of the VIII convocation

> 26 of July 2016,

> Recently I visited two armored vehicles and artillery repair defense plants in Zhytomyr and Shepetivka. I am proud of the staff of the plants that are making powerful weapons literally from nothing, from old scrap, they got the production of parts up and running, which were previously purchased in Russia, they are modernizing old weapons, developing new ones, wonders on enthusiasm alone.

> And after that you just want to tear apart those scoundrels in Verkhovna Rada who dare to leave the plants that affect life at the front without money.

> MPs have been blocking the transfer of "Yanukovych's money" arrested in Ukraine to the state budget, although they know that under the Budget-2016 the defense plants are supposed to be financed from these funds.

> As a result, they are not being financed and the production, which picked up the pace last year, faltered significantly. Imagine that now, in the conditions of war, the defense plants in Ukraine are loaded only for 10-30%.

> This is a real BETRAYAL!

> However, for a year now the parliament cannot adopt a draft law that establishes the legal mechanism for transferring this absolutely real, hard money, of which nearly a billion dollars is in "cash." For example, the information on "Oshchadbank."

> A list of deputies from the group "Euro-optimists" and "UDAR," who come from the environment "of grant eaters," those organizations and structures in Ukraine that are living by Western grants, including receiving funds coming from US taxpayers, are blocking the adoption of the law.

> Which is why I appeal to the FBI asking to investigate the impact of corrupt officials of the era of Yanukovych - Mykola Zlochevskyi and Serhiy Kurchenko – on the grant community.

> I have strong suspicions that it was the corrupt business of Zlochevskyi and corrupt connections of Kurchenko that blocked the passage of the draft law on special confiscation through the Verkhovna Rada. I suspect that the blockade is taking place due to the efforts of well-known Western lobbyists who work in Zlochevskyi’s company Burisma Holdings,
through their impact not only on "grant eaters," but also donors working in Ukraine.

> A sufficient part of the evidence the FBI can work with is already in the public domain. For instance, on the web site of the company Burisma Holdings, which officially belongs to Mykola Zlochevskyi. This business empire has been definitely created for corrupt funds.

> Now, remember that no one in Ukraine had such a fierce support from all possible grant eaters and donors like Kasko, who had been stubbornly dragged to the post of the Anti-Corruption Prosecutor.

> The same guard of Kasko, all "grant eaters" which cynically call themselves "Euro-optimists," "corruption fighters," "reformers" have thrown all possible resources, even used lies and slander to block the passage of the draft law on "special confiscation" through the parliament.

> And now look at the "accidental" coincidence: the web site of Burisma Holdings is the partner of a list of events of the Ukrainian office of USAID - the American agency that provides grant funds primarily for anti-corruption projects.

> What’s curious is that after my briefing Burizma removed news about cooperation with USAID from its web site.

> With best regards,
> LBI Team

http://blogs.pravda.com.ua/authors/chornovol/579729596f7a9/

> (044) 501 58 41
> <winmail.dat>
The purpose of this Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) is to define the terms and conditions of the cooperation between the Municipal Energy Reform Project in Ukraine (hereinafter referred to as “MERP”), funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and implemented by International Resources Group (IRG), represented by the MERP Chief of Party, and BURISMA HOLDINGS LIMITED (hereinafter referred to as “Company”), represented by Andrii Kicha, who acts pursuant to Power of Attorney as of October 09, 2014, with Apostille of October 09, 2014 under number 86289/14, to promote municipal energy reform in Ukraine.

In consideration of the foregoing, MERP and the Company (the Parties) hereby agree as follows:

The Company shall:

1. Support dissemination of the best practices in energy efficiency and implementation of clean energy, involvement of experts in work of the special task forces, round tables, discussions and conferences with
конференцій з участию міських голів та інших представників міської влади.

2. Сприяє прозорості процесу реформування муніципальної енергетики в країні шляхом спів-фінансування та проведення інформаційних та публічних заходів, в тому числі інформаційних ярмарок, круглих столів, пресконференцій, тренінгів для ЗМІ та проведення конкурсу серед журналістів на кращий аналітичний матеріал (статті, нарис, журналістське розслідування) по темі енергоефективності, альтернативних джерел енергії, тарифної політики, інш.

3. Шляхом спів-фінансування сприяє розробці нових та розповсюдженню існуючих інформаційних матеріалів щодо енергозбереження, впровадження альтернативних джерел енергії, питань тарифної реформи, а саме відео/радіо роликів, біл бордів, стілій лайтів, метро лайтів, брошуру та постерів А3 формату, інфографіки, вкладок до рахунків за комунальні послуги.

4. Сприяє розповсюдженню інформації про заходи інформаційної кампанії, її месджі, гасла, види інформаційних матеріалів через свої канали комунікації, в тому числі веб-сайт компанії та сторінки в соціальних мережах.

Проект «Муніципальна Енергетична Реформа в Україні» (Проект МЕР):

1. Надасть компанії повний обсяг інформації щодо концепції загальної стратегії інформаційної кампанії Проекту МЕР, а також співпрацюватиме та здійснюватиме заходи команда компанії до обговорення кожного окремого заходу, напрямку, сегменту інформаційної кампанії та відповідних інформаційних матеріалів, які буде спів-фінансувати компанія.

2. Забезпечить ко-брендинг та публічне

participation of the city mayors and other representatives of the city authorities.

2. Promote transparency of municipal energy reform process in the country through co-financing and conducting public information activities, including information fairs, roundtables, press conferences, trainings for media, competition among journalists for the best analytical material (articles, essays and investigation) related to themes of energy efficiency, alternative energy sources, tariff reform, other).

3. By co-financing promote the development of new and dissemination of existing information materials on energy efficiency, alternative energy sources, tariff reform, such as video/radio public service advertisements (PSAs), bill board posters, city light posters, metro light posters, infographics, brochures and A3 format posters, communal services bill inserts, etc.(

4. Promote dissemination of information about activities carried out within information campaign; its messages, slogans, types of informational materials through its communication channels, including the company's website and pages in social networks.

The Municipal Energy Reform Project in Ukraine (MERP) shall:

1. Provide the company with complete information regarding the concept of MERP information campaign strategy, as well as cooperate and engage the company team into discussions of each separate event, direction, and segment of information campaign and relevant information materials that will be co-financed by the company.

2. Ensure co-branding and public recognition of company's financial
визнання участі компанії у співфінансуванні інформаційних заходів, нових та вже існуючих інформаційних матеріалів, які будуть використані в рамках заходів цього меморандуму в ході інформаційної кампанії.

3. Проект надаватиме компанії дані з моніторингу ЗМІ, результати опитувань та оцінки фокусних груп щодо ефективності впливу інформаційних заходів, які співфінансиються сторонами.

Інші домовленості:

1. Цей МВ не є підставою та не створює жодних юридичних осіб та стосується лише співробітництва між Сторонами для сприяння реформі муніципальної енергетики в Україні. Жодна Сторона не повинна представляти себе агентом іншої сторони. Жодна Сторона не матиме повноважень з в’язувати іншу сторону зобов’язаннями у будь-який спосіб.

2. Цей МВ вступає в силу з останньої дати підписання Сторонами. Він залишається в силі до 08 жовтня 2015. Будь-яка Сторона може розірвати цю угоду, надавши попередження про це за тридцять (30) днів.

3. Всі питання власності та права на обладнання та матеріали, що були придбані компанією IRG в ході проекту МЕР, залишаються власністю проекту МЕР до кінця статуи проекту. Власність та права на згадане вище обладнання та матеріали будуть передані від проекту МЕР до реципієнтів після закінчення проекту МЕР згідно інструкцій AMP США. Розробки, підготовлені компанією IRG в ході проекту МЕР використовуються в інтересах реципієнтів Проекту, в тому числі міст України.

4. Цей МВ укладено українською та англійською мовами, у двох

contribution to information events, new and existing information materials that will be used within MOU activities during the information campaign.

3. Provide company with data on media Provide monitoring, results of surveys and focus groups assessments with respect to effectiveness of information campaign activities, co-financed by parties.

Further Understandings:

1. This MOU shall not constitute or establish any legal entities and shall relate only to cooperation between the Parties to promote municipal energy reform in Ukraine. Neither Party shall hold itself out as an agent of the other Party. Neither Party shall have any authority to bind or obligate the other Party in any manner.

2. This MOU shall be made effective as of the later date of signature by the Parties. It shall remain in effect until October 08, 2015. Either Party may terminate this agreement upon a thirty (30) - day notice.

3. All issues of ownership and rights to equipment and materials purchased by IRG under the MER Project shall remain in MER Project ownership until the end date of the Project. The ownership and rights to mentioned above equipment and materials shall be transferred from the MER Project to the recipients upon completion of MER Project, pursuant to USAID instructions. Work products prepared by IRG under the MER Project shall be used in the interest of the Project recipients, including the cities of Ukraine.

4. This MOU is executed in the Ukrainian and English languages, in two copies each, both texts being equally binding.
5. This MOU contains the entire understanding of the Parties and supersedes any previous understanding related to this Agreement, whether written or oral.

In witness whereof, the Parties, each acting through their duly authorized representatives, have caused this Memorandum of Understanding to be signed by their names.

For the BURISMA HOLDINGS LIMITED

Andrii Kicha

For the Municipal Energy Reform Project

William Tucker
At a minimum, you should grill him about not just the lack of accountability/activity, but specifically the December 2014 decision by him/his team to close the case against Zlochevsky and issue a letter to his lawyers the same day, enabling the assets to be unfrozen.

Your choice whether to engage at all. I presume this trip is part of his re-emergence strategy. To what end, unclear. Were he to return to office under P2, it would not be a sign of progress.

(this spring, we had former PG Piskun trying to meet/spin us with an eye to replacing Shokin. Points for chutzpah if nothing else.)

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

Thanks, George – very helpful. Should I pull the plug on his visit to USIP? Or just grill him on his lack of activity?

Ambassadors – thank you for your joint 25th anniversary missive. Well targeted and eloquent as always. Masha is officially launched – just finished presenting credentials to P2, and now back in with soon to be ex Chief of Staff Lozhkin, who tendered his resignation today, with one of his proteges, Kharkiv governor Rainen, tapped as his replacement.

Kyiv POL has been fielding inquiries from former PG Yarema’s team about an upcoming trip in two weeks, as well as from the Ukraine desk at state (below). Your two organizations (and at least one of you in person) is listed.

I would be interested to hear your impressions about Yarema after you see him, presuming he stays on both the Atlantic Council and USIP’s schedule. Following is my gratuitous commentary, for what it may be worth:
I have never met Yarema, I should state (before continuing with my two bits). I do wonder whose interests he is promoting. I have no wonder at all that it is not Ukraine’s. The most notable decision by the PGO during his tenure (and he had his whole team come in and leave with him) was not any case pushed to the courts/conviction during his year, despite all the manifest crimes of the Maidan and Yanukovych era, but was a gross miscarriage of justice that undermined months of US assistance. After the FBI and MI-5 spent months and arguably millions working to try to put together the first possible asset recovery case (against former Minister of Ecology Zlochevsky), involving $23 million frozen in UK accounts, under suspicion of bribes paid for licenses issue for gas/oil permits...Team Yarema closed the case against Zlochevsky in December 2014 just before western Christmas day, by turning it into a case against the ministry rather than ex minister, returning it to the MOI/police for further investigation, and issuing an immediate letter to Zlochevsky’s defense lawyer team that there was no active case against their client; defense lawyers flipped that to the British judge, who unfroze the assets that were whisked out of UK jurisdiction before the UK authorities or we could learn/react.

When I met with Yarema’s right hand man, the jovially corpulent first Deputy PG Danylenko six weeks later during the first week of Feb 2015, I asked him bluntly how much was the bribe and who took it. Danylenko cheerfully replied: “that’s exactly what President Poroshenko asked us last month. I told him $7 million and it was last May, before our team came into office (in June 2014).” He then said that he’d been a friend of Zlochevsky for 20 years, had his number saved in his phone, could tell me that Zlochevsky was in Dubai at present, and asked if I wished to talk to him to confirm details. I declined, and politely reminded him that the PG letter closing the case was issued in late December, more than 6 months after team Yarema came into office, which means it was Yarema, Danylenko and Co who were responsible for the outrage. He just smiled smugly. They were gone within a month, replaced by Team Shokin, which proved even more venal in overtly preventing USG efforts to reform the justice system...all in response to the direct request of Poroshenko to US leaders. Yarema has had zero public profile in the 18 months since he faded into the woodwork. I presume he’s enjoying whatever the inducements were paid to take no action against anyone for a year. The first post-EuroMaidan PG who did nothing for 5 months, Mahnytsky (affiliated loosely with Svoboda at the time), reportedly was gifted control of the Hyatt from Team Donetsk. That might explain why elements of the ancient regime were never put under travel ban or subject to sanctions. I’ve never heard anyone offer such similar specificity of what the payoff to Yarema and Co to do nothing was, but I have no doubt such arrangements were made, apart from Mr. Zlochevsky (who also put Hunter Biden on the board of his Burisma Energy company).

There’s arguably a case to be made that team Yarema should be barred from eligibility to receive a visa to the US under Presidential Proclamation 7750 for taking actions that undermined US interests, specifically US assistance in asset recovering and anti-corruption efforts. We haven’t written it up due to the press of other business (and team Shokin takes precedence in that regard), but that’s the reply I gave the desk Friday when they inquired how much access/effort they should make in offering Yarema a meeting/facilitating with others.

Caveat emptor!

Warm regards – George

From: Andrii Telizhenko [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:andrii.telizhenko]  
Sent: Monday, August 29, 2016 3:34 PM
To: Glaser, Stephen T  
Subject: Re: Andrii Telizhenko

Mr. Vitalii Yarema visit to Washington D.C., 11-17 September 2016.

(Schedule is being updated, due to the vacation period some meeting are in the process of confirmation)

- Sunday Sept 11, 2016  
  06:45 - Departure from Kyiv.  
  1:25pm - Arrive in Washington DC  
  3:30pm - Arrive at the Hotel (still to be determined)  
  4:30pm - Lunch  
  5:30pm - City Tour

- Monday Sept. 12, 2016  
  08:00 - Breakfast at the Hotel  
  ----  
  1:30-2:30pm - round table at the Atlantic Council, topic "Anti-corruption and Police reforms in Ukraine"  
  3:00pm - laying flowers to the Holodomor monument.

- Tuesday Sept. 13, 2016  
  08:30 - Breakfast at the Hotel  
  10:00 - Meeting with Congresswoman Marcy Kaptur (Dem. Party).  
  ----  
  4:00pm - Wall Street Journal Interview

- Wednesday Sept. 14, 2016  
  08:00 - Breakfast at the Hotel  
  09:00 - Foreign Policy interview  
  ----  
  4:30pm - laying flowers to the Taras Shevchenko monument.

- Thursday Sept. 15, 2016  
  08:00 - Breakfast at Hotel  
  **09:30 - Peace Institute Amb. Taylor**  
  ----  

- Friday Sept. 16, 2016  
  ----
- Saturday Sept. 17, 2016
09:00 - Breakfast at Hotel
10:00 - City Tour
1:30pm - Move out from Hotel
5:00pm - Flight from Washington DC

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Meetings that are confirmed but waiting on the time:

-Senator Ted Cruz
-Senator John McCain
-Senator Durbin Office - National Security Advisor.
-Voice of America Interview
-IRI - Stephen Nix and Mark Green
-State Dept - Ukrainian Desk
Bohdan Futey - US Federal Judge

Waiting for Confirmation on meetings:

Congressman Eliot Engel
Senator Chris Murphy
National Security Council - Greg Pfleger
INL

Andrii

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.
http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://www.rferl.org/content/who-would-replace-uzbekistan-karimov-president/27952766.html

You probably already have this in one form or another. I have no clue who will replace Karimov, if his time has come, but it is interesting that the two Rustams are mentioned. They would have been mentioned in similar circumstances when I was in Tashkent. Also, there is no reason to assume that any of these three will be the one. In any case, I do not expect a power struggle.

Atlantic Council

John Herbst | Director, Dinu Patriciu Eurasia Center
Ambassador (Ret.)
1030 15th Street, NW, 12th Floor | Washington, DC 20005
T: +1.202.778.4965 | Cell: [redacted] | Email: jherbst@AtlanticCouncil.org | www.facebook.com/AtlanticCouncil | @JohnEdHerbst | www.AtlanticCouncil.org

From: Kent, George P [mailto:[redacted]]
Sent: Monday, August 29, 2016 3:09 PM
To: John Herbst <JHerbst@ATLANTICCOUNCIL.ORG>
Subject: Dinner on the 12th

Sounds good. [redacted], and what we talk about.

From: John Herbst [mailto:[redacted]]
Sent: Monday, August 29, 2016 10:04 PM
To: Kent, George P; Taylor, W
Subject: RE: PGs and Baseball, and Kyiv

George,

I’d be happy to join you for dinner Sep 12. Let’s do this solo. I would like to get your take on just about everything.
We just heard about Lutsenko’s interest in a US run (27-28 Sept) this evening from DOJ. He’s asking for DOJ leadership. Bruce Szwartz (the DAG for international affairs) may be what’s offered. I’ve been the Lutsenko handler this year – have met him more than a half dozen times, including three before his appointment, and 3-4 since. We now have former NJ Federal prosecutor (and born in Ukraine) Bohdan Vitvitsky as an embedded adviser. Bohdan has started drinking a bit of the Lutsenko kool-aid the past week or so, in the wake of the PGO-NABU showdown, which to the rest of the outside appears like a straightforward old Ukraine-New Ukraine morality tale. Bohdan thinks they all are acting like puerile middle schoolers. That may be true, but it may also be true that Lutsenko ends up on the wrong side of history by choice. I suspect he had terms dictated to him by P2, in terms of untouchables under him (who are an integral part of Team Shokin, and whom he told me initially in the spring time needed to be cleaned out). Those untouchables—Stolyarchuk and Sus—before Lutsenko came on board went after the folk we were working with to reform the PGO in the way P2 asked VP Biden, even to the point of arrogantly saying in public they would summon the US Ambassador (Geoff) for an interrogation (about our assistance, which they felt was being skimmed by the reformers which they forced out). Sus is the one who went after NABU this month. Lutsenko unapologetically defended Sus to the hilt last week to me, in what was the most disappointing engagement we’ve had with him to date.

My honor to sit with you over coffee, or a meal – dinner Sept 12? I have hired my Thai cook from two Bangkok tours to be the DCR chef; she arrived last week. Happy to just have you over, or invite some Ukrainian interlocutors as well. Alas, it’s still the old DCR. OBO’s incompetence in managing the overhaul of the old Marine House and soon to be DCR knows no bounds. They turned over the property/project to the embassy last summer. But Embassy discovered over the winter that: the average temperature with the heat on was between 32-40F in jan/Feb; the water and sewage did not
meet code; and the electricity load was ¼ what a building that size needed (so they couldn’t add space heaters). Same factors affected the new America House/old Consular section, which shut down last winter due to the cold. So we won’t move into our new digs until October it would appear (with our HHE in a warehouse on the outskirts of town, and we living on suitcases and UAB).

Regards - George

---

From: John Herbst
Sent: Monday, August 29, 2016 9:05 PM
To: Taylor, W; Kent, George P
Subject: RE: former PG Yarema's trip to DC - what is his agenda, and what is his angle (and peanut gallery commentary)

George,

Thanks for this meaty warning. We already agreed to host Yarema and will not change that. But I will factor into our conversation the Zlochevsky Affair. We are doing a lot of PG work in late September as we also host Lutsenko. Anything that you might share on that would also be appreciated.

Also, I will be in Kyiv Sep 12-18 with Adrian Karatnycky and Anders Aslund. We are formally seeking a meeting with Masha, but it would also be good to sit with you separately. I am on my own the PM of Sep 12 and AM of Sep 13. Can I buy you a drink or coffee in that time slot?

Curiously, Ortiz seems to be having his best season at the tail end of his career.

Best,
John

---

John Herbst | Director, Dinu Patriciu Eurasia Center
Ambassador (Ret.)
1030 15th Street, NW, 12th Floor | Washington, DC 20005
T: +1.202.778.4965 | Cell: [redacted] | Email: jherbst@AtlanticCouncil.org | www.facebook.com/AtlanticCouncil | @JohnEdHerbst | www.AtlanticCouncil.org

From: Taylor, William
Sent: Monday, August 29, 2016 12:08 PM
To: Kent, George P ; John Herbst <JHerbst@ATLANTICCOUNCIL.ORG>
Subject: RE: former PG Yarema's trip to DC - what is his agenda, and what is his angle (and peanut gallery commentary)

I am not eager to help him re-emerge. I think we’ll pull the plug. Thanks for the heads up, George.

From: Kent, George P
Sent: Monday, August 29, 2016 12:05 PM
To: Taylor, William ; Kent, George P ; John Herbst <JHerbst@ATLANTICCOUNCIL.ORG>
Subject: Re: former PG Yarema’s trip to DC - what is his agenda, and what is his angle (and peanut gallery commentary)

At a minimum, you should grill him about not just the lack of accountability/activity, but specifically the December 2014 decision by him/his team to close the case against Zlochevsky and issue a letter to his lawyers the same day, enabling the assets to be unfrozen.

Your choice whether to engage at all. I presume this trip is part of his re-emergence strategy. To what end, unclear. Were he to return to office under P2, it would not be a sign of progress.

(this spring, we had former PG Piskun trying to meet/spin us with an eye to replacing Shokin. Points for chutzpah if nothing else.)

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Taylor, William
Sent: Monday, August 29, 2016 6:31 PM
To: Kent, George P; John Herbst
Subject: RE: former PG Yarema's trip to DC - what is his agenda, and what is his angle (and peanut gallery commentary)

Thanks, George – very helpful. Should I pull the plug on his visit to USIP? Or just grill him on his lack of activity?

From: Kent, George P
Sent: Monday, August 29, 2016 11:23 AM
To: John Herbst <JHerbst@ATLANTICCOUNCIL.ORG>; Taylor, William
Subject: former PG Yarema’s trip to DC - what is his agenda, and what is his angle (and peanut gallery commentary)

Ambassadors – thank you for your joint 25th anniversary missive. Well targeted and eloquent as always. Masha is officially launched – just finished presenting credentials to P2, and now back in with soon to be ex Chief of Staff Lozhkin, who tendered his resignation today, with one of his proteges, Kharkiv governor Rainen, tapped as his replacement.

Kyiv POL has been fielding inquiries from former PG Yarema’s team about an upcoming trip in two weeks, as well as from the Ukraine desk at state (below). Your two organizations (and at least one of you in person) is listed.

I would be interested to hear your impressions about Yarema after you see him, presuming he stays on both the Atlantic Council and USIP’s schedule. Following is my gratuitous commentary, for what it may be worth:

I have never met Yarema, I should state (before continuing with my two bits). I do wonder whose interests he is promoting. I have no wonder at all that it is not Ukraine’s. The most notable decision by the PGO during his tenure (and he had his whole team come in and leave with him) was not any case pushed to the courts/conviction during his year, despite all the manifest crimes of the Maidan and Yanukovych era, but was a gross miscarriage of justice that undermined months of US assistance. After the FBI and MI-5 spent months and arguably millions working to try to put together the first possible asset recovery case (against former Minister of Ecology Zlochevsky), involving $23 million frozen in UK accounts, under suspicion of bribes paid for licenses issue for gas/oil permits... Team Yarema closed the case against Zlochevsky in December 2014 just before western Christmas day, by turning it into a case against the ministry rather than ex minister, returning it to the MOI/police for further investigation, and issuing an immediate letter to Zlochevsky’s defense lawyer team that there was no active case against their client; defense lawyers flipped that to the British judge, who unfroze the assets that were whisked out of UK jurisdiction before the UK authorities or we could learn/react.

When I met with Yarema’s right hand man, the jovially corpulent first Deputy PG Danylenko six weeks later during the first week of Feb 2015, I asked him bluntly how much was the bribe and who took it. Danylenko cheerfully replied: “that’s exactly what President Poroshenko asked us last month. I told him $7 million and it was last May, before our team came into office (in June 2014).” He then said that he’d been a friend of Zlochevsky for 20 years, had his number saved in his phone, could tell me that Zlochevsky was in Dubai at present, and asked if I wished to talk to him to confirm details. I declined, and politely reminded him that the PG letter closing the case was issued in late December, more than 6 months after team Yarema came into office, which means it was Yarema, Danylenko and Co who were responsible for the outrage. He just smiled smugly. They were gone within a month, replaced by Team Shokin, which proved even more venal in overtly preventing USG efforts to reform the justice system...all in response to the direct request of Poroshenko to US leaders. Yarema has had zero public profile in the 18 months since he faded into the woodwork. I presume he’s enjoying whatever the inducements were paid to take no action against anyone for a year. The first post-EuroMaidan PG who did nothing for 5 months, Mahnytsky (affiliated loosely with Svoboda at the time), reportedly was gifted control of the Hyatt from Team Donetsk. That might explain why elements of the ancient regime were
never put under travel ban or subject to sanctions. I’ve never heard anyone offer such similar specificity of what the payoff to Yarema and Co to do nothing was, but I have no doubt such arrangements were made, apart from Mr. Zlochevsky (who also put Hunter Biden on the board of his Burisma Energy company).

There’s arguably a case to be made that team Yarema should be barred from eligibility to receive a visa to the US under Presidential Proclamation 7750 for taking actions that undermined US interests, specifically US assistance in asset recovering and anti-corruption efforts. We haven’t written it up due to the press of other business (and team Shokin takes precedence in that regard), but that’s the reply I gave the desk Friday when they inquired how much access/effort they should make in offering Yarema a meeting/facilitating with others.

Caveat emptor!

Warm regards – George

From: Andrii Telizhenko
Sent: Monday, August 29, 2016 3:34 PM
To: Glaser, Stephen T
Subject: Re: Andrii Telizhenko

Mr. Vitalii Yarema visit to Washington D.C., 11-17 September 2016.

(Schedule is being updated, due to the vacation period some meeting are in the process of confirmation)

- Sunday Sept 11, 2016
  06:45 - Departure from Kyiv.
  1:25pm - Arrive in Washington DC
  3:30pm - Arrive at the Hotel (still to be determined)
  4:30pm - Lunch
  5:30pm - City Tour

- Monday Sept. 12, 2016
  08:00 - Breakfast at the Hotel
  1:30-2:30pm - round table at the Atlantic Council, topic ”Anti-corruption and Police reforms in Ukraine”
  3:00pm - laying flowers to the Holodomor monument.
- Tuesday Sept. 13, 2016  
  08:30 - Breakfast at the Hotel  
  10:00 - Meeting with Congresswoman Marcy Kaptur (Dem. Party)  
  ---  
  4:00pm - Wall Street Journal Interview  

- Wednesday Sept. 14, 2016  
  08:00 - Breakfast at the Hotel  
  09:00 - Foreign Policy interview  
  ----  
  4:30pm - laying flowers to the Taras Shevchenko monument.  

- Thursday Sept. 15, 2016  
  08:00 - Breakfast at Hotel  
  09:30 - Peace Institute Amb. Taylor  
  ---  

- Friday Sept. 16, 2016  
  ---  

- Saturday Sept. 17, 2016  
  09:00 - Breakfast at Hotel  
  10:00 - City Tour  
  1:30pm - Move out from Hotel  
  5:00pm - Flight from Washington DC  

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Meetings that are confirmed but waiting on the time:  

- Senator Ted Cruz  
- Senator John McCain  
- Senator Durbin Office - National Security Advisor.  
- Voice of America Interview  
- IRI - Stephen Nix and Mark Green  
- State Dept - Ukrainian Desk  
- Bohdan Futey - US Federal Judge  

Waiting for Confirmation on meetings:  

Congressman Eliot Engel  
Senator Chris Murphy  
National Security Council - Greg Pfleger
INL

Andrii

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.
From: [Redacted]  
Sent: Mon, 15 Aug 2016 06:25:29 -0400  
To: Kent, George P. (EA/DIR)  
Cc: Wagner, JoAnne (EE/AA); [Redacted] (KYIV/OEG); [Redacted] (KYIV/DIR); [Redacted] (Nairobi/EA/PDI); [Redacted] (KYIV/PCS); [Redacted]; Kyiv, EXEC; Johannes Vandenoogen; Cole, Jeffrey W.  
Subject: RE: (NO RESPONSE TIL MONDAY) USAID Cooperation with Burisma (Chornovol allegations) - should we have a policy of avoiding cooperation with the morally compromised?  

Sir,  

Econ has engaged with Burisma at the working level to get information on private sector gas production.

[Redacted]

Energy and ESTH Unit Chief  
U.S. Embassy Kyiv  
Office: 011-380-44-521-5482  
Cell: [Redacted]

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

---

From: Kent, George P  
Sent: Saturday, August 13, 2016 3:26 PM  
To: [Redacted]  
Cc: Wagner, JoAnne; [Redacted] (EE/AA); [Redacted] (KYIV/OEG); [Redacted] (KYIV/DIR); [Redacted] (Nairobi/EA/PDI); [Redacted] (KYIV/PCS); [Redacted]; Kyiv, EXEC; Johannes Vandenoogen; Cole, Jeffrey W.  
Subject: (NO RESPONSE TIL MONDAY) USAID Cooperation with Burisma (Chornovol allegations) - should we have a policy of avoiding cooperation with the morally compromised?  

Thanks,

The proliferation of Ukrainian companies clearly (and not so clearly) owned/controlled by odious oligarchs or those who outright stole assets and absconded (like Zlochevsky) is likely a long one. I do not know if we have a clear, consistent, or even informal policy for post engagement with such companies-properties. I suspect not.

For instance, we don’t boycott Inter TV, even if it is controlled in part by under-indictment in Chicago/extradition proceedings Firtash and his equally morally compromised business partner Lyovochkin, or 1+1, controlled by Kolomoisky, whose sins are manifest, or TV Ukraina, controlled by
Akhmetov, no comment needed. We continue to engage with those individuals diplomatically at a high level – albeit to the distress/disappointment of U.S. law enforcement, it must be said.

There is, however, a moral hazard associated with publicly associating/promoting our assistance projects with companies/individuals seen in Ukrainian society as corrupt/compromised. At the very least, embassy elements dealing with Ukrainians and companies with a known past need to engage on an eyes wide open, due diligence conducted basis.

For ECON: how have we traditionally treated/engaged Burisma, given the Zlochevsky connection, but also perhaps US involvement beyond Hunter Biden?

For the wider collective: perhaps this is a topic worth teasing out as we work on a revised mission counter corruption strategy, with an eye to setting a standard that is higher than “at the very least.” When I was in Bangkok from 2001-04, for instance, our Econ Counselor (now Ambassador to Malaysia) Joe Yun convinced all elements of the embassy to stop putting TDyers in hotel properties owned by the same billionaire who also owned the epicenter building for software piracy and refused to take action for years. That was up to a $500,000 year hit to his hotel businesses (lots of military planning conferences in Thailand). It didn’t change the IPR violating epicenter, but we sent a message by our policy and our choice.

From: [redacted]  
Sent: Friday, August 12, 2016 4:47 PM  
To: Kent, George P  
Cc: Wagner, JoAnne; [redacted]; [redacted]; [redacted]; [redacted]; [redacted]  
Subject: Re: Chornovol - American grants go to “Yanukovychs” and against the Ukr army

Hi George,

I wanted to follow back up on this. Although we didn’t do anything with Burisma on the Donetsk pipeline repair issue as I mentioned below, I was just informed today that we have been working with Burisma through our Municipal Energy Reform Program (MERP) since Oct. 2014. In fact, our MERP project has an MOU (attached) with Burisma which covers cooperation on some public information activities (e.g., contests for best mass media materials on energy efficiency, alternative and clean energy sources, advantages of condominiums, etc.) conducted by MERP. Burisma participation has been limited to sponsoring prizes/awards for the winners, and participating in the award ceremony—the last one was conducted last year and another contest is underway now with the award ceremony planned for Sep. 13.

I imagine you’d like to discuss further, so pls advise and I’ll set up. Thx.

***************

[redacted], Deputy Mission Director  
USAID/Ukraine, Moldova, & Belarus  
U.S. Embassy Kyiv

Follow us on:  
Facebook: [redacted]  
Twitter: [redacted]
On Wed, Jul 27, 2016 at 8:11 AM, Kent, George P <[redacted]> wrote:
Thanks.

PA team - the below translation is just a part of her screed. Apparently it in the original must go into defense projects based on the title. Her reputed lover Pashynsky is neck deep in defense sector corruption. it would be worth reviewing the whole article to see what other allegations against us she makes.

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

Original Message
From: [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, July 27, 2016 8:01 AM
To: Kent, George P
Cc: Wagner, JoAnne; Kyiv, POL Core; [redacted]; Kyiv, ECON FSOS; [redacted]; [redacted] (DCHA/OTI); [redacted] (KYIV/OEG); Wladimir (KYIV/DIR)
Subject: Re: Chornovol - Addressing FBI: American grants go to "Yanukovychs" and against the Ukr army

Hi George—no cooperation with them at all to my knowledge. We had some internal conversations including with your predecessor re: whether or not we could or should, but decided against it. There was a possibility of linking them to the Donetsk oblast administration to fix a pipeline with their own resources, not ours, as we didn't have the resources to do so on our own.

-----
Deputy Mission Director
USAID/Ukraine, Moldova, & Belarus

Sent from my iPhone

> On Jul 27, 2016, at 07:50, Kent, George P <[redacted]> wrote:
> > Nasty smear here - against EuroOptimists, against Kasko, against potentially USAID.
> > Chornovol, reputed lover of corrupt NF grey cardinal Pashynsky, is a loose cannon.
But just for our background, John, did Burisma ever co-sponsor a USAID activity as alleged?

To remind: someone who joined the Burisma team is Hunter Biden. Zlochevsky is the corrupt ex minister of Ecology whose frozen assets were released by GPO perfidy in Dec 2014.

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: lbi@lbicompany.com.ua

Sent: Tuesday, July 26, 2016 9:16 PM
To: Kyiv, Media Alerts
Subject: UP: Addressing FBI: American grants go to "Yanukovychs" and against the Ukrainian army

Ukrainska Pravda:

Addressing FBI: American grants go to "Yanukovychs" and against the Ukrainian army


26 of July 2016,

Recently I visited two armored vehicles and artillery repair defense plants in Zhytomyr and Shepetivka. I am proud of the staff of the plants that are making powerful weapons literally from nothing, from old scrap, they got the production of parts up and running, which were previously purchased in Russia, they are modernizing old weapons, developing new ones, wonders on enthusiasm alone.

And after that you just want to tear apart those scoundrels in Verkhovna Rada who dare to leave the plants that affect life at the front without money.

MPs have been blocking the transfer of "Yanukovych's money" arrested in Ukraine to the state budget, although they know that under the Budget-2016 the defense plants are supposed to be financed from these funds.

As a result, they are not being financed and the production, which picked up the pace last year, faltered significantly. Imagine that now, in the conditions of war, the defense plants in Ukraine are loaded only for 10-30%.

This is a real BETRAYAL!

However, for a year now the parliament cannot adopt a draft law that establishes the legal mechanism for transferring this absolutely real, hard money, of which nearly a billion dollars is
in "cash." For example, the information on "Oshchadbank."
>
> A list of deputies from the group "Euro-optimists" and "UDAR," who come from the environment "of grant eaters," those organizations and structures in Ukraine that are living by Western grants, including receiving funds coming from US taxpayers, are blocking the adoption of the law.
>
> Which is why I appeal to the FBI asking to investigate the impact of corrupt officials of the era of Yanukovych - Mykola Zlochevskyi and Serhiy Kurchenko – on the grant community.
>
> I have strong suspicions that it was the corrupt business of Zlochevskyi and corrupt connections of Kurchenko that blocked the passage of the draft law on special confiscation through the Verkhovna Rada. I suspect that the blockade is taking place due to the efforts of well-known Western lobbyists who work in Zlochevskyi’s company Burisma Holdings, through their impact not only on "grant eaters," but also donors working in Ukraine.
>
> A sufficient part of the evidence the FBI can work with is already in the public domain. For instance, on the web site of the company Burisma Holdings, which officially belongs to Mykola Zlochevskyi. This business empire has been definitely created for corrupt funds.
>
> Now, remember that no one in Ukraine had such a fierce support from all possible grant eaters and donors like Kasko, who had been stubbornly dragged to the post of the Anti-Corruption Prosecutor.
>
> The same guard of Kasko, all "grant eaters" which cynically call themselves "Euro-optimists," "corruption fighters," "reformers" have thrown all possible resources, even used lies and slander to block the passage of the draft law on "special confiscation" through the parliament.
>
> And now look at the "accidental" coincidence: the web site of Burisma Holdings is the partner of a list of events of the Ukrainian office of USAID - the American agency that provides grant funds primarily for anti-corruption projects.
>
> What’s curious is that after my briefing Burisma removed news about cooperation with USAID from its web site.
>
> With best regards,
>
> LBI Team
>
> (044) 501 58 41
> <winmail.dat>
From: Kent, George P  
Sent: Mon, 29 Aug 2016 15:53:14 -0400  
To: John Herbst  
Subject: Uzbekistan

Thanks. I am not as looped into things Uzbekistan as I am Thai. I recall rumors of Karimov's demise circulating in 1999. 17 years later, it looks like he may finally be in a worse place, with lesser chances to recover. 

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: John Herbst  
Sent: Monday, August 29, 2016 10:45 PM  
To: Kent, George P  
Subject: RE: Dinner on the 12th

http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://www.rferl.org/content/who-would-replace-uzbekistan-karimov-president/27952766.html

You probably already have this in one form or another. I have no clue who will replace Karimov, if his time has come, but it is interesting that the two Rustams are mentioned. They would have been mentioned in similar circumstances when I was in Tashkent. Also, there is no reason to assume that any of these three will be the one. In any case, I do not expect a power struggle.

Atlantic Council

John Herbst | Director, Dinu Patriciu Eurasia Center  
Ambassador (Ret.)  
1030 15th Street, NW, 12th Floor | Washington, DC 20005  
T: +1.202.778.4965 | Cell: + | Email: jherbst@AtlanticCouncil.org |  
www.facebook.com/AtlanticCouncil | @JohnEdHerbst | www.AtlanticCouncil.org

From: Kent, George P [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto: ]  
Sent: Monday, August 29, 2016 3:09 PM  
To: John Herbst <JHerbst@ATLANTICCOUNCIL.ORG>  
Subject: Dinner on the 12th

Sounds good. May join, depending on what Tia cooks, and what we talk about.

From: John Herbst [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:JHerbst@ATLANTICCOUNCIL.ORG]  
Sent: Monday, August 29, 2016 10:04 PM
To: Kent, George P; Taylor, W
Subject: RE: PGs and Baseball, and Kyiv

George,

I’d be happy to join you for dinner Sep 12. Let’s do this solo. I would like to get your take on just about everything.

John

From: Kent, George P
Sent: Monday, August 29, 2016 2:46 PM
To: John Herbst <JHerbst@ATLANTICCOUNCIL.ORG>; Taylor, W
Subject: PGs and Baseball, and Kyiv

We just heard about Lutsenko’s interest in a US run (27-28 Sept) this evening from DOJ. He’s asking for DOJ leadership. Bruce Szwartz (the DAG for international affairs) may be what’s offered. I’ve been the Lutsenko handler this year – have met him more than a half dozen times, including three before his appointment, and 3-4 since. We now have former NJ Federal prosecutor (and born in Ukraine) Bohdan Vitvitsky as an embedded adviser. Bohdan has started drinking a bit of the Lutsenko kool-aid the past week or so, in the wake of the PGO-NABU showdown, which to the rest of the outside appears like a straight forward old Ukraine-New Ukraine morality tale. Bohdan thinks they all are acting like puerile middle schoolers. That may be true, but it may also be true that Lutsenko ends up on the wrong side of history by choice. I suspect he had terms dictated to him by P2, in terms of untouchables under him (who are an integral part of Team Shokin, and whom he told me initially in the spring time needed to be cleaned out). Those untouchables—Stolyarchuk and Sus—before Lutsenko came on board went after the folk we were working with to reform the PGO in the way P2 asked VP Biden, even to the point of arrogantly saying in public they would summon the US Ambassador (Geoff) for an interrogation (about our assistance, which they felt was being skimmed by the reformers which they forced out). Sus is the
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Regards - George

From: John Herbst
[http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:JHerbst@ATLANTICCOUNCIL.ORG]
Sent: Monday, August 29, 2016 9:05 PM
To: Taylor, W; Kent, George P
Subject: RE: former PG Yarema's trip to DC - what is his agenda, and what is his angle (and peanut gallery commentary)

George,

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Best,
John

Atlantic Council
From: Taylor, William
Sent: Monday, August 29, 2016 12:08 PM
To: Kent, George P; John Herbst
Subject: RE: former PG Yarema’s trip to DC - what is his agenda, and what is his angle (and peanut gallery commentary)

I am not eager to help him re-emerge. I think we’ll pull the plug. Thanks for the heads up, George.

From: Kent, George P
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To: Taylor, William; Kent, George P; John Herbst
Subject: Re: former PG Yarema’s trip to DC - what is his agenda, and what is his angle (and peanut gallery commentary)

At a minimum, you should grill him about not just the lack of accountability/activity, but specifically the December 2014 decision by him/his team to close the case against Zlochevsky and issue a letter to his lawyers the same day, enabling the assets to be unfrozen.

Your choice whether to engage at all. I presume this trip is part of his re-emergence strategy. To what end, unclear. Were he to return to office under P2, it would not be a sign of progress.

(this spring, we had former PG Piskun trying to meet/spin us with an eye to replacing Shokin. Points for chutzpah if nothing else.)

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Thanks, George – very helpful. Should I pull the plug on his visit to USIP? Or just grill him on his lack of activity?

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Sent: Monday, August 29, 2016 11:23 AM
To: John Herbst; Taylor, William
Subject: former PG Yarema’s trip to DC - what is his agenda, and what is his angle (and peanut gallery commentary)

Ambassadors – thank you for your joint 25th anniversary missive. Well targeted and eloquent as always. Masha is officially launched – just finished presenting credentials to P2, and now back in with soon to be ex Chief of Staff Lozhkin, who tendered his resignation today, with one of his proteges, Kharkiv governor Rainen, tapped as his replacement.

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Caveat emptor!

Warm regards – George

From: Andrii Telizhenko
Sent: Monday, August 29, 2016 3:34 PM
To: Glaser, Stephen T
Subject: Re: Andrii Telizhenko

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  09:00 - Foreign Policy interview
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-Voice of America Interview
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Waiting for Confirmation on meetings:

Congressman Eliot Engel
Senator Chris Murphy
National Security Council - Greg Pfleger
INL

Andrii

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.
From: [redacted]
To: Kent, George P [redacted] (EA/DIR)
Cc: [redacted] (EE/AI); [redacted]; Purcell, Alan S [redacted] (KYIV/OEG)
Subject: Re: Burisma’s contribution to upcoming MERP energy efficiency event - how large is the potential reputational risk by association?

, do you know anything about the make-up of the panel that selected the awarded or the criteria used in selecting winners? 

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Kent, George P
Sent: Wednesday, August 31, 2016 21:55
To: [redacted]
Cc: [redacted]; Purcell, Alan S; [redacted] (KYIV/OEG)
Subject: Burisma’s contribution to upcoming MERP energy efficiency event - how large is the potential reputational risk by association?

+ [redacted] and [redacted]

We took one pass through this, but I am not sure at the time we discussed that there would be an public event with coverage and likely co-branding with USAID and Burisma. That raises one question: will there be cobranding?

I don’t remember all the back and forth in round one, but remind me: how much “know your partner” due diligence was done before this “public – private” partnership was launched this spring? Zlochevsky as a corrupt mal actor was a 2014 story; his control of Burisma, and the very sticky wicket of the Hunter Biden connection on Burisma’s board was circulating in 2015. Below indicates the partnership was rolled out in 2016.

I understand this line taken at face value: The main objective of the Contest was to create incentives for journalists to ensure responsible and unbiased coverage of information on energy saving, tariff policy, subsidies, condominiums, and other related clean energy issues.

I would offer that Burisma’s incentive to support could plausibly read: The main objective of Burisma was to create incentives for journalists to offer sympathetic coverage of the company on energy issues.

Which would seem to be the opposite of the contest’s purpose.

[redacted] [redacted] — what is the ECON take in terms of potential reputational “guilt by association” risk with public partnering with Burisma? I realize I may well be wearing “overcompensating” glasses seeing
everything through anti-corruption lenses, and having been seared by dealing the Zlochevsky asset freeze case; perhaps the Ukrainian public would not see the association in the same way I do.

On the other hand, there’s always the Washington Post test of foreign service decision making. As in: would we want an article on the front page of the Washington Post (and in this case, the Kyiv Post, and on the FB pages of Sergiy Leshchenko and Mustafa Nayyem) commenting about this public private partnership with Burisma, the link to Hunter Biden, and the link to Zlochevsky, who almost certainly paid off the PGO in December 2014 (I had the then First deputy PG Danylenko tell me the bribe was $7 million) to have the case against him closed and his $23 million in assets frozen in the UK unfrozen?

Karen/Geoff – PA views?

Hi George,

Just following up our earlier exchange re: engagement with Burisma. Our energy efficiency activity, known as "MERP", has an upcoming (Sep. 13) award contest for journalists that involves Burisma. Burisma would be providing up to $7,500 of its own money for these awards. At this late a stage, it might not be prudent to cancel the event or Burisma's contribution but we can do that if needed.

Going forward, we can certainly have our MERP contractor disengage from their cooperation with Burisma.

Pls see below for further details. Happy to discuss further.

Thanks,

********************

[Name], Deputy Mission Director
USAID/Ukraine, Moldova, & Belarus
U.S. Embassy Kyiv

Follow us on:
Facebook: [link]
Twitter: [link]
YouTube: [link]
Flickr: [link]
As requested.

**Here is requested information on the upcoming MERP 2016 Contest for Journalists and the extent of Burisma's involvement:**

Earlier this year USAID MERP announced and conducted a contest among Ukrainian journalists for best published media materials covering energy efficiency, alternative and clean energy sources, advantages of condominiums, tariff reform and social protection programs. As it was announced, the contest was conducted in cooperation with the Center for Ukrainian Reform Education. Since dealing with promotion of energy efficiency, Burisma offered to provide about $7,500 in awards to winners. The main objective of the Contest was to create incentives for journalists to ensure responsible and unbiased coverage of information on energy saving, tariff policy, subsidies, condominiums, and other related clean energy issues.

Journalists from thirteen oblasts of Ukraine were invited to participate in the contest in the following categories:

- "Best material in printed and on-line media"
- "Best TV material"
- "Best radio material"

The deadline for applications was May 15, 2016. A special commission reviewed submitted materials and identified eight winners in the different categories. The winners have been notified, and an official award ceremony is currently scheduled for September 13, 2016. Burisma's role is to provide the prizes for the winners (prizes have been already purchased - photo cameras, laptops, tablets). The ceremony will be taking place at the reception hall of Podil Radisson Blu Hotel (arrangements for the venue have been already made by MERP). The USAID EG office director will be the highest level of attendance.

**Canceling the ceremony or zeroing out Burisma's contribution at this stage may create considerable negative publicity, in particular among the journalists.**
Thanks, George – very helpful. Should I pull the plug on his visit to USIP? Or just grill him on his lack of activity?

Ambassadors – thank you for your joint 25th anniversary missive. Well targeted and eloquent as always. Masha is officially launched – just finished presenting credentials to P2, and now back in with soon to be ex Chief of Staff Lozhkin, who tendered his resignation today, with one of his proteges, Kharkiv governor Rainen, tapped as his replacement.

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-Bohdan Futey - US Federal Judge
Waiting for Confirmation on meetings:

Congressman Eliot Engel
Senator Chris Murphy
National Security Council - Greg Pfleger
INL

Andrii

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.
The dumping part is true. Also, Kononenko was photographed meeting with Zlochevskiy in a Vienna restaurant over the weekend, and Zlochenskiy may have handed over a suitcase. You can’t make this stuff up.

Best,

Deputy Economic Counselor
U.S. Embassy Kyiv
4, I. Sikorsky Street
04112 Kyiv, Ukraine
044-521-5039 w

Official
UNCLASSIFIED

Lots of accusations/innuendo. Mentions Biden’s son and kwasniewski are on board of Burisma which allegedly had a subsidiary dump natural gas recently as a way to pay bribes to P2 inner cicle.

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: lbi@lbicompany.com.ua
Sent: Thursday, December 29, 2016 06:26
To: Kyiv, Media Alerts
Subject: KyivPost: Onyshchenko accuses Poroshenko of pressuring Burisma, energy firm linked to Biden, Kwasniewski
Onyshchenko accuses Poroshenko of pressuring Burisma, energy firm linked to Biden, Kwasniewski


By Oleg Sukhov

Fugitive lawmaker Oleksandr Onyshchenko and Radical Party leader Oleg Lyashko have accused President Petro Poroshenko of wrongdoing involving the Ecology Ministry, which approves lucrative licenses for gas and oil exploration.

The Presidential Administration denied the allegations and accused Onyshchenko of cooperating with Russian intelligence agencies and getting a Russian passport, which he denies.

“All statements made by lawmaker Onyshchenko, who has been charged with corruption, are lies that are not confirmed by any evidence,” the administration told the Kyiv Post.

“...This cause has gone beyond a personal campaign against Petro Poroshenko and has become an aspect of Russia’s information war against Ukraine.”

With respect to the Ecology Ministry, Onyshchenko and Lyashko accused Poroshenko of bribing lawmakers to appoint his loyalists so that the appointees would cancel certain mineral resource licenses.

Among those were licenses granted to two natural gas producers — Naftogazvydobuvannya, controlled by billionaire tycoon Rinat Akhmetov, and Burisma, a firm controlled by ex-Ecology Minister Mykola Zlochevsky. Hunter Biden, son of U.S. Vice President Joe Biden, and former Polish President Aleksander Kwasniewski are on Burisma’s board of directors.

When the attempt to revoke the licenses failed, Onyshchenko alleges that the president used his loyal prosecutors to freeze the assets of Burisma and Naftogazvydobuvannya. Onyshchenko claimed that Poroshenko extorted money from Akhmetov and Zlochevsky for unfreezing them. The licenses are active today.

Critics have questioned Onyshchenko’s credibility because he has been charged with stealing Hr 1.6 billion ($64 million) from state-owned gas producer Ukrgazvydobuvannya, which he denies. He fled Ukraine before he was stripped of his parliamentary immunity in July.

He said on Dec. 1 he had given the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation information alleging corruption of Poroshenko and his inner circle. The Department of Justice has indirectly confirmed that its representatives had met with Onyshchenko, but issued a statement afterwards saying it would not cooperate with him in the future.

Shevchenko’s appointment

Onyshchenko told the Kyiv Post that, after his election as president, Poroshenko lobbied for the appointment of loyalists – Igor Shevchenko and Petro Matveyev – as ecology minister and head of the State Service for Geology and Mineral Resources, respectively.

Shevchenko formally represented Yulia Tymoshenko’s Batkyvshchyna, while Matveyev was formally a candidate from Oleg Lyashko’s Radical Party but effectively they would represent the interests of Poroshenko and Onyshchenko, he said.
Onyshchenko supposedly acted as an intermediary.

Poroshenko tried to use these appointees to cancel the mineral resource licenses of Burisma and Naftogazyvdobuvannya in order to extort money from them, Onyshchenko claimed.

Shevchenko was eventually appointed in December 2014, while Matveyev’s appointment was blocked by Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenyuk.

Shevchenko was fired in July 2015 amid a corruption scandal over his earlier flights on Onyshchenko’s private jet. He denies any wrongdoing.

Tymoshenko on Dec. 5 denied cooperating with Onyshchenko on Shevchenko’s appointment, saying his claim had been an effort by discredit her team.

But on the same day, Lyashko published what he said was a letter by Tymoshenko nominating Shevchenko for a minister’s job. He accused Tymoshenko of writing the letter in exchange for money, which she denied.

Shevchenko told the Kyiv Post he had not been aware of Poroshenko’s alleged lobbying for his candidacy.

“Of course, the president participated in this process,” he told the Kyiv Post. “But I don’t know who lobbied for what... I was told that my candidacy had been approved by the president.”

He also said he had been acquainted with Onyshchenko for a long time, and that Poroshenko had talked with Onyshchenko about him and asked him to talk to Shevchenko.

“We were checking the issuance of licenses to different companies ,but we did not have a task to target Naftogazvudobuvannya specifically,” Shevchenko said.

But he said Yatsenyuk had likely protected Akhmetov’s interests because he had prevented Matveyev’s appointment and blocked Shevchenko and Matveyev “from the opportunity to check the issuance of licenses, including those of Akhmetov’s company, Burisma or anyone else.”

**Mineral resources agency**

Onyshchenko said he had met with Poroshenko and Yatsenyuk in November 2014, and the president had demanded the appointment of Matveyev and deputy ecology ministers loyal to Poroshenko and Onyshchenko.

Yatsenyuk’s spokeswoman Olga Lappo neither confirmed nor denied that the meeting took place.

“Yatsenyuk did not appoint an Onyshchenko loyalist to the State Service for Geology and Mineral Resources despite the efforts to nominate him repeatedly by the ecology minister, who was fired due to suspected corruption,” she told the Kyiv Post. “On all other issues, we will comment to investigators.”

Meanwhile, Lyashko said in September 2015 that Poroshenko had repeatedly offered him bribes for the appointment of his candidate for the State Service for Geology and Mineral Resources.
“When I blocked Matveyev’s appointment, Poroshenko met me several times and tried to persuade me not to block it,” Lyashko told the Kyiv Post. “But I didn’t agree to this because I knew that Matveyev is an Onyshchenko loyalist.”

Onyshchenko claimed Poroshenko had offered $5 million to Lyashko, while Lyashko wanted $10 million, and they did not reach an agreement. Yatsenyuk blocked the appointment because he protected Akhmetov’s interests, Onyshchenko said.

However, Lyashko denied being interested in a bribe.

“This is utter nonsense,” he said. “On the contrary, I blocked this appointment when I found out that Ecology Minister Shevchenko nominated Matveyev, an Onyshchenko protege, as head of the State Service for Geology and Mineral Resources. I also demanded that Poroshenko fire Ecology Minister Shevchenko, who was nominated by Yulia Tymoshenko and lobbied for Onyshchenko’s interests.”

Lawmaker Serhiy Berezenko asking Onyshchenko whether he had approved the appointment of a Yaroslav Klymovych, CEO of Nadra Ukrainy. He also asks him to get votes for the appointment of Ihor Bilous as head of the State Property Fund in May 2015.

Onyshchenko sent to the Kyiv Post what he says is his smartphone correspondence with Poroshenko’s right-hand man and lawmaker Ihor Kononenko and Serhiy Berezenko, a lawmaker from the Poroshenko Bloc, about appointments at state firms and agencies reporting to the Ecology Ministry.

According to the messages, Kononenko discussed the appointment of the chief of a firm based in the Chernobyl Exclusion Zone, while Berezenko asked Onyshchenko whether he had authorized the appointment of Yaroslav Klymovych as CEO of Nadra Ukrainy, a state mineral resource firm.
Lawmaker Igor Kononenko discussing the appointment of Chernobylsky Spetskombinat’s CEO with Oleksandr Onyshchenko.

**Prosecutors’ pressure**

When the alleged efforts to revoke the licenses of Naftogazvydobuvannya and Burisma failed, prosecutors loyal to Poroshenko froze their assets and then unfroze them when the president received money from them, Onyshchenko claimed.

The Prosecutor General’s Office did not respond to a request for comment.

Naftogazvydobuvannya used to be co-owned by Poroshenko and his top ally and lawmaker Igor Kononenko but later it was acquired by lawmakers Nestor Shufrich and Mykola Rudkovsky and then by Akhmetov.

In 2015 Dmytro Sus, a prosecutor accused of links to Poroshenko’s allies Kononenko and Oleksandr Hranovskyy, ordered the assets of Naftogazvydobuvannya to be frozen as part of a case into the kidnapping of the company’s CEO Oleh Seminsky. The company’s operations were blocked, and the freeze was deemed controversial because it happened three years after Seminsky’s kidnapping.

The assets were unfrozen by a court in December 2015, with prosecutors deciding not to dispute the decision. Meanwhile, in February 2016 a British Virgin Islands firm with unknown beneficiaries became a co-owner of Naftogazvydobuvannya.

Earlier this year Sus also ordered a freeze on the assets of Burisma and other firms controlled by Zlochevsky as part of the embezzlement case into another firm, Ukrgazvydobuvannya.

But later courts unfroze them, and Sus did not dispute the rulings. At the same time, Zlochevsky, who has been charged with unlawful enrichment, was taken off the wanted list at the request of Sus’ department in October 2016.
Burisma did not respond to a request for comment, while Akhmetov denied the accusations.

“Onyshchenko’s claim that money was extorted from me in exchange for unfreezing Naftogazvydobuvannya’s assets is absolutely untrue,” he told the Kyiv Post in a written comment. “As far as claims by the Prosecutor General’s Office against Naftogazvydobuvannya are concerned, they have been resolved in a legal way.”

Onyshchenko claimed that Poroshenko had tried to extort $200 million from Naftogazvydobuvannya, and they settled at $180 million.

He also claimed that Poroshenko had wanted a $100 million payment from Zlochevsky, while Zlochevsky offered $50 million. Eventually they settled at about $80 million, he added.

Previously Burisma had also been supplying natural gas to a glass factory linked to Kononenko and Poroshenko free of charge, Onyshchenko said.

Ukrainska Pravda reported on Dec. 27, citing a market source, that Esko Pivnich, a Burisma subsidiary, was currently selling natural gas at a dumping price of Hr 7,400 to Hr 7,500 per 1,000 cubic meters. Onyshchenko claimed that, by selling gas at a below-market price, Zlochevsky was effectively paying a bribe to Poroshenko’s inner circle.

Meanwhile, Olga Vasilevskaya, a journalist at television channel 1+1, on Dec. 25 published what she claimed to be photos of Kononenko meeting in Vienna with Zlochevsky. Kononenko’s face is clearly visible, while the person identified by her as Zlochevsky is seen from behind.

The alleged meeting took place after Onyshchenko testified about Poroshenko’s alleged raid on Zlochevsky’s business while interrogated by anti-corruption prosecutors by Skype on Dec. 22.

Kononenko did not respond to a request for comment. Previously he has denied Onyshchenko’s accusations.

Coincidentally, Radio Liberty journalist Mykhailo Tkach on Dec. 22 photographed the cars of Poroshenko and Kononenko visiting the Security Service of Ukraine, a fact confirmed by SBU Chief Vasyl Hrytsak.

**Bribery in parliament**

Onyshchenko has also made sweeping claims about alleged corruption in parliament, including the buying of seats in the 2014 election – similar to allegations made by many others, including Poroshenko Bloc lawmaker Sergii Leshchenko and Dragon Capital CEO and European Business Association leader Tomas Fiala. Poroshenko’s administration denied the allegations.

Onyshchenko has accused Poroshenko, Kononenko and other allies of the president of using him as an intermediary to bribe lawmakers.
Lawmaker Serhiy Berezenko asks Oleksandr Onyshchenko to get votes for the resignation of Security Service of Ukraine Chief Valentyn Nalyvaichenko

As proof of his claims, Onyshchenko showed to the Kyiv Post alleged text messages in which Berezenko asks him to get votes for the resignation of Valentyn Nalyvaichenko as head of the Security Service of Ukraine in June 2015 and the appointment of Ihor Bilous as head of the State Property Fund in May 2015.

Another alleged message shows Kononenko asking Onyshchenko to get votes for a bill on production sharing agreements in June 2016.

Lawmaker Ihor Kononenko asking Oleksandr Onyshchenko to get votes for a bill on production sharing agreements.
Additionally, Onyshchenko has said that he had given $6 million to David Zhvania, a member of Poroshenko’s election headquarters in 2014, for the Poroshenko Bloc’s campaign in order to get registered as a candidate despite his violation of residency rules.

Zhvania did not respond to a request for comment.

Another one making the allegations is Artem Bidenko, an unsuccessful candidate for parliament from the Poroshenko Bloc in 2014 and now a deputy information policy minister.

Bidenko told the Slidtvto.info investigative show in 2014 that Zhvania was responsible for selling parliamentary seats. He said then between 10 and 20 seats had been sold.

The seats, including that of lawmaker Glib Zagory, were sold for between $5 million and $10 million, Bidenko said. Zagoriy has denied the claim and filed a libel lawsuit against Bidenko.

Bidenko backtracked on Dec. 21, saying that he had had no evidence to back up his earlier claims and that he had made a mistake.

However, others — such as lawmaker Leshchenko — say the bribes paid are fueling today’s corruption as lawmakers seek to recoup their payments.

**U.S. government**

Onyshchenko said on Dec. 1 that he had transferred recordings implicating Poroshenko in corruption to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Peter Carr, a spokesman for the Department of State, told the Kyiv Post on Dec. 16 that “the U.S. Department of Justice has no plans to have further meetings or communications with Mr. Onyshchenko.”

Despite this, Onyshchenko said on Facebook on Dec. 19 that U.S. intelligence agents had had him pass a polygraph test on that day. Carr said he could not comment on the claim.

Onyshchenko sent to the Kyiv Post what he says is a copy of his agreement with the Department of State signed by Ephraim Wernick, a trial attorney at the Department of Justice’s fraud section representing Andrew Weissman, chief of the section.


--

*With best regards,*

*LBI Team*

[www.lbicomp company.com.ua](http://www.lbicomp company.com.ua)
From: John Herbst  
Sent: Mon, 29 Aug 2016 19:15:57 +0000  
To: Kent, George P  
Subject: RE: Dinner on the 12th

Happy to sit with [REDACTED] too.

Atlantic Council

John Herbst | Director, Dinu Patriciu Eurasia Center  
Ambassador (Ret.)  
1030 15th Street, NW, 12th Floor | Washington, DC 20005  
T: +1.202.778.4965 | Cell: [REDACTED] | Email: jherbst@AtlanticCouncil.org | www.facebook.com/AtlanticCouncil | @JohnEdHerbst | www.AtlanticCouncil.org

From: Kent, George P [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:]  
Sent: Monday, August 29, 2016 3:09 PM  
To: John Herbst <JHerbst@ATLANTICCOUNCIL.ORG>  
Subject: Dinner on the 12th

Sounds good. [REDACTED] may join, depending on what Tia cooks, and what we talk about.

From: John Herbst [http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=mailto:JHerbst@ATLANTICCOUNCIL.ORG]  
Sent: Monday, August 29, 2016 10:04 PM  
To: Kent, George P; Taylor, W  
Subject: RE: PGs and Baseball, and Kyiv

George,

I’d be happy to join you for dinner Sep 12. Let’s do this solo. I would like to get your take on just about everything.
We just heard about Lutsenko’s interest in a US run (27-28 Sept) this evening from DOJ. He’s asking for DOJ leadership. Bruce Szwartz (the DAG for international affairs) may be what’s offered. I’ve been the Lutsenko handler this year – have met him more than a half dozen times, including three before his appointment, and 3-4 since. We now have former NJ Federal prosecutor (and born in Ukraine) Bohdan Vitvitsky as an embedded adviser. Bohdan has started drinking a bit of the Lutsenko kool-aid the past week or so, in the wake of the PGO-NABU showdown, which to the rest of the outside appears like a straight forward old Ukraine-New Ukraine morality tale. Bohdan thinks they all are acting like puerile middle schoolers. That may be true, but it may also be true that Lutsenko ends up on the wrong side of history by choice. I suspect he had terms dictated to him by P2, in terms of untouchables under him (who are an integral part of Team Shokin, and whom he told me initially in the spring time needed to be cleaned out). Those untouchables—Stolyarchuk and Sus—before Lutsenko came on board went after the folk we were working with to reform the PGO in the way P2 asked VP Biden, even to the point of arrogantly saying in public they would summon the US Ambassador (Geoff) for an interrogation (about our assistance, which they felt was being skimmed by the reformers which they forced out). Sus is the one who went after NABU this month. Lutsenko unapologetically defended Sus to the hilt last week to me, in what was the most disappointing engagement we’ve had with him to date.

My honor to sit with you over coffee, or a meal – dinner Sept 12? I have hired my Thai cook from two Bangkok tours to be the DCR chef; she arrived last week. Happy to just have you over, or invite some Ukrainian interlocutors as well. Alas, it’s still the old DCR. OBO’s incompetence in managing the overhaul of the old Marine House and soon to be DCR knows no bounds. They turned over the property/project to the embassy last summer. But Embassy discovered over the winter that: the average temperature with the heat on was between 32-40F in Jan/Feb; the water and sewage did not meet code; and the electricity load was ¼ what a building that size needed (so they couldn’t add space heaters). Same factors affected the new America House/old Consular section, which shut down last winter due to the cold. So we won’t move into our new digs until October it would appear (with our HHE in a warehouse on the outskirts of town, and we living on suitcases and UAB).
Regards - George

From: John Herbst
[mailto:JHerbst@ATLANTICCOUNCIL.ORG]
Sent: Monday, August 29, 2016 9:05 PM
To: Taylor, W; Kent, George P
Subject: RE: former PG Yarema's trip to DC - what is his agenda, and what is his angle (and peanut gallery commentary)

George,

Thanks for this meaty warning. We already agreed to host Yarema and will not change that. But I will factor into our conversation the Zlochevsky Affair. We are doing a lot of PG work in late September as we also host Lutsenko. Anything that you might share on that would also be appreciated.

Also, I will be in Kyiv Sep 12-18 with Adrian Karatnycky and Anders Aslund. We are formally seeking a meeting with Masha, but it would also be good to sit with you separately. I am on my own the PM of Sep 12 and AM of Sep 13. Can I buy you a drink or coffee in that time slot?

Best,
John

---

John Herbst | Director, Dinu Patriciu Eurasia Center
Ambassador (Ret.)
1030 15th Street, NW, 12th Floor | Washington, DC 20005
T: +1.202.778.4965 | Cell: [redacted] Email: jherbst@AtlanticCouncil.org | www.facebook.com/AtlanticCouncil | @JohnEdHerbst | www.AtlanticCouncil.org

From: Taylor, William
Sent: Monday, August 29, 2016 12:08 PM
To: Kent, George P; John Herbst <JHerbst@ATLANTICCOUNCIL.ORG>
Subject: RE: former PG Yarema’s trip to DC - what is his agenda, and what is his angle (and peanut gallery commentary)

I am not eager to help him re-emerge. I think we’ll pull the plug. Thanks for the heads up, George.

From: Kent, George P
Sent: Monday, August 29, 2016 12:05 PM
To: Taylor, William < JHerbst@ATLANTICCOUNCIL.ORG >; Kent, George P; John Herbst
Subject: Re: former PG Yarema’s trip to DC - what is his agenda, and what is his angle (and peanut gallery commentary)

At a minimum, you should grill him about not just the lack of accountability/activity, but specifically the December 2014 decision by him/his team to close the case against Zlochevsky and issue a letter to his lawyers the same day, enabling the assets to be unfrozen.

Your choice whether to engage at all. I presume this trip is part of his re-emergence strategy. To what end, unclear. Were he to return to office under P2, it would not be a sign of progress.

(this spring, we had former PG Piskun trying to meet/spin us with an eye to replacing Shokin. Points for chutzpah if nothing else.)

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Taylor, William
Sent: Monday, August 29, 2016 6:31 PM
To: Kent, George P; John Herbst
Subject: RE: former PG Yarema's trip to DC - what is his agenda, and what is his angle (and peanut gallery commentary)

Thanks, George – very helpful. Should I pull the plug on his visit to USIP? Or just grill him on his lack of activity?

From: Kent, George P
Sent: Monday, August 29, 2016 11:23 AM
To: John Herbst < JHerbst@ATLANTICCOUNCIL.ORG >; Taylor, William
Subject: former PG Yarema’s trip to DC - what is his agenda, and what is his angle (and peanut gallery commentary)
Ambassadors – thank you for your joint 25th anniversary missive. Well targeted and eloquent as always. Masha is officially launched – just finished presenting credentials to P2, and now back in with soon to be ex Chief of Staff Lozhkin, who tendered his resignation today, with one of his proteges, Kharkiv governor Rainen, tapped as his replacement.

Kyiv POL has been fielding inquiries from former PG Yarema’s team about an upcoming trip in two weeks, as well as from the Ukraine desk at state (below). Your two organizations (and at least one of you in person) is listed.

I would be interested to hear your impressions about Yarema after you see him, presuming he stays on both the Atlantic Council and USIP’s schedule. Following is my gratuitous commentary, for what it may be worth:

I have never met Yarema, I should state (before continuing with my two bits). I do wonder whose interests he is promoting. I have no wonder at all that it is not Ukraine’s. The most notable decision by the PGO during his tenure (and he had his whole team come in and leave with him) was not any case pushed to the courts/conviction during his year, despite all the manifest crimes of the Maidan and Yanukovych era, but was a gross miscarriage of justice that undermined months of US assistance. After the FBI and MI-5 spent months and arguably millions working to try to put together the first possible asset recovery case (against former Minister of Ecology Zlochevsky), involving $23 million frozen in UK accounts, under suspicion of bribes paid for licenses issue for gas/oil permits…Team Yarema closed the case against Zlochevsky in December 2014 just before western Christmas day, by turning it into a case against the ministry rather than ex minister, returning it to the MOI/police for further investigation, and issuing an immediate letter to Zlochevsky’s defense lawyer team that there was no active case against their client; defense lawyers flipped that to the British judge, who unfroze the assets that were whisked out of UK jurisdiction before the UK authorities or we could learn/react.

When I met with Yarema’s right hand man, the jovially corpulent first Deputy PG Danylenko six weeks later during the first week of Feb 2015, I asked him bluntly how much was the bribe and who took it. Danylenko cheerfully replied: “that’s exactly what President Poroshenko asked us last month. I told him $7 million and it was last May, before our team came into office (in June 2014).” He then said that he’d been a friend of Zlochevsky for 20 years, had his number saved in his phone, could tell me that Zlochevsky was in Dubai at present, and asked if I wished to talk to him to confirm details. I declined, and politely reminded him that the PG letter closing the case was issued in late December, more than 6 months after team Yarema came into office, which means it was Yarema, Danylenko and Co who were responsible for the outrage. He just smiled smugly. They were gone within a month, replaced by Team Shokin, which proved even more venal in overtly preventing USG efforts to reform the justice system...all in response to the direct request of Poroshenko to US leaders. Yarema has had zero public profile in the 18 months since he faded into the woodwork. I presume he’s enjoying whatever the inducements were paid to take no action against anyone for a year. The first post-EuroMaidan PG who did nothing for 5 months, Mahnytsky (affiliated loosely with Svoboda at the time), reportedly was gifted control of the Hyatt from Team Donetsk. That might explain why elements of the ancient regime were never put under travel ban or subject to sanctions. I’ve never heard anyone offer such similar specificity of what the payoff to Yarema and Co to do nothing was, but I have no doubt such arrangements were made, apart from Mr. Zlochevsky (who also put Hunter Biden on the board of his Burisma Energy company).
There’s arguably a case to be made that team Yarema should be barred from eligibility to receive a visa to the US under Presidential Proclamation 7750 for taking actions that undermined US interests, specifically US assistance in asset recovering and anti-corruption efforts. We haven’t written it up due to the press of other business (and team Shokin takes precedence in that regard), but that’s the reply I gave the desk Friday when they inquired how much access/effort they should make in offering Yarema a meeting/facilitating with others.

Caveat emptor!

Warm regards – George

From: Andrii Telizhenko
[mailto:Andrii Telizhenko]
Sent: Monday, August 29, 2016 3:34 PM
To: Glaser, Stephen T
Subject: Re: Andrii Telizhenko

Mr. Vitalii Yarema visit to Washington D.C., 11-17 September 2016.

(Schedule is being updated, due to the vacation period some meeting are in the process of confirmation)

- Sunday Sept 11, 2016
  06:45 - Departure from Kyiv.
  1:25pm - Arrive in Washington DC
  3:30pm - Arrive at the Hotel (still to be determined)
  4:30pm - Lunch
  5:30pm - City Tour

- Monday Sept. 12, 2016
  08:00 - Breakfast at the Hotel
  ----
  1:30-2:30pm - round table at the Atlantic Council, topic "Anti-corruption and Police reforms in Ukraine"
  3:00pm - laying flowers to the Holodomor monument.

- Tuesday Sept. 13, 2016
  08:30 - Breakfast at the Hotel
  10:00 - Meeting with Congresswoman Marcy Kaptur (Dem. Party).
  ----
4:00pm - Wall Street Journal Interview

- Wednesday Sept. 14, 2016
  08:00 - Breakfast at the Hotel
  09:00 - Foreign Policy interview
  ----
  4:30pm - laying flowers to the Taras Shevchenko monument.

- Thursday Sept. 15, 2016
  08:00 - Breakfast at Hotel
  09:30 - Peace Institute Amb. Taylor
  ----

- Friday Sept. 16, 2016
  ----

- Saturday Sept. 17, 2016
  09:00 - Breakfast at Hotel
  10:00 - City Tour
  1:30pm - Move out from Hotel
  5:00pm - Flight from Washington DC
  ----

Meetings that are confirmed but waiting on the time:

- Senator Ted Cruz
- Senator John McCain
- Senator Durbin Office - National Security Advisor.
- Voice of America Interview
- IRI - Stephen Nix and Mark Green
- State Dept - Ukrainian Desk
  Bohdan Futey - US Federal Judge

Waiting for Confirmation on meetings:

Congressman Eliot Engel
Senator Chris Murphy
National Security Council - Greg Pfleger
INL

Andrii
From: [name]
Sent: Mon, 15 Aug 2016 13:30:38 +0300
To: [name]
Cc: Kent, George P; Wagner, JoAnne; (EE/AA); (KYIV/OEG); (KYIV/DIR); (Nairobi/EA/PDI); (KYIV/PCS); (KYIV/DIR); (Nairobi/EXEC); Kyiv, EXEC; Johannes Vandenhoogen; Cole, Jeffrey W; Smith, Christopher W
Subject: Re: (NO RESPONSE TIL MONDAY) USAID Cooperation with Burisma (Chornovol allegations) - should we have a policy of avoiding cooperation with the morally compromised?

Just to add—we've confirmed that there has been no financial relationship between our contractor on the MERP project and Burisma, although Burisma has provided prizes (purchased by them at their cost) for the winners of the 2015 and 2016 journalist contests organized by MERP in collaboration with the Center for Ukrainian Reform Education.

***************
[Name], Deputy Mission Director
USAID/Ukraine, Moldova, & Belarus
U.S. Embassy Kyiv

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Flickr: http://redirect.state.sbu/?url=https://www.flickr.com/photos/usaidukraine

On Mon, Aug 15, 2016 at 1:25 PM, [name] >> wrote:

Sir,

Econ has engaged with Burisma at the working level to get information on private sector gas production.

[Name]

Energy and ESTH Unit Chief
U.S. Embassy Kyiv
Office: 011-380-44-521-5482
Cell: [phone number]
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: Kent, George P  
Sent: Saturday, August 13, 2016 3:26 PM  
To:  
Cc: Wagner, JoAnne; (EE/AA); (Nairobi/EAPDI); (Kiev/OEG); (Kiev/DIP); (Kiev/PCS); (Kiev/DIR);  
Subject: (NO RESPONSE TIL MONDAY) USAID Cooperation with Burisma (Chornovol allegations) - should we have a policy of avoiding cooperation with the morally compromised?

Thanks, 

The proliferation of Ukrainian companies clearly (and not so clearly) owned/controlled by odious oligarchs or those who outright stole assets and absconded (like Zlochevsky) is likely a long one. I do not know if we have a clear, consistent, or even informal policy for post engagement with such companies-properties. I suspect not.

For instance, we don’t boycott Inter TV, even if it is controlled in part by under-indictment in Chicago/extradition proceedings Firtash and his equally morally compromised business partner Lyovochkin, or 1+1, controlled by Kolomoisky, whose sins are manifest, or TV Ukraina, controlled by Akhmetov, no comment needed. We continue to engage with those individuals diplomatically at a high level – albeit to the distress/disappointment of U.S. law enforcement, it must be said.

There is, however, a moral hazard associated with publicly associating/promoting our assistance projects with companies/individuals seen in Ukrainian society as corrupt/compromised. At the very least, embassy elements dealing with Ukrainians and companies with a known past need to engage on an eyes wide open, due diligence conducted basis.

For ECON: how have we traditionally treated/engaged Burisma, given the Zlochevsky connection, but also perhaps US involvement beyond Hunter Biden?

For the wider collective: perhaps this is a topic worth teasing out as we work on a revised mission counter corruption strategy, with an eye to setting a standard that is higher than “at the very least.” When I was in Bangkok from 2001-04, for instance, our Econ Counselor (now Ambassador to Malaysia) Joe Yun convinced all elements of the embassy to stop putting TDYers in hotel properties owned by the same billionaire who also owned the epicenter building for software piracy and refused to take action for years. That was up to a $500,000 year hit to his hotel businesses (lots of military planning conferences in Thailand). It didn’t change the IPR violating epicenter, but we sent a message by our policy and our choice.
From: [redacted]
Sent: Friday, August 12, 2016 4:47 PM
To: Kent, George P
Cc: Wagner, JoAnne; (EE/AA); (Nairobi/EA/PDI); (KYIV/DIR); (KYIV/PCS); (KYIV/DIR); [redacted]; Kyiv,
EXEC;

Subject: Re: Chornovol - American grants go to "Yanukovychs" and against the Ukr army

Hi George,

I wanted to follow back up on this. Although we didn't do anything with Burisma on the Donetsk pipeline repair issue as I mentioned below, I was just informed today that we have been working with Burisma through our Municipal Energy Reform Program (MERP) since Oct. 2014. In fact, our MERP project has an MOU (attached) with Burisma which covers cooperation on some public information activities (e.g., contests for best mass media materials on energy efficiency, alternative and clean energy sources, advantages of condominiums, etc.) conducted by MERP. Burisma participation has been limited to sponsoring prizes/awards for the winners, and participating in the award ceremony--the last one was conducted last year and another contest is underway now with the award ceremony planned for Sep. 13.

I imagine you'd like to discuss further, so pls advise and I'll set up. Thx.

********************
[redacted], Deputy Mission Director
USAID/Ukraine, Moldova, & Belarus
U.S. Embassy Kyiv

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On Wed, Jul 27, 2016 at 8:11 AM, Kent, George P
[redacted] wrote:

Thanks.

PA team - the below translation is just a part of her screed. Apparently it in the original must go into defense projects based on the title. Her reputed lover Pashynsky is neck deep in defense sector corruption. it would be worth reviewing the whole article to see what other allegations against us she makes.

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

Original Message
From: [redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, July 27, 2016 8:01 AM
To: Kent, George P
Cc: Wagner, JoAnne; Kyiv, POL Core; [redacted]; Kyiv, ECON FSOS; [redacted]; (EE/AA); [redacted]; (DCHA/OTI);
[redacted]; (KYIV/OEG); [redacted]; (KYIV/DIR)
Subject: Re: Chornovol - Addressing FBI: American grants go to "Yanukovychs" and against the Ukr army

Hi George--no cooperation with them at all to my knowledge. We had some internal conversations including with your predecessor re: whether or not we could or should, but decided against it. There was a possibility of linking them to the Donetsk oblast administration to fix a pipeline with their own resources, not ours, as we didn't have the resources to do so on our own.

-----
Deputy Mission Director
USAID/Ukraine, Moldova, & Belarus

Sent from my iPhone

> On Jul 27, 2016, at 07:50, Kent, George P
[redacted] wrote:

> Nasty smear here - against EuroOptimists, against Kasko, against potentially USAID.
> Chornovol, reputed lover of corrupt NF grey cardinal Pashynsky, is a loose cannon.
> But just for our background, [redacted] did Burisma ever co-sponsor a USAID activity as alleged?
>
> To remind: someone who joined the Burisma team is Hunter Biden. Zlochevsky is the corrupt ex minister of Ecology whose frozen assets were released by GPO perfidy in Dec 2014.

> Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

> From: lbi@lbicompany.com.ua

> Sent: Tuesday, July 26, 2016 9:16 PM

> To: Kyiv, Media Alerts

> Subject: UP: Addressing FBI: American grants go to "Yanukovychs" and against the Ukrainian army

> Ukrainska Pravda:

> Addressing FBI: American grants go to "Yanukovychs" and against the Ukrainian army

> Tetyana Chornovol Member of the parliament of Ukraine of the VIII convocation

> 26 of July 2016,

> Recently I visited two armored vehicles and artillery repair defense plants in Zhytomyr and Shepetivka. I am proud of the staff of the plants that are making powerful weapons literally from nothing, from old scrap, they got the production of parts up and running, which were previously purchased in Russia, they are modernizing old weapons, developing new ones, wonders on enthusiasm alone.

> And after that you just want to tear apart those scoundrels in Verkhovna Rada who dare to leave the plants that affect life at the front without money.

> MPs have been blocking the transfer of "Yanukovych's money" arrested in Ukraine to the state budget, although they know that under the Budget-2016 the defense plants are supposed to be financed from these funds.

> As a result, they are not being financed and the production, which picked up the pace last year, faltered significantly. Imagine that now, in the conditions of war, the defense plants in Ukraine are loaded only for 10-30%.

> This is a real BETRAYAL!

> However, for a year now the parliament cannot adopt a draft law that establishes the legal
mechanism for transferring this absolutely real, hard money, of which nearly a billion dollars is in "cash." For example, the information on "Oshchadbank."

> A list of deputies from the group "Euro-optimists" and "UDAR," who come from the environment "of grant eaters," those organizations and structures in Ukraine that are living by Western grants, including receiving funds coming from US taxpayers, are blocking the adoption of the law.

> Which is why I appeal to the FBI asking to investigate the impact of corrupt officials of the era of Yanukovych - Mykola Zlochevskyi and Serhiy Kurchenko – on the grant community.

> I have strong suspicions that it was the corrupt business of Zlochevskyi and corrupt connections of Kurchenko that blocked the passage of the draft law on special confiscation through the Verhkovna Rada. I suspect that the blockade is taking place due to the efforts of well-known Western lobbyists who work in Zlochevskyi’s company Burisma Holdings, through their impact not only on "grant eaters," but also donors working in Ukraine.

> A sufficient part of the evidence the FBI can work with is already in the public domain. For instance, on the web site of the company Burisma Holdings, which officially belongs to Mykola Zlochevskyi. This business empire has been definitely created for corrupt funds.

> Now, remember that no one in Ukraine had such a fierce support from all possible grant eaters and donors like Kasko, who had been stubbornly dragged to the post of the Anti-Corruption Prosecutor.

> The same guard of Kasko, all "grant eaters" which cynically call themselves "Euro-optimists," "corruption fighters," "reformers" have thrown all possible resources, even used lies and slander to block the passage of the draft law on "special confiscation" through the parliament.

> And now look at the "accidental" coincidence: the web site of Burisma Holdings is the partner of a list of events of the Ukrainian office of USAID - the American agency that provides grant funds primarily for anti-corruption projects.

> What’s curious is that after my briefing Burizma removed news about cooperation with USAID from its web site.

> http://blogs.pravda.com.ua/authors/chornovol/579729596f7a9/
With best regards,
LBI Team


(044) 501 58 41

<winmail.dat>
Meet with Herbst, to talk about zlochevsky okay.

Meet with zlochevsky no - not under any circumstances.

I shut down the ill-advised USAID co-branding effort for precisely this perception challenge.

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

FYI. We will respond on the HS.

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

We found that he was a minister under Yanukovych & looks like Pyatt called him out by name (see NYT excerpt below). On the other hand, USAID seems to have worked with Burisma on energy efficiency. Feel free to respond on high-side.


“That month, as part of an investigation into money laundering, British officials froze London bank accounts containing $23 million that allegedly belonged to Mr. Zlochevsky. Britain’s Serious Fraud Office, an independent government agency, specifically forbade Mr. Zlochevksy, as well as Burisma Holdings, the company’s chief legal officer and another company owned by Mr. Zlochevsky, to have any access to the accounts. But after Ukrainian prosecutors refused to provide documents needed in the investigation, a British court in January ordered the Serious Fraud Office to unfreeze the assets. The refusal by the Ukrainian prosecutor general’s office to cooperate was the target of a stinging attack by the
American ambassador to Ukraine, Geoffrey R. Pyatt, who called out Burisma’s owner by name in a speech in September. “In the case of former Ecology Minister Mykola Zlochevsky, the U.K. authorities had seized $23 million in illicit assets that belonged to the Ukrainian people,” Mr. Pyatt said. Officials at the prosecutor general’s office, he added, were asked by the United Kingdom “to send documents supporting the seizure. Instead they sent letters to Zlochevsky’s attorneys attesting that there was no case against him. As a result, the money was freed by the U.K. court, and shortly thereafter the money was moved to Cyprus.” Mr. Pyatt went on to call for an investigation into “the misconduct” of the prosecutors who wrote the letters. In his speech, the ambassador did not mention Hunter Biden’s connection to Burisma.”

Any concerns?

What do we know about Burisma and Zlochevskiy? Should I accept this meeting or beg off?

Dear Jorgan,

Hope this message finds you well! Ambassador Herbst was wondering if you might have some time to meet tomorrow to chat about Ukraine in general, but also Mr. Nicolai Zlochevskiy, who owns Burisma, one of Ukraine’s most significant natural gas producers.
Please let me know if you have any availability.

Best,

Geysha
From: Kent, George P.
Sent: Thu, 1 Sep 2016 00:52:21 -0400
To: 
Subject: RE: Burisma

Thanks. For you only - if I don't raise it in the huddle (lots of ambo questions bouncing in my mind), please do.

My intent is to pull the plug on this so no further harm done.

From: 
Date: September 1, 2016 at 7:46:07 AM GMT+3
Cc: [REDACTED] (EE/AA) >, [REDACTED] (KYIV/OEG) >

Subject: RE: Burisma's contribution to upcoming MERP energy efficiency event - how large is the potential reputational risk by association?

Agree with [REDACTED]— there is a clear link between the company and its primary owner. Zlochevsky is working very hard to clean up and “westernize” his image by hiring DC lobbyists and stacking the board with prominent people. From the rumors that we hear in the energy sector, there is no sense that Burisma has changed how it conducts its business. We have also heard that they have used the U.S. Embassy name to try to influence business transactions. Hard to prove, but certainly concerning. I fall on the side of not having anything to do with the company to avoid undermining our broader efforts to promote transparency and A/C.

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: 
Sent: Thursday, September 01, 2016 7:15 AM
To: Kent, George P. (EA/DIR) >, Purcell, Alan S; [REDACTED] (KYIV/OEG) >
Cc: [REDACTED] (EE/AA); [REDACTED] (KYIV/OEG) >

Subject: Re: Burisma’s contribution to upcoming MERP energy efficiency event - how large is the potential reputational risk by association?

Sir,
Those that work in Ukraine's Energy sector definitely associate Burisma with Zlochevsky who has been trying to improve his image. USG cooperation on the project would make us look bad. Not to mention the MPs on the energy committee and others would wonder how we speak about anti corruption, but work with those that were associated with corrupt practices.

I think Burisma will try to make a big deal about partnering with USG on a project.

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Kent, George P
Sent: Wednesday, August 31, 2016 21:55
To: [redacted]
Cc: [redacted]; Purcell, Alan S; [redacted]
Subject: Burisma’s contribution to upcomign MERP energy efficiency event - how large is the potential reputational risk by association?

+ [redacted] and [redacted]

We took one pass through this, but I am not sure at the time we discussed that there would be an public event with coverage and likely co-branding with USAID and Burisma. That raises one question: will there be cobranding?

I don’t remember all the back and forth in round one, but remind me: how much “know your partner” due diligence was done before this “public – private” partnership was launched this spring? Zlochevsky as a corrupt mal actor was a 2014 story; his control of Burisma, and the very sticky wicket of the Hunter Biden connection on Burisma’s board was circulating in 2015. Below indicates the partnership was rolled out in 2016.

I understand this line taken at face value: The main objective of the Contest was to create incentives for journalists to ensure responsible and unbiased coverage of information on energy saving, tariff policy, subsidies, condominiums, and other related clean energy issues.

I would offer that Burisma’s incentive to support could plausibly read: The main objective of Burisma was to create incentives for journalists to offer sympathetic coverage of the company on energy issues.

Which would seem to be the opposite of the contest’s purpose.

[redacted] – what is the ECON take in terms of potential reputational “guilt by association” risk with public partnering with Burisma? I realize I may well be wearing “overcompensating” glasses seeing everything through anti-corruption lenses, and having been seared by dealing the Zlochevsky asset freeze case; perhaps the Ukrainian public would not see the association in the same way I do.
On the other hand, there’s always the Washington Post test of foreign service decision making. As in: would we want an article on the front page of the Washington Post (and in this case, the Kyiv Post, and on the FB pages of Sergiy Leshchenko and Mustafa Nayyem) commenting about this public private partnership with Burisma, the link to Hunter Biden, and the link to Zlochevsky, who almost certainly paid off the PGO in December 2014 (I had the then First deputy PG Danylenko tell me the bribe was $7 million) to have the case against him closed and his $23 million in assets frozen in the UK unfrozen?

— PA views?

From: [Redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, August 31, 2016 4:51 PM
To: Kent, George P
Cc: [Redacted]; [Redacted]; Purcell, Alan S; [Redacted]
Subject: Fwd: A few words on Burisma's contribution to upcoming MERP energy efficiency event

Hi George,

Just following up our earlier exchange re: engagement with Burisma. Our energy efficiency activity, known as "MERP", has an upcoming (Sep. 13) award contest for journalists that involves Burisma. Burisma would be providing up to $7,500 of its own money for these awards. At this late a stage, it might not be prudent to cancel the event or Burisma's contribution but we can do that if needed.

Going forward, we can certainly have our MERP contractor disengage from their cooperation with Burisma.

Pls see below for further details. Happy to discuss further.

Thanks,

[Redacted], Deputy Mission Director
USAID/Ukraine, Moldova, & Belarus
U.S. Embassy Kyiv

Follow us on:
Facebook: [Redacted]
Twitter: [Redacted]
YouTube: [Redacted]
Flickr: [Redacted]
As requested.

Here is requested information on the upcoming MERP 2016 Contest for Journalists and the extent of Burisma’s involvement:

Earlier this year USAID MERP announced and conducted a contest among Ukrainian journalists for best published media materials covering energy efficiency, alternative and clean energy sources, advantages of condominiums, tariff reform and social protection programs. As it was announced, the contest was conducted in cooperation with the Center for Ukrainian Reform Education. Since dealing with promotion of energy efficiency, Burisma offered to provide about $7,500 in awards to winners. The main objective of the Contest was to create incentives for journalists to ensure responsible and unbiased coverage of information on energy saving, tariff policy, subsidies, condominiums, and other related clean energy issues.

Journalists from thirteen oblasts of Ukraine were invited to participate in the contest in the following categories:

· "Best material in printed and on-line media"
· "Best TV material"
· "Best radio material"

The deadline for applications was May 15, 2016. A special commission reviewed submitted materials and identified eight winners in the different categories. The winners have been notified, and an official award ceremony is currently scheduled for September 13, 2016. Burisma’s role is to provide the prizes for the winners (prizes have been already purchased - photo cameras, laptops, tablets). The ceremony will be taking place at the reception hall of Podil Radisson Blu Hotel (arrangements for the venue have been already made by MERP). The USAID EG office director will be the highest level of attendance.

Canceling the ceremony or zeroing out Burisma’s contribution at this stage may create considerable negative publicity, in particular among the journalists.
From: Bedingfield, Kate J. EOP/OVP  
Sent: Sun, 6 Dec 2015 16:23:56 +0000  
To: Pyatt, Geoffrey; Carpenter, Michael R. EOP/OVP; Kahl, Colin H. EOP/OVP; Hochstein, Amos J; Nuland, Victoria J  
Subject: RE: Podrobnosti.biz: The Ukrainian scam of the Biden family (information on the website included)

Thx

-----Original Message-----
From: Pyatt, Geoffrey R. [mailto:****************]  
Sent: Sunday, December 6, 2015 11:13 AM  
To: Bedingfield, Kate J. EOP/OVP; Carpenter, Michael R. EOP/OVP; Kahl, Colin H. EOP/OVP; Hochstein, Amos J; Nuland, Victoria J  
Subject: Re: Podrobnosti.biz: The Ukrainian scam of the Biden family (information on the website included)

I'd adjust the last sentence to change our desired end state. Something like "...begin rooting out the cancer of corruption that has done so much over the years to hold back economic growth and sap the confidence of Ukrainians in those who govern them."

I assume all have the DoJ background on Zlochevsky. The short unclas version: (in non lawyer language) is that US and UK were cooperating in a case to seize his corrupt assets overseas (which had passed through the US). The case fell apart when individuals in the PGO acted to thwart the UK case.

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Bedingfield, Kate J. EOP/OVP  
Sent: Sunday, December 6, 2015 6:04 PM  
To: Carpenter, Michael; Pyatt, Geoffrey R.; Kahl, Colin H. EOP/OVP; Hochstein, Amos J  
Subject: RE: Podrobnosti.biz: The Ukrainian scam of the Biden family (information on the website included)

Proposed TPs for the VP if he gets asked after the stories break in the next few days. Especially interested in your feedback on how to answer the third Q if he gets asked. He is not currently slated to take any questions from reporters on the record on the trip, but he will talk to our traveling press at length off the record and will need to be prepared to answer these kinds of questions.

TALKING POINTS

• My son is a private citizen and I'm not going to get into discussing his personal business, it has no impact on my work.

• What I will say, though, is that no one has been tougher in pushing Ukrainian leaders to root out corruption than I have. It has been a primary focus of my discussions, both publicly and privately, for years. And I think you can see from the substance of this trip it remains a major priority for me and for the US government.
Important strides have been made – the appointment of a Special Anti-Corruption Prosecutor and the establishment of an independent Inspector General to prosecute corrupt prosecutors are two good ones. But much more needs to be done and we will continue to encourage everyone involved to commit to meaningful reforms.

Q: Have you asked Hunter to step down from the board? Has he discussed that with you?

A: I'm not going to discuss private conversations with my family. Hunter is a private citizen and does independent work.

Q: Do the optics of this situation undermine your credibility when you're pushing the Ukrainians to clean up their own house?

A: No. I have long pushed and will continue to push for the Ukrainian government to root out corrupt practices. My record on this speaks for itself. I have called on Ukrainian leadership to root out corruption, encouraged civil society reformers to remain focused on this and push the government themselves, and I welcome the news that the government will appoint a Special Anti-Corruption Prosecutor. Important steps have been taken, but there is so much left to be done. Corrupt officials must be brought to justice and reformers must work together to ensure this happens.

Q: Do you think Zlochevsky is corrupt?

A: I'm not going to get into naming names or accusing individuals. We have been working consistently to push the Ukrainian leadership to make meaningful changes in the Prosecutor General's office and across the government to help ensure that the Ukrainian people are represented fairly and fully.

-----Original Message-----
From: Carpenter, Michael
[mailto:<mailto:https://example.com>]
Sent: Sunday, December 6, 2015 6:23 AM
To: PyattGR; Kahl, Colin H. EOP/OVP; Bedingfield, Kate J. EOP/OVP
Subject: Re: Podrobnosti.biz : The Ukrainian scam of the Biden family (information on the website included)
Ugh.

+ Kate, CK

From: Pyatt, Geoffrey R
[mailto:pyatt@state.sbu.gov]

Sent: Sunday, December 06, 2015 01:45 AM
To: Carpenter, Michael
Subject: FW: Podrobnosti.biz : The Ukrainian scam of the Biden family (information on the website included)

A really nasty Russian outlet on the same issue

This email is UNCLASSIFIED.

From: lbi@lbicompany.com.ua
[mailto:lbi@lbicompany.com.ua]

Sent: Saturday, December 05, 2015 7:05 PM
To: Kyiv, Media Alerts
Subject: Podrobnosti.biz : The Ukrainian scam of the Biden family (information on the website included)

this web site is very similar (stile, shrifts etc) to Ukrainian Podrobnosti that belongs to Inter TV Channel - the same name as its TV summary news block at 8pm
but we checked contacts and there is a Russian address there

Podrobnosti.biz

The Ukrainian scam of the Biden family

05.12.2015

Author: Eugene Prosvirin

The news that the son of the US Vice President Joe Biden was appointed to the board of directors of the Ukrainian gas company Burisma Holdings, for the first time appeared in media last spring.

The Internet marked this new appointment unequivocally - a massive stamping folklore entertainment began in social networks. The story had got a special piquancy - Joe Biden's visit to Kyiv in April, where he took a place of the president of Ukraine, not the guest at the negotiation table.

There were even such headlines: "Hunter Biden: a rape of Ukraine with a special cynicism."

The hatred among the public was coursed by the fact that Biden's tandem participates not only in Ukrainian politics, but in the Ukrainian business as well. However, neither Joe nor Hunter weren't ashamed of their imperial approach. On the contrary, they have demonstrated that this could be and should be.

Hunter demonstrated his true management potential in six months after the appointment. In mid-October 2014 it became clear that he failed out of the US Navy Reserve. Hunter failed an ordinary drug test - it was accused of cocaine use. A failed sailor, but a successful businessman due to family ties, said then that he was "deeply sorry" about the incident.

He still owns an investment-consulting company Rosemont Seneca Partners. Nobody took his place it the chair Board of the US World Food Programme, which, with other things, works directly with the UN World Food Programme. He still heads the Burisma Holdings, part of Kolomoisky's financial empire.
A tandem of the influential father and the enriched son opened not a small window but a real portal of capabilities for the Biden family in Ukraine. Analysts make an unnerving forecast: it is quite possible that the Biden family will begin a large-scale privatization in Ukraine, which in fact would be a banal raider seizure of state enterprises. The family has already watched their six at the politician field - it's time to do American business.


--

With best regards,

LBI Team


(044) 501 58 41

--

With best regards,

LBI Team


(044) 501 58 41
From: Thorne, David H
Sent: Fri, 16 May 2014 20:52:30 +0000
To: Wade, David E
Subject: RE: Ukraine/Biden/Kerry - in case you missed it

I sent it to JK on Weds but forgot to include you...

From: Wade, David E
Sent: Friday, May 16, 2014 4:38 PM
To: Thorne, David H
Subject: RE: Ukraine/Biden/Kerry - in case you missed it

Thanks – it made for a not fun day on Wednesday! Wasn’t good.

From: Thorne, David H
Sent: Friday, May 16, 2014 4:29 PM
To: Wade, David E
Subject: FW: Ukraine/Biden/Kerry - in case you missed it

Just a heads up...

From: [Redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, May 14, 2014 12:38 PM
To: Thorne, David H
Cc: [Redacted]
Subject: Ukraine/Biden/Kerry - in case you missed it

**Biden’s Son Joins Gas Firm In Ukraine.** The AP (5/14) reports Vice President Biden’s son, Hunter, is joining the board of the a gas company operating in Ukraine. Biden will head Burisma Holdings’ legal unit and “seek support for Burisma among international organizations.”

The Washington Times (5/14, Chasmar, 455K) reports White House Press Secretary Jay Carney said Hunter Biden’s new position “does not reflect an endorsement by the administration,” and Reuters (5/14, Rampton) reports Vice President Biden’s spokeswoman, Kendra Barkoff, said he “does not endorse any particular company and has no involvement” with Burisma.

The Wall Street Journal (5/14, Sonne, Grimaldi, Subscription Publication, 5.51M) reports Hunter Biden is a close friend of Secretary Kerry’s stepson, Christopher Heinz. The Journal notes the hiring comes a few weeks after Devon Archer, a college roommate of Heinz’s, joined the company’s board.

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Office of the Senior Advisor to the Secretary (S/SRA)
202-485-1548
Dear Mr. Hochstein,

I am writing on behalf of Sally Painter and Karen Tramontano at Blue Star Strategies to request a meeting this week. I understand that you have previously met with Sally regarding energy issues in Ukraine, and she is hoping to brief you on a sensitive energy matter ahead of President Poroshenko’s upcoming visit to DC next week.

Sally and Karen, schedule permitting, would be accompanied by John Buretta of Cravath, who is assisting us with this particular energy case. The best times for his schedule are this Tuesday before noon or Thursday before 1:30pm. If either day is possible for a quick meeting, we would be greatly appreciative. Please let us know what might work with your schedule this week and thank you for your consideration.

Best,
Sean Keeley
Associate, Blue Star Strategies

Sean Keeley
Blue Star Strategies
888 17th Street NW, Suite 800
Washington, DC 20006
(+1) 202-833-1281 office
(+1) 202-650-5464 direct
(+1) 202-822-9088 fax
sean.keeley@bluestarstrategies.com
www.bluestarstrategies.com
Confirmed for this Thursday at 11:00.

From: Hochstein, Amos J
Sent: Monday, March 21, 2016 12:29 PM
To: hochstein.amos@state.gov
Subject: FW: Requesting meeting with Special Envoy Hochstein - Sally Painter/Karen Tramontano

From: Sean Keeley [mailto:Sean.Keeley@bluestarstrategies.com]
Sent: Monday, March 21, 2016 11:55 AM
To: hochstein.amos@state.gov
Cc:； Sally Painter; Karen Tramontano
Subject: Requesting meeting with Special Envoy Hochstein - Sally Painter/Karen Tramontano

Dear Mr. Hochstein,

I am writing on behalf of Sally Painter and Karen Tramontano at Blue Star Strategies to request a meeting this week. I understand that you have previously met with Sally regarding energy issues in Ukraine, and she is hoping to brief you on a sensitive energy matter ahead of President Poroshenko’s upcoming visit to DC next week.

Sally and Karen, schedule permitting, would be accompanied by John Buretta of Cravath, who is assisting us with this particular energy case. The best times for his schedule are this Tuesday before noon or Thursday before 1:30pm. If either day is possible for a quick meeting, we would be greatly appreciative. Please let us know what might work with your schedule this week and thank you for your consideration.

Best,
Sean Keeley
Associate, Blue Star Strategies

Sean Keeley
Blue Star Strategies
888 17th Street NW, Suite 800
Washington, DC 20006
(+1) 202-833-1281 office
(+1) 202-650-5464 direct
(+1) 202-822-9088 fax
sean.keeley@bluestarstrategies.com
www.bluestarstrategies.com
From: [name]
Sent: Tue, 6 Dec 2016 00:18:23 -0500
To: Kent, George P
Cc: Kyiv, Staff Assistant
Subject: Fw: For DCM Clearance: 20161208 BCL Tramontano
Attachments: 20161208 BCL Tramontano (Laitinen).docx

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Kyiv, Staff Assistant <KyivStaffAssistant@state.gov>
Sent: Monday, December 5, 2016 5:42 PM
To: [name]
Subject: For DCM Clearance: 20161208 BCL Tramontano

Best,


From: [name]
Sent: Monday, December 05, 2016 2:15 PM
To: Kyiv, Staff Assistant
Cc: [name]
Subject: 20161208 BCL Tramontano

– attached for George’s clearance.

Best,


Deputy Economic Counselor
U.S. Embassy Kyiv
4, I. Sikorsky Street
04112 Kyiv, Ukraine
044-521-5039

Official - SBU
UNCLASSIFIED
BRIEFING CHECKLIST (BCL)  
Ambassador Yovanovitch’s Meeting with  
Karen Tramontano, Blue Star Strategies  

Thursday, December 8, 2016  
10:30-11:00  
Ambassador’s Office  

Interpretation: N/A  
Notetaker:  
EXT: 5365  

CONTEXT  

An Atlantic Council member and Washington veteran, Tramontano informally represents Mykola Zlochevskiy, the Burisma CEO who has long been the target of law enforcement proceedings in Ukraine.

WHAT DO WE WANT?  

- You should hear Tramontano out on Zlochevskiy’s situation, but not suggest we will change our posture on his case.

WHAT DO(ES) THEY/HE/SHE WANT?  

- Tramontano would like the USG to take a more positive view of Zlochevskiy and possibly meet with him.

KEY OBJECTIVES  

1. Zlochevskiy: the former Minister of Ecology fled Ukraine in early 2014 and was charged with corruption and sanctioned by the European Union. In 2014, British officials unfroze $23 million in his British bank accounts. Zlochevskiy owns Burisma, one of Ukraine’s largest gas producers. His official U.S. representatives sent a letter in September (attached) asking that the Embassy reconsider its position on him.

   - I appreciate hearing your side of the story.
   - However, we have extensive concerns about corruption in Ukraine, and we believe Mr. Zlochevskiy is an example. If he would like to clear his name, he should return to Ukraine to face the charges against him.
WATCH OUT FOR

**Burisma and USAID:** In September, USAID withdrew its Municipal Energy Reform Program’s (MERP’s) cooperation with Burisma on a joint program to award journalists for outstanding coverage of energy efficiency issues in Ukraine citing concerns about the appearance of a conflict of interest rewarding journalists with prizes paid by an energy company. Burisma provided approximately $7,500 in prizes for last year’s contest. Subsequently, USAID spoke to Blue Star Strategies representative Sally Painter by phone and indicated that we would be open to discussing other forms of cooperation between USAID and Burisma, and agreed to meet with Burisma Government and Public Affairs representative, Vadym Pozharskyi. In the November meeting, Pozharskyi briefed USAID on Burisma and the gas sector more broadly, but did not propose specific ideas for cooperation. While keeping the lines of communication open, we do not intend to pursue any joint cooperation with Burisma.

- I understand that Susan Fritz and Joel Sandefur had a good meeting with Vadym Pozharskyi.

- If pressed: I encourage you to have Vadym reach out to [...] again should Burisma have further ideas.

**PARTICIPANTS**

**United States**
- Ambassador Yovanovitch
- [Name redacted], Econ Counselor

**Other Country/Organization**
- Karen Tramontano, Blue Star CEO

**Attachment:**
- Biographic Information
- Letter from Zlochevskiy’s representatives
Approved:  DCM: Kent

Drafted:  Econ [REDACTED], x. 5039

Cleared:  Econ [REDACTED] ok
AID [REDACTED] ok
Legatt/Van Den Hoogen ok
BEGINNING OF NEW RECORD
Hi Andrii,

Thank you so much – was great seeing you! And, thank you so much for the coffee.

I actually just received an email from Slava requesting a meeting for Vadym with Charlie, which is perfect. I’ll write back to Slava and let him know that it looks like Charlie will be able to do at least a short meeting (and I’ll sit in as well).

Thanks again, and have Happy March 8 a few days early!

Liz

From: Andrii Telizhenko [mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com]
Sent: Friday, March 04, 2016 5:26 PM
To: Zentos, Elisabeth <Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov>
Subject: Andrii Telizhenko meeting

Liz,

Thank you for the meeting today, great coffee place. About the meeting with Mr. Prystayko, I know that Mr. Brysuik asked for a possible meeting with Mr. Kupchan Charles. However if you would like a meeting with Mr. Prystayko, please let me know.

Thank you

Andrii Telizhenko

On Friday, March 4, 2016, Zentos, Elisabeth <Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov> wrote:

Yes!

Would you be up for doing coffee instead of beer though? I’m realizing that if I drink beer at 3 p.m., I will probably fall asleep while attempting to work afterward...

Want to meet at Swing’s coffee house on G and 17th? They have the best coffee around.

See you soon!
From: Andrii Telizhenko [mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com]
Sent: Friday, March 04, 2016 12:54 PM
To: Zentos, Elisabeth <Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov>
Subject: Andrii Telizhenko meeting

Wanted to confirm the meeting for today.

Andrii

--
Andrii Telizhenko | III Secretary of the Embassy of Ukraine to the USA
| telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com |

--

--

Andrii Telizhenko | +380504467876 | telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com
BEGINNING OF
NEW RECORD
No problem)

On Tuesday, February 9, 2016, Zentos, Elisabeth wrote:
Be there in three minutes--sorry am late!

I am by the entrance)

On Tuesday, February 9, 2016, Zentos, Elisabeth wrote:

Is it still convenient for you?

Hey Liz,

are you able to meet today at 2?

Andrii
2016-02-08 13:32 GMT-05:00 Zentos, Elisabeth <Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov>:

Perfect! See you then!

From: Andrii Telizhenko [mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com]
Sent: Monday, February 08, 2016 1:05 PM

To: Zentos, Elisabeth <Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov>
Subject: Re: Andrii Telizhenko

That would be great.

On Monday, February 8, 2016, Zentos, Elisabeth <Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov> wrote:

Great!

Would it work to meet at the Cosi on 17th and H streets?

From: Andrii Telizhenko [mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com]
Sent: Monday, February 08, 2016 1:00 PM
To: Zentos, Elisabeth <Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov>
Subject: Re: Andrii Telizhenko

Liz,

I think 2pm is good, where would you like to meet?)
Hi Andriy,

Any chance tomorrow around 2 p.m. or 3 p.m. might work for you? My morning is busy but I’m pretty free in the afternoon. Just let me know what’s good for you.

See you soon!

Liz

From: Andrii Telizhenko [mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com]
Sent: Monday, February 08, 2016 10:38 AM
To: Zentos, Elisabeth <Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov>
Subject: Andrii Telizhenko

Hi Liz,

How was your weekend? Sorry for not replying yesterday, had some issues with my schedule to organize. You said you can meet tomorrow? What time would be best for you and where (the same place?)

Andrii

--
Андрій Теліженко | Andrii Telizhenko
III Секретар Посольства України в США

III Secretary of the Embassy of Ukraine to the USA

telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com
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Андрій Теліженко | Andrii Telizhenko
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| +380504467876 | telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com |
BEGINNING OF NEW RECORD
I am between cosi and swing, thought to come earlier juat incase)

On Thursday, March 10, 2016, Andrii Telizhenko <telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com> wrote:
Yes, see you there.

On Thursday, March 10, 2016, Zentos, Elisabeth <Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov> wrote:

Want to just grab a coffee at Cosi on 17th and Pennsylvania?

Around 5pm is great, thank you. Where is more convenient for you?

Once again thank you.

Andrii

On Thursday, March 10, 2016, Zentos, Elisabeth <Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov> wrote:

Hi Andrii,

Sorry for the delay.

Sure, happy to meet today. But it would need to be late afternoon – would sometime around 5 p.m. work for you? Otherwise, I could meet tomorrow morning.
Hope all is well!

Liz

From: Andrii Telizhenko [mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com]
Sent: Thursday, March 10, 2016 11:30 AM
To: Zentos, Elisabeth <Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov>
Subject: Andrii Telizhenko

Hi Liz,

How are you? Sorry for the late question, wanted to ask if you have 5min today to meet?

Andrii

--

--

Andrii Telizhenko | Andrii Telizhenko
| +380504467876 | telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com |
Андрій Теліженко | Andrii Telizhenko
| +380504467876 | telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com |
BEGINNING OF NEW RECORD
Andriy! I was just thinking about you, since I just had a meeting that included “other Andriy.” 😊

Yes—we need to both of the below ideas.

On the tour, I will check for open times this week. Sorry, I completely forgot this past week. Slots open up first thing in the morning, so I will attempt to get here early and snag one!

As for coffee or beer next week – definitely. Do you want to try for Wednesday or Thursday? Ok if I bring my colleague Eric, who works on Ukraine with me?

I’ll get back to you soon about the tour and just let me know what day next week works best for drinks.

Also – did you get Trump’s autograph for me?

Liz

Hi, how are you. Just this weekend traveled to SC to take a look at the primaries process - very interesting. We spoke when we met about the possibility of a tour of the WH, is it still possible?

Also you said that you will talk to Sasha about getting his email adress - wanted to also catch up with him.

Maybe lets meet again for coffee or beer next week?

Andrii

--

Andriy Telizhenko | Andrii Telizhenko
III Sekretar Посольства України в США
III Secretary of the Embassy of Ukraine to the USA
| telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com |
BEGINNING OF NEW RECORD
From: wavesrequest@ussdhs.gov
Sent: Thursday, July 11, 2013 1:18 PM
To: Donelson, Marisa; Donelson, Marisa
Cc: william.willson@ussdhs.gov
Subject: WAVES APPOINTMENT STATUS (U# U09126)

WAVES APPOINTMENT STATUS

U#: U09126
Appointment #: 271604
Appointment Date/Time: 7/19/2013 11:30
Person Visited: Lyn Debevoise
Event Name: 
Room Number: 472
Appointment Status: COMPLETE
Number of Visitors: 3
Number of Cleared Visitors: 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Name</th>
<th>Last Name</th>
<th>Status</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dmytro</td>
<td>Andriievskyi</td>
<td>CLEARED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kateryna</td>
<td>Kyrychenko</td>
<td>CLEARED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrii</td>
<td>Telizhenko</td>
<td>CLEARED</td>
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Please log-in to the WAVES Request System (WRS) to view the visitor details

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BEGINNING OF
NEW RECORD
FYI—just took the time to actually read this. Woops.

From: Andrii Telizhenko [mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, January 19, 2016 12:22 AM
To: Zentos, Elisabeth <Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov>
Subject: Embassy of Ukraine Telizhenko

Dear Liz,

Hi this is Andrii Telizhenko, how are you? Tried contacting you through facebook. I am working at the Embassy of Ukraine in US now )

Tomorrow you have a planned meeting with Mr. Sytynyk, Mr. Kholodnickiy and Mr. Sakvarelidze at 11:00am, we spoke to Mr. Sytynyk and Mr. Kholodnockiy that they would like to have somebody from the Embassy be with them at the meeting.

Would it be possible to ad me in? I appologize for the late notice, just got informed.

With Regards,

Andrii Telizhenko

--

Andrii Telizhenko | telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com
BEGINNING OF
NEW RECORD
4pm is perfect) ar Cosi?

On Tuesday, May 3, 2016, Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC <Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov> wrote:

Hi Andrii,

Yes, I’m feeling much better – thank you!

Tomorrow is great. I forget—did we set a time? Could we meet in the afternoon – maybe around 4 p.m.?

See you soon!

Liz

From: Andrii Telizhenko [mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com]
Sent: Monday, May 2, 2016 11:21 PM
To: Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC <Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov>
Subject: Andrii Telizhenko

Liz,

Hi how are you? How are you feeling? Wanted to ask if all is good for Wednesday after tomorrow?

Andrii

On Friday, April 29, 2016, Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC <Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov> wrote:
Yes, let's plan for Wednesday! Just let me know what time is good for you.

-----Original Message-----
From: Andrii Telizhenko [mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com]
Sent: Friday, April 29, 2016 12:50 PM
To: Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC <Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov>
Subject: Favor -- postpone to early next week?

Oh no, I hope you will be feeling better. Its vacation days at the Embassy next Monday and Tuesday, I will be in out of town. If possible maybe to meet starting Wednesday of next week?

Get well soon

Andrii

On Friday, April 29, 2016, Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC <Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov> wrote:

Andrii,

I'm not feeling great and am probably going to head home shortly.

Any chance we could move our coffee to early next week? Maybe Monday or Tuesday?

Really sorry. Hope you are doing well!

Liz
Andrii Telizhenko
III Secretary of the Embassy of Ukraine to the USA

telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com
That would good)

On Tuesday, March 1, 2016, Zentos, Elisabeth <Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov> wrote:

Perfect! I’ll see if my colleague Eric is up for joining.

That is great if it fits you, I could give you a lift back) see you Thursday)

On Tuesday, March 1, 2016, Zentos, Elisabeth <Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov> wrote:

Yes, let’s do it!

Want to plan on 5 p.m. at “The Exchange” – a little drive bar on H between 17th and 18th? I’ll probably have to come back here afterward, hence why my suggestion is close to the White House...

I know that you are very busy ) We can do Thursday?

On Tuesday, March 1, 2016, Zentos, Elisabeth <Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov> wrote:

Andriy!
Shoot, so sorry for not getting back to you sooner.

Any chance we could do Thursday or Friday – maybe around 5 p.m.?

From: Andrii Telizhenko [mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com]
Sent: Tuesday, March 01, 2016 4:03 PM
To: Zentos, Elisabeth <Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov>
Subject: Andrii Telizhenko

Liz,

Hi, how are you enjoying the warm weather? wanted to ask if you would be able to meet this week?

Andrii
Andrii Telizhenko | telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com
+380504467876

Andrii Telizhenko | telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com
+380504467876
BEGINNING OF NEW RECORD
Thx. Nathan -- I'm in 271.

10Am meeting.thank you
BEGINNING OF
NEW RECORD
From: Andrii Telizhenko <telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com>
Sent: Wednesday, April 13, 2016 2:44 PM
To: Zentos, Elisabeth; Zentos, Elisabeth
Subject: Re: Andrii Telizhenko

Yeah thats great, I am driving out of the Embassy, on my way.

On Wednesday, April 13, 2016, Zentos, Elisabeth <Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov> wrote:

Yes, all set! Will unfortunately only have about 30 minutes, but would love to grab a quick coffee if that still works for you.

From: Andrii Telizhenko [mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, April 13, 2016 11:53 AM
To: Zentos, Elisabeth <Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov>
Subject: Andrii Telizhenko

Liz,

Hi how are you? Wanted to check if all is good for 3pm meeting today?

Andrii

--
Andrій Теліженко | Andrii Telizhenko
III Секретар Посольства України в США

III Secretary of the Embassy of Ukraine to the USA
| telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com |
Andrii Telizhenko
III Secretary of the Embassy of Ukraine to the USA
| telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com |
BEGINNING OF NEW RECORD
Dear Mr Debevoise,

We would like to thank you for the meeting that we had with you during our visit to Washington D.C. in July. Mr. Andrievskiy and I hope that we can continue our communication in the future, regarding the political situation in Ukraine. If you have any questions or requests please feel free to contact us any time.

With Regards,

Andrii Telizhenko
--
Andrii Telizhenko
Counsellor to the Deputy of Verhovna Rada
+380504467876
telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com
BEGINNING OF NEW RECORD
Hi, I am downstairs in the lobby

On Friday, July 8, 2016, Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC <Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov> wrote:
Ooh, that would be wonderful--thanks so much! Although I hope you don't mind if I drink but don't eat much. I have to eat Mexican food (Ukrainian style) at 2 pm. Should be interesting. ;)

See you tomorrow at 12:30 pm!

Sent from my iPhone

On Jul 8, 2016, at 6:52 PM, Andrii Telizhenko <telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com> wrote:
12:30 works out fine) I can come to the Hyatt and I will pick you up and we can drive to Podil and have lunch there- it will be closer for you? See you soon)
On Friday, July 8, 2016, Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC <Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov> wrote:
Let's do 12:30 pm if that still works for you. Where should we meet? I'm staying at the Hyatt, but can go anywhere. I just need to be in Podil at 2 pm, so depending on where we meet, I'll have a little over an hour to chat.

See you soon!!!

Sent from my iPhone

On Jul 8, 2016, at 12:37 PM, Andrii Telizhenko <telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com> wrote:

Hi Liz,

Yes, It would be great to meet, tomorrow what ever works best for you 12:30pm or 6pm- I am ready)

Andrii

On Friday, July 8, 2016, Zentos, Elisabeth F. EOP/NSC <Elisabeth_F_Zentos@nsc.eop.gov> wrote:

Should we try to meet for a drink/coffee tomorrow? Will you be around? Would sometime around 6 pm work? Or around 12:30 pm?
Hope to see you soon!

Sent from my iPhone

On Jul 4, 2016, at 9:35 AM, Andrii Telizhenko
<telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com><javascript;;><javascript;;><mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com><javascript;;><javascript;;>> wrote:

Happy 4th of July! Happy 240th Independence Day USA!

Enjoy the great day, BBQ and the fireworks!

With Regards,

Andrii Telizhenko

--

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?????? ????????? | Andrii Telizhenko
| telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com<javascript;;><javascript;;><mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com><javascript;;><javascript;;>|

<IMG_0844.JPG>

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?????? ????????? | Andrii Telizhenko
| telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com<mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com>|

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?????? ????????? | Andrii Telizhenko
| telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com<mailto:telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com>|

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Andriй Теліженко | Andrii Telizhenko
| telizhenko.andriy@gmail.com |
BEGINNING OF NEW RECORD
Catherine: Per your earlier note, I sent the PGO meeting invite to the whole Ukraine desk distro, and Jamie wrote back about Bridget’s meeting.

I promised a readout to Jamie to assist with Bridget’s BCL, but since you were there, I figured you’ll be better able to give a full readout to EE. Let me know if you need anything from me!

---

Eric,

Thanks very much for the invitation. DAS Brink will meet with the delegation on Thursday. Attached are the final agenda for the visit and the bios of the participants so you have full visibility.

On the question of background info on how the various anticorruption agencies/authorities fit together, I don’t have anything at the ready, but will check with EUR/ACE tomorrow. I agree that this would be extremely helpful and we’ll look to put something together if it doesn’t already exist.

Thanks again and let me know if you have any further questions or if you’d like us to follow up on any outstanding issues that may come up in your meeting on Tuesday.

Best,

Jamie

SBU
This email is UNCLASSIFIED.
We’ll be hosting Deputy PG Sakvarelidze, NABU chief Sytnyk, and AC prosecutor Kholodnytsky here on Tuesday 1/19 at 11:00. Are you having meetings with them at State? If not, would anyone from the desk like to attend our meeting?

In addition, I was wondering whether you have any off-the-shelf background info on how the various anticorruption agencies/authorities fit together (no need to create this if it doesn’t exist), and whether there are any particular points that you or Post would like us to raise with the group.

Thank you!

Eric

Eric Ciaramella
Director for Baltic and Eastern European Affairs
National Security Council | The White House
(202) 456-9106
Agenda for Examination of the US Adversarial Criminal Justice System for senior-level Ukrainian prosecutors
January 18 – January 23, 2016
Washington, DC

Points of Contact:
Catherine Newcombe: (202) 436 6885 catherine.newcombe@usdoj.gov
Rob Hurtekant: (214) 458 7707 rob.hurtekant@usdoj.gov

Monday, January 18, 2016
Delegation Arrives in Washington, D.C.

Airport transfer to: JW Marriot, 1331 Pennsylvania Ave N. W. Washington, DC 20004

Tuesday, January 19, 2016

9:45 Meeting in the hotel to discuss the program
10:10 Depart hotel
11:00 – 12:00 Meeting with Eric Ciaramella, Elizabeth Zentos and others TBD, National Security Council - Confirmed
Location: 1600 Pennsylvania Ave NW
POCs: Eric Ciaramella – (202) 456-9106
Elizabeth Zentos – (202) 456-9158

13:00 – 14:00 Meeting with Kenneth Blanco, Deputy Assistant Attorney General and Bruce Swartz, Counsel to the Attorney General for International Affairs, U. S. Department of Justice - Confirmed
Location: 950 Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Suite 4706
POC: Denise Turcotte (202) 616-9318
(202) 314- 2333

15:00 – 16:00 Meeting with FBI – TBC
Location: TBC

16:00 – 17:00 Meeting with OPDAT/DOJ - Confirmed
Location: 1331 F Street NW, Room 745
POC: Rob Hurtekant: (214) 458 7707

Wednesday, January 20, 2016

10:00 Depart hotel
10:30 – 12:00 Meeting with Michael E. Horowitz, Inspector General of US Department of Justice and Robert Storch, Deputy Inspector General of US Department of Justice – Confirmed
Location: 1425 New York Avenue, NW

Point of Contact: Rob Storch, (202) 532-6980, robert.p.storch@usdoj.gov
Point of Contact: Pat Brantley, (202) 514-3435 (receptionist)

12:15 – 13:15  
**Lunch**

14:00 – 15:00  
Meeting with Raymond Hulser, Chief of the Public Integrity Section, US Department of Justice – **Confirmed**

*Location: 1400 New York Ave. NW, 12th Floor*  
*Point of Contact: Peter Koski, tel. 202 524 1412*

15:30 – 16:30  
**Operational meeting with FBI – Confirmed**

*Location: 1400 New York Ave. NW, 9th Floor*  
*POC: Mary Butler – (202) 598- 6711*  
(202) 538-0394

**Thursday, January 21, 2015**

08:45  
Depart hotel

09:45 – 10:45  
Meeting with James A. Walsh, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State - **Confirmed**

*Location: 2201 C St NW*  
*POC: Adriana Cosgriff - (202)647-0777*

11:00 – 11:45  
Meeting with Bridget A. Brink Deputy Assistant Secretary of State - **Confirmed**

*Location: 2201 C St NW*  
*POC: Jamie Gusack - (202 )647-4117*

12:00 – 13:00  
**Lunch**

13:00 – 14:00  
Meeting with Jonathan Katz, Deputy Assistant Administrator for the Bureau for Europe and Eurasia, USAID and Tomas Melia, Assistant Administrator of the United States Agency for International Development - **Confirmed**

*Location: 301 4th Street, SW (Federal Center Bldg), room 247-SA-44, Washington, DC 20004*  
*POC: Michelle Sadler - (202)567-4005*

15:00 – 16:00  
Meeting with Mary Rodriguez, Chief of Office of International Affairs and Jason Carter, Associate Director of Office of International Affairs, US Department of Justice - **Confirmed**

*Location: 1301 New York Ave. NW. Washington D.C 20530*  
*POC: Jason Carter tel. (202)514 -0000*

**Friday, January 22, 2015**

Check out from the hotel
13:50-14:05  Depart for airport

15:00  AIRPORT DROP OFF: TBC
David Sakvarelidze was born on September 15, 1981 in Tbilisi, Republic of Georgia. He graduated from the Law Department of Tbilisi State University in 2004. From 2001-2002 he studied Political Science at the University of St. Bonaventure (New York, USA). He also studied at Toyo University Itakura (Japan) in the Department of Regional management.

2002-2003 – member of the State Commission on legal reform and legal terminology in the Ministry of Justice of Georgia.

2004-2005 - the principal advisor to the chief consultant of the department of legal relations and legal expertise for the of Georgian presidential administration.

2005-2006-acting head of the general inspectorate for the protection of legality in the city of Tbilisi.

April 2007 - June 2007 - Deputy chief of the executive office of the Prosecutor General of Georgia.


July 2007- November 2008 –prosecutor of Shida Kartli and Mtskheta-Mtianeti

November 2008 - December 2008 -- became the First Deputy Chief prosecutor of Georgia.

2009 - First Deputy Chief Prosecutor of Tbilisi,

2009 - 2012 - First Deputy Chief Prosecutor of Georgia,

2012 - 2015 – Member of the Parliament of Georgia.
In early 2015 David Sakvarelidze received Ukrainian citizenship and soon thereafter, on February 16, 2015, Mr. Shokin, the Prosecutor General of Ukraine, appointed David Sakvarelidze as the Deputy Prosecutor General (DPG) responsible for implementation of Reform of the Procuracy.

In 2015 Mr. Sakvarelidze charged several corrupt prosecutors including the Deputy Head of the Investigation Department of the General Prosecutor's Office and the Deputy Head of the Kyiv Regional Prosecutor's Office in the so-called “Diamond Prosecutors Case”, so named because when searches were done on their homes they were caught with $500,000 and 65 diamonds. This was the first time in the history of Ukraine that prosecutors were criminally charged with serious corruption.

Since September 2015 David Sakvarelidze has combined the position of the DPG with the Chief Prosecutor of the Odessa region. He is also in charge of the Inspector General’s Office at the PGO.
Nazar Kholodnytskyi, Deputy Prosecutor General of Ukraine – Head of the Specialized Anti-Corruption Prosecutor’s Office of Ukraine

Nazar Kholodnytskyi was born in Lviv, Ukraine in 1985. In 2006 he graduated from the Law Department of Ivan Franko National University of Lviv where he received a Master’s degree in Law with honors. Immediately thereafter Nazar started his career at the Prosecutor’s Office of Kyiv region where he was assigned the job duties of the assistant to the prosecutor of Kyiv-Svyatoshyno district.

In 2009 he became a senior assistant to the prosecutor of the Kyiv-Svyatoshyno district. In 2012 Nazar was appointed to the position of senior prosecutor of Kyiv-Svyatoshyno district. In 2014 he became a senior assistant to the First Deputy Prosecutor General of Ukraine. From December 22, 2014 until November 2015 he worked as a Deputy Prosecutor for the Prosecutor’s Office of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea (this office was relocated from Crimea to Kyiv after the occupation of Crimea by the Russian Federation).

On November 30, 2015, pursuant to the order of Prosecutor General Victor Shokin, Nazar Kholodnytskyi was named as the Deputy Prosecutor General – Head of the Specialized Anti-Corruption Prosecutor’s Office (SAP). Kholodnytskyi was named to this highly sought after position after a lengthy selection process involving many hundreds of applicants. The SAP has jurisdiction over high-level corruption cases which are investigated by the National Anti-corruption Bureau. SAP is currently in the process of staffing but has nevertheless started prosecuting its first cases.
Artem Sytnyk, Director of the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine

Artem Sytnyk was born on August 19, 1979 in Kirovograd region, Ukraine.

2001 -- graduated from the National Law Academy.

2001 – began work as the assistant to the prosecutor of Kirovograd region. Later he was appointed investigator of the Kirovograd prosecutor’s office.

2003 - senior investigator for the Kirovograd Prosecutor’s office.

2004 –senior investigator for the Prosecutor’s office of Kirovograd region.

2006- head of the investigative unit of Kirovograd region.

2008 - head of the investigative unit of Kyiv region.

2011 -2015- private practice

In April of 2015, President Poroshenko appointed Artem Sytnyk as the Director of the National Anti-Corruption Bureau of Ukraine (NABU) – an independent law-enforcement agency responsible for investigating high-level corruption. Mr. Sytnyk was selected over hundreds of other candidates. The selection was made by a specially designated independent selection commission.

Soon after his selection in 2015, NABU began hiring staff. NABU now has over 200 employees. NABU recently started investigating its first cases.
Dear Sally and Karen,

Thank you very much for coming to the Embassy and sharing some of your insights.

Thank you also for suggesting your help on additional meetings with Boris Lozhkin. As I mentioned, there won't be much availability for additional meetings but we are still looking into the program. Let me get back to you on this.

With regards to the meetings in Kyiv, I suggest that you wait until next the week, when there is an expected vote on the government's reshuffle.

With best regards,

Oksana Shulyar
Dear Oksana and Andrii,

Thank you for taking the time to meet with Karen and with me yesterday. We very much appreciated your insights and guidance and really look forward to working together. As Karen said, please think of us as an extension of your team. We are available to be helpful in any way.

As noted, we are working with Morgan Williams on their piece of the President’s visit and would be honored to help set up something for Mr. Lozhkin with Denis McDonough, the President’s Chief of Staff, or with anyone else he is interested in meeting.

As to our trip to Kiev on April 6, 7 and 8, we are officially requesting the following government meetings, but would welcome any support you could give to ensure we can confirm them:

- Dmytro Shymkiv, Deputy Head of Presidential Administration for Reforms
  - Office: 

- Oleksiy Pavlenko, Minister of Agrarian Policy and Food
  - Office: 

- Oleksandr Danyluk, Deputy Head of the Presidential Administration (Economics)
  - Office: 

- Natalie Jaresko, Finance Minister
  - Office: 

Given that you know our agenda, we would also be interested in learning of anyone else you may suggest we meet.

Many thanks in advance for your guidance and support.

with warmest personal regards,
sally and karen

Sally Painter
Co-Founder and COO
Blue Star Strategies

888 17th Street NW, Suite 800
Washington, DC 20006

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
Jun 4, 2019

Everything ok? I am hearing rumors.

17:19

hi, all is ok.

17:25

what rumors?

17:25

That things were getting complicated for you

17:26

seems all fine

17:27

do you have any more details?

No sorry. Just that. No worries. Just checking on you my friend.

17:28

ok thank you very much

17:28

did it come from State?

17:29

Let me know when you can talk? thank you)

17:52

No. I can’t tell you as it was in confidence but the person just said that things were getting complicated for you. The person is in Ukraine

18:03

ok thank you very much

18:03

Jun 7, 2019

Did u see dems are going to open an
Vladislav Rashkovan
Oleksandr Danyluk
Yulia Tymoshenko
Andriy Kobolev
Abramavichius - but not a lot of chances
2 more names should be discussed next week

Jul 28, 2019

Oleksiy Goncharuk
Oleg Ustenko
those are the other 2 names for Prime

Aug 6, 2019

Thank you

Aug 22, 2019

Morning. I am sure you saw NYT. Is Yermak trustworthy? What role does he play with Z? Do you think he is professional? Does he understand the complexity of Gulianni Biden battle? Many thanks for your insights.
Hello) To Mr. Z or Mr. Danyluk

thank you

Also we are having a call today with you at 11am?)

Ok. I will check to see who he is most comfortable with. Will report back

thank you again

also please confirm the 30 when you receive please

Will do

Have you seen what Solomon has written about what you said?

please Take blue star off resume
Did u see dems are going to open an investigation into Rudy Ukraine and Biden trips. Just FYI

not yet, interesting thanks

its mostly for PR i think

Complaint filed

What did you think of NYT article

Its seem very fair

Hi. Landed in London. Meet with ounce folks at 4. Please remind him he will be first Ukrainian to work with prince. Thank you

just saw your call from yesterday sorry
The U.S. Secret Service cannot confirm that the trips occurred or if protection was provided for the entirety of the trip due to the age of the records at issue.

### Protectee Visits Detail Report

**Date Range:** January 1, 2008 - January 31, 2017

The entries below reflect trip numbers issued during date range provided.

Note: For the reporting period above, agency systems were not configured to reflect whether additional family members were present for each trip.

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*Note: Puerto Rico (listed above) is captured as a distinct country within the Secret Service planning system but categorized as a Territory for reporting.